



Balochistan: A Free-For-All Tussle between Pakistan and Afghanistan

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I. THE OVERTURE

On India's 70th Independence Day, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi spoke from the ramparts of the Red Fort. In his remarkable speech, Modi gestured solidification clearly against Pakistan and raised the issue of Balochistan and Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir (PoK). Modi said, "I want to express my gratitude to the people of Balochistan, Gilgit and PoK for the way they wholeheartedly thanked me, the way they expressed gratitude to me.... People of a distant land I haven't even seen....When they thank the Indian prime minister, it's an honor for the 125 crore people of the country...." Modi's stance sent a peculiar message to Islamabad that India too is ready to target the integrity and unity of Pakistan. It indicated why is Balochistan relevant to India...or even many countries in the world; wishing to change the geopolitics of south Asia and How all of them can perplex Afghanistan-Pakistan ties? To answer this catechism, it is essential to take a look at the history of Afghanistan and India, the geo-political positioning and its 19th century relations with British-ruled Indian empire, when the Durand line was stretched to separate Afghanistan from the rest of the Indian-subcontinent.

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II. LOCUS OF GEOPOLITICS

Afghanistan of the 19th Century was a portal between Central and South-East Asia. Due to its strategically significant geographical positioning, the country enjoyed its proximity to most of the trade-rich countries in Asia. It was the shortest route from central Asia to the Indian Ocean; this was the route that Persian conqueror Darius I took in 516 BC and Alexander took in 326 BC. Various Muslim rulers too took this passage to enter into India. In 1526, the Moghul emperor Babur who established a empire in India, passed the Khyber Pass to take entry into India and conquered much of South-east Asia. India has the Himalayas in the north; hence it blocks access from central Asia. The Hindu-Kush, the western most extension of the mountain range, home plate the Salang Pass, which separates the northern Afghanistan from the rest of the country. The Khyber Pass through the Spin Ghar mountains, the range which connects Pakistan and Afghanistan, is an extension of the Hindu Kush. These two passes have given many invaders a direct passage to India and have also played a pivotal role in the trade and in these regions. Due to this coveted induction, Afghanistan has been confronted by various super powers, foremost of them all, the British Empire and Russia.

In the 19th century Russia and Britain engaged in a competition to vanquish territories between each empire's colonial possessions. This reciprocal contest was later termed as 'The Great Game', where Afghanistan became the key to their struggle. British intelligence suspected that Russia was trying to access the Indian sub-continent through Afghanistan. By 1770, Britain had a possession on opium production in India and wanted to spread cultivation to Afghanistan too. Since India was a jewel in the crown of their empire, it was insolent for them to protect trade routes, for which Afghanistan was a strategic defense stand-point. Russia which too was busy spreading its reign over central Asia was afraid that, the British were gaining a commercial and military enlargement in central Asia through India. Hence, set in motion the struggle, between the British Empire and Afghanistan in the form of the Anglo-Afghan wars which eventually resulted in the demarcation of territories, depriving Afghanistan of its strong-hold in central Asia. Britain engaged in three wars with Afghanistan, which were later publicized as the Anglo-Afghan wars.

In 1893, taking stock of their territory, England created the Durand Line, an arbitrary 1,500-mile border separating 'British' India and Afghanistan. The agreement was signed between Sir Mortimer Durand, the Indian

Foreign Secretary of the time and Amir Abdur Rahman Khan in Kabul. This new border divided the Pashtun tribal lands; also called Pashthunistan, into two, one half of it remaining with Afghanistan and the other half residing with the British India. The line ensured that a thin strip of Afghanistan stretched to the Chinese border, to separate Russian empire from the British Empire. This line became the theorem issue in the foreign policy of Afghanistan and now is the fortuitous issue in the Afghanistan and Pakistan relationship.

