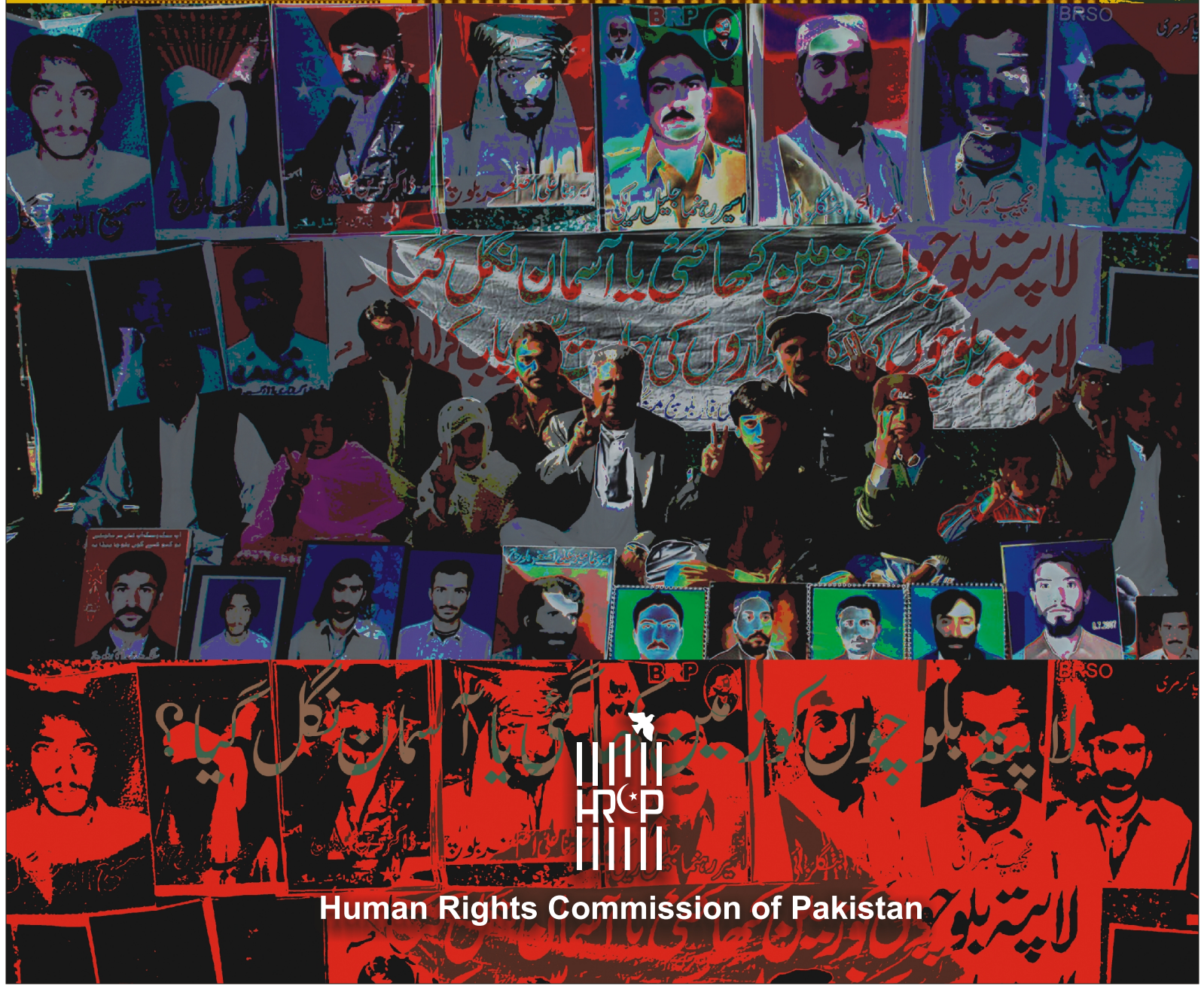


Report of
an HRCP
fact-finding
mission
(May 15-19, 2012)

Hopes, fears and alienation in Balochistan



Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

Published by: Human Rights Commission of Pakistan

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Printed at: Anwar Fayyaz Printers

1 Mission Road, Lahore

Cover design and layout: Visionaries Division

ISBN: 978-969-8324-54-4

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Introduction

Balochistan is Pakistan's largest province in terms of area, and also its least populous and most troubled. The most dominant feature of the province today is a violent insurgency in Baloch-majority districts of Balochistan that had started after the 2006 killing of Nawab Akbar Bugti in a military operation.

But that is hardly the only serious problem facing Balochistan where the Pakhtun insist that despite constituting a substantial part of the population they have been neglected in representation and access to education and employment.

Enforced disappearance blamed on state agencies and dumping of dead bodies of victims of disappearances are among the most blatant violations of human rights in the province.

The religious minorities in Balochistan have faced challenges that are among the most grave anywhere in Pakistan and large numbers have been forced to migrate to other provinces or abroad. The excesses are not confined to non-Muslims alone. The Hazaras of Balochistan are by far the most frequently targeted community on account of their faith. Many Hazara young men try to escape the seemingly inevitable recurrence of violence by any means possible, often relying on human smugglers.

There are excesses by the insurgents against 'settlers', essentially members of all ethnic groups other than Baloch, and those considered to be pro-federation, including teachers at schools in Baloch-majority areas who are threatened and targeted if the national anthem is played in the morning assembly or the national flag is flown. The so-called settlers, ethnic Punjabis, Sindhis and Urdu-speaking, who have lived in Balochistan for generations, and some for centuries, have been hounded out of Baloch-majority areas by threats and violence by insurgents and at times also by opportunistic property mafia keen to capture land and buildings of the settlers and the more intimidated the settlers the more likely they were to accept any price for their property as they seek shelter elsewhere. The general law and order has also plummeted across the province.

The financial resources at the disposal of the provincial government and autonomy in the administrative sphere have certainly grown following changes in the constitution, but the people are yet to see benefits of that.

This is the complex landscape that is Balochistan today.

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) has observed the deteriorating human rights situation in the province for a long time. The nationalist insurgency has overshadowed all the other problems in Balochistan, but HRCP has consciously called for respect for the rights of all people who call Balochistan home. HRCP not only calls for human rights for all citizens including the right to govern their affairs, but also believes that all federating units must have equal rights within the federation. Prior to the assessment mission in May 2012, HRCP had conducted four fact-finding missions to Balochistan.

Disturbed by reports of renewed armed conflict in parts of Balochistan, two HRCP fact-finding missions visited various districts of the province in December 2005 and January 2006. Besides other areas, a team visited the troubled areas near Kohlu in December 2005, and in January 2006 as fighting expanded, another HRCP team visited Dera Bugti and Sui.

An HRCP team also met with Nawab Akbar Bugti, the chief of the Bugti tribe, at an undisclosed location after the Nawab had left his house in Dera Bugti following escalation of violence on December 30, 2005.

Among other recommendations, the missions in 2005-06 advised the government to recognise the people as stake-holders in the decision-making process in Balochistan; pursue a sustained process of negotiations and dialogue to resolve all contentious issues; make the security forces accountable for their actions; and take steps to address human rights violations and mistrust of the government and rebuild its credibility. The missions cautioned the authorities that use of force to resolve political issues would only aggravate the situation.¹

In 2009, the entire HRCP Executive Council spent a week in Balochistan, meeting representatives of religious and political parties, as well as various ethnic groups and other stakeholders to understand their concerns, and also taking up these issues in meetings with senior government officials, elected and otherwise, and police and security officials. In the report of the 2011 fact-finding mission to Balochistan, HRCP had regretted the fact that recommendations made by the 2009 fact-finding mission had not been heeded and if they had been the slide into chaos might have been stemmed.

Based on the information HRCP had been receiving from its Balochistan chapter office in Quetta, a field office in Turbat, and volunteer groups in districts as well as communications from individuals and civil society organisations and media reports, it was abundantly clear in early 2012 that violations by all actors in Balochistan continued.

It was against this background that the HRCP Executive Council decided that it was crucial to revisit the situation to not only assess the impact of the recent measures by the government but also to hear suggestions from the stakeholders on a way out of the lingering crisis.

The fact-finding mission visited Balochistan at a time when the Supreme Court had convened in Quetta to hear a case relating to the law and order situation and human rights violations in the province. General elections were due in less than a year, which could provide an opportunity to key political parties in Balochistan including the nationalists who had boycotted the 2008 general election to try their hand at solving the complex problems.

When the fact-finding team arrived in Balochistan, it had been over 14 months since the March 1, 2011 target killing of Naeem Sabir, HRCP Core Group Coordinator in Khuzdar district, and more than a year since the bullet-riddled body of Siddique Eido, HRCP Core Group Coordinator in Pasni, Gwadar, was found on April 28, 2011. Siddique was abducted by men in Frontier Corps uniform on December 21, 2010 and remained missing until his body was found. The two coordinators, their tireless work for human rights and their brutal murder had not been forgotten. Despite repeated reminders to the authorities by HRCP, there had been no progress in identifying or apprehending the killers in either case. When this could happen to well known human rights defenders and the killers roamed free, law enforcement agencies' ability to provide security to the common citizens or apprehend the criminals in everyday violence did not inspire much confidence.

Najam U Din

¹'Conflict in Balochistan', report of HRCP fact-finding missions to Balochistan, Dec 2005-Jan 2006, <http://www.hrcp-web.org/pdf/Conflict%20in%20balochistan--%20Complete.pdf>

²'Pushed to the Wall', report of an HRCP fact-finding mission to Balochistan, 2009, <http://www.hrcp-web.org/pdf/Pushed%20to%20the%20wall.pdf>

³'Blinkered Slide into Chaos', report of an HRCP fact-finding mission to Balochistan, 2011, http://www.hrcp-web.org/pdf/balochistan_report_2011.pdf

The fact-finding mission

HRCP Chairperson Zohra Yusuf led the five-day (May 15-19) fact-finding mission to Balochistan. The fact-finding team included HRCP provincial vice-chairpersons Tahir Hussain Khan (Balochistan), Sher Muhammad Khan (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Amarnath Motumal (Sindh), HRCP Executive Council members Asma Jahangir, Zahoor Ahmed Shahwani and Habib Tahir, journalists Arifa Noor and Amir Mateen, novelist Muhammad Hanif and academic Prof. Azizuddin Ahmed. HRCP Secretary General I.A. Rehman, Hussain Naqi and Najam U Din from HRCP Secretariat and HRCP Quetta office coordinator Farid Ahmed were also part of the fact-finding mission. The team held meetings in Quetta, Mastung and Pishin. HRCP Core Group coordinators in districts Bolan, Chaghi, Gwadar, Harnai, Jafarabad, Jhal Magsi, Kalat, Lasbela, Mastung, Naseerabad, Nushki, Panjgur, Pasni, Pishin, Qilla Abdullah, Qilla Saifullah, Sibbi, Turbat, Zhob and Ziarat travelled to Quetta and briefed the fact-finding team on the prevailing situation in their respective areas.

The mission members tried to meet as extensively as they could people from all walks of life, including members of the executive, representatives of political parties, civil society organisations, relatives of missing persons, sectarian, religious and ethnic minority communities, businessmen, journalists, teachers, students and senior government officials who agreed to meet the mission. The fact-finding team was more successful in meeting some government officials than others. The meetings with government officials that could not take place were certainly not for lack of trying. Despite HRCP's repeated attempts to seek appointments well in advance of the mission's visit, the Balochistan chief minister, the military commander in Quetta and the chief of Frontier Corps Balochistan did not to meet the fact-finding team.

Mission in Quetta

The ordeal of missing persons' families

The fact-finding mission met families of missing persons, many of whom were in Quetta in connection with the Supreme Court (SC) hearing of a petition on the situation in Balochistan. The court had also been looking at cases of enforced disappearance. Many people among this group were openly critical of the chief justice. Relatives of some victims of enforced disappearance observed that the court had not done much to ensure recovery of the missing persons, and others said that the court should have done many years ago what was being done now. They spoke about expectations from and disappointment in the chief justice, though not the Supreme Court, even though it was a three-member SC bench hearing the case in Quetta.

The families were not very happy with the progress in the SC case and felt that they needed more support from the HRCP. It was clarified that in Quetta the SC was hearing a separate petition on the situation in Balochistan, in which enforced disappearances was one of the several matters the court was looking at. The families said that they regularly turned up at court hearings but needed lawyers to look at legal aspects during the proceedings. They

⁴ See Annexure-IV for cases of enforced disappearance in Balochistan verified by HRCP.

were informed that HRCP was not a party to the petition being heard in Quetta, which was distinct from the one filed by HRCP in the SC in 2007 for the recovery of missing persons. However, HRCP offered the services of two senior lawyers to the families for the petition being heard in Quetta.

Relatives of most of the families at the meeting had been missing for so long that they were referred to as chronic cases in the proceedings.

The families mentioned difficulties in travelling to Quetta and Islamabad for hearings in the cases and also said that they were harassed by intelligence agencies. Farzana Baloch, whose brother had been missing, also said that it was very difficult for her to travel as there was no one else left behind.

Overall, they did not feel that the SC hearings had achieved much as the people who had reappeared after the hearings were released somewhere in the middle of the night and none of them was brought to the court by the authorities under orders. They did not think that such reappearances could be credited to the court.⁵

The families said that the issue of recovery of dead bodies of missing persons was not being taken up. Some families said that if the SC had held hearings in Quetta earlier so many missing persons would not have returned as mutilated bodies.

I am tired of speaking, of crying, of telling our story again and again. If only suicide was not prohibited by religion I would have killed myself. The court has been hearing our case for years but my son is still not with me. I have not even been to school. How can I talk to the chief justice? – **Father of a missing person**

A journalist, Khalid Mengal, was allegedly abducted by Nushki police and handed over to an intelligence agency. The police had reportedly summoned five boys for questioning. Khalid was one of the five and all but Khalid had been allowed to go home. The court had thrice directed that Khalid should be produced before it but the authorities had not complied with the order. The family had demanded that Nushki police should also be included in the investigation. Khalid's father asked the participants and the fact-finding team members to try and imagine what it cost a journalist pursuing a case against the agencies.

The father of Hafiz Saeed, a young man who had gone missing in Quetta in July 2003, has attended all meetings that HRCP fact-finding missions have held with missing persons' families over the last few years. He said that that was all he could do in the hope that someone might help him find his son who he hoped was alive and would come back to him. The family had been given various accounts of what happened to Saeed since he went missing in 2003. At first the authorities denied that he was in the custody of any government agency. Then it was stated that he had died in a bomb explosion that had occurred the same day as Saeed's disappearance, although he had left his house some time after the explosion. A body was shown to the family, which they said was not their son. It was once conceded in Balochistan High Court that Saeed was in the custody of intelligence agencies and another time that he been sentenced to 25 years in prison for being a terrorist and was doing his time in a prison in Gujranwala district. He was not found to be in that prison. In the end the authorities again said that Saeed had died in the July 2003 explosion and that the body had been shown to the family and buried. Saeed's father knew that the person buried in the grave was not his son but

⁵ See Annexure-V.



Members of the 'settler' community recount their experiences.

in order to satisfy the authorities he agreed to a DNA test after exhumation of the body. The test proved what Saeed's father had said all along.

The families spoke of their anguish over snatching away of their relatives who in many cases were the sole bread-winners of the family. Younger siblings or children of the missing men had to quit their education to support their families.

Family members said that pursuing three cases pending for the recovery of missing persons in three different places and courts had added to their problems. People came from long distances to attend the hearings because they had no choice. A lawyer in one case did not know what the court had ordered in the other two cases. The families said that hearings on the main petition filed by HRCP and other petitioners against enforced disappearances had not been held for a year and demanded early hearings and consolidation of various cases of enforced disappearance. It cost a lot of money to attend cases, such was the distance between Islamabad and Quetta and even within Balochistan. Lawyers were afraid and many often did not speak forcefully enough in court nor did they challenge official contentions.

The latest inquiry commission set up to probe enforced disappearances had not visited Balochistan for eight months. The head of the judicial commission had been changed thrice. The report of an earlier inquiry commission had sympathised with the perpetrators and recommended compensation. "We want our missing relatives back. We spit on compensation," sister of a missing man said.

The families said that in many cases of disappearance government agencies' involvement was obvious from the functionaries' uniforms, the vehicles they used and where those vehicles went. The families said that witnesses who deposed in cases feared that they too would be targeted. Those released were threatened and should have been released in the court. They demanded that if FC had handed over the disappeared persons to another

agency the court should be informed accordingly. If they insisted that they were not involved in abducting people they should be asked who was doing it in their uniforms and what had FC done to apprehend such people and to justify their own wages.

