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Ethnicity in Pakistan: Focusing on the Main Nationalist Groups in Balochistan

The study highlights the various ethnic groups in Pakistan particularly those of Balochistan. Their historical, racial, ethnic and tribal set up is discussed to demonstrate their specific characteristics and food habits, dresses, mobility and more importantly their cultural traits and values. But the main focus of this chapter is to describe the Baloch ethnicity, their origin and growth and their presence and participation in the provincial and national politics of the country. It will be of immense significance to understand the dynamics of Baloch ethnicity, demands and actions under the period discussion. This chapter will try to find answers to the following queries: how many ethnic groups inhabit in Balochistan; why Baloch ethnic group is more annoyed with the centre; what are their main demands and the response of the state and society of Pakistan to these demands?

1. Nation, Nationalism and State

The nation is collection of people who traveled together in the same historical events that’s why can be defined as the subject of history and in this historical sharing, language, geography or religion may have been shared and conducive for nation-building. Smith defines a nation as “collection of people that are integrated vertically and mobile with features of collective sentiment and common citizenship which discriminates its members from other groups in which they are in conflict or alliance relationships.” According to Smith, collective myths and memories are the ethnic roots of modern nations. The ethnic identity calculated from history assisted in the basis of formation of nation in revolutionary change movement. That’s why nation can be defined more appropriately as ethnic groups that are politicized in the modernization process.

For Brass when distinct groups sharing similar ethnic values become aware of their different identities subjectively and politically organized themselves for autonomous identity or independent state, they are considered as nation. He focuses on competition of elite class role as the base for consciousness development for ethnic group and creates their political demands.

What are the main fictions or characteristics of the nation? The word “nation” is used to build modern states in Europe initially as today we can see them on map. But now it also describes the ethnic groups within nation-states territory, in demand for independent state, autonomy and secession. A nation is described as a stable community of people that evolved historically and shared language, geography, economic life and psychological thought to make culture by Stalin who was Lenin’s approved spokesman and chairman of nationality commission of Lenin’s. A nation is neither based on tribes nor races because most of the modern nations are a mixture of different races and tribes like the American nation includes British, Spanish, Africans and Indians, etc. and also similar for other nations.

Nations' fears and hopes, in turn, builds Nationalism which arouses based on patriotism and national pride which is not couched in golden age commonly and struggle to achieve independence based on some historical or mythical episodes. Smith describes it as a movement based on ideology of population for achieving and conserving identity, self-reliance and integrity to constitute potential or actual “nation”.

Core doctrine or central proposition of ideology, according to Smith, are four: 1- Each nation has its own identity, history and destiny in the world. 2- All political and social powers should be sourced by nation and all other allegiance overrides by nation loyalty. 3- if human beings want freedom and realize themselves, they must have a national identity. 4- in case of prevailing peace and justice in the world, the nation must be secure and free. Smith asserts that Nationalism cannot be separated from

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* It is stated that this study is mainly taken from my PhD dissertation submitted in History Department, PU, Lahore

1 A. D. Smith, Theories of Nationalism, p. 175.

2 Ibid


6 A. D. Smith, National Identity, p. 73.

7 Ibid p74

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the nation’s history or cultural constitutions. "[Nationalism] is based on motifs, ideals and visions. That’s why it operates on different levels and regarded as culture as well as political ideology".

Hegel wrote, “people who form a state can be noticed only in the history of the world. That’s why state is a divine idea on Earth.” Bloch nation does not possess a state since 1948 but they were nation. However, there is a difference between the state and the nation as the state is political administration while nation is a group of citizens. “The state has a self-governing authorization based upon consent and compulsion, having specific boundaries where state exercise monopoly of its coercive authority” written by Banuazizi and Weiner.

What is the importance of State? According to J. Rothschild, the state is a forum in which there is a competition of different pluralist forces to distribute rarer resources. He composes: to protect their economic, social and ethnic interests, claims, grievances, aspirations and anxieties, ethnic groups must enter the political domain… This tells that distinct groups should ask for participatory or exclusive political power over and/or in a state. If distinct groups ask for political power-sharing and control of a multiethnic state prove unproductive or non-negotiable for a state. Ethnic groups can capture the state machinery to reap the benefits and who are unable to access this machinery has to build their own state composition. Also, M.J.Esman and Itamir compose “territorial state is interested in ethnic groups for promotional and defense institutional framework in the Middle East or elsewhere in the modern world.”

