

2018

Gandhara Research
Society, Pakistan

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Gandhara Journal of Research in Social Science

ISSN: 2415-2404

Volume 3, Issue No. 1, Spring 2018



A SYSTEMIC CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION APPROACH TO THE ETHNO- NATIONAL CONFLICTS IN BALUCHISTAN

This paper is seeking to systemically analysis the long standing ethno-national protracted conflicts in Baluchistan, a Pakistani federating unit. The existing approaches to Baluchistan Issue ask for the agenda of conflict resolution and protracted conflicts can't be resolved because of their complex history, issues and dynamics. This research alternatively proposed the methodology of Systemic Conflict Transformation (SCT) approach which has two main objectives i.e. understanding of the complexity and transformation of conflicts. In border frame this research has adopted the SCT framework of Berghof Foundation for Peace Support of 2006 (BFPS) which has five elements or steps including Systemic Conflict Analysis (SCA), Strategic Planning of Systemic Interventions (SPSI), Engagement with Key Stake Holders (EKSH), Mobilization of Agents of Peaceful Change (MAPC) and Creativity in Imagination of Sustainable Solutions. SPSI recognizes that there is no universal approach or framework for analysing any of the elements therefore it offers flexibility in application. This research have adopted the framework of Norbert Ropers (2008) and Mial (2004)'s frameworks for the core elements SCA and SPSI respectively. It maintains the guiding parameters of BFPS (2006) for the remaining three elements. The main objective of the research is to search the root causes of Baluchistan conflicts through SCA, to develop the peace structure through SPSI, EKSH and MAPC and to development the pathways to sustainable peace. It is very significant research because it is the first ever application of SCT approach on conflicts in Pakistan.

A SYSTEMIC CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION APPROACH TO THE ETHNO-NATIONAL CONFLICTS IN BALUCHISTAN

Muhammad Ejaz & Riaz Hussain

Baluchistan a federating unit of Pakistan is consisted of many ethnic identities. National tendencies based on ethnic identity had resentment over the federal parliamentary system because of its failure in providing the provincial autonomy, control of the Baluch over their recourses and due share in national politics, military and bureaucracy. The long standing ethnic violence had been started in late 1940s which has caused problem of governance and insecurity for state, sense of discrimination and deprivation and lack of freedoms and liberties among the men in society. Therefore, they are asking for provincial control or the complete independence. The scholars have written much about the position of conflicts, damages related with it and the solution of these conflicts. Ethno-national conflicts are protracted, asymmetric and complex conflicts and the nature and dynamics of these conflicts is very difficult to be understood until a viable approaches like Systemic conflict analysis (SCA) is to be applied. The protracted conflicts cannot be resolved; because there are chances of their re-emergence therefore they can only be transformed. It is strange there is not a single research on the conflict transformation on conflicts in Baluchistan in general and ethno-national conflicts in particular. Therefore, this research will look and analysis the conflicts from the perspective of relatively new field “Systemic conflict transformation” (SCT), which scientifically analysis the conflicts first and then under that analysis present measures for the constructive transformation of the conflicts.

1. Systemic Conflict Transformation

The end of Cold War has changed the nature of conflict internationally. The inter-state conflicts of the security environment of Cold War have been diminished and intra-state conflicts particularly the ethnic conflicts have become the major feature. These conflicts have the protracted conflict history and longevity is another feature. The original cause of the conflict goes away to the background and violence of both parties and conflict own dynamics become very important. The actors’ involve themselves in vicious spiral of action and reaction, which make their positions more embed and a strong split of friend and foe is observed and friend of foe is also considered as foe. This complex nature makes it difficult for the academicians, peace-builders to understand the actors, positions, issue and context in conflict. ⁱ The net result is the lack of understanding, fragmented and over optimistic policy designs and too late and too little responses. ⁱⁱ SCT lacks the border frame until the development of framework of BFPS (2006) which has five elements i.e. The SCA, SPSI, EKSH, MAPC and CISS. ⁱⁱⁱ The first element SCA and the last one SISS are the core and significant in the frame because of probing and implementation nature while the remaining three have secondary values in analysis. There is no magical or universal methodology of

these elements, rather because of different structure and context and high flexibility of SCT approach any method can be espoused.^{iv}