Communities vulnerable because of religious beliefs

The HRCP mission held detailed discussions with representatives of sectarian and religious minority communities and sought their guidance in understanding if any trend in the context had been positive. The persecution of the Hazara community dominated the discussion and even members of non-Muslim communities sympathised with them.

- What the Hazaras had been facing since 1999 was unique even in Pakistan. Few other communities had been targeted so ruthlessly on account of their religious beliefs. The killings appeared to be an attempt to cause bloody clashes between Shias and Sunnis. The Hazaras had not allowed that to happen almost 99 percent of the time. The community elders had pacified the youth and kept them away from violence. But they feared the day when overwhelmed by burying one Hazara after the other they could no longer be controlled. Once that happened “the aim of the enemies of Pakistan would be met”.
- Hazaras had been uprooted from Loralai, Machh and Zhob, and over 800 had been killed since 1999. In the democratic regime, from February 2008 until May 2012, at least 550 Hazaras had been killed. That was devastating considering that Hazaras were a population of around half a million. Thousands had been injured and around half of them rendered disabled for life. In December 2010, in an attack on a Hazara rally on Yaum al-Quds more than 100 people were killed and over 250 injured. 300 Hazara students at Balochistan University had stopped taking classes due to fear.
- Around half a dozen people had been arrested and some convicted by anti-terrorism courts for target killing of Hazaras. One of the convicts said in front of a judge that he had killed Hazaras and that he would kill more if he ever got the chance. The convicts were living a life of comfort in jails, getting VIP treatment, and had televisions and cell phones. There had been incidents where the convicts had led prayers and policemen had offered prayers behind them.
- In 2006, two target killers Usman Saifullah and Shafiq Rind escaped from Anti-Terrorism Force (ATF) prison in Quetta and not a lock, door or window was broken. The Hazaras had highlighted the incident as best they could but no inquiry was held. There were black sheep in the ranks of police and FC. No improvement was expected until they were weeded out.

Last year a bus full of pilgrims left Quetta for Iran. After crossing seven security check-posts and 200 metres short of another check-post, the bus was stopped in Mastung by armed men. Twenty-four Hazara men and boys were lined up and executed. It took five minutes to kill them all. Women and children were made to watch. This does not happen even in Rwanda. We have met everyone, from police station house officers (SHOs) to the president and the prime minister and everyone in between. The meetings have lasted for hours. They sympathise with us, promise to help but nothing changes. The political parties just join us for fateha and leave. The people have been forced to conclude that the state is getting them killed. What else can you conclude if people are killed in front of check-posts? We have committed no crime. We are not against Pakistan and demand only the rights that all human beings deserve. – **A Hazara community leader**

practical measures needed to end the killings and impunity. The killings had started in Gen Zia's regime (1977-1988). There was none of that before then. The book identified the elements that killed Hazaras. Saudi money and training and promotion of sectarianism in madrassas were mentioned.

- The aim had been to confine the Hazaras, who had retreated into small pockets. That had already happened. They could not move along Saryab Road in Quetta.
- The massacres of pilgrims going to Iran could be seen on Youtube. The route to Iran needed to be secured for pilgrims. Political and religious organisations generally condemned attacks on Shia pilgrims and non-Muslims had also join protest rallies.
- The constitution guaranteed the rights to life and religious freedom. If both these rights were absent then the state had failed in its constitutional responsibility.
- The religious and sectarian minorities called upon the government, and political and religious parties to formulate a charter to safeguard them.
- Pamphlets were being distributed that killing Hazaras, Barelvis, Hindus and Christians was justified. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi was there because someone protected it. Those who pasted posters on the walls and distributed pamphlets were there because someone protected them. If the Hazaras pasted posters against Lashkar-e-Jhangvi on the walls everyone will see the consequences for the Hazaras.

Shias live in Saudi Arabia, in India and other countries. It is only in Pakistan that Shias are safe neither in the mosque nor in markets. It is only here that they preach killing Shia Muslims in the name of Allah, burying them without a funeral, without bathing the body and without a kafan (shroud covering the dead body). – **A Shia cleric**

- Over 100 Hindus had been abducted in Balochistan. The majority had been released after ransom was paid. Those who did not pay ransom were killed and their bodies dumped. A 22-year-old Hindu man was killed because his parents could not pay ransom. No one from the government had come to the victims. Hindus could not get out of their houses. Their education had been suspended. There had also been incidents of conversion, although none of them was recent. In small cities Hindus were forced to pay bhatta (extortion money).
- About a fifth of the Hindu population had migrated from Balochistan. The rest could not leave because they were poor. The Hindus could not just leave whatever they had in Pakistan and go away. Who wanted to leave his motherland? The Hindus were being pushed out. They looked at Hazaras and thought that the pain and suffering of Hazaras was far greater than their own.

The settlers' complaints

The arbitrary classification of victims and perpetrators on the basis of ethnic identity had made families and whole communities living in Balochistan for generations and centuries 'settlers' who were considered fair game for harassment and murder. The problems of Punjabi, Sindhi or Urdu speaking settlers among others were often overshadowed by the overall conflict in the province. The so-called settler communities had shrunk mainly to Quetta and Pakhtun-majority areas of Balochistan "We had never considered ourselves any less than others who called Balochistan home. But now there is a label for us," said a businessman when the fact-finding team met representatives of the so-called settler communities in Quetta. They shared the following thoughts with HRCP:

⁶ 'The Shia Hazara of Pakistan A community Under Siege', April 2012, Minority Support Pakistan, http://minoritysupportpakistan-org.arohalabs.net/The_Hazara_Shia_of_PakistanvApril_16_edited.pdf

- The difficulties for settlers in Quetta were different from their problems outside the city. Many settlers had businesses in Balochistan, which had suffered because of threats to them and also because technical people no longer wanted to come to the province from Karachi and Lahore. “I can no longer oversee construction standing on the road,” said a contractor. Some skills that had traditionally been with the settlers were sorely missed. Carpenters had become hard to find.
- The situation was far from ideal even earlier but there had never been such a steep deterioration. Problems had started aggravating fast after Akbar Bugti’s murder. If there was peace, neither settlers nor anyone else would go anywhere because there would be no need to. Earlier, the worst threat was murder now there was kidnapping for ransom as well. No one could have round the clock water-tight security everywhere.
- The main political parties had not reacted to the killing of settlers, with the exception of Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party, which had held rallies to condemn violence against settlers. But since they were an opposition party and had boycotted elections, their voice was not duly resounding in corridors of power.
- News about violence against settlers was covered by the media in Quetta but not outside the province.
- Balochistan was known for its liberal tradition. There could be law and order issues anywhere but Quetta had always been very peaceful. There had been various causes of the deterioration of the situation. One could be financial and another could be interests of other countries in the province.



Representatives of political parties were scathing in their criticism of the government's handling of the situation.

- The settlers had suffered double persecution. They were denied jobs in Balochistan where quotas dominated and also suffered from infrastructural deficiencies in the same manner as other residents of the province. The first right was of the locals and then of the domicile holders in education/admissions. The quota was introduced in 1950 for 10 years but had remained in force to this day. Back then the quota system was justified by saying that the settlers were better educated. That was no longer the case. Efforts had been made to correct this wrong but nothing had happened. When the so-called Punjabi settlers went to Punjab they were told that they were not domiciled in Punjab and could not compete on open merit. The settlers had little hope from the elections and believed that the same people would be re-elected and would rule in the same manner.
- There were so many problems in Balochistan that one did not understand what was going on. If something happened across the border target killings started in Quetta. A new problem was the target killing of Deobandi religious scholars. Around a dozen had been killed in a year and a half.
- If the executive and the subordinate judiciary were not corrupt the free flow of weapons could be stopped within 24 hours. Weapons came from Chaman. Everyone knew. All check-posts along the route had their fixed rates. No government had shown the required commitment to develop Balochistan. There could be no investment, industry or employment without law and order.

Even settlers who had married into ethnic Baloch families have been killed. There are people whose families had settled in Balochistan in the 1920s from parts of India such as Uttar Pradesh. They kept no link with their roots. We have rendered services for Balochistan. Settlers have not an iota of investment in Sindh or Punjab, nor any services there. From some schools in Quetta around 2,000 settler children have left. From interior Balochistan all settlers have left. Only those who cannot go anywhere else and say they have roots here and nowhere else have not moved away. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, businessmen, PHDs have left. Even well-to-do Baloch have left for Lahore, and other cities. If the children of Baloch and Pakhtun moneyed people cannot study here you can well imagine what the situation would be for the settlers. Even three-year olds are asked which Pakhtun or Baloch tribe they belong to.

Many ethnic Baloch still bear no ill-will towards settlers, who share with the local people all occasions happy or sad. But we have never seen such discrimination before. The environment of hatred developed in the 1980s and after the Soviet-Afghan war. It became more widespread in 2000 and things aggravated fast after Nawab Bugti's killing. We have talked to political parties who cite the overall situation in the province and the country. Only PkMAP has raised this issue. If the government has the will there are ways. There has been no effort or practical steps from the government to help improve the situation. When settlers are murdered, cases are registered but no one has been arrested. – **A settler**

What political parties say

The HRCP mission met representatives of political parties and students' organisations in Quetta in order to learn of their concerns and their thoughts on solutions to the many crises in Balochistan. The meeting was attended by representatives of Awami National Party (ANP), Balochistan National Party (BNP), National Party (NP), Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Hazara Democratic Party (HDP), Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP) and Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), as well as students' organisations Baloch Students Organization (BSO), Baloch Students Organization-Bajjar, Pakhtun Students Organisation (PSO) and Pakhtun Students

Federation (PSF).

Most of the politicians repeatedly complained about the incompetence of and corruption in the provincial government. Not a single man had a good word to put in for them.

Most representatives of the nationalist parties conceded that they had made a mistake by boycotting the last election and hinted that the next elections would be different. Many of them also expressed the fear that the forthcoming elections might be rigged. The faulty electoral rolls and registration of fake votes were also mentioned among the main concerns.

Pakhtun politicians in particular spoke of the increasing Wahabism in or Talibanisation of their areas and said that training camps existed in Pakhtun areas and added that efforts were afoot to make the Pakhtun and Hazara fight each other. Representatives of Hazara Democratic Party agreed with that observation and said that the objective was countering the secular Baloch nationalism. All of them were critical of the role of intelligence agencies and the Frontier Corps (FC). Although a few politicians said that more than the FC, the intelligence agencies were at fault.

Pakhtun politicians were also very critical of the killings in Karachi and said that many of the Pakhtuns killed there were from Balochistan. One of them said that there were 12,000 chai khana (roadside tea stalls) in Karachi that were owned by residents of Balochistan and that 7000 of them had shut down.

A JI politician opposed the idea of creating more provinces out of Punjab because it would increase Punjab's representation in the Senate and Balochistan's voice would not be heard there. Some politicians apprehended that democratic forces might lose out in the coming elections because of ethnic polarization. Others said that there was no Baloch-Pakhtun friction because both communities had shared interests and had waged a long common struggle, both together and separately. However, others referred to a Baloch-Pakhtun 'problem' in the province which they said must be acknowledged and addressed. A population census was the biggest stumbling block. The Baloch were worried about the large number of Afghans in the province, who were predominantly ethnic Pakhtun. The Pakhtuns felt that despite their large population in Balochistan they were deprived of their due share in representation, allocation of resources, employment and education. Some Baloch nationalists thought that deployment in Balochistan of FC personnel who were ethnic Pakhtuns was a ploy to start ethnic clashes between the two communities.

The participants flagged as key challenges enforced disappearances, dumping of bodies, corruption, growing Talibanisation, insecurity, attempts at instigating sectarian violence, excesses against religious minorities, lack of infrastructure, absence of economic opportunities and the state's abdication of its basic responsibilities. The opinion was divided on whether elections would lead to a positive change. However, representatives of all political parties said that the elections must not be manipulated or interfered with in any manner, either through terrorizing or bankrolling anyone. Many politicians said that the prevailing state of affairs in Quetta symbolised the troubles in Balochistan and added that Quetta used to be an exceptionally peaceful city. Yet one could no longer safely travel through the city without a security convoy. The lawlessness was such that the persons going to pay ransom for kidnapped relatives were also abducted and ransom demanded for their release too. They said that if it were a responsible government that had taken interest in the situation things would not have been quite so bad at least in Quetta. They said that if there was any charge or ground against anyone he could be tried even for treason but extrajudicial killings must stop.

The **Balochistan National Party** representative said that his party was not hopeful that

elections would lead to improvement in the Balochistan situation. He spoke of hatred accumulated over decades and said that the Baloch were in a state of war and making demands of them or asking them to make concessions at this juncture was not fair. He added that there was no information about Balochistan in Pakistan as the same was not taught in geography or history classes. He said that those who were liberal and progressive and did not call for Balochistan's independence were considered traitors by both sides. He said that the BNP had always maintained that there was no justification in the targeting of settlers. Ten political and religious parties in Balochistan (including BNP, PkMAP, NP, JI, PTI, ANP and HDP) had formed Political Parties Coordination Committee (PPCC) Balochistan to launch a joint struggle to solve the issues of the province and exert pressure on the government to fulfil its responsibility. He said that the mischief in Balochistan should be stopped, but there was little hope that it would be stopped. The important question was whether those fanning religious and sectarian hatred had realised the error of their ways. "There would be elections, but what then? What is the roadmap?" The BNP leader said that the political parties had to make a responsible commitment and play a role and that regardless the difficulties the democratic parties retained their strength and could still act positively if they were liberal, democratic and respected each other. The thrust of his contentions was:

- The genuine leadership of the people had not been allowed to take root in Balochistan in 64 years. If the real leadership was elected in the polls it would be sent packing within nine months. What could anyone do in such a short span? The true representatives of the people would not be allowed to work because if they delivered they would do a clean sweep in the next elections too.
- Institutions of the state had broken Pakistan up once and had brought the country to the brink again. They could not even run Pakistan and harboured ambitions of running Afghanistan. Balochistan aside, they had made Punjab a powder keg.
- The US might be responsible for many ills in Pakistan, but most of all the establishment was responsible for the state of affairs. After a US lawmaker introduced a resolution on Balochistan in the Congress everyone was out to save Balochistan. Save it from whom? In Punjab there was sympathy for Balochistan because they feared that the country would break up, and not because of the excesses against the Baloch.
- If there was any desire to improve the situation Pakistan must get rid of the Saudi cartel. Iran might also be involved in mischief making and that was what the intelligence agencies should be focusing their energies on, as well as on preventing crime. The media and the politicians lacked the courage to speak out against the dirty games that one particular Muslim country was playing in Pakistan. Who did not know who was murdering the Hazaras? Those who were arrested for Hazaras' killings were released or allowed to escape. The state had tried to alienate the Hazaras. Besides that Muslim country's role in the training and bankrolling of extremist militants, world politics had also contributed to the unrest.
- The Baloch demanded control over their resources and the coastline. Anyone traveling by road in Balochistan could see the stark inadequacy of infrastructure.
- The FC personnel in Balochistan were predominantly Pakhtun, which was a ploy to start ethnic clashes in the province.
- Around 25 members of the BNP Central Executive Committee had been killed. The party leaders faced difficulties in movement and many could not leave their houses.
- Police surgeon Baqir Shah was murdered only because he had issued an honest post mortem report of innocent people killed by the security forces in Kharotabad, in Quetta. It was the duty of political parties to make it a national issue.