Based on this discussion, in this study, various nationalist groups that are active in Baluchistan will be discussed.

2. Ethnicity in Baluchistan

Baluchistan province ethnicity is based on Bloch and Pashtun in majority while Hazaras, Sindhis, and Punjabis are in minority to make a community. However, precise ethnic arithmetic is unclear. Statistical yearbook of Pakistan in 2008 showed that forty percent inhabitant spoke Balochi, twenty percent Brahui and twenty-five percent Pashtun language. Other resources claim that there are two major groups of the community including forty-five percent Balochi and thirty-eight percent Pashtun while remaining seventeen percent is mixed of other ethnicities while Bloch leaders claim that 65-70 percentage is Bloch and 30-35 percentage are Pashtun in Baluchistan population.


3. Major Nationalists Groups Active in Baluchistan

2.1. Baloch Student Organization (BSO)

Bloch's struggle for national freedom become organized in 1960s. At that time many Bloch students moved to Karachi for higher education and then they gradually started their political activities which become an organization in 1962 with the title of Warne Wanendah Gell in Bloch and translated as Bloch Students Educational Organization (BSEO) and its first president was Changez Alyani (1962-63). General Ayoub Khan takes over at the end of the 1950s and imposed a ban on all political activities so Bloch students added word education in it so that state and its institutions consider it as a platform of education struggle only.

Ayub's Martial law ends in the 60s which allowed Bloch students to start pure political activities. They started publishing organ titled “Pajjar” periodically at start and conducting their local musical programs at the same time. In those days BSEO was very popular but it was only active in Karachi and there was no other office anywhere in Baluchistan, so they came to know the need for active political organization in the entire Baluchistan. This the leadership removed education word from the title to become pure and complete organization and after removal of education word, the title becomes Bloch students organization(BSO).

The real history of BSO starts from November 26, 1967, when it held its first national council session. But dream of single organization for Bloch students was short-lived and it splits into two parts: BSO and BSO-Anti Sardar within a year at the time of Karachi and Quetta based organizations merger.14 Than Zia-ul-Haq imposed martial law and take over from Bhutto and He was arrested in Qasuris murder case and poisoned. Zia came to know that Bloch are angry at Bhutto due to military operations in 1970 against Bloch nation and arrested Bloch nationalists. So, Zia released Bloch nationals intentionally and this leaders preferred self-exile and moved to London and Afghanistan and after 1988 both factions decided to become part parliamentary system of Pakistan instead of a revolutionary platform.14

In 2005, Pervez Musharraf flared fourth Baluchistan insurgency and in the response to that BSO portioned into four basic groups: BSO (Mengal), BSO (Azad), BSO (Pajjar) and BSO (Awami). As the result of 4th organized rebellion intensification, BSO (Azad) portioned into militant and radical factions and result in formation of separatists such as Baluchistan liberation army (BLA) and Bloch Republican Army (BRA). BSO (Azad) moved out of mainstream political activities and starts advocating armed struggle against Pakistan and talks about separate independent Baluchistan. BSO (Awami) history is from 1970 splits of BSO and nowadays they are struggling to support Bloch Students. BSO (M), is also radical as BSO Azad in its orientation and become more active in the politics of student and youth in Baluchistan. In Evolutionary process, it becomes the student wing of BNP’s which leads it into BNP (Mengal) Despite the fact that as extremist political views in its attitude and belief as BSO (Azad), become more dynamic in mainstream educate and young person political sympathizers in Baluchistan. It has also acquired the student-wing of BNP’s largest and most mainstream portions, the BNP (Mengal). BSO (Pajjar) has the largest number of followers among educatee and it focuses on educational and ideological parts of the movement and imparts it to the students through the process of regular study circles and its mission is to educate Bloch people as much as possible.15

Baloch Student Organization Azad (BSO-A)