1.1 SCA

The systematic thinking in social science roots in verity of theories and practices which aim at, to construct and deconstruct the events in order to control their course. It is interesting though, the systemic thinking has been influenced by many from 1950s to 1980s, but they failed to provide the generally accepted framework of understanding. The understanding of the conflicts from the perspective of systematic approaches for the first time applied in late 1980s by the conflict resolution school but there application was too narrow and remained ineffective in captivating conflicts at systematic level.^v The analysis lacks framework for analysis until the initiative of BFPS which defined it and discussed its aims, normative bases and outlined the key elements while taking the complexity of the conflicts for the application of systematic thinking for the design of peaceful interventions for peace. This research is interested in the SCA of Norbert Ropers (2008) director of BFPS which has been the Conflict Mapping of Paul Wehr (1979) who highlighted the five elements for consideration conflict analysis i.e. Conflict history, context, parties, issues and dynamics.^{vi} The Roper's approach to systemic analysis of conflicts involves the conflicting parties, the issues in between them; historical dimension, the contextual and structural factors, the perspective of warring parties and conflict resolution options to be framed.

1.2 SPSI

It means to make-out that would reflect the complexity of conflict system. It involves the questions of "how to make use of most effective leverage points for change, how to link activities of different tracks, how to sequence peace support measures in most effective way and how planners would have to take the political dynamics. There is no miraculous formula of SPSI rather it is dependent on the complexity of conflict system^{vii}

1.3 EKSH

Engagement with conflict actors is challenging because it is process of relationship building. SCT demands inclusive approaches and even parties of minor stake on one hand and placatory, hardliner and spoilers on other hand should also be taken into consideration. It requires trust building empathy, institutionalisation of capacity building and communication between internal and external actors. It aims at changing the strategies, perception and future aspirations and the real objective is the interests of parties may be acknowledged if not satisfied.^{viii}

1.4 MAPC

Agents of peace are groups and individuals within the conflict system which contribute or have potential of contribution for the commencement of process of peace and subtraction of violence. The flourishing CT appears from system therefore the local should have primary while the external should have secondary role of identification of locals, moral and material support and cooperation in constructive transformation. It is a long term engagement and it aims at capacity building, trust building and network management and advocacy work. Like other elements, there is no specific methodology of MAPC.^{ix}

1.5 CISS

CISS means “the reframing issues and brining the new perspectives that can break the destructive action-reaction cycles.” It also demands potential solutions and acceptance of solutions by parties concern. The third party offers adequate support and frameworks on which deals stands.^x Even it does not have a fixed approach but it is the CT in other words. CT as an approach to peace building goes beyond the philosophy and practice of managing of Conflict Management School and resolving the conflicts and gives it to end of Conflict Resolution School. Currently, it is the dominated theory and different case studies have proved it as better solution to the protracted conflicts. It searches for the root causes of the conflicts and believes that conflicts are inherently negative but they have constructive attributes as well because they create movement and bring change in life. They are destructive too because they disturb the peace of society and bring grievances. It focuses on the transformation of society from destructive behaviour to the non-destructive behaviour and to rebuild constructively the relations between warring parties which have been disturb during conflicts.^{xi} CT theorists believe that conflicts are caused because of imbalance of power and change in relationship, therefore, it is very difficult to treat conflicts as somewhat that have an end and the relationship is ongoing. Until the relationship is transformed the conflicts reoccur in future.^{xii} CT is a gradual, long term and complex process that requires long term engagements and interactions. It is not only a non-violent approach but also a way of thinking about the perceptive of conflicts. It emphasises on the involvement of middle range and lower range leaders instead of top gross in peace building. So many theorists have presented their frameworks of transformation. Vayryen (1991) proposed four types of transformations i.e. Actor, rule, issue and structural transformation.^{xiii} Ledrech (1997) main transformation is; personal change, relational change, cultural change and structural change.^{xiv} Hugh Miall (2004)^{xv} added actor, context, structure, issue and personal/narrative transformations. This research is interested in Miall (2004) elements of CT.