Why should democracy appeal to the people in Balochistan? In Musharraf's dictatorship our children were at least alive and now in this democracy their bodies are found dumped.
– **ABNP leader**

Representatives of **National Party** said:

- The institutions had collapsed and colleges had closed. Electricity load-shedding had put paid to any hope of reviving agriculture or industrial activity and that along with lawlessness had hit trade hard. The provincial budget had been divided among the treasury benches. If such government and cabinet continued for another five years Balochistan will become unmanageable.
- National Party would enthusiastically contest elections. Nationalists would do well in the polls if they joined hands or made seat-to-seat adjustment. Some nationalist parties would get the floating seats, while 11 seats would be determined by agencies.
- Political parties had become a joke in Pakistan. There was no tradition of staying in contact with the people in the inter-election period. The political parties should maintain their cadres.
- In Balochistan where even guards were not needed in public meetings of hundreds of thousand earlier, now scanners were required. In a politically aware area such as Khuzdar there was an air of fear.
- Pressure should be increased on intelligence agencies not to interfere in the elections.
- Many nationalists had been part of the insurgency previously but never had civilians and development activity been targeted. That was a new element. In Awaran, the militants had warned against work on roads, electricity and telephone networks and were killing the common citizens. The forces had also killed people.
- Khuzdar had been taken over by criminals much in the same manner as Lyari had been in Karachi. The government had not played a positive role and was itself involved and was trying to marginalise politics and restrict the role of political parties. In Quetta, there was little militancy but criminal activity and kidnappings for ransom had increased with some gangs operating with the support of agencies and others carried visiting cards of ministers. From Mastung downwards all the areas had been divided up among criminals. Truck drivers were abducted daily, and strikes to protest lawlessness and abductions also were an everyday affair.
- The anti-Shia Lashkar-e-Jhangvi had the state's support. Baloch Musallah Difa was also backed by the state to counter Baloch insurgents. Their objectives were different but somewhere the links converged.
- Baloch nationalists feared that their exceptionally liberal society was under threat. Now the second biggest tableeghi (preaching) centre in Pakistan after Raiwind was in Panjgur. A clear vision was needed on what was required to be done for the development of Balochistan through education, and by developing the mineral and agriculture sectors. The lack of expertise in the required fields was a debilitating problem.

The **Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party** representative demanded that election monitors must assess the polls everywhere. He said that conservative and regressive forces banded together in elections and alliances were also made on the basis of tribes. He called upon HRCP and pro-democracy and pro-people elements to collaborate even if they did not make formal alliances. The PkMAP representative said:

- Out of 1,931 incidents of terrorism in Balochistan, there had been claims of

responsibility for 800. Yet no criminal or terrorist had been arrested at the time of commission of his act or afterwards. Only innocent citizens had been held. In at least some instances the killers should have been traced.

- Every ruler had compromised on people's interests. Ministers had spoken about more than 70 gangs involved in kidnapping for ransom. People were killed in the centre of the well-guarded city of Quetta and nothing was done.
- Peace and security was one thing but even basic infrastructure and key road connections had not been built. The province had received billions of rupees under the National Finance Commission Award but there had been astronomical misappropriation. Efforts had not even begun in Balochistan to implement the right to education for everyone that was finally acknowledged in the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. The autonomy given to the provinces under the constitutional amendment also had not been used in Balochistan.
- The Pakhtuns had no representation in the province. Since they were not in power they had no direct role in law and order or education and development.
- Frontier Corps and police aside, the real role in Balochistan was that of ISI which used every other institution. The government had not acted to improve things.
- Excesses against Hazaras must be condemned by all conscientious human beings. (Two Hazaras had been killed the previous day) What was happening to the Hazaras was the outcome of the policy the rulers had devised. The actors prepared for a role in Afghanistan had been used against democratic forces at home.

The **Awami National Party** representative said:

- On top of the deterioration in law and order across the country, in Balochistan an effort was also being made to disturb peace and harmony among the Baloch, Pakhtuns and Hazaras. This situation was the continuation of intervention in Afghanistan via extremists based in Balochistan. The mutilated bodies of missing Baloch were being dumped in Pakhtun-majority areas to instigate ethnic conflict. In Quetta, religious leaders were being killed in an attempt to fuel Hazara-Pakhtun clashes. All this was being done to divert the people's attention from their basic problems, to malign democratic rule and to wrap up whatever little democratic environment there was. The army was safe in its cantonments and no one cared for the lot of the people.
- After the Taliban had been defeated in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, such elements were being encouraged and provided safe havens in the Pakhtun area of Balochistan to stir up trouble. There were training camps for militants and extremists moved in official vehicles while the common citizens travelling in buses were asked to disembark and submit to frisking and body searches.
- Trade had been stifled by the state of roads and law and order and agriculture ruined by electricity shortages and the consequent inability of farmers to access water when needed. Tube-wells had been installed on self-help basis but operating those was also difficult when there was no electricity.

The **Jamaat-e-Islami** representatives said:

- Over 96 percent area of the province that had provided natural gas to the whole of the country remained without gas. In 80 percent area of Balochistan, there was no electricity. The price of gas from Balochistan was not determined by Balochistan. Nothing had been done to develop academic institutions or to benefit from the abundant marine, mineral or other natural resources in Balochistan. There was

lawlessness like never before. There were enforced disappearances and dumping of dead bodies. Justice was there only in the constitution. No wonder there was a sense of deprivation in the province.

- While analyzing the situation in Balochistan, it was important to remember that the problems of Quetta, of the Pakhtun areas of the province and of the Baloch areas were distinct. In the Pakhtun belt, the economy was tied to electricity. There were no factories and no alternative sources of income. With electricity load-shedding lasting 20 hours a day, there was not even drinking water, what to talk of agriculture, which had hit livelihoods of a huge section of the population hard. Young men from Zhob had walked for 22 days to reach Quetta to press for supply of electricity to their areas but no one had heeded their demands.
- There were apprehensions that Hazaras and Sunni religious leaders were being killed to incite sectarian clashes between the two communities. There was so much tension and yet the media did not give proper coverage to the issue.
- Transportation of fruits and agricultural produce and travel in general had been rendered very difficult because of the state of roads and the rail links. The Quetta-Zhob railway track had been uprooted for expansion but there was no urgency in completing the work. Many important roads had not been built.
- Coalition governments always had limitations but this government was indifferent to the people's problems. The provincial government was holding meetings for polio control in Balochistan in Islamabad. Misappropriation was unprecedented.
- Balochistan was suffering from the effects of what was going on in Afghanistan and Iran and designs of world powers. Every other week one or two new militant organisations surfaced.
- Two ministers had given statements on the floor of Balochistan's provincial assembly about being witnesses to extrajudicial killings by the security forces. The home minister had said that provincial ministers were involved in kidnappings for ransom. None of that had prompted any action from the government. All security plans failed because the government did not want them to succeed. The killers were sitting in jails and operating from there.
- On a poor province there was a burden of 0.1 million rupees a day per minister. Out of 65 members only one was unlucky and the rest were all in the cabinet.

Despite all the perks, parliamentarians were not serious and there had been next to no legislation in four years. The provincial assembly had not even met for the minimum number of days required under the constitution and when it did meet the session was usually adjourned after an hour or less.

- For 3.5 million residents of Quetta there were no parks, no freedom and nothing positive.
- Out of 12,000 roadside hotels in Karachi, 7,000 had been closed. The large



Politicians, lawyers and human rights activists in Mastung brief the mission on challenges in the district.

number of people from Balochistan who worked there were now hand to mouth. The Balochistan government had constituted a committee so that the families of the labourers from Balochistan killed in the Karachi violence could be compensated but the steps needed were not taken. The poor families of the victims received the dead bodies, buried them, offered Fateha and did not go to Karachi to seek any money for their loss.

- Holding general elections or, as a first step, local bodies elections in Balochistan would help reduce the suffocation. The tide will not turn until all political parties everywhere in Balochistan got out despite the fear, insecurity and suffocation. The next elections were crucial in order to afford the democratic and political forces an opportunity to find a way out of the vortex. However, change was impossible until there was power in the vote of the common citizen, and fair elections were held. Voters' lists did not inspire confidence. The Election Commission had deleted thousands of votes from one constituency in Loralai district.
- The report of a probe into the May 2011 Kharotabad killings had not been made public. The police surgeon who had conducted post mortem of the deceased had been threatened, and beaten up before being shot and killed and the journalist who had broken the news had been threatened and otherwise harassed.
- How could anyone expect slogans of Pakistan Zindabad (long live Pakistan) from a house where the body of a Baloch was brought? Last year on March 23 (Pakistan Day) the Pakistani flag was not flown in any Baloch-majority area.
- Akbar Bugti's killer [Pervez Musharraf] was given official protocol by Pakistan's ambassador in China. It was inconceivable that that could happen without the government's wishes.
- When Pakistani leaders could meet the Indian premier to improve relations, why not meet Ataullah Mengal and Khair Bukhsh Marri, who were the real nationalists as opposed to phony nationalists who had managed to get into assemblies because nationalists had boycotted elections? Balochistan could be kept part of Pakistan through love and not through use of force.
- The jobs given under the Balochistan package had not been made permanent two years later, and there was little share in federal government jobs for the people from Balochistan. Besides the civilian services, in the half-a-million-strong Pakistan Army there was no share for Balochistan. It was the army of Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- Gestures such as another province announcing a medical college in Balochistan made no sense to the people of the province. They wanted Balochistan to get its due and if that happened the province could announce construction of medical colleges in Punjab. There was a strong perception among the people that Balochistan was given a fraction of what it owned as charity.

Representatives of **Hazara Democratic Party** said:

- What was happening to the Hazaras in Balochistan was not sectarian violence. It was singularly one-sided massacre of Hazaras. It was nothing short of genocide. Everyone knew how mercilessly 26 pilgrims going to Iran were killed in Mastung last year as their female relatives looked on. In sectarian violence the victims were usually clerics and religious leaders, but the Hazaras targeted in Balochistan were bicycle mechanics, labourers, vegetable vendors and government servants who had nothing to do with sectarianism. They were being targeted because they were Hazaras, who could be identified because of their distinct facial features.
- As had been the case with Kashmir previously, Quetta was now being made a safe haven for extremist organisations. Gaining control of Afghanistan at the expense of Pakistan was not a good deal. In the previous month alone, 39 Hazaras had been murdered in targeted attacks. Two or three attacks occurred a day and the same

- group claimed responsibility.
- Attempts were being made to create strife between Hazara and Pakhtun and Hazara and Baloch. The Hazaras had foiled those attempts so far, but one spark was all that was needed to push Quetta towards civil war.
 - The terrible state of affairs in Balochistan was aimed at maligning the democratic dispensation and weakening nationalist parties. If the political forces did not act responsibly the situation in Balochistan will make the strife in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa look like child's play. Things would deteriorate if democratic forces did not act while the Hazaras continued to be butchered one after the other. The Baloch belt used to subscribe to Barelvi school of thought but now Deobandi madrassas promoting sectarianism were being built there.
 - Human rights organisations must do a thorough analysis of the reasons for unrest in Balochistan and look at and expose the many angles to it.

Yesterday [May 15], around 100 people were standing in a queue outside the passport office in Quetta when attackers targeted two Hazaras standing in the line. There were two security check-posts 20 feet either side of the place and yet the killers were confident enough to calmly walk up to the victims' bodies to check that they were dead before escaping. Since 2000, more than 600 Hazaras have been killed. Counting dead bodies is a painful task but the media always asks us about the numbers of the dead but it then fails to analyse impunity and the identity of the perpetrators or how they can continue their killing spree for this long unless they have sympathy and support within the security agencies. – **A representative of Hazara Democratic Party**

The political parties were very critical of the role of the national media regarding the situation in Balochistan. They said that rather than inviting the true representatives of the people, the media only invited the same few people over and over again to seek their views. They complained that that had contributed to keeping the people outside Balochistan in the dark about what went on in the province.

One political party's representative said that the media gave more coverage to militant groups than to democratic parties. Another said that the news about Balochistan did not reach Lahore or Islamabad and the media was failing in its role to bring Balochistan in the national fold.

Representatives of a political party said that in every TV programme, the guests should reprimand the media for not looking at issues from Balochistan's perspective.

The politicians said that journalists should be responsible and unbiased in reporting. Rather than playing up the ethnic or sectarian affiliation of victims, such as Hazara or Punjabi, they should emphasise that a human being had been killed and follow up on stories instead of being content with breaking news and giving death tolls.

Field volunteers' observations

The mission members met HRCP district coordinators from all over Balochistan to learn about the latest situation and key problems in their respective districts.

Makran

- The main violations in Kech / Makran were extrajudicial killings, illegal raids on houses of political activists and suspected insurgents and families of missing

persons who had registered cases against security agencies, and dumping of bodies of missing persons. FC conducted raids in convoys of 30 or 40 vehicles. The raids were conducted without the required sanction of the civilian administration. Four or five houses were raided every month.

- Civilian officers had no role. Parliamentarians did not live in their areas. Markets were open but strikes on political parties' calls were frequent. There was no particular environment or activity for elections.
- The social sector was in ruin in Mand, where the situation was about the worst in all of Balochistan.
- On April 24, 2011, uniformed FC personnel had raided the house of Muhammad Hanif in Mand and taken away Hanif, Rahim and Ahmed Ali. Ahmed Ali's body was found from Murghap the following day. Hanif's body was found after 40 days and Rahim was released around a year later.
- On May 22, 2011, the security forces unlawfully raided a house in Nasirabad, some 40 kilometers from Turbat, and took away Khalid, Ghulam Qadir and Mazaar. Levies officers registered a case on HRCP's intervention but only against unidentified men. Khalid's body was found in Murghap area a few days later and Ghulam Qadir's after a few months from the same place. On April 9, 2012, Mazaar reached home.
- On August 24, 2011, in Gayab area of Mand FC personnel raided a local hotel and took into custody 11 men, including Gohram Khalid and Ayyam. On August 30, nine people were released. The bodies of Gohram and Ayyam were found in gunny bags along the main Turbat Road on November 3, 2011.
- Journalist Abdul Wajid, whose father is also a journalist, became a victim of enforced disappearance on February 13, 2012.
- Those released were too scared to talk and said that the security forces still threatened their families. Those who had appeared before the judicial commission probing enforced disappearance had also been threatened.

Enforced disappearances in Makran (2004-2012)

Year	Disappeared	Released ⁷	Bodies found
2004	2	0	0
2005	11	9	0
2006	23	24	1
2007	20	16	0
2008	0	2	0
2009	10	5	3
2010	13	3	5
2011	51	22	47
2012	18	22	3

⁷ The number of released individuals or dead bodies found in a year was at times higher than that of the total victims of disappearance in that year. That was so because those who came back alive or as dead bodies included persons picked up in previous years.

Qilla Saifullah

- All members of Balochistan Assembly were ministers and each minister was the CM of his own area. Corruption was insidious.
- There was not a single science teacher for over 700 girl students.
- Elections would be keenly contested.

Nushki

- The district coordination officer's father had been kidnapped for ransom.
- Eight families of Hindus from Nushki had migrated to India and another six were selling their property.
- Taliban's influence was growing. There had been rapid Talibanisation of both Baloch and Pakhtun people.
- Law and order was poor and vehicle snatching was on the rise.
- There was a shortage of nurses, as settlers had gone away and there were not enough locals in this field.
- Election preparations were underway. Everyone complained of corruption and use of all funds on roads and nothing else.
- Now pilgrims headed for Iran travelled with security escorts.
- Wall-chalking everywhere had a single slogan: 'Shia kafir' (infidel).
- Load-shedding was endemic and education had been affected.
- Baloch Liberation Army had blocked roads and torched trucks.

Naseerabad

- There had been incidents of firing on trains and explosions targeting rail track. An FC check-post had been established to cover railway tracks. Still attacks were reported every month or so.
- In the winter, raiders targeted gas pipelines and in summer police and Frontier Corps.
- Kidnapping for ransom was at its highest although the abducted were not killed. Gangs big and small abducted the rich and the poor alike.
- Around a dozen incidents of karo kari took place in a year.
- In the hottest district of Balochistan, electricity was not supplied for most of the day. The grid station simply did not have the capacity to carry the required load, even if electricity was plentiful.
- Election preparations were underway and there was a lot of enthusiasm.

Loralai

- Settlers had moved out. Hazaras, Hindus and Christians were safe.
- There had been a lot of urbanization. Water was scarce.
- Coal extraction from Chamalang had begun. Thirty percent share in the extracted coal was given to the security forces in the name of restoration of law and order, and educational and welfare services. The same percentage was there in marble extraction in Behlul.
- Election preparations were in full swing.

Pasni

- No progress had been made in arresting the killers of HRCP Core Group Coordinator

Siddique Eido.

- Politicians had left the city. There was no public meeting or rally for the elections.
- Journalists were afraid to write anything.
- An organization called Nifaz-e-Shariat had stated that along with Hazaras now Zikris were also the target. Zikris were scared after the threat.
- FC had a considerable role in Pasni.
- 50 percent of the people were fishermen. Problems of the fishermen had snowballed and the authorities had done nothing to address them.

Bolan

- Kidnapping for ransom was relentless. The authorities were either conniving or helpless.
- Twenty-two truck drivers had been abducted, one had been killed. The administration said that if the people guided them to the abductors they would arrest them.
- Many Hindu families had gone to India. Several were waiting for their visas to come through.
- Bolan was also home to two tribes' feud.
- In the election, there would again be forced voting and violence. The people did not expect any positive change after the elections.