The BSO Azad was founded by Allah Nazar Bloch who was the separatist fighter and political activist in the year 2002 which spread throughout Balochistan and is known for being youth-centric. Pakistani state banned it on the 15th of March, 2013 due to allegations of terrorism involvement. The BSO-A is a movement that recruits young Balochi for Bloch nationalist movement for separate Baluchistan. They attracted youth for struggle and fighting against Pakistan state and army for perceived oppression and injustice and building an independent national identity.16

2.2. National Party (NP) In October 2002 there was a merger of two political parties Baluchistan National Democratic Party which was known as non-tribal, middle-class party and its leader was Mir Hail Khan Bizenjo who is son of nationalist Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo and Baluchistan national movement (BNM) which was also non-tribal middle class and its leader was Dr. Abdul Havee Bloch which was considered as Kala National Party successor. The

14 History of BSO. https://sagaar.net/history-of-bso/
16 https://www.dopel.org/BalochStudentOrganizationAzad.htm
National party was chaired by Abdul Havee Bloch as first Chairman and Secretary-general of this new party was Mir Basil Khan Bizenjo. In 2008, the elected party president was Abdul Malik Baloch and he became the CM of Balochistan between 2013 and 2015. The national party is mostly comprised of middle-class Makran’s and is basically a nationalist party in Baluchistan politics. Dr. Abdul Havee Bloch who is a seasoned politician founded national party in 2003 and he was first elected president of the new party while Principal office was held by Dr. Abdul Malik Bloch and Mir Hasil Khan Bizenjo. During the regime of the dictatorship of Pervez Musharraf BNM and BNDP took participation in general elections 2002. BNM captured three seats and only one candidate of BNDP won election of Baluchistan Assembly. The party creates a loud voice for complete provincial autonomy with demand devolving all departments to the units except currency, defense and foreign affairs to make a strong federation and all units take control over their respective resources. This new party also opposes the plan of Gwadar port handing over to Chinese government and they also demand that elected provincial government must have the power to strike any deal with foreign which will be related to the resources including ports, coasts and others of the province. They also have reservations related Pak-Iran gas pipeline project and demand to take them in confidence related any deal with neighboring countries.

2.3. The Baloch Republican Party (BRP)

BRP is led in by Brahmdagh by his granddaddy Akbar Bugti murder by Pakistan army in 2006 and he was currently living in Switzerland as self-exile. He opposed any kind of dialogue with Pakistan state and advocates independent Greater Baluchistan and for this purpose, he called the international community also to intervene. Liberation front of Baluchistan is a war-ridden arrangement that is politically based with ethnic-based separation ideas and they are fighting for an independent state of Baluchistan against Pakistan administration. Juma K. Marri established this organization in 1964 in Damascus city of Syria. They joined Balochi Revolt in Iran after four years of its establishment and that is a revolt of Baluchis against Iran administration. The Baluch insurrection against Iran was an attempt to sabotage, weak and destabilize in which operational support and weapons were supplied publically by Iranian government to BLF and after 5 years of fight BLF and Iranian Baluch separatist groups were the insurgent groups of Bloch community including BLF focused on revolt against Pakistan’s government and demand for independent Baluchistan for Pakistani province. This revolt came to be known as the Separatist movement for independent Baluchistan from 1973 to 1977. In the beginning of this revolt, the Iranian government supply weapons covertly to the BLF and separatist groups. The Embassy of Iraq in Islamabad, Pakistan was raided by Pakistan administration on 10 February 1973 and small arms and explosives crates uncovered which was according to allegations to the way of BLF and other separatist groups. The Balochi provincial government was dismissed by Pakistani PM Zulfiqar Bhutto in response to this insurgency due to intensification of attacks on Pakistani army convoys by BLF and other separatist groups. Pakistani administration deployed eighty thousand military personnel to fight against calculated approximately fifty thousand separatists. The analyst analyzed that the operation by government forced or pressed the BLF from Baluchistan to Afghanistan until 1974 end. Allegedly the Soviet Union assisted it to rejoin the Free Baluchistan campaign during BLF exile in Afghanistan. This organized rebellion terminated in 1977 November when Martial Law was implemented by army and army constituted free pardon for militants in general in the domain.

However, The BLF activeness from 1977 to 2004 is unsubstantiated reports bring in knowledge that the group was not dissolved. In 2004, when three Chinese extraneous workers were killed in Baluchistan by gunman when they are working on mega-development tasks in Pakistan and the gunman claimed that he was from BLF and Dr. Allah Nazar stated it publically that he was member of BLF and he took BLF command in 2003. Nazar was considered BSO Azad leader before this statement and BSO Azad was educating young students related to political matters.