2. Systemic Conflict Analysis of Ethno-National Conflicts of Baluchistan

2.1 Conflict Analysis of Ethno-National Conflicts

Baluchistan, a bigger unit of Pakistan by territory is the conflict prone area. Though, there are so many conflicts which have become an issue for peace-making this research will focus on ethno-national movements and conflict which have been caused by them.

2.1.1 Conflict Parties

The population of Baluchistan is divided into two main ethnic identities i.e. Baluch and Pashtoons (before 1970 Baluch and Brahui considered themselves as separate identities but “1970s Crises” made them one) and 27 major tribes. Almost 60% speaks Baluch or Brahuri (considers as languages of in-group) and Pashto, Urdu and Saraki is the language of the remaining 40% people. Baluchistan consists of tribal system which has nomadic as well as features of settled life. ^{xvi} The tribal chiefs are the source of all power in the society. The main conflicting parties with state are twofold, one are “nationalists”, who have trust in federal system but they want rights and more provincial autonomy and second are “insurgents” who are struggling for complete freedom and greater Baluchistan (consisted of Pakistani and Iranian area).

Table 1: Conflict Parties

Conflicts	Primary Parties	Secondary Parties	Tertiary Parties
Ethno-national Conflicts (Nationalists)	Federation of Pakistan Security Forces Punjabi Establishment Pakhtunkhwa Mili Awami Party (PMAP) Awami National Party (ANP) National Party Hai Group(NPH) Baluch National Awami Party (BNAP) Lashkar-e-Watan Party (LWP)	Common Public Media Local Intelligence Agencies Diaspora Population Political Interest Groups	IGOs Local NGOs International advocacy Civil Society Institutions Businessmen, Teacher and Journalists Scholars
Ethno-national Conflicts (Insurgents)	Government of Pakistan Pakistan’s Armed Forces Para-Military Forces Baluch Liberation Army (BLA) Baluch Republican Party (BRP) Baluch Students Organization (BSO) Baluch National Front/Movement (BNM) Baluch h Republican Army (BRA), Baluch People's Liberation Front (BLF) Lashkar-e-Balochistan (LB) Baluchistan Liberation United Front(BLUF)	Common Public Punjabi Ethnicity Pashtoon Ethnicity Intelligence Agencies from India, US and Iran Media Diaspora Organizations Arm Prevention Organizations	Strategic Conflict Analysts Diplomatic Community International Advocacy Business Community Religious Organizations Women Liberal Groups

2.1.2 Historical Dimension of Conflicts

Historical dimension involves the history of conflicts and relation of this history with origin and dynamics of hostility. It is useful in getting understanding of the unreasonable

behaviours and envisaging the actions and reactions of the actors involved and to keep away from the mistakes of past.^{xvii} The conflicts in Baluchistan have a checkered history. The age of ethno-national conflicts is almost same as of the establishment of Pakistan (1947). The roots of the conflict are in the British Period. Because of its geo-strategic importance, as it had links with Iran and a Buffer State Afghanistan, therefore it kept it politically backward, administratively weak and socially divided.

The first tension arose when princely state Kalat decided to remain independent but Pakistan in 1948 forcibly annexed it. The younger brother of Khan Abdul Karim rejected this annexation and launched a rebellion against Pakistani government.^{xviii} Following many scuffles with Pakistan Army he was arrested and the rebellion was suppressed. However, it created the sense of deprivation and alienation among Baluchs.