Jafarabad

- Kidnappings for ransom and acts of terrorism were common.
- Money for the flood affected had not been properly utilised.
- Roads were a shambles.
- There were neither Taliban nor insurgents in the district.

Kalat

- The Hindu community was fearful and did not venture out for anything that was not essential. Some Hindus had left for Karachi. Others were too poor for that. They could not live outside their own community.
- People were exasperated with FC. The DCO had some writ.
- The state of education was better compared to other areas.
- Nine people had been killed due to tribal enmity.
- Election preparations were underway.

Harnai

- Punjabi settlers were being killed
- Insurgents had blown up electricity pylons. A team that went to repair the damage was attacked. One person, a settler, was killed and the rest abducted. They were later released under an agreement.

Jhal Magsi

- Madrassas that promoted sectarianism were being opened in large numbers, leading to sectarian tensions.
- Nationalist parties had no presence in the district.

- 50 percent people did not have national identity cards required for voting.
- FC was not deployed in the district. There were only Levies and police.

Panjgur

- Mutilated bodies had been found in the district and two people murdered in target killings.
- There were kidnappings for ransom and excesses by the drug mafia.
- The national flag was flown and anthem sung when FC was there to guard schools.
- Those trying to emigrate illegally were smuggled in air-conditioner and luggage compartments of buses.
- Jundullah was present along the border areas of the city. There was no Lashkar-e-Jhangvi presence.
- There was some Zikri population in the district.

Ziarat

- Law and order had become a problem in the district only when sub-district Sanjavi was made part of Ziarat district.
- There were problems of health and education. Agriculture had been ruined because of electricity shortages.
- The juniper forests were illegally being chopped and Markhor was also on the verge of extinction.
- There were two colleges that had no boundary wall. The lands belonging to the colleges were being eaten away by encroachment from all sides. There were 17 high schools, three of them for girls, that had neither gas nor water.
- There was a lot of marble in the district but work had not been done to develop the resource.

Gwadar

- Human smuggling was widespread and the victims were crammed under the vehicles' seats like animals. Trafficking in children was also taking place.
- Recently more than two dozen men were found dead near the Iranian border. They had apparently starved to death. The men had probably been asked by human smugglers to hide in the area and wait to be smuggled abroad. Because of the terrain, graves could not be dug and the bodies had to be covered in stones.
- The insurgents and the agencies had both killed people. The Baloch Liberation Front had killed two 'informers'.
- Political parties were silent and there had been no meeting or procession. The people were not certain if the elections would be held. The people were afraid. Earlier, they used to come out and rally for water or to press for other demands. But even that was not done anymore.

Mastung

- NGOs had been targeted in the district and their vehicles shot at. Staff of Balochistan Rural Support Programme (BRSP) had been kidnapped for ransom and one of the abducted men was killed last year. The rest remained in custody. An FAO vehicle was shot at and two staffers of the UN agency killed and one injured.
- Lashkar-e-Jhangvi had killed three people in Mastung the same day as the HRCP

fact-finding mission was in the district. In 2011, 97 people had been killed, about 40 of them because of sectarian motives.

- Around 60 schools had closed down as the teachers were not ready to go to schools.
- Elections in the district were a contest between Nawabs. This time would not be any different.
- 35 percent of the Hindu population had left the district.

Sibi

- Kidnappings for ransom had become a daily routine. Even when people were freed they did not lodge cases with the police.
- Wapda teams conducted repair work with security escorts. Landmines were planted in some areas.
- There were villages where women did not have the right to vote.
- There had been disappearances but missing persons' families were not willing to share information and the missing persons who had come back also did not want to talk.
- Two years earlier there had been a Shia-Sunni conflict in the district.
- Many Hindus had migrated to India.

Chaman

- Chaman was like a separate country cut off from Pakistan. The law and order situation was extremely poor because of criminal activity originating from adjacent areas of Afghanistan. Bandits from Afghanistan committed crime in Chaman at night and escaped into Afghanistan.
- There used to be two offices of National Database and Registration Authority (NADRA) in Chaman. One had been closed down and the other was not functional. That was done on the pretext that Afghans were illegally issued Pakistani identity cards there. The closure had caused a great deal of suffering and additional expense for nearly a million residents.
- Political parties did not have influence, only individuals had.
- 40,000 people crossed the Pak-Afghan border for trade every day. The authorities looked for any flour hidden even in burqas of poor women and at night whole trucks smuggled flour into Afghanistan.

Civil society activists' concerns

Civil society activists and NGO representatives shared with the mission members their assessment of the situation in general and particularly the problems facing NGOs and development sector organisations in Balochistan.

- The problem for development sector organisations was that they were easily identified and targeted. In December 2011, six employees of Balochistan Rural Support Programme (BRSP) had been abducted from Pishin district. They were later taken to Waziristan in FATA where one of the abducted men was killed after demands for ransom were not met. The rest remained in captivity.
- British aid worker Dr Khalil Rasjed Dale who had been working for International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) was abducted from Quetta in January and his beheaded body found in the same city almost four months later. Dr Dale was abducted by gunmen as he made his way home in a clearly-marked ICRC vehicle.

The ICRC had suspended its health projects in Balochistan and other NGOs had also scaled back their work in the province after the kidnapping.

- Access to clean drinking water, sanitation, health and education had all suffered after it became difficult for NGOs and development sector organisations to operate. Even local organisations could not operate freely. NGO staff was abducted because the kidnappers believed that their organisations would pay the ransom. They could use the ransom money to further their agendas.
- Two years ago the pressure in Balochistan was on settlers, now it had ethnic, sectarian and religious overtones, focused on Hazaras, Pakhtuns and Hindus. Settlers had left many parts of Balochistan and Quetta on account of insecurity after Nawab Akbar Bugti's killing by the military. The land mafia had also tried to make money out of the misfortune of the settlers who had faced threats and intimidation from insurgents. The Hindu community had migrated from Dera Bugti and Khuzdar in large numbers. Their migration was prompted by kidnappings for ransom. A leading Hindu religious leader had been abducted in Kalat. Hindus were a trading community and departure of many Hindu families from Nushki for India and other countries had led to the collapse of the local business. Pakhtun traders had left Panjgur and Turbat for Quetta and Chaman. Ethnic Punjabis, Seraikis and Sindhis who had come to Turbat, Panjgur and Makran as labourers had left. Hazaras were going abroad in any manner that they could. Parsi MPA Faridoon Abadaan remained missing after being abducted a decade earlier. Initially, his captors had demanded ransom for his release. Abadaan's wife was abducted last year and released after payment of 30 million rupees some nine months later. 50 Parsi families who used to live at Jinnah Road in Quetta had all left Pakistan.
- The real representatives of the people were out of the provincial government as they had boycotted the general elections in 2008. Smugglers, criminals and mullahs had benefited from the vacuum.
- The problems in Balochistan were not as many as they were made out to be. If one problem was not solved that was no excuse for the government to stop taking care of others that it could easily address. All MPAs had a fund of 300 million rupees each that they were using as they pleased, without accountability or transparency.
- Out of the 5,000 new jobs in the Balochistan Education Department, 50 percent had gone to individuals who were already employed in better paid jobs and were now getting salaries as teachers for doing nothing. Most of the rest were given to Afghan citizens, those on fake domicile papers or central government employees. The deserving Baloch might not have got 1,000 jobs out of the 5,000. That had made little difference to unemployment among the educated youth.
- The solutions to Balochistan's problems had to be multi-faceted. Attention to local solutions, local vocations and employment opportunities was needed. In places like Chaghi, giving the local people employment through local resources could be a way out. A limited focus will not yield results. How would nationalists who called themselves the people's representatives represent the people if they sat out the elections?
- The accolades the chief justice had received over the release of only four missing persons demonstrated that positive steps were well received.
- In order to establish the writ of the government, security agencies had to be accountable under some discipline. It was imperative that whenever intelligence was received, the district magistrate was authorized to confirm its veracity. In theory, all law enforcement agencies operated under the district magistrate's supervision and must hand over all apprehended persons to the civilian authorities. The people blamed FC for disappearances because they saw men in uniforms. If those were not

- FC personnel the force should say who was operating in their uniforms.
- Dialogue and imagination should be used to resolve the problems of the people. The issues facing Balochistan were not confined to the killings and the FC. Deprivation was a bigger problem followed by law and order issues. Not that days were safer, but nights were particularly lawless. For instance, Khuzdar closed down at 7:00 pm. There was no way to travel as there was no transport after that time, roads were dilapidated and train services scarce and unreliable. Parliamentarians could not visit their constituencies because of security issues. The abrupt end of the Levies system had not helped the law and order situation.⁸

The journalists' opinion

- Being a tribal society, Balochistan had its own temperament and the ongoing strife had made things more complex. In addition to the nationalist insurgency, there was Talibanisation and one-sided sectarianism against the Hazaras and Shias in general. Journalists had suffered terribly in the ongoing conflict and operated under a lot of stress and fear for security and intelligence agencies, insurgents and extremist militants. Journalists who disagreed with any of these actors were often so scared that they stayed quiet. Those who did not do so risked threats, abduction or targeted killing. All sides expected journalists to be no more than their personal stenographers. Outfits like the banned Lashkar-e-Jhangvi said that anyone who offered shelter to a Shia was an infidel as was anyone who did not call an infidel an infidel. The Taliban had sent a journalist a six-page sermon with hadiths and demanded that that must be published as the front page lead in his newspaper.
- As many as 11 journalists had been killed in Balochistan since the beginning of 2011. The killers had not been punished. The security challenges for journalists and media had steadily aggravated. Journalists' protests outside press clubs for months had not had any impact.
- The mainstream electronic media had established bureaus in Quetta only as a formality, merely to be able to say that they had offices there. Media organisations did not see prospects for much advertisement revenue from Balochistan and lacked interest in coverage of issues facing the province.
- Media was a valuable component of civil society. National print media organisations covered Balochistan in their local editions, but the same organisations' editions printed outside Balochistan usually gave no more than one or two columns to major incidents or events in the province.
- Small newspapers did not even pay their workers daily wages. Correspondents outside Quetta worked without wages and only for the sake of influence that a press card brought.
- Those who had come from Jhang and caused sectarian bloodshed had left Balochistan. Now the suicide bomber was Baloch too. Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan got a cut in the ransom amount.
- If the government took interest and made a decision, only then could the police and FC act on that. Police said that if they arrested a suspect someone from the government got that person released. With that attitude no institution could work. The

⁸ The territory of Balochistan is divided into 'A' and 'B' areas. The 'A' areas cover cities and towns while the 'B' areas consist of the rural parts of the province. Over 90 percent of the territory of the province is categorized as 'B' areas. Law and order responsibilities are assigned in 'A' areas to the police and in 'B' areas to the Levies. The Levies are a force which its advocates say has had better results in fighting crime because it respects the customs and tradition of the tribes. During Gen Pervez Musharraf's regime, all 'B' areas in the province were converted into 'A' areas and police empowered to maintain law and order across the province. After the 18th Amendment, the Balochistan cabinet overturned the decision, withdrew police force from 'B' areas and revived the Levies force there.

government lacked determination.

- Levies were no more than tribal guards. Police were involved in crime and extremists had infiltrated them. Two militants recently killed by the police had brothers who had worked in the police department. FC did give protection to the citizens but there were reservations about its role.
- Balochistan was supposed to be under civilian control and if that was so then operations could only be conducted on civilian invitation and agencies could not launch raids on their own.
- From Gwadar to Zhob the whole province lacked basic infrastructure. That had been compounded by a gap in services as doctors, nurses and teachers had migrated. Those who had money had gone to Karachi, Lahore or at least come to Quetta from elsewhere in the province. NGOs' staff had been targeted and many had stopped operations. As many as 108 employees of Balochistan Rural Support Programme had been sacked.
- A provincial minister had said that ministers were involved in kidnappings for ransom. That statement had not led to any action by the authorities. If the minister was wrong he should have been de-seated.
In addition to the loss of life in the lingering feud between the Marri and Looni tribes at Chamalang, coal was not being extracted in the past. It was a positive sign that extraction had now begun and the locals had also got jobs following an agreement brokered by the security forces.

Religious extremists threaten journalists and warn us not to refer to the persons they kill as martyrs. The spokesperson of an extremist militant group called us to say that they had warned my media organisation thrice as per the Islamic way and there will not be a fourth warning. – **A Quetta-based journalist**

Balochistan High Court Bar Association

The fact-finding team met lawyers in all three cities it visited during the mission to Balochistan. In Quetta, the team members met office-bearers and members of Balochistan High Court Bar Association (BHCBA), who spoke of the problems of the judicial system and pointed out the low conviction rate in Balochistan.

They said that the judicial system in 'B' areas of the province had failed and only the Sardari system prevailed there. However, none of the lawyers favoured an abrupt winding up of the Levies force. They felt that the Levies system worked because of its community links.

They agreed that the Levies system should be wound up gradually and did not think that it could be replaced overnight as Gen Pervez Musharraf had tried to do when he had abruptly the Levies with the police in one go.

They called for improving the law and order situation and emphasized the need to ensure that the people in government and agents of the state did not abuse power. They also mentioned ministers' reported involvement in kidnappings for ransom and expressed amazement at lack of any action in that regard.

They emphasized the need to implement the writ of the state and bring to justice all those who were killing the citizens.

The teachers' story

The mission members met representatives of teachers' organisations in Balochistan. Office-bearers of Balochistan Professors and Lecturers Association and faculty members of institutions of higher learning attended the meeting. They invited HRCP to hold programmes at colleges and universities in Balochistan and urged it not to abandon engagements, communication and deliberations with students and teachers. Their main observations were:

- 2012 was declared the year of Balochistan but nothing concrete had been done. Education was not getting the required attention and therefore was not giving the desired results. The director of Bureau of Curriculum was a drawing teacher. Skilled manpower was needed in Balochistan. Self-rule under the 18th Amendment would materialize only if Balochistan prepared itself for that. Now student organisations also wanted education.
- Bringing the students back to the classroom was a challenge. It was not the parents' fault if they did not send their children to educational institutions. Even teachers coming to educational institutions feared for their security. If a teacher died on the job, his family received Rs 2 million compensation, lifelong salary and a job for his wife or one child. However, teachers attacked while returning home after 2 pm were not deemed to be dying on duty and no compensation was given.
- How could teachers influence students in this transitional period in the students' lives with positive values if the students did not come to the class for two whole years and got a degree by passing the exam? Nothing had been done to address unhealthy ideas taking root in people's minds. No one was focused on seeking to influence the areas that needed to be targeted.
- Even small problems in education had not been addressed. No extraordinary steps were visible for countering the hatred among sections of society that suggested a lack of interest in keeping the federation intact and strong. "It does not seem that their heart is in it." The role of the security forces, bureaucracy and the elected government was there for all to see.
- The youth still wanted to remain part of the country. The people would live in the federation voluntarily only if they thought that living there would be beneficial.
- The conflict had overshadowed all of the other problems in the province. The misbehavior on check-posts fueled hatred. That should be stopped. Recalling FC from Balochistan could improve the atmosphere. There were pickets everywhere. Eight-year olds knew who and where Taliban were. They could tell the difference between an explosion and a rocket attack. Children were growing up in a climate of fear. Many had picked up weapons instead of going to schools.
- The Chief Minister came to the province on brief visits. Media tried to find a solution to the Balochistan problem within one hour. The situation was precarious and it was difficult to say if there would be a change for the better within two years.
- Degree College, Saryab Road, Quetta was the biggest degree college in Balochistan with 139 teachers, but it was not being benefited from. The college had a capacity for 6,000 students but only 2,200 were currently enrolled. The college had remained closed for one year and after Nawab Bugti's killing there were only 250 students there.
- The Balochistan problem had not been taken seriously and the sons of the soil not consulted or engaged in talks. This was a battle for rights, if the people were given rights there would be no conflict. There was a sense of deprivation. The youth were no longer under the influence of sardars (tribal chiefs).
- Balochistan's total electricity requirement was no more than electricity

transmission/line losses in Karachi or Lahore.

- There was so much fear that one dared not talk within one's own representative organisations, much less talk to other organisations and political parties.
- Following the 18th Amendment and allocation of more resources to the province, corruption had increased. No one asked the principals about their needs and supplied educational institutions things that the suppliers wanted to. The principals were asked to simply sign the bill without questioning.
- The militants carried out killings in Quetta because they knew such incidents would get more media coverage.