According to the Durand Line agreement, Afghanistan gave up a few territories like the Swat, Chitral and Chageh, but gained other like Nuristan and Asmar. The original treaty was over a page long and was written in English, a language that Afghan Amir Abdur Rahman Khan did not understand. Bowing under the might of the British Empire, the Afghanistan reframed the border line by additional treaties and agreements in 1905, 1919, 1921 and 1930. At the advent of the 20th century, the Durand line still remained a long-running dispute between the government of Afghanistan and Great Britain and this prompted the third Anglo-Afghan war in 1919. Afghanistan had trouble accepting the division of states especially since the separation of Balochistan plunder the country of its direct passage to the sea.

After the founding of Pakistan in 1947, Afghanistan demanded that the Pashtuns living in the newly created Pakistan should be given the choice to cross over the Durand Line and live in Afghanistan. This demand was not met by Britain or Pakistan and soon the Afghan government began to ignore the Durand Line, predicating claim over various parts near the border. There were various instances of attacks and illegal immigration which further soured the relations of the two nations, as antagonism was so apparent, that in 1948, Afghanistan was the only nation which opposed Pakistan's membership in the United Nations. In the 1950s and 1960s, Afghanistan drew great support from the United States, but after Pakistan struck an arms deal with the superpower, Afghanistan realized that the Balance of Power had overturned in the favor of Pakistan. Experts believe that during this time, Afghanistan's dependence on Russia grew both economically and in military but it lead to an eventual fall-out.

The United States considers the Durand line as a modern-day border between the two nations, however Afghanistan has strongly resisted against making the border official. In 2016, the violent clashes between the two nations on the Torkham border crossing brought the issue back to light. Many believe that the construction of a border post on Pakistan's side of the line, created tension because Kabul feared that the structure would make the border official. Even though Pakistan's claim of creating the post and controlling of immigrants was within reason, Kabul strongly opposed it. Afghanistan also believes that the introduced border was supposed to be render null and void after the death of the king. Some speculate that the Durand agreement was signed under threat of a war and hence did not hold true after the independence of India. Many Afghans believe that the original agreement with Great Britain was only for 100 years after which the lands in question would revert back to Afghanistan. Some scholars also maintain that Afghan laws guide that the treaty was restricted to the lifetime of the king i.e. the agreement of the border should hold true only till the ruler who signed it is alive.

Over the years, Pakistan has tried to control the Kabul regime and infiltrated the country with terrorists, killing thousands of Afghans. Pakistan has been reluctant to engage in a dialogue with Afghanistan on trade as well as peace talks because of a lack of trust. However many Pashtuns still hope to reclaim the territories of their forefathers lost between the Indus river and the Durand Line. Many believe that the dream is unrealistic and cannot be realized because Afghanistan lacks the political, military and economic means of doing so. Pakistan also has six times the population of Afghanistan and hence their military might is greater. The only way Kabul can dream of regaining its old territories is if there is a complete collapse of government in Pakistan. Today Pakistan continues to rely on United States and China for the security of its territories. Hence the complexity of the Afghanistan-Pakistan relationships has direct consequence on the Russia-China, United States-India relationship. Pakistan will use Taliban and other jihadist groups to maintain control over Afghanistan and hence, the issue surrounding the Durrand Line will have an impact on the formulation of the US policy in this region. So maybe Modi's passing reference to Balochistan in his Independence Day speech was meant as a signal of support to Afghanistan, even though it might not magnitude too much. Maybe, India is once and for all waking up to the tit-for-tat strategy, which Pakistan has assumed so long. And maybe, to reclaim their lost land, Afghanistan will and a friend of India, as, an enemy's enemy is a friend.