The next rebellion was over the issue of the establishment of One Unit and the imposition of Martial Law in 1958 as a consequence. They considered it as political marginalization and curtailing their autonomy. The Third rebellion known as ‘Parari Resistance 1962’ was the uprising of Bughti, Marri and Mangal Tribes and it was because of the distribution of Baluch land to services members, establishment of Army cantonment, the lack of respect for the elected members of the said tribes and lack of political and economic development in region. Army attacked by land and by air strikes were also carried.^{xix} After formation of province (1970) nationalists formed the government in the province but it was dismissed by the federal government for lawlessness and alleged treachery against the nation. Blouch Rebels including the BSO and Bloch People’s Liberation Front started a guerrilla war against army and army reciprocated with assaults, targeting and terrifying the insurgents. The skirmishes continued during Bhutto rule. Zia compensated them by making some investments in infrastructure. The situation remains amalgamation of tense and clam in democratic period but they rose against Pervez Mushraff’s Martial Law because of lack of share in mega-projects. The last and recent insurgency which is more for liberation of Baluchistan started in 2006 following the rape of a female doctor (Shazia Khalid) by an alleged army officer and cold response from the army and administration. Nawab Akbar Bughti rose against Government. He along with Balach Murri was put to death which caused a wide speared national movement against government. Large military and paramilitary forces are deployed in the province. Though, democratic governments have tried to address their grievances but failed to address their core issues therefore situation in still tense.

2.1.3 Issues in Conflicts:

The protracted conflicts in the region have roots in the lack of recognition of the Baluch ethnic group. They consider that they are treated with discrimination as compare to other provinces and other ethnic identities in the province particularly the Pashtoons. Furthermore, they have not been given the liberty of governing over themselves in province and their civil rights are being curbed.

Establishment (Government, bureaucracy and army) considers these groups as those who have individual lusts and have been employed by the foreign powers. They are hurdle in the way of development and peace.

Table 2 Conflict Issues

Parties	Interests	Needs	Issues	Means of Influence
Insurgents	Independent Baluchistan (Self-determination) Greater Baluchistan (Constituting both Pakistani and Iranian area) Complete sovereign control of region	Freedom from exploitation Freedom from fear of violence Survival of their ethnicity Survival of heritage Cultural Development	Lack of recognition Low share and lack of control over resources Lack of share in mega projects like Gawarder Marginalization Violence Low share in army and bureaucracy Missing Persons Extra-judicial killings	Military Insurgency
Nationalists	Provincial autonomy Control over resources Control over administration Share in mega projects employment	Survival of ethnicity Fulfilment of Economic needs Education Social, Cultural Development Development of Baluchi Language Freedom from fear of domination of internal and external factors	Lack of recognition Marginalization Lack of fundamental rights Powerlessness at provincial level Low share in army and bureaucracy	Political Agitations Creation of differences between Government and Baluchi Ethnicity
Pakistani Government	National integrity National Unity and unconditional patriotism Economic control in its jurisdiction Negative peace	Assertion of its Power and authority Acceptance of state's jurisdiction within the limits of law	Violence Threat from insurgents Annihilation of state with foreign enemies	Political Military and Strategic Most recently Economic Concessions Authoritative negotiations

The Aghaz-i-Haqooq Baluchitan Project (AHBP) and other development projects have been initiated and their all demands are substituted but still tensions going on over interests and needs because warring parties are stood at two different positions.

2.1.4 Dynamics of Conflicts

The dynamics of conflicts are more important in the protracted conflicts than the history and causes of conflicts. The warring parties state VS insurgents and nationalists have different identity perspective and therefore are at different positions. At this juncture there is minor armed conflict (insurgency) with territory is the main incongruity with the insurgents while provincial autonomy in political and economic matters with the nationalists.^{xx} Having failure in the fulfilment of all these demands in letter and spirit they are busy in obliterate peace and attacking on police, paramilitary and armed forces and their instalments on one hand and the government offices, foreigners, Pashtoons and Punjabi settlers on other hand. The educational institutes, PTCL installations and Sui Gas Supply have also been damaged.^{xxi} Pashtoons, Punjabi and Hazari ethnicities are the major targets. Punjabi settler dubbed as Punjabi Establishment has been asked to leave home or to die. The struggle is named as “All Baluch Struggle” within and outside of Baluchistan.^{xxii} The nationalists have created the sense of deprivation which ultimately helping the insurgents to get recruits. CME in past responded with violence which further intensified the situation. It also tried to neutralize the ethic self-assertion and identity with Islamic appeal. State's confusion over the conflicts

dynamics is the biggest hurdle in the way of peace. These conflicts emerged over soft power political and economic issues. Furthermore, Baluch happens to be secular as compare to Pashtoons and their main issues are regional, cultural and linguistic and not religious.^{xxiii}