Woes of the business community

The HRCP team met representatives of the business community in Quetta, who appeared to be very disheartened by the state of affairs. They said that business had plummeted in Quetta, whereas elsewhere in the province it was not of the same scale to begin with. They said:

- Business would flourish only when there was peace, whereas lawlessness in Balochistan was touching new heights with every passing day. Business had suffered directly and indirectly because of the poor law and order situation. Businessmen had been robbed, and kidnapped from their shops or on their way there or back. Kidnapping for ransom was pervasive and the people were on their



Representatives of the business community in consultation with the HRCP mission.

own in trying to get the kidnapped person back alive. Kidnappings for ransom were unheard of five years earlier. Today it was the most profitable business in the province. Even labourers were not spared. Often ransom demands for half a million rupees were made even for poor people and a bargain made at around 50,000 rupees. The home minister had said that provincial ministers were involved, yet no one had been proceeded against. Not one person had been nabbed and brought before the media and the people so far. This could only be interpreted as government's incompetence or lack of interest.

- Strikes to lodge protest on the call of various stakeholders, and to protest abduction or murder of traders were common. Often there were more days of strike in a month than of business.
- Retail businesses were still managing to survive somehow but wholesale businesses depending on supplies from outside the province had been badly affected. Obstacles in movement had hit businesses hard. Roads were not safe and businessmen were wary of traveling outside the province to buy supplies. Businessmen from big cities like Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad no longer came to Balochistan or Quetta. Business from Afghanistan had dried up. For traders from Balochistan going to Karachi, Sindh, or to other provinces, road travel had become very dangerous. Trains were relatively safe and reliable five or six years ago, but that was no longer the case. Flights from Balochistan were few in number and more expensive than in other provinces of Pakistan.
- Because of the security situation and targeting of zaireen (pilgrims) bound for Iran, their numbers had dropped. Furthermore, zaireen were now kept outside Quetta for their security, whereas earlier around 2,000 visitors used to come to the city in a day on average. As a result scores of hotels in the city had been badly affected. Businesses associated with tourism had been wiped out.
- The businessmen who could afford it had been migrating to other provinces or even abroad. If there was the requisite will, none of these problems was intractable. There was a political problem in the province that required a political solution, but that solution would not end other problems such as kidnappings, electricity shortages and general lawlessness. The political problem did not prevent the authorities from addressing these problems.

Agriculturists' hardships

The fact-finding team met representatives of agriculturists in Quetta to learn about their key concerns and difficulties. The participants included leaders of Balochistan Zamindar Action Committee. They said:

- The political environment in the province would improve if economic conditions improved. Balochistan was half of Pakistan and had been ignored for more than six decades. 70 percent of the province's economy depended on agriculture. Because of a persistent drought the underground water level had plummeted and water for irrigation and other needs had to be pumped from a depth of around 700 feet. All those associated with farming depended entirely on tube-wells to get water for their household needs and cattle. On account of prolonged load-shedding, operating tube-wells was often possible for no more than two hours a day. Targeting of electricity pylons by the insurgents further diminished the electricity supply.
- Balochistan only had one crop season compared to three in Punjab. Mass protests had erupted in Punjab and public property was destroyed when the electricity supply dropped to around eight to 10 hours in a day. In Balochistan, the people had been

compelled to agitate the daily two-hour electricity supply by blocking roads including the National Highway but no one took notice. Such issues in Balochistan were not highlighted nationally by the electronic media.

- Electricity generation projects had not been initiated in the province. The total electricity provided to the province was only 595 megawatts out of which 500 megawatts was used by domestic consumers. Little electricity was available for other uses, including farming. Rather than choosing the province as the site of the country's nuclear tests, electricity generation through the abundant wind and solar energy resources in the province should have been considered and should be considered now. The Iranian offer of 1,000 megawatts of electricity should be accepted to meet shortages in Balochistan.
- The agriculturists in the province produced around one million metric tons of apples a year but due to lack of facilities only 10,000 metric tons could be exported. Much of approximately 0.4 million tons premium quality dates produced in the province were wasted because of lack of modern packing facilities.
- The Zamindar Action Committee leaders had submitted their problems to political leaders including the president, the prime minister and the main opposition leader without any positive outcome. There had been a severe drought in Balochistan between 1997 and 2005 and 3,225 karez, 3,645 open-surface wells and tube-wells had dried up leading to the destruction of over 4.5 million fruit trees and death of 7.5 million heads of cattle. During Gen Pervez Musharraf's rule 1,215 tube-wells were allocated for the province that the elected mullahs and others had installed in their madrassas and homes. During the British rule, a tube-well could only be installed at a certain distance from an existing one and a no-objection certificate from the authorities was mandatory. Neither rule was being observed any more.
- The entire development fund of the country should be diverted towards Balochistan's development for one year, mainly by meeting the electricity needs, water for agriculture and facilities such as fruit packing.
- The killings in Karachi violence had affected Balochistan and around 20 dead bodies of victims of Karachi violence arrived in the province every month.
- The students did not get the required education in institutions of higher learning. There was no mining engineering industry. The single woollen mills in Mastung had shut down. Quetta's Bolan Textile Mills had also shut down.
- Land in Balochistan had been allocated to outsiders and armed forces personnel. The move would be resisted by the people of the province who remained landless despite working the land for generations.

Mission in Mastung

The fact-finding team visited Mastung district where it met representatives of the district bar association, political parties and members of religious minority communities.

The first issue that all participants brought up was the pervasive violence, an acute sense of insecurity and human rights violations. They said that the people were not safe and lawyers, businessmen, political activists and daily wagers alike did not know when they left home if they would come back alive. The government had no writ and FC was running things. A political activist said that the government had writ only on political activists, who had been confined to their homes and bandits and robbers operated unchallenged.

The lawyers said that despite the dangers the Mastung bar had supported the movement for restoration of judges. They said that now lawyers had become victims of enforced disappearance and the government was not taking interest. The participants expressed appreciation for the hearing held in Balochistan by the Supreme Court chief justice. However, there was concern that this might be merely symbolic. Some lawyers said that the chief justice had come to Balochistan too late and others wondered if any progress made would be sustainable and who will implement the court decisions. Some said that if the SC bench had come to Quetta sooner the lives of many missing persons might not have been lost.

They said that there had been 97 incidents of target killings and dumping of mutilated bodies in Mastung in 2011.

Another issue brought forth was the people's economic and social deprivation. The general disgust at politicians' ways was obvious, which was linked to a lack of development, criticism of ongoing development projects and claims of rampant corruption. Several participants added that democracy had changed nothing and neither had the 18th Amendment or devolution. One of the participants spoke at length about the warped development work billions were spent but there was no diesel for ambulance or the girls' college bus. There was no maternity ward at the local hospitals.

Even a bird does not want to abandon its abode. The Hindus leave only because we are being forced to. Those of us who still live here do so in the hope that the law and order situation, which is the biggest problem, will be resolved.

– **A member of Hindu community in Mastung**

There had been so many strikes that people were closing down their businesses. Agriculture and other means of livelihood had been destroyed. The electricity supply was limited to six hours a day and that too was of low voltage. The farmers faced the impossible task of pumping water from 600 feet underground with endemic electricity shortages.

The lawyers said that talking about rights was not rebellion. The country must be run in accordance with the constitution, which also guaranteed fundamental rights. They said that the constitution was being violated in Pakistan in general and in Balochistan in particular. The people had come to realize that the state did not comply with the law it made itself.

The government's writ was nowhere in evidence in Mastung. A police station house officer (SHO) had been murdered in front of the police station. People were being robbed in broad

daylight and Hindus abducted for ransom. There was no opposition in the provincial assembly, barring one member, who could not even attend the assembly session. The provincial government, all the police and Levies were busy in protecting the 65 MPAs, who could not visit their constituencies and had no connection with the people.

The political activists said that nationalist parties were not in parliament and therefore their role was limited, but they had tried to voice protest and brought matters to the attention of human rights organisations.

The lawyers also complained that judicial officers in Mastung did not get utilities allowance unlike the officers in courts elsewhere. They spoke about vacancies due to which cases got delayed.

This is a very poor area. The student here also has to earn a living for the family. He can do neither without education nor working for the family's livelihood. What does it take for such a hard worker to leave his home and family? Who wants to leave the comforts of his home and move to the mountains? There have to be reasons.

– **A political activist in Mastung**

One person said that the people everywhere in Pakistan should try and understand what caused educated young men to resort to violence. He said the youth had been alienated but that had not always been like that. Without identifying anyone, he said if gold medalist students were picked up, tortured and implicated in cases such as theft of a goat, many would pick up guns. The discussion focused on the use of law to resolve the issue and the participants demanded that anti-state elements should be dealt with under the constitution and the law rather than through extrajudicial killings. "Being anti-state may be the gravest of crimes but there are laws for that too," an office-bearer of Mastung District Bar observed. A young student said that his brother had been tortured by the agencies after being picked up and had recently come back.

Many said that generally the law and order situation was so bad that elected political representatives, including the chief minister, did not visit their constituencies because they feared for their safety. An activist of the Pakistan People's Party, to which the chief minister belongs, talked about threats to public representatives. He said that all political activity had come to a halt. The government had no writ, and lawlessness had affected development work. The Pakistani flag could not be raised in many Baloch-majority areas. The chief minister could not come to his constituency and his nephew had been assassinated in an attack in the local football stadium.

A member of the Balochistan National Party Central (BNP) Executive Committee said that in civilized societies the life and health of the people were important and in Balochistan the state of the people could be gauged from their health, education and employment. He said that educational institutions were empty.

To a question whether devolution had made a difference in governance, the participants said that there had not been any benefit for the people. Asked why would the genuine representatives come forward in the next elections to take ownership of the problems, the political leaders said that political entities did not surrender or abandon political struggle and if the BNP and National Party made an alliance to contest elections those enjoying power since the 2008 elections could not even win local bodies elections. The politicians demanded an independent election commission, prevention of organised rigging, and monitoring by national and international observers to ensure that there was no interference from agencies

and people's mandate was not hijacked.

If police and law enforcement agencies do not obey the law then what do the people do? After God there are courts of law. What can be done if the orders of the court are not obeyed? – **An office-bearer of Mastung District Bar Association**

A representative of the local Hindu community said that Hindus had lived in Mastung for centuries and were now leaving because of the security situation, which he emphasised was distinct from the political problem and the violence associated with it. In recent events, Hindus had been targeted in kidnappings for ransom and their shops looted. Thirty-five families had migrated from Mastung. He added that the five percent quota for religious minorities was not being observed. Neither the Shamshan Ghat (cremation ground) nor the temple in Mastung was safe from vandalism and theft. Garbage from the whole city was dumped outside Maha Dev Temple. The DCO had ordered that the garbage dumping should be stopped there but the order had had no effect.

He said that Mastung suffered from violence as a result of activities by the separatists and agents of the state on the one hand and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi militants on the other.

A representative of the Christian community also spoke of the non-separatist violence and sectarian killings and referred to the 2011 killing of over two dozen Iran-bound Shia pilgrims in Mastung near an FC check-post. He said that the inferno in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was now heading towards Balochistan. He said that the minorities did not see a culture of equality. The participants believed that law and order in Balochistan was intentionally being aggravated and a free hand given to criminals to kill and abduct. In the Baloch belt, there was pervasive poverty and the educational and social set-up had been destroyed.

Problems can be solved if there is a will to solve them. There may be a problem [of insurgency] in parts of Balochistan, but that cannot be an excuse for a general breakdown of law and order. In Quetta, there is security everywhere and yet people are abducted for ransom. What more can one say? Why are the people in government silent about this? Those in power are involved in crime. – **A political activist**

Mission in Pishin

The HRCP fact-finding team visited the Pakhtun-majority Pishin district and met politicians from ANP, BNP, PPP, PKMP, JUI, as well as lawyers, journalists and social workers and heard their concerns about economic challenges, corruption in development work, lack of healthcare and education facilities and deterioration in law and order, particularly escalation in kidnappings for ransom.

The participants of the meeting said that the main problem was absence of peace and law and order. There was Frontier Corps, police, highway police and yet crimes persisted. In 'B' areas of the province, there were Levies, which some participants called an untrained tribal force that did not even know how to register a case or record a statement, while to others it was a local force mindful of local values. The latter insisted that the jurisdiction of Levies in 'B' area should be maintained. The participants were of the opinion that the government was intentionally not addressing issues that could be addressed so that the Levies system failed.

A representative of the Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party (PkMAP) said that a strong federation could only come about when the rights of all nationalities were respected. He added that essentially it was a class conflict between the oppressor and the oppressed in Balochistan and that it was not a question of linguistic or ethnic friction. Balochistan and British Balochistan should be seen in separate perspectives. There was a Baloch problem in Balochistan, but the problems of the Pakhtun population of Balochistan were distinct. The Pakhtun demanded that until they were merged with Peshawar they should have a separate province in Balochistan. They demanded a separate chapter of HRCP for what they called southern Pakhtunkhwa.

Leaders of political parties which had boycotted the 2008 elections demanded that



Members of civil society air their views in Pishin.

interference of government agencies in politics must end. They said that as things were, whoever got agencies' approval would enjoy a 'conducive environment' in the forthcoming elections. They also expressed reservations on the voters' list.

A representative of the Awami National Party (ANP) said that Balochistan's problems had not developed overnight and the region was still reeling from the impact of the Great Game of 1928, when a person from these parts going to Kabul to study led to announcements from mosques that he had become a communist.

Some of the political activists spoke passionately about the killings of Pakhtuns in Karachi and blamed it on a dominant political party in Karachi which they called a terrorist organisation that wanted to create its hegemony and that lacked any real public support. They said that almost every week Pishin received dead bodies of Pakhtun labourers and roadside hotel workers employed in Karachi who had no quarrel with anyone. They said that appeasement of political allies at all costs had emboldened the killers and perpetuated impunity for killers in Karachi.

They spoke of lack of teachers and furniture in schools. One lawyer said that in Qilla Abdullah district out of 32 high schools 25 did not have headmasters. Over 50 percent had no teachers and many of the rest lacked roofs and furniture. They said that students in the district did not learn about scholarships available and scholarships were not allocated for students in Pishin. People who highlighted such problems also alleged corruption in the development funds being spent in Balochistan.

They spoke of growing Talibanization and feared it would lead to further aggravation. "In this atmosphere of Talibanization, we cannot talk about education. As long as the policies of hatred continue there can be no peace in this land, neither in Balochistan nor in Pakistan or Afghanistan," one participant said, adding, "The civil administration does not listen to the oppressed and victims of excesses. Whoever has a Kalashnikov can avenge the excesses against him. The rest join the banner of a bigger thug and once they go down that road they are past salvaging. Law-abiding citizens are afraid of going to police stations where thugs reign supreme."

Talking about the security situation, the participants referred to the 'negative role' played by the agencies. In fact, some suggested that kidnappings for ransom were being carried out with the involvement of agencies. They also spoke of militant training camps being run in the area and said that such people had a safe haven in Jungle Pir Alizai. The Balochistan Rural Support Programme staff abducted from Pishin in December 2011 had been moved to Waziristan and at least one of them had been murdered after the ransom demands were not met. In Kakar and Achakzai tribes in Pishin, small bands of criminals and mischief makers had the agencies' backing. Beheaded bodies had been found in Pishin, including that of a woman.

In about the kindest criticism of the Balochistan government, representatives of the political parties said that the provincial government lacked vision. Government officials were their private employees, or vice versa, and parliamentarians spent development funds allocated to them at their whim and without oversight. They said that the parliamentarian from Pishin had not raised the voice of the district in the National Assembly.

One politician said that all governance was prioritization and although there was presence of security personnel were present in the most remote and inhospitable of areas, the lack of teachers in far less difficult areas spoke volumes about the government's priorities.

They were perturbed that the Pakhtun were being called terrorists as a people, when the state and “its international friends had themselves given weapons to some people who had been painted as heroes and saviours of Islam not too long ago”. They said the same people who were now being labeled as Talibs and arrested had been the blue-eyed boys of the establishment, which had now fallen out with them and the people were stuck in the middle.

There was considerable bitterness and frustration over the mainstream media's role or absence of it in highlighting the issues of the people in Balochistan. A political party's representative said that it was okay if Pakistan's establishment and the media forgot about the problems of the people of Balochistan and if that was what they wanted then the latter should also forget about Pakistan.

They said that the majority's livelihood was associated with agriculture which was reliant on electricity for water. There had been acute electricity shortage in the district over the past five years and there had only been eight hours of electricity a day in the district. They said that against electricity requirement of 1,350 megawatts, only 635 megawatts were available.