III. MATTER OF CONTENTION

In the absence of wall-to-wall census data, purely putting the population of Baloch at about two million, not all of them being Balochi speakers; however, the Baloch are just a tiny portion of a people divided today by the borders. Balochistan, divided by the borders of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan, is a vast swathe of land the size of France. It boasts enormous deposits of gas, gold and copper, untapped sources of oil and uranium, as well as a thousand kilometers of coastline near the entrance to the Strait of Hormuz. Despite the wealth under their sandals, the Baloch people inhabit the most underdeveloped regions of their respective countries.¹

The one issue that is not finding much attention is the fact, that a free Balochistan will also aggravate Iran and Afghanistan, with whom India has carved a good relationship in recent years. Balochistan is the largest province in Pakistan. However, its territory historically extends to Iran and Afghanistan as well, split majorly between Pakistan and Iran with a smaller part in Afghanistan. The region has witnessed decades of violence and confrontation with native tribes being exploited and tortured by both Pakistani and Iranian forces. Pakistan abetted Taliban has meanwhile contributed in killings of common Balochis in Afghanistan.

When India and Pakistan were split in 1947, Balochistan was assured freedom from British rule along with shared economic, defence and foreign policy resources with Pakistan. However, in 1948, Pakistan invaded Balochistan and occupied it. The often bloody Baloch freedom movement has continued since then. One of the royal masters of Balochistan, Khan of Kalat, had in the past acceded territory to Iran to act a buffer zone against an aggressive and Czarist Russia. Also, Iran only has about 2 per cent of Baloch population and is majority Shia as against the prominent Sunni population in Pakistan. Since 1948, the Baloch leaders have tried to exploit this conflict between Pakistan and Iran to their benefit. Balochis claim to be the only secular group in the state, but religious and ethnic factors complicate the situation more than what is easily perceived. The tribes refuse to accept the prescript of Pakistan Balochistan, though not developed as such, is rich in natural resources and thus a enshrined asset for Pakistan. The Balochis also take this as a reason, for disdain against Pakistan and the Punjabis who lead the country economically and politically.

Meanwhile, International human rights watchers, American house committees and other third-party stakeholders have raised the issue of atrocities on Balochis in Pakistan and Iran. India's support to them highlights its intention to obstruct Pakistani human rights violations and atrocities in its territory, at a time when the latter continues to interfere in India and promotes or supports terrorism in India, particularly in Kashmir. The Balochi population is disillusioned with Pakistan and its leadership and has struggled for decades in their fight for independence.

Withal, India's role here is knotty, as India shares responsive ties with both Afghanistan and Iran. Its recent forays into Afghanistan in helping their efforts to revitalise Afghan infrastructure has boosted bilateral ties. India's support to Iran, their renewed economic relations and the fact that Iran is an important route for bringing natural gas and oil resources into India will influence any possible role India may play in dealing with, or facilitating discussions of Baloch.ⁱⁱ Incidentally, India could also raise the issues of atrocities in FATA, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh in Pakistan. Balochistan will set a precedent for other oppressed regions in Pakistan to raise their voice. Although a crumbling Pakistan is not a favorable scenario on Indian borders, India's efforts to make Pakistan accountable for its atrocities shows a resolve that India will not sit back and defend on all fronts only by words.

One of the most serious threats to the federation of Pakistan is the rising insurgency in Balochistan. Although, geographically this is the largest province, demographically it is the smallest and the most under developed federating unit. An overview of under development in Balochistan reveals the distressing situation which needs to be tackled on top priority basis. Over the years, the downfall of Balochis has caused a number of uprisings. Resultantly, time to time various governments have carried out military operations to curtail these insurgent movements. Unfortunately, being kept away from the mainstream politics of Pakistan, the Balochis have a number of serious grievances, which over the time have developed into nationalistic feelings posing threats to the federation of Pakistan. The growing resentment among the local population calls for greater control over its own resources, more autonomy, role in mega projects, issues of outside settlers, missing persons and extremism.