Recently Government responded with rewards and compensation. The 18th Constitutional Amendment and NFC Award have assured political and financial autonomy. Other concessions were self control over resources, less interference from centre, education scholarships, share in mega projects and increase of quota in jobs. However, firstly it has become too late and secondly the major issue is the implementation and power to powerless provincial government.

The parties are not willing for compromise and stood at relative gains. The presence of security forces and alleged foreign hand have created more trust deficient and any attempt of negotiation, mediation and reconciliation is treated with misapprehension, therefore antagonism instead of peace goes on.

2.1.5 Structural and Contextual Factors

The structural factors of the conflict include the political, economic, geographical, social and cultural. Political factors are the sense of deprivation, lack of political rights, undemocratic culture, unitary practices in federation, under representatives in administration and issue of governance. Economically the lack of economic development, sense of deprivation, low standard of living and lack of control over distribution of resources are factors. Social and cultural factors include the issue of survival of identity and language and preservation of land and cultural. The secular ideology of Baluch is undermined with infringement of religious sentiments via Pashtoon tribes. These all factors framed a structure which favour the conflicts and demoralize efforts for peace.

In historical context the Pakistani style of governance was colonial in nature. It has applied the divide and rule style of British and has no trust on the capabilities and loyalty of Baluch. The Baluch resisted and still there is rebellion.

The regional and international context is important for analysis of conflicts because nothing happens in isolation. The proximity of it with Strait of Hormuz, Persian Gulf, Afghanistan Iran makes it a major area of US interest of using it for its Great Game. The Chinese presence with Gawader Port and CEPC creates concerns for US influence in Indian Ocean. India considers Chinese presence as a naval threat therefore wants to destabilise it. Afghanistan in order to get from the Pipeline projects has been involved and supporting one of the insurgent, the grandson of Nawab Bughti.^{xxiv}

2.1.6 Interpretation of Parties of the Conflicts

Interpretation means the narratives of conflicts from the perspective of main stakeholders and the actors. There is always no single discourse in protracted conflicts.^{xxv}

The CME developed a narrative of foreign sponsored attempt of India and Afghanistan through their agents of uprising and insurgency for the destabilization of Pakistan.^{xxvi} They call it public disorder and low grade insurgency. The actors are dubbed as terrorists and miscreants. The state is of the view it will establish its writ at any cost.

The ethno-national element viewed the State's interference in regional matters as colonial style and political exclusion tendency.^{xxvii} They call their movement as self-right, identity seeking and resistance on one hand and freedom struggle and liberation arm resistance on other hand.^{xxviii} Furthermore, they believe themselves as nation and not an ethnicity because of their distinguish language, culture, heritage and martyrs and nation can't live under dominance.^{xxix}

2.2 Strategic Planning for Systemic Interventions in Baluchistan

The CT of complex protracted conflicts demands a bit accommodating environment for transformation. For Baluchistan some requirements are general while most are specific because of different dynamics of conflict as compare to Sri Lanka and Sudan.

The conflict analysis disclosed the contrasting stands of the parties in conflicts. They have different perspectives of positions and way of resolution of the conflicts. Thus, any proposed scheme or intervention of third party would not be a successful. There is need of reconciliation for peace-making and winning the confidence of insurgents^{xxx} as Government has betrayed them after the surrender. For this purpose the reconciliation commission like that of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa is to be created and amnesty is given to all miscreants. Then there is need of mediator for this reconciliation because mediation creates balance and paved the way for confidence building measures (CBMs), reformation and complete the reconciliation process.^{xxxi} Insurgents have no trust on officials and Provincial Government, therefore diverse actors including local, regional and international and possibly the strong US as it is insurgents' demand. The empowerment of democratic leaders is also essential because insurgents have lack of confidence on military and bureaucracy because of their methods of violence as solution for conflicts. Furthermore, transparent elections, democratic culture and implementation of AHBP (2010) would create sense of empowerment and equality. The successful deal will create the environment where peaceful construction of relation would be possible.

