

THE LEGACY OF POVERTY, *MARGINALIZATION* AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN BALOCHISTAN: HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

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Abstract: The correlates of marginalization are poverty and underdevelopment. This paper is concerned about the dynamics of marginalization and Balochistan in relevancy to strategic, political and economic systems. This study asserts that the determining factors of marginalization of Balochistan are; historical, political, and international. The objective of this study is to map out the determining factors of marginalization and propose some policy suggestions to create compatibility between global geo-economic trends and the interests of native population by managing marginalization for the development of Balochistan.

Keywords: poverty, marginalization, underdevelopment, legacy

INTRODUCTION

Nations began to decline when their decisions structure becomes brittle and interest groups or oligarchies prevent social economic change” Mancur Oslon International Economist, 1998

No nation in the world can be considered in isolation. Each country is tied in many ways to the other countries in the world. This approach is associated with the work of Immanuel Wallerstein in *The Modern World System II* (1980). According to this

theory, the level of economic development is explained by each country’s place and role in the world economic system. This study follows this theory and adds that the states secure their position in international system on the basis of development composition of internal components; in this paper the state is Pakistan and the internal component is Balochistan.

The correlates of marginalization are poverty and underdevelopment. This paper is concerned about the dynamics of marginalization and Balochistan. This study assumes that the determining factors of marginalization of Balochistan are; historical, political, and international.

The legacy of marginalization has evolved as anthropological phenomenon in Balochistan relevant to its genesis and other linked entities. It is the Third Millennium that Balochistan has secured such a status amplified by economic opportunities within and around Balochistan. The stakeholders have been trying to determine the scope of their objectives in Balochistan by exploiting the legacy of poverty, marginalization and underdevelopment. The study addresses the following question: (a) How the legacy of poverty, marginalization and underdevelopment is being grown in Balochistan?

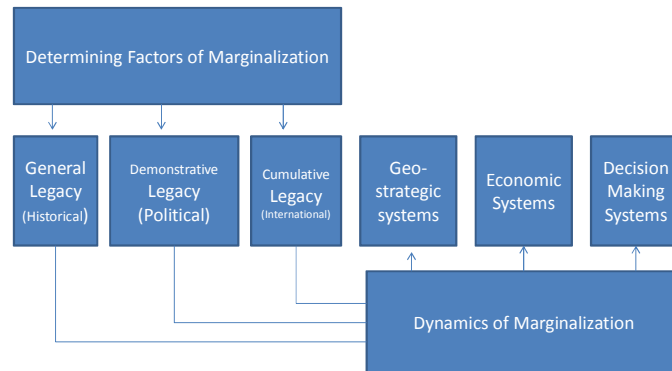


Figure 1: Dynamics of marginalization

The objective of this study is to propose some policy suggestions to create compatibility between global geo-economic trends and the interests of native population for the development of Balochistan.

The study relies on *factors analysis* approach to map out the conflict created due to legacy of poverty, marginalization and underdevelopment in Balochistan. The legacy of poverty, *marginalization* and under development in Balochistan compounds are shown below.

General legacy (historical)

A sum of belongings paid out of assets generally ----- means what exactly Balochistan inherited from historical factors and trends.

Demonstrative legacy (political)

A general legacy with particular fund named from which it is to be satisfied----referred to Balochistan is the center-province relations revolving the economy.

Cumulative legacy (international)

An additional legacy to Balochistan caused by regional and international factors.

The specific argument of this paper is that marginalization is dynamic and its determining factors are General legacy-historical, Demonstrative legacy-political, Cumulative legacy- international.

DYNAMICS OF MARGINALIZATION

Marginalization is a very dynamic process it changes its shape and volume in different systems. In international-regional-national-provincial systems referred to politics, economics the same nation state system is marginalized and centered.

Geo strategic systems

International Geo strategies: Balochistan remained a rogue buffer or passage for invaders from Central Asia or in geo polity between Russia and Great Britain. To fulfill their interests they did not need to develop it; while now its development is desirable vis-à-vis the interests of stakeholders. So in economic development Balochistan was marginalized.

National geo-strategies: Balochistan has played a pivotal role in national foreign policy endeavors; either it was alliance with the West to make Russia to withdraw from Afghanistan or the role of Pakistan in present war against terrorism.

Economic systems

The available human development in Balochistan exists in periphery of economic system while planning economic development with national and international imperatives exists in the core of national and international economic systems.

Decision making systems

In decision making system Balochistan is having marginal position vis-à-vis its political institutions but it is in the center of federal decision making system because of planned economic development. Balochistan is also the centerpiece of foreign policies of U.S.A and China the two economic contenders in international system. Undoubtedly Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asian States and Gulf countries also focus on Balochistan.

Part 1 and 11 of this paper tells that Balochistan exists in the core of policy making for economic development but its genesis exist in the periphery of economic development system at national and regional level when, it is compared to rest of Pakistan or Iranian Balochistan or to Dubai as coastal economy. The following section means historical, social and political factors of marginalization.