Pakistan is a federation and in a federation there is always an obscure balance between the aspirations of the constituent units for autonomy and on one hand while on the other the wish for more national unity. Since its birth, all constitutions formulated have shown a tendency towards a stronger federal government at the cost of provincial autonomy. 'The question of provincial autonomy has been a catchword in Pakistan politics since its inception and a central issue in case of the small provinces at present'.ⁱⁱⁱ The federation of Pakistan is again experiencing a surge in the activities of Baloch nationalists. From the point of view of a federation, this is an extremely disturbing development. The main cause of concern is the transformation of their struggle, from a purely political effort to an armed revolution. There is no doubt that these revolts have a long tradition amongst the Baloch and Pushtun tribes of Pakistan. Today everyone in Pakistan feels a sense of urgency to resolve Balochistan issue before it becomes the concern of interested foreign participants. Therefore, in order to soothe armed revolution in Balochistan, there is a need to adopt a systematized strategy.

'Balochistan, the largest province of Pakistan, thinly populated, occupies much significance not only in the geo-politics of Pakistan, rather it enjoys much strategic importance in this part of the globe'.^{iv} 'Balochistan also shares borders of about 625 miles with Afghanistan to its northwest and of about 475 miles with Iran to its west. Some 562 miles of the Persian Gulf's Makran Coast are in Balochistan'.^v 'The strategic position of the Balochistan is unique in the world. It is a gateway to South Asia, Middle East and Central Asia. It is rich with mineral and natural resources, which are a bone of contention and rivalry between Centre and nationalism

forces'.^{vi} 'After the collapse of the Soviet Union, landlocked Central Asian Republics merged, which are rich in energy resources and need a route for export of energy resources and international trade. Balochistan can be of great importance in this regard due to its potential to become an international energy corridor and transit route for trade and commerce'.^{vii}

Later on, the political arrangements under long military rules further added to the seriousness of this challenge as Balochis who had a scant representation in military and civil services of Pakistan developed a serious sense of alienation and deprivation. This conscripted them to convention under the banner of nationalism. 'The Baloch had voiced strong grievances about their lack of proportional representation in the Pakistani bureaucracy and armed forces or in the provincial administration of Balochistan'.^{viii} 'The grievances of the Baloch are due to the dominance of Punjabis in administration'.^{ix} 'This migration created a huge burden on limited resources of these provinces. In Balochistan the case of Gawadar and the making of cantonments become a sensitive issue, because it will change the demographic balance of this province'.^x The development in agitation of the first decade of the new millennium added yet another discussion on the local leadership felt threatened by the aggression of investors from other provinces and strongly resisted the influx of population from other provinces as that would change the demographic mix and in case of development of one or more mega city in the developmental process may totally submerge the local population.

'The situation in Balochistan during year 2009 evoked concern, with a deteriorating law and order situation and jarring political demands that threatened the destabilization of Balochistan with a growing sense of deprivation in that province'.^{xi} The Baloch Nationalism which to a large extent is within the precincts of constitution of Pakistan, is trying to retain the Baloch identity while safeguarding the rights of common man in making the developmental efforts of the provinces and the country. Nationalist terrorism has mainly been witnessed in province of Balochistan at regular intervals and mainly revolves around the issues of exploitation of resources and threat to the political identity and culture of minorities subnationalities. In Pakistan, minority and separatist movements are common in other parts of the country also.

In the south east of Pakistan the province of Balochistan which is mostly a tribal area, over there, by bits and pieces, guerrilla war has been a feature since last two decades. This is another major form of terrorist threat to Pakistan which is of the separatist nature.^{xii} The largest but the most underdeveloped area of Balochistan currently is the centre of this threat. It is the ethno-nationalist conflict between the government and the separatists for long indulged in violent acts for more political and economic authority in Balochistan. In Balochistan, various insurgents have adopted a variety of violent tactics to vandalize the system. This problem if not resolved in time has the potential to challenge the national integrity of the state. When it comes to their particular separate ethnic identity, the Balochis seem to be quite nationalistic. Some of them even aim at establishing a separate state, for this purpose Balochistan Liberation Army was created. 'Since the early 2000, a new militant group, calling itself the 'Baloch Liberation Army' (BLA) has been claiming responsibility for a series of blasts and rocket firings on government installations'.