2.3 Engagement with Key stake Holders in Baluchistan

The engagement with the stakeholders demands a more rational approach for Baluchistan and the current state of watch and hit from both sides is to be replaced with the negotiations, dialogues and compromises. The country's preceding attempts at peace-making in Baluchistan did not encourage CBM because security forces treated with brutally which has succeeded simply in intensifying conflicts. The military's strategy of resolution is force therefore it should have secondary role while the primary role is of main conflicting parties the government and ethnic groups. Nationalist have always ready for dialogue even insurgents have also emphasised for peaceful political solutions.^{xxxii} The PPP Government set

up a dialogue process for operational, administrative, developmental, political and legal frameworks but because of having powerless provincial government, unrealistic deterrence and lack of mediation it could not bore fruits. However, the PML-N government has recently publicized a theoretically more compound policy to deal with everlasting violence and the worsening law and order confronts. This policy has witness 2000 surrender insurgents in 2016 onwards and return of exile leaders and other are also invited to return back to country.^{xxxiii} In addition 500 more surrender in front of CM in May 2017.^{xxxiv}, UN assured its part in assistance and dealing with the conflicts.^{xxxv} The regional actor China and Europe Union have also wished to be dialogue participators. There is need of engagement of national, regional and local peaceful spiritual leaders, civil society, NGOs, peace builders and human right activists with main stakeholders.

2.4 Mobilization of Peaceful Agents of Peaceful Change in Baluchistan

The peaceful agents have also to be mobilized for their supportive role for the peacemaking and peace-building. Baluchistan society, though offers a very little role for women but from last few years they have been participating in agitation against violence, human rights maintenance and recovery of missing persons.^{xxxvi} Local and national NGOs like Azat foundation which is working for human rights and Harboi Development Organization which is working for development and peace. These NGOs may be deployed for specific peace creation. Civil society which is main agent in the modern peace building is to be made more strong and motivated still in Baluchistan in spite of difficulties they have launched many programs of development, welfare, health, education and negative peace in some districts, there is need to extend them in all province.^{xxxvii} Side by side there is need of close contact and creation of national feelings in Diaspora population. The second element is to be empowered to influence the common public. The awareness campaigns are to be launched from print and electronic media, text books and social media for the values of democracy, peace, no-violence and national integration, so that the students and polarized youth would have a little or no sympathy for insurgents but with the peace and peace builders. These groups should also untie against the atrocities of state and security agency for peaceful environment.

2.5 Conflict Transformation of Ethno-National Conflicts of Baluchistan

The underplaying assumption of the conflict transformation is that the potential of peace building already exist in the specific community or region and it is rooted in its traditional culture. It also recognises that it is more than the win-win outcomes and reframing of positions. It calls for the “a process of engaging with the transforming the relationship, discourses and interests and if necessary the very constitution of the society that support the constitution of violent conflicts.”^{xxxviii} The following is the “CISS” of SCT.

2.5.1 Actor's Transformation

According to Miall the Actor's Transformation mean the changes of goals or decisions to seek peace or changing of leadership and supporter of political parties which make crucial for transformation.