Our Baloch friends have a complaint against one actor and they are killing someone else. What is the crime of a non-Baloch baker or a barber who becomes a victim of target killing? – **A political activist in Pishin**

The participants said that to a new visitor Pishin seemed like an earthquake-hit city where roads were dug up, there were no public toilets, and no medicine in hospital where no more than five of the 37 doctors showed up for work. There was no functional maternity centre. Polio had reappeared in the area and 40 cases had been reported in Pishin and Qilla Abdullah.

A PPP representative said that it was unfortunate that the riches in the land were being eyed by the whole world but not by Pakistan. He said that when there was an earthquake in the region it would be naïve to think that one district would be spared and would remain peaceful.

A representative of a traders' body, Anjuman-e-Tajiran Hazara, complained about extortion of businessmen and kidnappings for ransom.

But the most revealing comments came at the end when one person said that the war in Afghanistan was being shifted to Balochistan, that around 60 trained people were being sent to Afghanistan from the nearby areas every day. He said that about 1,000 refugees a day from Afghanistan were making their way across the border into Balochistan. He said that that was the reason crime in the district had registered an upswing.

The official account

Balochistan Governor Zulfiqar Magsi was clearly not impressed by the provincial government's performance in many areas. He agreed that there was a positive change in the air and added that there had been an improvement on account of a change in the manner the agencies operated and the SC intervention had been seen as positive. Adding that the toxic air of three years ago had fizzled out, the governor was of the view that the nationalists would contest the next general elections and would likely win five or six seats in the National Assembly. He said that individuals might attempt rigging but those would be individuals' actions and not systematic rigging at a large scale. There was a realization among all that change was needed.

He argued that when militants killed law enforcement personnel, the actions of the latter could be motivated by revenge. Asked if he felt it was justified for a disciplined force to behave in this manner he said that it certainly was not.

The governor claimed that there was little support for the separatists but added that support would grow among the families and tribes of the separatists killed.

The governor said that Quetta had 12 MPAs but the city was filthy, and the roads were in shambles. He added that the state of education was pathetic, political appointments had



Senior bureaucrats explain Balochistan's situation and the government's response.

been made and servants of influential people had been inducted as teachers. The governor admitted that many Hindu families had left Balochistan for other parts of the country on account of lawlessness and kidnappings for ransom.

He called Akbar Bugti's killing a turning point in Balochistan. The governor said that the activities of insurgents, ethnic and sectarian elements and criminals had affected law and order. In his eyes, the solution to the unrest in Balochistan was for the state to be powerful enough to counter the anti-state elements. "The state has become weak and every group is taking the law into its hands." He believed that there might be external funding for the insurgents but no direct foreign intervention.

He said the people were not happy with the police, but they were happy with Levies. He said that Levies were more of a community policing force but were not capable of countering terrorists. The governor believed that the sudden abolition of Levies in 2002 was a bad decision but an abrupt reversal of the decision was also far from wise. He said that a gradual transition from the system of Levies was likely to work better and a hybrid system could work for some time.

It was put to the governor that Balochistan had been referred to as the land of distances. He was asked that with roads in shambles, trains unreliable and flights expensive was there sufficient realization that the distances must be reduced and were efforts being made to do that? "Probably not" was the governor's reply.

The bureaucrats' brief

Balochistan Chief Secretary Babar Yaqoob Fateh Muhammad claimed that there had been positive developments and a change was in the air in Balochistan and attributed that to the Supreme Court (SC) hearings in Quetta. He felt that had had a positive impact on the people. Families of many missing persons had not been coming to institutions of the state earlier, but on the first day of the SC hearing in Quetta families of 64 people had turned up. The chief secretary had attended all of the SC hearings to send a message that the administration was a partner in the SC drive. He also claimed that the FC cooperated with the SC.

According to the chief secretary, the court's rulings were being complied with and all deputy commissioners (DCs) had been given written instructions that in any case of enforced disappearance or a missing person turning up dead the families must be asked who they believed was responsible and a case should be registered on the basis of their accounts. He added that cases had been registered against a colonel and a major in Khuzdar. A list of 118 missing persons had been given to DCs to trace them. In 13 cases, police and Levies had asked the high court for a direction for the FC to cooperate in the investigation. There was a very clear understanding that no institution would be protected from the legal process in cases of enforced disappearance. The chief secretary added that institutions of the civilian government were happy with the SC intervention as that had strengthened their hands. He pointed out that contrary to what had been reported in the media no written orders had been issued for the ISI to appear in the court.

There were many political, economic and social reasons for the serious situation in Balochistan, particularly in Quetta, and the administration was striving for a political solution. Religious and sectarian hatred and attacks were against the character and norms of society in Balochistan. The chief secretary said that many Hindu families had left Balochistan because of insecurity and had settled in other parts of Pakistan.

The chief secretary said that the challenges in the province demanded the best possible administration and capable officers but pointed out the glaring human resource and capacity-building needs in Balochistan. He explained how the federal government had first ordered the transfer of 25 officers to the province and then cancelled the orders. After the SC took notice of the shortage of civil servants, the government had ordered the transfer of another 18 officers from Punjab, but none of them had reported for duty.

He added that the problems were also compounded by constraints such as the inability of the administration to post Hazaras, settlers or members of religious minority communities in areas where their lives would be at risk because of their ethnic or religious identity. There were gaps in the education staff that could not be filled due to similar reasons.

Balochistan Home Secretary Naseebullah Khan Bazai explained that the FC had no policing powers and only had authority to act in aid of civil power. He also cited an incident where miscreants in a district had attacked Levies personnel and the home secretary had called the FC and asked for help to which the FC had responded. His point was that the initiative was taken by the civilian authority. Like the chief secretary, the home secretary too felt that the number of disappearances was falling Balochistan. He admitted that nine people had been picked up in the preceding three months, of which seven had reappeared during the SC hearings. According to him, 118 persons from Balochistan were still missing, out of whom over 80 percent were from 'A' areas and the rest from 'B' areas of the province.

The home secretary said that in 62 cases of disappearance the FC and intelligence agencies were accused of involvement as the “perception is that they are behind it.” He added that FIRs had been registered where the information was specific.

Levies personnel were raised from the local tribes and had been effective in the past because of their links and respect for social and cultural norms. Over 90 percent of the area was under Levies' control and around 5 percent under the police. Although only Rs. 3,100 million was spent on the Levies against Rs. 7,500 million on the police, the areas under the Levies had a lower crime rate. Levies' requirements in terms of capacity and resources needed to be met and a uniform force expanded gradually.

From the beginning of 2008 until May 2012 as many as 434 security personnel had been killed and over 1,000 seriously injured in Balochistan.

Balochistan Education Secretary Munir Badini said that the Baloch sense of identity had been misunderstood by both Islamabad and the nationalists. He spoke of deep chasms in society. There were 12,000 primary schools, 900 middle and 450 high schools and six universities in Balochistan. Only 27 percent of the students were girls. There were 48,000 teachers, most of them locals, and only 2 percent were settlers who were posted in Quetta. The education secretary called Balochistan a land of distances where access to schools was a problem as was quality of education and infrastructure. There were hundreds of schools that were improvised or shelterless. There was a proposal to create clusters so that children could be given pick-and-drop facilities to schools. However, implementation was slow. Distance learning was not an option considered by the government.

The education secretary maintained that giving priority to education could open new vistas for Balochistan. Governance was important but things beyond that were also needed.

The education secretary felt that the province today was defined by Balochistan's past and

there was an urgent need to engage the people in the state of affairs.

Human trafficking through Balochistan

The fact-finding mission met Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) Balochistan's Acting Director Shahab Azeem Lehri, assistant directors Naseebullah Kakar and Muhammad Hashim, and SHO FIA Police Station, Quetta, Bahadur Khan to get an updated account of the problems of human smuggling and trafficking through Balochistan. The FIA officials said:

- There was little human trafficking⁹ through Balochistan, although human smuggling¹⁰ was going on along Pakistan's 900-kilometre border with Iran through countless routes that were unguarded. The irregular migrants using the routes often aspired to reach Europe. In recent years many of the irregular migrants both from Pakistan or transiting through Pakistan had not gone beyond Iran because of the possibility of earning between 30,000 and 35,000 Pakistani rupees a month through labour in Iran itself.
- The main routes used were from Karachi to Coastal Highway or via Quetta to the Iranian border. Around 90 percent of the people smuggled through Balochistan were from Gujranwala Division in Punjab. FIA Balochistan had coordination with Punjab and more cooperation could help but efforts to check human smuggling could not have an impact until the root causes were addressed. These included unemployment, insecurity and the abysmal law and order situation.
- Although patterns varied but mainly those smuggled were males between 20 and 35 years of age. In 2011 as many as 350 boys who were younger than 18 were deported to Pakistan. The youngest was merely seven years old. They were very well informed about where they wanted to go and what they wanted to do once there. Many were going to go to Athens where they planned to sell flowers by the roadside.
- There had been incidents of criminals in Iran or Turkey abducting the irregular migrants and making ransom demands to their families. After their release, many had been deported to Pakistan.
- When they returned to Pakistan, the deportees often had no more than the clothes on their backs. Under Section 17 (1) of the Immigration Ordinance they were produced before a judicial officer who fined them if they confessed and they were released after paying the fine.
- Depending on their final destination, often the intending irregular migrants left on a valid visa to Dubai, Indonesia, Thailand, etc. and once there they relied on human smugglers for their journey onwards. Many deportees told the authorities that they had learned to swim before leaving so if the need arose they could swim to safety. There had been accounts of hundreds of Pakistanis perishing at sea after the boats carrying them capsized. Many of the boats used for the migrants' journey were not even fit to cross a small river. At times the smugglers offered to reduce the risks in exchange for money. Those who paid more could get fiberglass boats, life jackets, etc.
- To prevent being sent back to Pakistan after being apprehended, the irregular migrants destroyed all identification documents, including their passports. In incidents where the migrants had been killed their identity could be ascertained only

⁹ Coercion and/or exploitation of the victim that give rise to duties by the State to treat the individual as a victim of a crime and human rights violation. There is either no consent of the victim, or the initial consent is made irrelevant because of use of force or coercion at any stage of the process.

¹⁰ Characterised by a migrant's consent to illegal border crossing.

after DNA tests.

- Iran deported around 10,000 irregular Pakistani migrants every year. In 2011, the number was 13,000. That did not signify a higher influx; merely the fact that even those who had been in Iran illegally for several years were sent back after the Iranian authorities sought to counter Jundullah's activities. Some Pakistanis also courted arrest when they no longer considered working in Iran to be economically viable.
- After their deportation, FIA interviewed the illegal migrants and if five people named the same agent than his name was added to FIA's Red Book. However, the deportees invariably said that they would gain nothing by cooperating with the authorities. The standard practice of the agents involved in human smuggling was that they facilitated for the same 'fee' three attempts by the intending irregular migrant to go to a country of his choice. Therefore, the interest of the migrants deported to Pakistan was in protecting the agent. They often gave false names of the agents or did not give their full details, out of fear that if an agent was arrested the two more attempts he owed them would be lost. The agents were everywhere but unless witnesses came forward they could not be brought to justice. Prosecution could only proceed if the victim cooperated; the day he resiled the prosecution's case collapsed. A complaint was made against an agent only when there had been a dispute between the agent and the irregular migrant or his family.
- FIA did not have funds to provide food and transport to the deportees and sometimes had to depend on donations from philanthropists to feed them. It lacked vehicles to take inmates to courts.

Findings and conclusions

The mission was of the considered opinion that if there was a genuine will and commitment to find solutions, the numerous challenges in Balochistan could be addressed. It was plain to see that the strategy that the government had pursued in the province had not worked. Maintaining the same course was about the worst thing that could be done if the objective was to improve the situation. The fact-finding team made the following observations at the conclusion of the mission:

1. In many fundamental respects the situation had not changed in Balochistan since HRCP's last fact-finding mission to the province in 2011. Enforced disappearances continued in Balochistan as did dumping of bodies and impunity for the perpetrators. Frontier Corps and intelligence agencies were generally believed to be involved in enforced disappearance of people. In some cases their involvement had been proved beyond doubt. Failure to punish the perpetrators or to probe that involvement in a meaningful way was aggravating the situation. The law and order situation had worsened and sectarian killings increased in all districts.
2. However, there were some positive changes, each with a caveat, which offered hope for improvement in Balochistan's situation. The Supreme Court hearings in Quetta had certainly had a positive impact, although it remained to be seen if the impact would endure. The mission found youth and political activists were more willing to talk and more keen to engage in efforts to resolve the crises politically. Sincerity and reciprocity were needed to avail the opportunity. There was keen awareness that change was vital and a lot of people looked towards the forthcoming elections to deliver that change. If free and fair elections were held progressive elements were expected to participate. Some nationalists might not contest but others would. If the nationalists became part of the government things were generally expected to improve. However, lawlessness made preparation for the elections difficult for nationalist parties, many of which had constituencies in insurgency-hit districts. There were apprehensions that elections might be rigged and demands were made for national and international monitors for the elections. Law and order had prevented many parliamentarians from visiting their constituencies. As of now, the people only got a chance to go to elections once every decade. There was a general feeling that if there was genuine democracy the Balochistan's woes could have been minimised.
3. There were multiple layers of violence and tension in Balochistan. Law and order was a problem that cast a long shadow on all aspects of life. The crime wave that had engulfed urban Balochistan and the main highways was either a mark of collusion or utter incompetence of the authorities. The government, law enforcement and security agencies had completely failed to deal with militant / insurgent, sectarian and criminal elements.
4. Kidnappings for ransom had become a profitable enterprise. No perpetrator had been arrested or tried. It was difficult to see how the kidnappers could operate despite heavy security deployment. The conclusion that most people reached in Balochistan was that the criminals had not been arrested because they enjoyed the patronage of the authorities. The provincial home minister had spoken of fellow cabinet members' involvement in this crime but no action was taken. The people asked who would give protection to the people, to the Hazaras, non-Muslims and to truck drivers who pooled money to pay ransom.
5. The problems in Balochistan had long been looked at in the perspective of a Baloch

insurgency and Baloch rights. There was a need to have a holistic look at all the problems in Balochistan, including those faced by a substantial Pakhtun population, the Hazaras, non-Muslims and settlers as well as economic and livelihood issues in the province.

6. There were complaints of the state's inability or unwillingness to protect the lives of religious minorities as well as members of some Muslim sects from sectarian killings. Killings and harassment of the settler population by the insurgents had led to the settlers shifting to Pakhtun-majority areas or to leave the province altogether. Target killings and crime on the basis of religious and ethnic identity of the victims had grown. The continued persecution of Hazaras was as ruthless as it was unprecedented. The people the mission met said that if the authorities had the commitment to stop the killings or punish those responsible the killings could not have expanded in the manner that they had. Questions were raised about absence of ability or willingness on part of the government to protect the people from faith-based violence as well as its lack of priorities. Heightened threats including kidnappings for ransom had forced Hazaras, non-Muslims, settlers and wealthy people to migrate to other parts of the country and even abroad.
7. Talibanisation was growing in several areas. Unlike the past, religious fanaticism was not merely being exported to the province from elsewhere. It was now being bred in Balochistan. A growing network of madrassas had contributed to aggravation of inter-sect tensions. There were fears that the security forces were patronizing militants and Quetta was being turned into a haven for militants. There were said to be militants' training camps in the province.
8. Aspiring irregular migrants from or passing through Balochistan took great risks in their quest for a brighter future and the human smugglers were only too happy to exploit them. Little was being done to address the reasons that forced people to migrate.
9. Unlike the past, the insurgents had systematically targeted infrastructure and development work.
10. Despite the government's oft-voiced desire for a political solution to the crisis in Balochistan no progress had been made on engaging through talks the disgruntled elements in Balochistan. Even preparatory steps towards that end remained lacking.
11. The state abdicating its basic responsibility and NGOs retreating for fear of abduction of their staff had further aggravated the crises. The government and development agencies had abandoned the troubled areas. Healthcare and education were neglected. Many good teachers had migrated. An insurgency in parts of the province did not justify the state ignoring the people's health, sanitation and other basic needs and infrastructure, which were not affected by the ongoing strife. There were places in the province where the people, irrespective of their ethnicity, survived in conditions that were not far removed from the Stone Age. Alleviating their problems was no one's priority.
12. The provincial government was nowhere to be seen in the crises. The chief minister was away from the province for a lot of time and the provincial government held meetings regarding Balochistan outside the province. The provincial government seemed to have earned a lot of discredit in a short span of time. In probably the only example of its kind, all but one member of the provincial assembly was in the cabinet. After the 18th Amendment and the National Finance Commission Award, more funds had certainly become available to Balochistan but those did not seem to have trickled down. A general observation was that corruption had spiked by the same margin.
13. The government had shown little interest in shoring up sagging economic activity and businesses. The industry had collapsed, natural resources had not been tapped nor the requisite expertise created and agriculture that was the mainstay of a large part of

the provincial economy was in ruins because of drought-like conditions and lack of irrigation water amid plummeting water table, debilitating electricity shortages and absence of delay-action dams.