IV. STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE OF BALOCHISTAN

Balochistan no doubt occupies a great strategic importance not only for Pakistan but also for the whole region especially for the neighboring countries, i.e., Iran, Afghanistan as well as China, India, USA and Central Asia. Balochistan borders Afghanistan and Iran, which are no doubt highly significant strategic countries not only regionally but also internationally. This aspect becomes even more important with the fact that Balochis reside in Iran and Afghanistan as well.

Firstly, Any insurgency in Balochistan would lead to regional instability affecting the neighboring countries and resultantly the Balochistan issue may not only be limited to a domestic one but may become a regional dispute engulfing the region that is already a sensitive and volatile. If things go unchecked in Balochistan, it may also lead to domestic as well as regional explosion. Balochistan's nationalism may lead to problems in Iran and Afghanistan, by making the demand stronger for 'greater Balochistan' that comprises of Balochistan areas of Iran and Afghanistan.

Secondly, there in Gwadar port which is a newly built sea port in Balochistan. Taking into consideration of the highly strategic location of Balochistan, the Gwadar port carries lot of importance today and even more tomorrow. Gwadar port that was recently inaugurated has been completed with the help of China. This port will provide commercial shipping port facilities and warehouses. It will have the capacity to cater to more than twenty countries. Gwadar is positioned at a very strategic location which has led it to be a very important project not only for Pakistan but also for other countries Gwadar port where on one side gives further importance to Pakistan has also led to more discontent amongst the Balochis, who feel being alienated in the project and show concerns over the influx of outsiders on their land.

Thirdly, Balochistan is laden with mineral resources comprising of huge quantities of uranium, coal, copper, platinum, aluminum and gold. Large portion of Pakistan's energy requirement of gas is being fulfilled by Balochistan which is approximately thirty six percent of Pakistan total gas production. Furthermore

Balochistan will be providing the transit facilities over its area to the future gas pipe line between India, Iran and Central Asia. Thus, Balochistan will become a corridor towards the energy rich areas of Iran and Central Asia.

Most Important significance of Balochistan is that, it was Balochistan where Pakistan carried its nuclear tests in 1998 at Chaghai, the tests were conducted over the Ras Koh Mountains.

V. CONCERNMENT OF BALOCHISTAN AT INTERNATIONAL SCENARIO

Unfortunately, 'Balochistan remained the poorest province, with lowest per capita income, as compared to other provinces in Pakistan and this is the main factor for the resentment of the people'.^{xiii} The Baloch leadership is also unhappy over the planned construction of new cantonments. 'A rocket attack on General Musharraf during this visit to Kohlu town in December 2005 elicited a severe response from the military government. A fully fledged military operation, which is still going on, was launched in Dera Bugti and Kohlu'.^{xiv} The armed tribal resistance in Balochistan continues. Nawab Bugti was killed in 2006 but his legacy remains and he is even today taken as a popular leader amongst the masses. This killing of Bugti has led to great malice in Balochistan towards security forces. A number of military operations in Balochistan have further aggravated the problem of nationalistic tendencies. Having lost faith in the political system and power sharing, the Balochis show strong grudges towards the Punjabis and the military. 'The Baloch nationalism has steadily developed. Every time, after being crushed, the national movement arose more forcefully than before'.^{xv}

Dejectedly, the law and order situation in Balochistan is startling and require serious steps. Target killing has become common, this further fuels hatred among various ethnic and linguistic groups, leading to violence and disruption, as result lot of professionals from various fields have started migrating from Balochistan to other parts of Pakistan. This has badly affected the already deficient organizations. A large number of teachers and doctors have left Balochistan. Due to security threats the officials from other provinces and federal government are reluctant to serve there. This has also skeptically affected the administrative machinery of the provincial government. This wave of target killing needs to be curtailed in a very tough manner.