17 Ahmed, Sarfaraz (4 October 2004). "Balochistan can only be resolved by either amending the Constitution". Daily Times
19 Ibid
22 Baloh Liberation Front. https://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/457
Attacks of BLF on security forces, foreign workers and pipelines intensified in 2005 and in the result of this intensification Pakistan arrested Nazar which crippled BLF activeness. On 20 June 2006 after one year he has to be released due to the hunger strike of his group members with demand for his freedom. BLF is a separatist group base on ethnicity and goal of achieving Free Baluchistan. Dr. Nazar, the current leader, declared that his dream is to watch the BLF as influential and potent political party so that they can achieve their goal of free Baluchistan.

2.5. Lashkar-e-Balochistan (LeB)

LeB is a war-ridden separatist group located in Baluchistan and even it is not known exactly when it is formed but the first attack by the group is in 2009. LeB was a group separated from BLA and their goals are freedom of Baluchistan from Pakistan and announced terrorist by Pakistan in 2009. Their engagement in politics was very rare from its emergence, although their relations with foreign officials were reported by several articles in different newspapers. LeB was mainly involved in attacks with their targets of armed or civil forces of Pakistan.

The structure of LeB is known very little while the group head was Javed Mental who was son of Attaullah Mengal. The organization applies various strategies to achieve its goals of fundraising through donations and charities, abduction, and looting. The Nation Newspaper reported that this organization was also funded by India for its insurgency in Baluchistan against Pakistan. While there was also citation related to the involvement of foreign intelligence agencies including American, Israeli, British and India states and they were allegedly supplying funds and technical support to the group. After several bomb attacks in Quetta, Karachi and Lahore in 2012 in which several persons were murdered and injured and this group claimed their responsibility than it becomes known publically and the group spokesman is Khan Bloch. It is believed that the group has various camps across Baluchistan and Afghanistan.

Financial Sources of LeB

Charities/donations: they took donations during Ramadan including Fitrana and Zakat. The Home Department of Punjab banned this and other terrorist groups for the collection of donations during Islamic months in 2011. Abduction Looting Countries sponsoring: The Nation Newspaper reported Indian state was involved in funding and weapon supply to the separatist groups including LeB through Afghanistan for their insurgency in Pakistan including Baluchistan. They were also supported by Taliban for weapons and militants.

Pakistan act against terrorism of 1997 allowed the administration to take control of prohibited groups offices, blocking their accounts, confiscate the banners, posters, literature, and banned their press freedom.

2.6. The Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA)

This organization is a separatist group based on Bloch ethnicity and they were also fighting for independent Baluchistan with their struggle against Pakistani administration and the major portion of this group was Bugti or Marti tribes. There was speculation that they may be taking their members from young activists involved in political activities. Officially the organization was created in 2000 but there are speculations that this is basically a revival of prior insurgents of Bloch ethnicity and more in specification the movement of independent Baluchistan of 1973 to 1977. There was the comprehension of monopoly of government related to the natural resources of Baluchistan and

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29 “Banning the terrorists: The outlawed outsmart the law,” The Express Tribune, October 10, 2013