DETERMINING FACTORS OF MARGINALIZATION

Historical Factors

Tribal system is existing in Balochistan from centuries, when the Arab tribes descended upon this territory. Balochistan came under influence of British colonial rule in 1876. Balochistan served as military base for the British due to its geo-strategic location. British in fact pursued a policy of containment against the expansionist designs of Russia, who had interests towards the strategically important Balochistan. In 16-18 centuries Gadani port was used for trade purposes to and from Central Asia but later the British stopped it as to determine the regional development (Kundi, 2005). After independence, the states of Kalat, Kharan, Mekran and Lasbela acceded to Pakistan. In British times Balochistan was divided as British Balochistan, and Native Balochistan. The British Balochistan was 25% and mostly comprised of Pathan belt with developed communication system. The rest included mostly the Baloch areas. The 75% of native Balochistan was led by Khan of Kalat, as the small tribes were paying royalty to Khan of Kalat and he was paying it to British government. This tribal system supposed to interject the people and the government, always fulfilled their own interests rather than to embark upon real social and economic development. Sardars are like demigods to their people who are their bonded subjects. They hold sway over their life and death. How could anyone dare vote against them in an election? The sardars become chief ministers and ministers through the electoral process. On being elected they wield unbridled state power; which is otherwise not available to them.

After the independence of Pakistan Balochistan served the international policy of containment; when USA, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey joined SEATO

(South East Asian Treaty Organization) in 1954 and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization 1955), and later on Turkey, Iran and Pakistan signed RCD (Regional Cooperation for Development) in 1964 and a road link was built through Balochistan to link the three countries. Balochistan has provided strategic depth to military policy of the country as it is the 43% of Pakistan and its terrain is sparsely populated. Balochistan enabled Pakistan to explode five nuclear devices successfully in 1998. In fact all the foreign aid coming to Pakistan in 1980's (when Pakistan was an ally of West against Russia) and after 9/11 can be attributed to this strategic depth.

In history Balochistan was marginalized in its own perspective but well served the interests of linked entities.

Socio-Political and Factors

Social politics connotes the political trends exploiting the social factor to achieve the politico-economic objectives---as the politics always pursue the power; mainly the economic advantage. The province of Balochistan lacks in socio-political capital and physical infrastructure for economic development. That may be called as local component for development.

Long standing resentments by natives caused armed conflict in 1948, 1958, and 1973. Today these resentments persist because of the central government's suppression of nationalistic aspirations; the absence of economic and social development in Balochistan despite its possessing almost 20 percent of the country's mineral and energy resources, the exclusion of the provincial authorities and local population from decisions regarding major projects.

In constitution of Pakistan the wealth of natural resources belongs to native people; but the concurrent list of the constitution empowers the federal government to supersede the provincial writ for the security of natural resources. The pre and post Pakistan independence policy makers referred to Balochistan have always considered the doctrine of external threat. Very less compatibility exists between local, national, and international agendas to format the political economy. The wholesale cry about the province by the natives and the center is always, that the province is deprived and poor. The center utilizes it to format a pretext to interfere in the provincial matters and the natives try to blame center for their underdevelopment.

By allocating the Gas Development Surcharge (GDS) receipts on the basis of volume rather than total value of gas sold (being the product of volume and average weighted price paid by the final consumers), Baluchistan's share is being artificially depressed. Whereas it contributes 53 per cent to 65 per cent

under different formulas, it was getting a share of roughly 35 per cent in the GDS distributed among the provinces (Kardar, 2005). After equalizing gas development surcharge, royalty and well-head price of gas, Balochistan would be the main beneficiary while Punjab and Sindh would also not be great losers according to the NFC award 2009 (Shahid, 2009).

The Balochistan Province contributes around six per cent of revenues and receives federal transfers as 94.5 percent for provincial expenses; which also highlights both the heavy dependence on federal transfers and the huge mismatch between the assigned responsibilities of the province and the wherewithal available to it to discharge such obligation.

Mistrust exists between bureaucracy and the people of Balochistan. The rule of military bureaucracy to subdue the politicians has accentuated the mistrust. During 1970 election the people of Balochistan voted for the National Awami Party (NAP) which stood for full provincial autonomy. Its leaders tried to implement manifesto so as to have more provincial autonomy. The central government dismissed the provincial government after leveling allegations against the NAP government. People in Kuhlo recount innumerable Nawab Marri's views on development, "the rulers will plunder the wealth of the area once we allow roads to be constructed. The government had been taking away gas from the Bugti area, Sui, for decades but in return the local population got very little (Ghani, 2005).

Disjunctures between contemporary rights talks and the historical processes through which rights came to frame: Balochistan is an unending tale of political and socio-economic lapses. A deep-rooted sense of deprivation and frustration has made its people highly suspicious of the policy-makers in Islamabad, raising serious questions about the state of federalism in Pakistan. The current atmosphere is so murky that even genuine development projects initiated by the federal government are suspected and resisted only because there are unaddressed question in terms of their actual utility and benefit to the people of Balochistan.