The actor's transformation failed world over until generally, until the prior reconciliation process and mediation and support of the international community. The reconciliation process is in progress in Baluchistan and authorities claims of insurgents' surrender and the return of nationalist leaders to the province. This process will develop the trust of the miscreants on system and will changes their attitude and behaviour. The general approach to the conflicts of state is faulty and presence of bureaucrats and military actors and their solutions have given nothing but mistrust to Baluchs.^{xxxix} So, only police is to be left for security of peace-planners and actor of mobilization. As security forces have hate for insurgents because of direct confrontation therefore they should be replaced with politicians' and political parties and conflict is not to be taken war against state. Insurgents want to live within the province^{xi} but with autonomy and control over resources. SRBP reforms are necessary for federation and more special autonomy is to be given to them. It will build trust, affection and nationhood and urge to live within federation. Present approach of aggression is to be replaced with equal treatment, trust-building and slogan of reform and transform. Furthermore, their today's narrative that they can't get a separate state is highlighted more. The goal of the state of establishment of its writ is to be substituted with welfare and adjustment^{xli} of the marginalized people. The continuous dialogue with the mediation will leave past behind and develop a constructive change in thinking, personality and attitude of the warring parties By this the conflicting parties would change their goals, position, and behaviour. The state's position and goals will also be changed with changing behaviour of miscreants. The Chief Minister of the province has also emphasis on intellectual and political means and also the adoption of British-Irish Approach of negotiation with the insurgents than to kill everyone like that in Sri- Lanka.

2.5.2 Structural Transformation

To Miall conflict structure means the structure of the conflicts that makes the incompatible goals and relations and creates issue between warring parties. In other words it's mean the society or state in which the conflict is ongoing.

In Baluchistan political, economic, social and cultural deprivations have created the conflict structure and incompatible goals and positions between insurgents and the civil-military establishment. The nationalists feel alienation and exclusion from the society and state. The past authorities responded with stick which made the structure more firms. The package of AHBP and subsequent development projects like ingenious and foreign scholarships, jobs and CEPC Spoils have alter the context now.

Government also announced recently the "Equalisation Development Package" with the objective of uplifting the ordinary Baluch with the provision of gas supply, health,

education and clean water for ordinary Baluch. Authorities also announced the new package “Prosperous Baluchistan” for the progress and development of the province.^{xlii} The amnesty for the pro-independence have also been announced which helps in surrender of thousands of insurgents.^{xliii} These developments have cracked the old structure a little but still warring parties are at different subject positions. For political, administrative and economic issues a true federal system as envisages in amended Constitution and the reforms outlined in “BRB” to be implemented and greater inclusion of Baluch in the army, bureaucracy and judiciary. The collected tax revenue is equally distributed among provinces, the local people should have control over resources and mega projects would create a better infrastructure and job opportunities for Baluch.^{xliiv} Along with this liberty in cultural, ideological, spiritual and linguistic promotion, health facilities, more promotion of education and uplifting of rural population^{xlv} is also required for survival of their identity and the transformation of conflictive structure.

2.5.3 Context Transformation

Context change refers to the change in time and place which changes the perception of each party about the situation of conflict.

The effort for development packages and their partial implementation and the revival of civilian institutions have changed a bit the historical context of colonial style mistrust is transforming and participating in democratic process. Many have lost heart because they felt they can't get their destiny.^{xlvi} The insurgents are reducing and so is the case with insurgency. They are also now being trapped in global war of terrorism first they killed the soft victims Punjabi doctors, teachers and other professionals, therefore they losing support from both side one side they are terrorists and on other side “ISI Agents”.^{xlvii} Iran is also taking back its support because of the slogans of “Greater Baluchistan” which also includes Iranian areas. China has stakes in the proposed Pak-Iran Gas Pipeline Project, therefore it is working for Baluchistan's stability and it also pressurizing the establishment to come to resolutions. The landlocked Afghanistan and Central Asians keeping silence because of the presence of China and it has also created the rough stability with India as well. The present context is creating the peaceful structure.