like allotment of jobs over Bloch and in response to this in 2000 summer BLA was settled down.\textsuperscript{31} They claimed responsibility for serial attacks in railways and markets as their targets were Pakistani armed and civilian forces and get recognized first time. BLA takes responsibility for more than eight attacks in which targets were Pakistani armed and civilian forces including their locations and their convoys during the summer of its establishment. From 2000 to 2003 their activities are undocumented. However, they killed other province citizens residing in Baluchistan as well as police personnel in a series of attacks in May 2003. In 2004, they attacked Chinese workers that were working on mega-development tasks in Pakistan and response to these attacks, their coverage by media increased and this was also taken as a sign that they can do this again and again to draw attention to Pakistan administration\textsuperscript{32}. In the result of these attacks, roundabout twenty thousand additional armed personnel were mobilized to the Baluchistan by Pakistan administration\textsuperscript{33}. BLA activities continued despite the presence of Pakistan army throughout 2003 and car bombs and various IED attacks were done by them in summer 2004. They were involved in the Kohulu camp attack at the time of President of Pakistan visiting 2005 and this attack was designated as an attack on President by Pakistan and BLA was labeled as a terrorist group by the government of Pakistan in 2006. In addition to that Pakistan administration also stated targeting more precisely the BLA group and in specifically their alleged leaders which was still Pakistani strategy\textsuperscript{34}. The alleged leader Akbar Bugti was killed on 26 August 2006 and Mir Bloch on 21 November 2007 by Government\textsuperscript{35}. Both leaders were influential persons in and their death will lead to more attacks claimed by BLA and lead to more intervention of government in Baluchistan\textsuperscript{36}. The rights of the Gawadar port which were situated in the south of Baluchistan was leased to the Chinese government for forty years by the government of Pakistan at the same time which was interpreted as colonization approach of Pakistan for Baluchistan by BLA and other nationalist leaders of Baluchistan\textsuperscript{37}. The BLA, BLF, BRA and Pakistan announced a ceasefire in September 2008 with decision of negotiations with these groups by government of Pakistan. The BLA ended this ceasefire in Jan 2009 with claims that there was no serious attempt for negotiation beginning.\textsuperscript{38} The alleged leader Brahmdagh Bugti interviewed by AAJ TV on 15 April 2009 in which he urged Baluchis to kill other province citizens living in the Baluchistan without any discrimination of civilian or armed. In response to this, there was broke out of Punjabi people target killing in Baluchistan and BLA took its responsibility without my clearance that was done by Baluchi citizens or BLA directly. Roundabout five hundred Punjabi were targeted after interview including the Punjabi residing in Baluchistan from generation to generation which were reported by BLA. From 2009 to 2012, BLA keeps its involvement in attacks against affiliates of the government of Pakistan which include army, police, officials and teacher in addition to cleansing based on ethnicity\textsuperscript{39}. An attack on site of national heritage Jinnah’s residency in Ziarat, the summer house of the founder of Pakistan was also claimed by BLA in 2013\textsuperscript{39}. Nawab Khair Marri died naturally in 2014 and after that his 6 sons started fight with each other for BLA leadership and three of them separated from BLA and form another group named Army of United Bloch (UBA) that’s why they also started attacks on separated group UBA\textsuperscript{40}. 

**Ideology and Goals of BLA**

Their main goal is to get autonomy as Baluchistan state from Pakistan. They believed that the base of Pakistan which is equality of all Muslims is false and instead of its identity-based on ethnicity is preferable than identity-based on religion. They also believe that the Pakistani government distributes natural resources profit and jobs unequally in the domain\textsuperscript{41}. Consulates of India situated in the Jalalabad and Kandahar were accused of facilitating these groups with

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} Adeel Khan, “Renewed Ethnonationalist Insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan: The Militarized State and Continuing Economic Depravation,” Asian Survey 49 (2009)
\item \textsuperscript{32} Grare, Frederic “The Resurgence of Baluch Nationalism,” working paper in, “Pakistan: The State of the Union,” Center for International Policy, April 2009,
\item \textsuperscript{33} Hasan, Syed. "Top Baloch Rebel Leader ‘Killed’" BBC News. BBC, 21 Nov. 2007
\item \textsuperscript{34} Hasan, Syed. "Top Baloch Rebel Leader 'Killed'" BBC News. BBC, 21 Nov. 2007
\item \textsuperscript{35} “Profile: Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti.” - Al Jazeera English. Web. 23 June 2015.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Adeel Khan, “Renewed Ethnonationalist Insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan: The Militarized State and Continuing Economic Depravation,” Asian Survey 49 (2009)
\item \textsuperscript{38} Pakistani coal and gas fields hit by militants,” Jane’s Intelligence Weekly, November 22, 2011 &“Separatist Group Claims Responsibility for Blast in Pakistan’s Quetta City,” Dawn, December 31, 2011.
\item \textsuperscript{39} "BLA Claims Attack on Jinnah Residency in Ziarat - The Express Tribune." The Express Tribune BLA Claims Attack on Jinnah Residency in Ziarat Comments. 14 June 2013.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Up to 20 Killed in Clashes between Separatist Groups in Dera Bugti - The Express Tribune." 29 June 2015
\item \textsuperscript{41} Baloch Liberation Arm. https://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/297
\end{itemize}
funding, training and arms against Pakistan for destabilization of Pakistan and prohibit the influence of China to Baluchistan\textsuperscript{42}. There was some analysis that these interferences could be against the interests of India because India is also interested in Oil and gas reserves of Baluchistan\textsuperscript{43}. There were also speculations that BLA gains profit from the weapons remaining after prior dispute of Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan. There were also speculations that BLA’s main income and supply of weapons come from Baluchi people donation due to support of the community for independence and autonomy of the province\textsuperscript{44}. There was also speculation by experts that smuggling can also be a big source of BLA income because Baluchistan was considered a key route of smuggling of different products including opium\textsuperscript{45}. BLA was blacklisted as a terrorist group by the Pakistani government on April 7, 2006 when they attacked different officials in series, USA also designated this group as a global terrorist group on July 2, 2019. US also captured BLA assets\textsuperscript{46}.