Balochistan politics need to be looked upon as part of Pakistan. It has been always facing the crisis of political development: these can be elaborated as Binder (1963) explains in, "Religion and Politics in Pakistan" The crisis of *identity* means that people of a nation fail in large to identify themselves as one nation and are rather divided into ethnic and religious groups. The crisis of *legitimacy* means that government is not based on popular support but is rather based on coercion and force. A country suffers from the crisis of *participation* where the people are denied to vote. In crisis of *representation* attitudes,

preferences; viewpoints and desires of the entire citizenry are not shaped into governance actions. The crisis of *penetration* begins where government fails to penetrate its jurisdiction in all parts of the territory.

In this backdrop Islamabad has taken many of the activities, because of the massive share of national revenues and resources that it appropriates. The federal development program includes not only Gawadar, the coastal highway and the Sandak project but also the construction of provincial roads (like those connecting Chaman and Quetta and Quetta and Kila Saifulla), which should be implemented by the provincial government, essentially because some of them, even under the flawed Constitution, fall entirely within the purview of the provincial and local governments. It is just that the federal government will simply not let go of functions and resources that rightfully belong to lower formations of government. The Baloch people think that subjugation and colonization is taken in the name of development. In Frontier Core 75% are from NWFP, 20% Punjab and 5% from Sindh (Ali Baloch, 2005). There is a strong underlying resentment in Balochistan against what is seen as continued "Punjabi dominance", inequitable distribution of power and resources, and exploitation of province's natural wealth.

Regional and International Factors

One of the drastic impacts of Afghan Revolution on the tribal setup of the province was the deepening crisis of penetration and growing militancy among tribesmen. The indigenous population of Balochistan divided into a large number of tribes might have been familiar with the traditional knowledge of guerrilla warfare nonetheless they were peaceful and non-warlike as were few years after the revolution. The prolonged Afghan war entailing a low-intensity conflict between the Soviet/Afghan forces and Mujahideen, the emergence of Klashnikov culture, and availability of advanced weapons made a large number of tribes militant and violent (Emma, 1998). It is particular in case of many tribes such as Marri, Bugti, Rind, Mengal, Acakzai, Raisani tribes. Marri tribesmen who were involved in a large scale insurgency in 1973-74, fled to Afghanistan, and returned 18 years later, are more violent and militant today than were then.

In the era of globalization political institutions are being expedited as per frequency of global agendas *visiting their potential* to get realized at macro or micro level and the political institutions in Balochistan are no exception to this reality. In Balochistan political institutions are effecting the development, and behaviour of civil society on the behest of regional and extra regional powers; no matter as state actors or non state actors.

The development of energy system vis-à-vis South Asia e-g gas pipeline planned among Iran-Pakistan and India through Balochistan impacted upon the US relations with all the three countries. US-Indian Civilian Nuclear deal can be illuminated in this regard as well. The foreign investment in Balochistan is a matter of concern for UAE coastal economies as well.

KEY SUBTRACT OF THE PAPER

A Regional Forum for the international economic development of Balochistan should be created calling in all stake holders; Pakistan, India, China, United States of America, Russia, Afghanistan, Iran and of course the Multinational Corporations which are interested to have security concerns managed to take away the benefits of economic endeavors.

Pakistan should crack down powerfully on the private armies. The constitution of Pakistan does not allow private armies and there would be no legal question if those laws are implemented with full help of state power. Pakistan should try to cut down the sources and channels of supply of arms and cash to insurgents.

LEARNING STATEMENT

America, Russia, China, India and Iran have their interests to hold their position in and around Balochistan. US has already grip on Afghan Balochistan, trying to get hold on Pakistani Balochistan.

Historical evidence suggests ethnicity of Balochistan has always made Balochistan to lean to external powers to struggle for independence and this notion has been exploited by the regional and extra regional powers.

Balochistan is more linked to international structure than to Pakistan; because other states are more active about Balochistan and they have more knowledge about the issue so they better know to manage it in their interest; e-g US congress debate on Balochistan February, 2012.

More work is done by international intelligentsia as compared to Pakistan's think tanks about Balochistan; the academia is not encouraged to research on Balochistan insurgency rather directed to remain mum.

While locating Balochistan in international geopolitics the study establishes; that the natural resources have become integrated into the political

economy of local, regional, and global conflicts. With the present distribution of factor endowments and technology between developed and developing nations, the theory of comparative advantage thus prescribes that developing nations should continue to specialize primarily in the production of and export of raw material, *fuels, minerals*, and food to developed nations in exchange for manufactured products (Dominick. Salvatore, 2000). The development of mineral resources in Balochistan reflects the global politics.

Regionalism and globalization may continue to be growing forces while the power of individual states in relative terms continues to decline. If economic development fails in Balochistan, it will in fact remain drain on technological resources and investment, and thereby fail to be the economic basis for international economy. Economic development in Balochistan could seriously reduce tension over access to energy and metal resources in the 21st century, and help maintain a system with high levels of cooperation.

In this situation the alternative sensibility is the theme of partnership, cooperation, collaboration and mutual dependence, among foreign, national and local entities - and among the people, government and foreign investors.

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