14. The total electricity need of Balochistan was very small compared to the needs of the other provinces. Yet the people in the province faced excessive electricity suspension. The people demanded that the government should accept an Iranian offer to supply 1,000 megawatts of electricity to Pakistan and use the same in Balochistan.
15. There was a widespread feeling that the national media had abandoned Balochistan and not given as much coverage to the events and incidents as their importance demanded. Even when whole cities were shut down during a strike the media did not report that. Journalists in the field felt threatened from the security forces, militants and insurgents. The people in the districts affected by the insurgency in general and journalists in particular felt like hostages. If they said one thing they were traitors to one side and if they did not they were traitors to the other side. The stories that the journalists did file were often covered only in Balochistan editions of publications by national level media organisations. That prevented the people elsewhere in Pakistan from getting the true picture of the situation in the province.
16. Members of the mission were shocked at the glut of sophisticated firearms in Balochistan and the people's easy access to them. It defied belief that huge quantities of weapons could pass through a series of check-posts when the common citizen was stopped even for carrying a knife. Had there been sincere efforts to curtail the free flow of weapons they would certainly have made a difference.
17. The people generally expressed faith in the Levies force because of it being a local force. Police was not well respected.
18. All investigations in Balochistan today seemed to end as soon as claims of responsibility were made by one militant or insurgent organisation or the other. It was a free for all and in cases of target killings or even common crime any investigation or prosecution worth the name was generally missing.



Representatives of sectarian and religious minority communities voice their concerns.

Recommendations

Unfortunately, as noted in the reports of HRCP's previous fact-finding missions, this year too the fact-finding team regretted that the recommendations made in the previous years had not been heeded.¹¹ HRCP believes that had those been followed the situation would not have been quite as bleak. The mission called upon all stakeholders to heed the suggestions put forth earlier and made the following recommendations:

1. The first step towards resolving the crises in Balochistan is to acknowledge their gravity and talk to the stakeholders with a view to finding solutions. The mistrust and the perception that the state is interested not in the people of Balochistan but only in the land and resources needs to be rebutted by actions and not merely by words. If statements of various officials are any yardstick, the government clearly understands the need for political means out of the morass. It is high time that rhetoric in that regard is translated into action and talks held with all groups, especially the most disenchanting nationalists, in a manner that inspires confidence and sincerity of purpose.
2. The people's aspiration for autonomy and good governance is the most fundamental issue in Balochistan and the urgency of ending military's dominance has increased with time. Every effort must be made to ensure that authority is not only exercised by Balochistan's representatives but is also seen to be so exercised.
3. Despite the fact that many of Balochistan's problems seem to be intractable, a positive change can be smelt in the air. The revival of some interest in taking things over that HRCP noticed must not be allowed to abate. A climate of frank discourse must be guaranteed through the government's affirmative and proactive actions.
4. The prospects for a general election leading to people's genuine representatives' rise to power could make for stability and peace in the province. This increases the need to guarantee free, fair and democratic elections. Failure on that count could irretrievably snap the Balochistan people's ties with the rest of Pakistan.
5. Nothing says more about a state than the way it treats its minorities. The record is particularly damning in Balochistan. A holistic view of the difficulties and concerns of all people in Balochistan, including the Baloch, Pakhtuns, Hazaras, settlers and non-Muslims, must be taken in the ongoing strife. The most fundamental of all rights, the right to life, should be given the sanctity it deserves and all efforts of the state should be focused on securing that right. Those taking away that right should be pursued with the diligence that reflects a conscientious society's respect for life. The alarm expected of a responsible state at the migration of a considerable number of its citizens due to safety concerns should not remain absent in the case of Balochistan. Excesses against Hazaras are a test case of the state's resolve to protect its citizens. So far the state has failed this test miserably. Bringing the killers to justice at the earliest is the only way to reassure the Hazaras and to belatedly salvage the reputation of the law enforcement and security agencies and of the government itself. People wonder how state agencies are easily able to pick up nationalists they suspect of terrorism, but fail to check the Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. Many sectarian and ethnic killings appear to be aimed at instigating wider violence and conflict. Instead of being a passive spectator the government should take note of that and formulate a strategy in consultation with the communities concerned. HRCP hopes and expects

¹¹ See Annexures I, II and III.

all political parties in the province to express their condemnation of unlawful killings of members of any ethnicity or religious belief by any actor in the same manner as Pakhtunkhwa Milli Awami Party had voiced their disgust through words and actions at the killing of settlers and as other political parties had at the senseless killings of Hazaras.

6. Enforced disappearances and dumping of mutilated bodies are the biggest causes of resentment and alienation in a large part of Balochistan. Anyone accused of any offence should be tried in accordance with the law with due process rights and not disappeared. Every single allegation of state agents' involvement in enforced disappearance and extrajudicial / unlawful killings must be investigated. Even if criminals and insurgents resort to violence and killings, the state must hold itself to a higher standard in its response. Deference to rule of law and respect for rights and abhorrence of barbaric practices like enforced disappearances and dumping of missing persons' bodies would not undermine the actions of the security forces in any way. They would only serve to heighten respect for the manner the authorities operate in.
7. The Supreme Court hearings held in Quetta to consider the situation in the province are a positive development. But that alone is not much to celebrate. The cases registered against at least a few security officials on charges of involvement in enforced disappearances are only a good start and nothing more. These should be followed through in such a manner that the state's desire to unearth any wrongdoing is manifestly apparent.
8. Additional measures need to be made to maintain peace during the coming elections. All political parties should be actively encouraged and helped to participate in elections. Election observers from Pakistan and abroad should have access to all areas to monitor all polls-related aspects.
9. Rather than the security forces, the government that emerges following the elections must be the principal actor authorised to deal with the challenges of the province. It must be allowed to work without hindrance. The security forces must play a role only when summoned by the civilian authorities, must not exceed the authority delegated to them, must act in a lawful manner and must be held to account for any infraction.
10. Without peace, economic and industrial activity would not exceed the bare minimum. Challenges for industry and agriculture both should be addressed simultaneously to avoid any further loss of livelihoods for the people and to generate employment opportunities. A failure to develop the vast natural resources of the province has added to a sense of deprivation in the province. Ensuring that the people in Balochistan benefit from the resources in the province should be the focus in both short and long terms. The required wherewithal including the machinery, infrastructure and expertise must be provided on priority.
11. The inability to meet the relatively small electricity needs of the province shows lack of commitment, imagination and foresight. The Iranian offer to provide 1,000 megawatt to Pakistan could be one of several ways to plug the gap between supply and demand in the province. Despite international pressure to the contrary, Pakistan should negotiate this facility on priority.
12. The steep rise in crime and lawlessness in the last few years points to a systematic degeneration of policing and deeper socio-economic problems. Kidnappings for ransom, once unheard of in Balochistan, no longer raise an eyebrow there. The police talks about 70-odd gangs and the home minister about patronage of kidnappers by other cabinet members. Only the provincial government and the home minister can shed light on why action has not been taken against any of those. It is imperative that the criminals are vigorously pursued and brought to justice in every case. The people's confidence should be revived in the state's ability to protect them

from criminals rather than abandoning them to perpetually pooling money and negotiating release of their relatives from their captors.

13. There are conflicting views on whether there should be a single law enforcement agency in the province and if so which it should be. Advocates of the Levies system value the fact that they are a local force. The trust in police is not where it should be. An agency that includes the positive attributes of both forces may be the answer. But the change must be made in consultation with the people under a gradual timeframe.
14. Making every member of Balochistan Assembly a minister might have pressing reasons for better governance, but those are lost on the people in the province. The cabinet costs the province approximately Rs 6.5 million a day according to one account. In the absence of any performance whatsoever, this expense cannot be justified. The strength of the cabinet should be in line with the constitutional parameters. There is an urgent need to institute ways to share with the people information that restores confidence in transparent and judicious spending of development funds. It is time to remind the lawmakers in Balochistan and indeed across Pakistan to focus on their primary role of lawmaking and relieve themselves of the burdens of thinking of ways to use the development budget. The latter responsibility should be left to the elected local bodies members with proper audit of funds and accountability of all spending.
15. The provincial government has been passive and content with pretending to be powerless and devoid of any authority as critics have slammed the handling of the situation. That is the exact opposite of the sort of governance that the crises in the province demands. Rather than using the insurgency as a fig leaf, the government must prioritise people's health, sanitation and other basic needs. The lack of interest of the political government in the people's problems and the people's lack of expectations from the government both present serious cause for concern. It is exceedingly unfortunate that at this crucial juncture competence, honesty and transparency are not attributes associated with the provincial government. That must change. Balochistan needs a government that is mindful of the challenges and is responsive to people's needs. It is hoped that the people of the province will have a chance to elect such a government in the forthcoming elections. Local government system can help address many problems at the grassroots and should be revived forthwith.
16. The increasing Talibanisation in the province should be flagged and stopped now. The state should expose the funding for the hate mongering business from Pakistan and abroad. All countries that call themselves Pakistan's friends should be reminded to restrain their generosity towards religious extremists in order to help put an end to bloodletting in the country. Domestic actors who are facilitating Talibanisation should also be named, shamed and proceeded against. One would like to think that the bitter lessons of the policy of keeping Islamist militants as the country's auxiliary force have been learned once for all. However, accounts of safe havens and training facilities for militants in Balochistan seem to suggest otherwise. At the risk of stating the obvious, this policy must be abandoned.
17. Those engaged in human smuggling should be dealt with through inter-provincial collaboration, and proper investigation and prosecution. The root causes should be addressed in order to prevent human smuggling.
18. If there is any desire to stem the rot, the free flow of weapons in Balochistan must be choked as the first step. The people need to be reassured of the state's keenness and ability to protect them and an across the board deweaponisation drive initiated.
19. The continued neglect of the government to bridge Balochistan's distance with other provinces is a scandal. The distances are there not only in the form of lack of communication and shared concerns and aspirations but are also physical. There is

no reason why air fare for flights operating in and out of the province should be the highest in the country. In fact, there is all the reason in the world for it to be the lowest to spur interaction, end isolation and, in time, boost trade, tourism and travel in general. The desired results cannot be obtained without making highways and trains safe for travel again.

20. The criticism of the role of the media in the Balochistan crisis is entirely justified. The media has failed to keep the people informed as the province plunged into crises. It must set about remedying that. The journalists should be responsible and unbiased in reporting and should follow up on stories rather than being content with breaking news. Meaningful measures should be taken to protect journalists from intimidation and violence by any actor.

Annexures

Annexure-I

Conclusions and recommendations of HRCP's fact-finding missions to Balochistan in 2005-06¹²

1. There is currently a war-like situation, militarization and politico-economic conflict in Balochistan. By denying this the government is only confusing the issue and making it more intractable.

a) There must be an immediate ceasefire and parliament must meet in a special session to ensure a sustained process of negotiations and dialogue, which must continue till the underlying issue of provincial autonomy and the rights of the people of smaller provinces is resolved. At the same time, a time-bound plan must be drawn up and publicly announced for the demilitarization of the province, which must start immediately.

b) In the short term all constitutional mechanisms of an inter-provincial nature must be reactivated with a genuine desire to include all shades of opinions while reaching consensus. However, in the long term, the political forces will have to make a stronger bid for the restoration of the democratic process, which will fully respect the federal foundations of Pakistan.

c) The economic and political rights of the tribal population must also be shown due respect.

d) All unnecessary check-points erected in Balochistan must be dismantled forthwith and the recommendation of the parliamentary committee on Balochistan respected.

e) HRCP urges all Baloch militant parties and groups to desist from laying landmines and to cooperate in clearing those that are already in place.

f) The authorities must not stoke inter-tribal feuds, nor arm militias themselves. Such tactics cannot alter the political reality on the ground, they will only aggravate it.

g) The official campaign of disinformation must immediately come to an end. In particular, exaggerated accounts of ethnic disharmony must not be propagated from government forums. The law enforcement apparatus must remain confined to its specified legal role and not indulge in any form of propaganda.

h) Till normalcy is restored, the government must appoint independent human rights monitors, acceptable to all sides, in the area of conflict.

2. The security forces as well as the decision-makers have remained completely unaccountable for the gross human rights violations in the province, including responsibility for the internally displaced people.

a) A high-level investigation, under an independent public prosecutor, must be carried out into the reports of extra-judicial, summary and arbitrary execution, torture, disappearances and injury caused due to excessive use of violence. The perpetrators of any offence committed must be brought to justice. In addition, an internal inquiry should

¹² The complete report of the mission is available at: <http://www.hrcp-web.org/pdf/Conflict%20in%20balochistan--%20Complete.pdf>

be also held into allegations of excesses by the security forces.

b) All places of irregular detention must be immediately closed down and the interior ministry should submit a report on this issue to a parliamentary committee. The committee must have the authority and mandate to be able to scrutinize this process, so that they can publicly assure the people that all necessary steps have been taken towards abandoning such abhorrent practices.

c) All intelligence agencies of the country should be reined in and made accountable to oversight bodies as well as to public representatives.

d) It is critical that the superior courts play their appointed role in the protection of citizens. They must use the legal tools at their disposal to punish abuses perpetrated by the agents of State.

e) The media, and indeed all civil society organizations, must not be denied access to specific areas of the country nor must information about events taking place be deliberately distorted. On the contrary, it is the obligation of government to facilitate adequate media coverage of areas under special circumstances.

f) To enable the many internally displaced people to return home, it is essential not only that a ceasefire go into place but also that all roads be opened and the Frontier Corps be removed from pickets in the interior of towns and cities. Compensation to people who have suffered human, financial or other losses must be granted.

g) The law enforcement agencies must be given training in human rights and humanitarian law. Their chain of command must be strictly adhered to and rules of engagement made public.

3. There is great mistrust of the government across Balochistan. The credibility of government must be rebuilt to narrow the immense gap that has developed between citizens and the State in the province. HRCP is convinced that the writ of the government can only be respected by the people if it is based on principles of fairness, rule of law and a lack of discrimination.

a) The government of Pakistan, must as a first step, review its agreement with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and enlarge its scope. In case of doubt, as exists in Balochistan over loss of life and injury, the government must utilize the services of the ICRC to regain the confidence of the people.

b) Misguided obsession with State versions of development while children are not able to go to school because of ongoing confrontation, will undermine development itself. In order to ensure that children attend school, it is essential to win the confidence of civil society and the public at large, by reducing the presence of paramilitary forces.

4. There is a growing lack of cohesiveness between the people of all provinces. This is promoted by the fact that the structures of governance are dependent upon the goodwill of the central government and have lost the will to retain independence. In order to re-involve the people in the decision-making process, confidence building measures are urgently required at all levels.

a) The government must provide complete and unimpeded access to human rights

organizations to visit jails and police stations.

b) The concerns of the people of Balochistan, regarding the demographic balance in the province, must be taken on board when making decisions. This is especially crucial with regard to megaprojects, such as the Gwadar Port, and the acquisition of land by those based outside the province. The opinions of local people must be included in planning schemes and giant projects.

c) The civil administration in the province must remain accountable to their executive heads rather than take orders from paramilitary forces.

d) The chief minister of the province, who has not so far visited the areas of conflict since tensions began, is urged to do so that he may make an independent assessment of the situation.

5. The government's development plans must be directed towards the full empowerment of people. The people must be recognized as stake-holders in the decision-making process, and their interests must be placed at the top of the list of priorities. For this to happen, the people must be given a voice, This is possible only if civil society organizations make a greater effort to visit areas of deprivation and interact with the people and are allowed to do so. At the same time, all movements must alter their approach to seeking rights from one of aggression, to a broader based initiative aimed at building countrywide and even international alliances for their campaigns.

a) HRCP urges that all steps be taken by the government as well as tribal leaders to end the practice of penal sanctions through jirgas as well as to do away with any form of private prisons that may exist. In its place, HRCP encourages the government to set up public-private legal aid centres and legal instruments, so that alternate dispute resolutions can be reached, in civil disputes, through traditional procedures and yet remain compatible to international human rights standards.

b) To meet the needs of people, educational institutions and vocational training centres must be established across Balochistan. Development cannot be limited only to building infrastructure or setting up giant projects.

c) Development plans must focus on building civil society, including establishing press clubs, bar associations and community radio and television networks. This would connect the population of Balochistan to the rest of the country and enhance the cultural environment within which they lead their lives.

d) The low visibility, negligible educational attainments and virtual lack of any voice in decision making of women in Balochistan is a serious hurdle in the development of the province. This situation needs the serious attention of the government, leaders of tribes, regional political parties as well as nationalist movements.

e) In the explosive situation in Balochistan, the more vulnerable members of society, such as children, members of minority communities and unemployed youth not only deserve special protection, their social and economic advancement must be guaranteed through appropriate plans of action.