Unfortunately, now the rising religious extremism in this province is another major challenge. This critical issue began during the Afghan war in the 1980s when Jihad was initiated against the Soviet troops. A large numbers of Pushtun population residing in Balochistan were in the focus of carrying out Jihad, thus sowing seeds of militarism and extremism in to the province. The close adjacency of Balochistan towards Afghanistan and Iran has further aggravated this problem, the Taliban having easy excess entered into Afghanistan from Balochistan. The province also borders Iran and this became highly strategic especially after the Iranian revolution of 1979 which created strong reaction in the Sunni segment of Balochistan. This factor also caused flourishing of madrassas near the border.

The killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti in his hiding cave by the security forces has led to increased unrest and protests in the province. This situation caused a lot of resentment amongst the masses in Balochistan towards security forces and the former President General Pervaiz Musharraf, who is commonly blamed for the killing of the Nawab. This incident has added to another grievance of Balochis towards the federal government and especially the armed forces. In fact, the way in which he was killed has made him a hero and a martyr for the nationalists. Not only in Balochistan but his killing was condemned by nearly all political leaders of the country. Unlike earlier, the Nawab now has great sympathies from the masses of Balochistan and a general feeling of hatred has emerged amongst them, making the whole situation more critical. The death of Nawab Bugti has added fuel to the already explosive law and order condition in Balochistan.

Balochistan has always been comprised of various tribes, some of which have been and are still very powerful and influential. The feuds between various tribes have also played a negative role in the integration and development of Balochistan. The tribal sardars have their own vested interests which have burdened the development in the region.^{xvi} But still they are playing an important role in the politics and current situation of Balochistan. 'Anti-state elements have tried to exploit the innocent Bloch people on the basis of economic under-development, and the rampant poverty in the province for which the federal government and dwellers of Punjab are held responsible. In actual fact, however, the shoe is on the other foot. The local tribal sardars who have exercised a non-questioned-asked say over their tribes for years cannot grapple with any measure of the government that could bring prosperity in the region and develop awakening among the masses that would lead to erosion of their oppressive authority'.

Another concern is the large presence of military forces in Balochistan. 'Islamabad should need its reliance on military withdraw from province'.¹⁹ Former President General Pervaiz Musharraf had decided to establish three new army cantonments in Balochistan, towards this decision there has been very strong resentment from all sections in Balochistan. One of the major demands of the Balochis is not to build these new cantonments, at Dera Bugti, Kohlu and Gwadar. 'The military cantonments planned Gawadar, Dera Bugti and Kohlu are viewed as outposts of repression and control, not development'.²⁰ Due to the strong demand, the Peoples Party Government has withdrawn the decision of building of these three cantonments in Balochistan.

The crisis in Balochistan has become even worse with the formation of Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA) which is a militant organization comprising of some tribals and others. The major target of BLA militant activities is the security forces in Balochistan. The armed forces have become the main target of the militants of BLA. Even though BLA is not a very large or organized set up, it has the tendency to disrupt the law and order of the province. At many times they are also involved in blowing up the major gas pipeline from Sui to other parts of Pakistan. The major concern of Balochis regarding economic deprivation is the issue of gas royalty share, they claim that this gas is utilized by the rest of Pakistan but its due share is not given to Balochistan. Large reservoirs of natural gas were discovered in Sui, Balochistan in 1950s, this facility of gas was given to other parts of Pakistan with no gas for Balochistan until 1980s.

VI. BENIGN BAGGAGE OF BALOCHISTAN

Generally Pakistan and Afghanistan are considered interwoven states due to their historical, religious, cultural, linguistic, trade and ethnic linkages. The relation is so deep that once Ahmed Karzai, president of Afghanistan, professed in his visit to India that Pakistan and Afghanistan were “identical twins”. However, the modern bilateral relationships face great bluster because of rising magnetism of India in Afghanistan. History reveals that situations in Afghanistan have always affected Pakistan. The US withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014 brings many summons of contest to Pakistan. The four main players of Afghan crisis namely United States of America, Afghan government (dominated by Northern Alliance) Tehreek-e-Taliban Afghanistan (TTA) and Pakistan; all want a peaceful settlement but everyone is sustaining their own interests.