### 2.7. United Baloch Army

The organization leader is Mehran Marri and it was formed in the result of a clash between Mehran Marri and the leader of BLA Hyrbair Marru who was brother of Mehran Marri and the clash started with natural death. BLA blamed stealing three million dollars and weapons worth eight hundred million dollars on Mehran from BLA. Both BLA and BRA condemned attacks of UBA as self-destructive\textsuperscript{47}. BLA and UBA both have clashed with each other and in the deadliest fight in Bugti Dera, twenty fighters killed belonging from both groups\textsuperscript{48}.

UBA fighters stormed two busses that were traveling from Pishin to Karachi at district Mastung. They called out all the passengers from buses and killed 22 Pashtuns in May 2015. There was an attack on Jaffar Express in District Sibbi in which sixteen people died and forty-four injured and the responsibility was taken by UBA\textsuperscript{49}.

UBA leader Mehran Marri was arrested by immigration authorities of Switzerland at Zurikh Airport and his entry in Switzerland was banned for a lifetime and a charge sheet was also issued by Switzerland administration\textsuperscript{50}. the charge sheet also included that "if he enters in Switzerland and connected with brahamdagh to coordinate their activities, he can be jeopardized state internal security."\textsuperscript{51}

Pakistani administration designated the group as terrorists and banned their activities on March 15, 2013, and they are also recognized as terrorists by Switzerland's administration\textsuperscript{52}.

### Conclusion


\textsuperscript{44}Adeel Khan, “Renewed Ethnonationalist Insurgency in Balochistan, Pakistan: The Militarized State and Continuing Economic Deprivation,” Asian Survey 49 (2009)

\textsuperscript{45}Grare, Frederic “The Resurgence of Baluch Nationalism,” working paper in, “Pakistan: The State of the Union,” Center for International Policy, April 2009

\textsuperscript{46}US designates BLS as terrorist group. https://www.rferl.org/a/us-designates-pakistan-s-balochistan-liberation-army-as-terrorist-group/30034730.html

\textsuperscript{47}“Situationer: Who's who of Baloch insurgency”. Dawn. 1 June 2015. Archived from the original on 1 June 2015.

\textsuperscript{48}“Up to 20 killed in clashes between separatist groups in Dera Bugti”. Express Tribune. 30 June 2015.


\textsuperscript{51}“Swiss banned Mehran Baluch over 'risks to security'”. The News International. 17 November 2017.

\textsuperscript{52}United Baloch Arm. https://www.revolvy.com/page/United-Baloch-Arm?cr=1
Baloch ethnic group in Balochistan seems unhappy with the policies of the federation of Pakistan. There is the different reaction of the Baloch ethnic group towards these policies. There are three types of struggle going on in Balochistan. One group believes in the federation of Pakistan and struggles to consolidate Pakistani federation by becoming part of the system. Second group is dissatisfied but is trying to raise voice against injustices to Balochistan and demands greater autonomy. The third group has lost hope and took arms (BLA, BRA) and demanding freedom from Pakistan to create an independent Balochistan. All these groups can be handled if the federation grants greater autonomy to Balochistan and removes their misunderstandings and reconciles their genuine demands.