2.5.4 Issue Transformation

Issues mean the visible and invisible reasons of conflicts and issue transformation is the reformulation of positions over the conflict and the way they adopt for redefining and reframing positions for conflict resolution. An unprecedented reconciliation environment based in basic issues is going on in the province and government is holding and inviting for dialogue to both the nationalist and dissidents.^{xlviii} The long standing issues of recognition, political and economic autonomy have been addressed in the “BRB.” Government in ongoing reconciliation process have adopted three fold program of reducing operations, recognizing locals, accepting their right to resources and enough economic, social and education drivers.^{xlix} The Baluchistan's share in federal revenue is increased from 5.1% to 9.09%. 15000

people inducted in internship programs, 5000 jobs created by federal government and in all mega projects from scale 1 to scale 16 would be local population. The new cantonments at Sui and Kohlu have been stopped. The judiciary has taken sui-motto action and civil society is continuously protesting over the missing persons and a judicial commission have been formed for investigation of missing persons.¹ FC has been placed under provincial government.^{li}. These all have balance the issues a bit but there is need of self government, special autonomy, more share in army, bureaucracy and in national politics so that their identity is to be recognized. Human rights activists and civil society would set free to function for promotion of human rights. There should only be regional right of employment in all mega and national projects like CEPC and Gawarder Port, in non-technical jobs. As the proceeding governments has allowed them to rule even though they don't have simple majority the real power is to be given to them and their mandate is to be respected both by CME. They should have supply of gas and reality in oil and gas revenue. For issues which state is facing they are the after-shocks of creation of conflict structure and once the issue have been resolved they would also be resolved.

2.5.5 Personal/Elite Transformation

To Miall it's meant the changes of perspectives, changes of heart and will and gesture for conciliation.

The old state's perspective and discourses of foreign agents, anti-Pakistan and miscreant for ethno-nationalists have been termed even by military analysts as negative.^{lii} The hate should be with crime and not with the criminals, they should only be reformed. The insurgents' perspective of state domination, colonial style, lack of share has also been weakened because of compensation of state in recent years. The ego just leads to destruction, with this compensation they have to return for compromise. Transformation demands the compromises and bargaining is required over the parties' ideologies, issues, past myths. Empowerment and recognition and multilevel dialogue transform the elites. There is shift and new common perspective is developing which more is leading to "integration and peaceful co-existence". The past's insurgents have been surrendering or becoming a bit dysfunctional outside of Pakistan. The military personnel's because of political and international interest are becoming less influential. The insurgents want to live within Pakistan if favourable concessions are to be provided while nationalists have more federalist leanings than prior 2006 environment. The late but needy involvement of judiciary, international leaders, global NGOs and other organizations and local civil society have been moulting the opinion, will and heart of the conflicting parties. The workers of nationalist parties, supporters of insurgents and security forces would be educated and trained so that they have a balance, peaceful and plural approach to Baluchistan problem. The training, workshops, education, international advocacy, support of friends and involvement of local civil society and peace builder may further reform them.



3. Concluding Remarks

SCT approach has provided the essence of dynamics, parties' perspective, visible and invisible drivers and structures which favoured conflicts in Baluchistan. The structure for CT has been developed over the logical SCA analysis. CT method has explored the appropriate strategies and policies for solutions and frameworks of the re-development of constructive relations from destructive relationships in Baluchistan and the recent environment of reconciliation and mediation have been supportive. To sum up, this study concludes that sustainable peace can replace the conflicts if policy makers and peace-builder adopt the SCT approach of this research for ethno-national conflicts in Baluchistan and to conduct many more researches like this.

End Notes

ⁱ Oliver Wils et.al, *The Systematic Approach to Conflict Transformation: Concepts and Fields of Application* (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2006), 7-8.

ⁱⁱ Ibid.

ⁱⁱⁱ Berghof Foundation for Peace Support, *Systematic Conflict Transformation: Guiding Principles for Practitioners and Policy Makers Working on Conflicts* (Berlin: Berghof Foundation for Peace Support, 2006), 5.

^{iv} Ibid, 9-15.

^v Norbert Ropers, *Systematic Conflict Transformation: Reflecting on the Conflicts and Peace Process in Sri Lanka* (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2008), 6-7.

^{vi} Thania Paffenholz, *Designing Transformation and Intervention Process* (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004), 4.

^{vii} Berghof Foundation for Peace Support (2006), 9.

^{viii} Ibid, 12-13.

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