Afghan Government does not want blunt US withdrawal because Afghan government, its leaders and supporters, do not want to lose the investments in another war with Taliban. US, is still confused in weighing different opinions. Presently it seems from the security agreement with Kabul that US is going to cut a deal with Afghan government on the pattern of South Korea and Japan which will allow 20000 to 30000 troops who can be involved in counter terrorist operations and will be giving stability to Afghan government but they are not settling on the issue of law that the US troops shall be trialed in Afghanistan if found in offensive activities. US says that the troops in Afghanistan shall be treated in accordance with Us law while Afghanistan insists that they operate on Afghan soil so they ought to be trialed according to Afghan law. Afghan government is also disinclined to the presence of US troops in Afghanistan, because Taliban have set the withdrawal of foreign troops as proviso for any peace negotiation.

Pakistan is still arguing into ‘wait and see’ policy. Pakistan considers itself necessitous in resolving Afghan crisis. Pakistan fears the booming influence of India in Afghanistan after the evacuation of US. It is pertinent to mention here that America wants India as counter power to China. The transportation and infrastructural investment by India in Afghanistan will enable US to get economic benefits from land locked central Asian Republics(CARs) and perpetuate American interests to lessen the Chinese influence which will indeed pose a great threat to Pakistan’s interests and may cause severe turbulence in the region after US withdrawal.

After the Us withdrawal from Afghanistan the major challenge to Pakistan is from the militant groups related to Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and centrifugal tendencies in Balochistan. TTP has no single leadership; it is divided in splinter groups which rarely coordinate terror attacks in Pakistan. Mahsud group whose leader, Hakeemullah Mahsud, was killed in a recent drone attack in North Waziristan, after his death Fazalullah of Sawat (Mullah radio) was selected as the TTP leader, have difference with Moulla Nazir group and similarly Hafiz Gull Bahar has reservations with Mahsud group(now headed by Fazallullah) furthermore, there are many other independent groups operating against Pakistan . In the absence of single of TTP is a matter of great concern for the authorities in Islamabad who have to interact separately to every group which makes things more complex and complicated. These all strongly indicate a negative impact on the security, law and order situations in Pakistan particularly in FATA. Pakistan claims that the Fazalullah and Fakir Muhammad are supported by Raw of India and NDS of Afghanistan. These groups freely use Afghanistan against the interests of Pakistan.

Simultaneously, Pakistan has to deal with Baloch separatists. Pakistan many times declared that the Baloch separatists are supported by India using the Afghan soil, they are given training and refuge in Afghanistan and India. After the US withdrawal India may not be able to assist Baloch separatist in the way which she is doing now because India has to close its many constellates in Afghanistan. It is predicted that the separatists will die a natural death because it will be quite difficult for them to get maintained in Balochistan.^{xvii} India needs to keep an eye on Pakistan needs, to have a readjustment in foreign policy to Russia and Northern Alliance. Pakistan also needs to soften the stance over the Pashtun share in Afghanistan to dilute the apprehensions of Northern Alliance(Tajicks and Uzbaks) that they think Pakistan wants to impose Pashtun over them. Pakistan can mainstream non states actors(NSAs) in FATA and other areas by using a clear cut reintegration policy. Two factors can play a vital role. Firstly, after the UA withdrawal the pretext on which TTP ha its recruits will lose justification that foreign forces have invaded Afghanistan and it is mandatory to wage

Jehad. Secondly, the religious parties can be of due significance to bring TTP in political process. In this regard the extension of political parties act in FATA has been a positive move. Islamabad needs to initiate developments and dialogue process in Balochistan and necessary administrative and constitutional reforms in Balochistan to finish the foreboding of the Baloch nationalists. Finally US withdrawal from Afghanistan in 2014 seems unrealistic but if it happens so then Pakistan can convert challenges to opportunities with a pure hearted approach for refinement of Balochistan.

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