Annexure-II

Recommendations of HRCP's fact-finding mission to Balochistan in 2009¹³

1. There is an urgency to create a climate of confidence and trust in Balochistan so that wider consultation with all stakeholders becomes possible. As a first step towards confidence-building, demilitarisation of the province is essential.
2. There is a need to restructure laws related to civil armed forces and define their role and the substance of reform needs to be debated in parliament.
3. In the long run, all political forces of the province should be brought into the political mainstream.
4. The people of Balochistan need to be assured that they will have full authority to decide their affairs including the management and control of the province's natural resources.
5. Baloch people's overriding concerns about missing persons and displaced people should be addressed and decision-making powers restored to civilian, elected representatives of the people. On the issue of disappearances there is need to set up a high-level commission with powers to investigate cases of disappearance, examine witnesses and summon any state functionary who has had anything to do with these matters.
6. All those illegally held must be freed and compensated. Political prisoners need to be released and perpetrators of human rights violations brought to justice.
7. There is a need to raise awareness among the people outside Balochistan on what is going on in the province.
8. There is a need to set up industrial zones in Quetta and other urban centres of the province where the young people could use their potential and get employment.
9. Civil society needs to increase its activities in Balochistan to monitor the human rights situation and democratic development and mainstream the concerns of the Balochistan people.
10. National media's coverage of Balochistan is sketchy and inadequate; it needs to allocate more print space and airtime to the issues confronting Balochistan. The coverage of Balochistan issues needs to be made part of the national coverage.
11. The quality of education is quite low in Balochistan and owing to continued violence and subsequent closure of educational institutions the students of Balochistan have suffered in terms of education. In the circumstances, Baloch students cannot compete with the students of other provinces and need to be given preferential treatment in admission to colleges and universities and in government employment.
12. Last, but not the least, actions speak louder than words. The government needs to take practical steps to provide relief to the people of Balochistan, such as providing employment to the youth, increased funds for the provincial government, withdrawal of army and paramilitaries from the Baloch territory, release of political prisoners and disappeared persons and constitutional amendments for greater provincial autonomy. In short a political settlement is urgently needed and vital if Balochistan is to be spared any more pain.

¹³The complete report is available at: <http://www.hrcp-web.org/pdf/Pushed%20to%20the%20wall.pdf>

Annexure-III

Recommendations of HRCP's fact-finding mission to Balochistan in 2011¹⁴

The mission found that all the recommendations made by an earlier HRCP fact-finding mission to Balochistan, in 2009, remain valid but unimplemented. It, therefore, reiterated all those recommendations and hoped that this time the recommendations would receive more serious consideration and would be implemented.

Additionally, the mission made the following recommendations:

1. The illegal practice of enforced disappearances represents a complete negation of rule of law and must stop forthwith. The state must ensure that actions of its agents remain within the confines of the law and that derelictions are investigated in a transparent and credible manner and punished according to the law. All victims of enforced disappearance must be immediately traced, released and given compensation. Those involved in illegally detaining them should be prosecuted. For reasons identified, the Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances does not enjoy people's confidence. Their dissatisfaction with the commission must be acknowledged and a mechanism that has people's confidence must be promptly introduced in order to investigate the cases.
2. All security forces operating in the province should be brought under civilian control. Any operation conducted by law enforcement agencies must be within the framework of rule of law, and under civilian oversight. The Frontier Constabulary should act only in aid of the civilian forces and under civilian control. The civil armed forces, wherever called in aid of civil authorities, should be under the control and discipline of civilian administration. In no case should they assume to themselves police functions or act arbitrarily. There should be an immediate end to the complete impunity from the process of law that the FC currently enjoys in Balochistan.
3. The task of policing in the province should be restored to the police, which must be properly trained, equipped and sensitised to ensure restoration of law and order and respect for people's rights. The police must exercise their responsibility of recording FIRs and actively investigating cases of enforced disappearances, targeted killings, discovery of mutilated bodies, and kidnappings for ransom. They should be given confidence to investigate complaints lodged against personnel of security forces involved in policing duties, irrespective of the rank of the accused or his affiliation with a security force.
4. The need for accountability of security forces and for eliminating the complete impunity with which serious human rights violations have been committed by them has been ignored so far. HRCP believes that illegalities by state agents persist mainly because of the impunity they have enjoyed so far and would cease to a large degree as soon as it is clear that illegalities would not go unpunished. HRCP emphasises that internal security can never be guaranteed by violation of rights. A formal mechanism should be established to systematically hold the law enforcement and security forces personnel accountable and probe any complaints made against by the people. Such a mechanism must inspire the people's confidence and must be convenient and accessible.
5. No one other than the authorities authorised by the law should take a person into custody. A detained person must be promptly informed about the charges against him, in accordance with the constitutional guarantees, should be produced in a court within 24 hours and his due process rights should be respected and facilitated. Failure to observe

¹⁴ The complete report is available at: http://www.hrcp-web.org/pdf/balochistan_report_2011.pdf

these rights should be vigorously prosecuted.

6. It is a matter of grave concern that victims of enforced disappearance are now reappearing as mutilated dead bodies thrown in desolate places rather than being produced before courts of law. Every single instance where a missing person's body is found must be judicially probed and the report made public. Families of the victims should also be given compensation.

7. The powers of decision-making and governance must be restored to civil political authorities in the province. The provincial government needs to assert its authority and act in the interest of the people. The provincial government must meet its obligation of ensuring law and order and respect for all the rights of all the people. It should not remain a spectator as people are killed because of their religious beliefs or ethnic identity. The government must ensure protection of all teaching staff and see to it that educational institutions function in a peaceful manner. The rights of all the people, including the so-called settlers, must be protected and violators brought to justice.

8. The higher judiciary may instruct the subordinate courts to actively pursue cases of rights violations. The judiciary should also be more assertive in ensuring compliance with its orders.

9. Complaints of support and patronage of elements involved in heinous crime, such as targeted killings and kidnappings for ransom, by politicians and security forces must be thoroughly probed, the findings made public and any individual found guilty prosecuted.

10. The government must ensure, in consultation with the targeted communities, that all possible measures are taken to prevent targeted killings, to effectively investigate the cases and prosecute those accused. Proactive steps to increase religious, communal and ethnic harmony are in dire need and must be taken on priority.

11. Places of worship and gatherings of minority religious communities must be protected and the communities assured of their safety.

12. It is entirely unacceptable that a substantial number of internally displaced persons in the province remain uprooted and uncared for. Steps to rehabilitate and, as far as possible, resettle all displaced persons in the province in their native areas must be given priority.

13. All victims of violence perpetrated by agents of the state must be compensated adequately and promptly.

14. The government must recognise and prevent the great personal risks that human rights defenders face in the province. While the government is under an obligation to provide a secure environment to all people, it is all the more important in the case of human rights defenders for no reason other than the fact that without their role many violations of human rights would go unnoticed. Incidents of killing of human rights defenders must be effectively pursued and no effort should be spared to bring the killers to justice.

15. There is a dire need to end the climate of fear in the province and to reassure the people. Unless that happens the people would not pursue legal remedies against agents of the state that they hold responsible for violating their rights, especially in the face of a state that has long looked the other way when it should be focused on protecting rights.

16. The political parties and the larger civil society in Balochistan should hold wider consultations on the way forward. In particular, the political parties should engage in a discourse among themselves to thrash out their common demands to protect and promote the rights of the people and the interests of Balochistan. The political parties should also take up the situation in Balochistan in parliament. All political forces in the province should be brought into the political mainstream.

17. Improvement in the law and order situation is imperative for economic activity, which is vital to overcome poverty and large-scale unemployment in the province.

18. The steps announced by the government with the stated aim to empower and reassure the people in Balochistan have not had the desired effect. Measures in the spirit of ameliorating the lot of the people must continue to be pursued and implemented.

Annexure-IV

Cases of enforced disappearance in Balochistan verified by HRCP¹⁵ (Jan 2000 - May 12, 2012)

Years 2000-2005

Sr. No.	Name	Parentage	Date of disappearance	District	Status
1	Alam Pirkani		24.09.2000	Khuzdar	Traced
2.	Hashim Pirkani		21.09.2000	Khuzdar	Missing
3.	Ali Asghar Bangulzai		18.10.2002	Quetta	Missing
4.	Hafiz Saeedur Rehman	Allah Bakhsh Mangalzai	04.07.2003	Quetta	Missing
5.	Gohram Saleh	Saleh Muhammad	08.08.2004	Gwadar	Traced
6.	Ali Ahmad Marri		21.02.2005	Sibi	Traced
7.	Ghulam Muhammad		08.12.2005	Turbat	Dead body found
8.	Gul Muhammad	Haji Parthwani	18.11.2005	Sibi	Traced
9.	Hanif Bugti, Dr.		November 2005	Dera Bugti	Traced
10 .	Hassan Bugti	Haji Abdul Wahid	10.06.2005		Traced
11.	Jalal Khan Marri		21.02.2005		Traced
12	Niaz Muhammad		08.12.2005	Quetta	Traced
13	Saifullah	Haji Abdul Bari Ababki	15.11.2005	Quetta	Missing

Year 2006

14.	Abdul Raheem		26.12.2006	Gadani	Traced
15.	Amanullah		30.10.2006	Karak	Traced
17.	Azizullah	Shahnawaz Marri	25.09.2006	Quetta	Traced
18.	Burgh Marri		05.06.2006	Quetta	Missing

¹⁵ HRCP has been trying to verify and document cases of enforced disappearance for years and has no hesitation in admitting that verification of the actual number, particularly in Balochistan, has been quite difficult and sometimes impossible. When HRCP filed the petition for missing persons in the Supreme Court in 2007 the number of verified cases from across Pakistan did not exceed a little over 400. Then several cases had to be deleted because the requirements of documentation under the UN protocol and the court regime could not be fulfilled. HRCP has highlighted the difficulties in verifying cases of enforced disappearance in Balochistan and urged all concerned to play their role in documenting these cases to ensure that those in unlawful detention are freed, the illegal practice is brought to an end, and no disappearance case escapes attention. HRCP has no intent to deny the claims of families of missing persons and has never claimed that the figures compiled by it constitute an exhaustive list of cases of disappearance. It has consistently stated that the figures it cites are only those that it has been able to verify.

19.	Daad Rehman		26.12.2006	Gadani	Traced
20.	Din Muhammad		26.12.2006	Gadani	Traced
21.	Farooq Marri, Haji		05.06.2006	Quetta	Missing
22.	Habibullah	Shahnawaz Marri	25.09.2006	Kohlu	Traced
23.	Ibrahim Khalil Marri	Ahmed Khan	09.03.2006	Kohlu	Traced
24.	Jaffar Khan Marri	Ali Jan	05.06.2006	Quetta	Missing
25.	Kaka Marri	Pehlwan Marri	21.10.2006	Quetta	Missing
26.	Khalil Ahmed Langove		09.10.2006	Quetta	Traced
27.	Khuda Dad		26.12.2006	Gadani	Traced
28.	Karim Bakhsh Mengal		26.12.2006	Gadani	Traced
29.	Mir Chakar Khan Marri	Mir Taj Muhammad Marri	05.06.2006	Quetta	Traced
30.	Mir Muhammad Marri	Ali Jan	05.06.2006		Missing
31.	Mir Samad Marri		05.06.2006	Quetta	Missing
32.	Muhammad Anwar		26.12.2006		Traced
33.	Noor Ahmed Mengal	Haji Sher Muhammad	26.12.2006	Gadani	Traced
34.	Qadir Bakhsh		26.12.2006		Traced
35.	Raza Ahmed Marri	Ahmedan Marri	28.08.2006	Sibi	Missing
36.	Razi Khan Marri	-	21.10.2006	Sibi	Traced
37.	Rindo Khan Marri		05.06.2006	Quetta	Missing
38.	Safari Marri	Alam Khan Mandani Marri	08.01.2006		Traced
39.	Shah Gul Marri		05.06.2006	Quetta	Missing
40.	Shari Ahmed Marri		05.06.2006	Quetta	Missing
41.	Surri Ahmad Khan	Hajihan Marri	01.10.2006		Traced
42.	Wadera Jalal Marri		06.05.2006		Traced
43.	Yaqoob Marri	Mirjan Tangyani Marri	03.02.2006	Kohlu	Traced
44.	Yahya Khan Marri		12.08.2006	Quetta	Missing
45.	Zafar Mengal		26.12.2006	Gadani	Traced
46.	Zahid Karim Bakhsh		19.03.2006		Traced

Year 2007

47	Abdul Hameed Baloch	Ghulam Shad	14.03.2007	Kech	Missing
48	Abdul Wahid Baloch	Haji Aali	14.03.2007	Kech	Traced
79.	Bibarg		15.02.2007	Turbat	Traced
50.	Fazal Baloch	Dur Muhammad	14.03.2007	Kech	Traced
51.	Faiz Muhammad		15.03.2007	Sibi	Traced
52.	Gul Muhammad		15.02.2007	Turbat	Missing
53.	Jasim Baloch	Saleh Muhammad	14.03.2007	Kech	Traced
54.	Khali Jan Marri	Baz Muhammad	04.07.2007	Quetta	Missing
55.	Khuda-e-Rahim Baloch	Hassan Bakhsh	03.08.2007	Washuk	Traced
65.	Mir Safar Khan Marri	Mir Alam Khan	04.07.2007	Quetta	Missing
57.	Moheem Khan	Yar Muhammad	09.02.2007	Turbat	Traced
58.	Moheem Khan Marri		03.02.2007	Quetta	Traced
59.	Muhammad Iqbal	Abdul Rehman	14.03.2007	Turbat	Missing
60.	Nawaz Ali Baloch	Ghulam Yaseen	14.03.2007		
61.	Yar Muhammad	Mehmood Baloch	09.02.2007	Turbat	Traced
62	Zahid Baloch	Haji Ibrahim	14.03.2007	Kech	Traced
63	Noor Jan Zamurani	Muhammad Hassan Nagzamurani	09/02/2007	Kech	Traced

Year 2008

64.	Saeed Mengal		March 2008	Dalbandin	Traced
65.	Saleem Langove	Muhammad Siddique	17.11.2008	Quetta	Missing
66	Sanallah M. Hassani	Shah Muhammad	26.02.2008	Quetta	Missing
67	Abdul Rasool Aarri		01/02/2008	Quetta	Missing

Year 2009

68.	Chakar Khan Marri	Jamil Ahmed	03.09.2009	Quetta	Missing
69.	Din Muhammad Baloch, Dr.	Qadir Bakhsh	29.06.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
70.	Faiz Muhammad	Raheem Dad	03.05.2009	Kech	Missing
71.	Ehsan Arjumandi		07.08.2009	Lasbela	Missing

72.	Fazal Karim	Sher Muhammad	01.07.2009	Kalat	Missing
73.	Fazaluddin		27.09.2009	Mastung	Missing
74.	Ghulam Nabi	Saleh Muhammad	01.08.2009	Quetta	Missing
75.	Hidayatullah Bangulzai	Muhammad Akbar	03.09.2009	Quetta	Missing
76.	Jalil Raeki	Adbul Qadeer	06.02.2009	Quetta	Dead body found
77.	Imran Baloch		02.05.2009	Quetta	Missing
78.	Mir Kamal Khan Sanjrani		06.03.2009	Dalbandin	Missing
89.	Mir Zafar Yaqoob Noshewani	Nawabzada Yaqoob Noshewani	21.08.2009	Quetta	Traced
80.	Mushtaq Ali	Rodeni	27.03.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
81.	Mushtaq Baloch	Ali Ahmed	27.03.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
82.	Muhammad Iqbal	Shambay Khan	03.07.2009	Panjgur	Missing
83.	Mujeeb Ahmed Baloch	Abdul Majeed	01.09.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
84.	Murid Bugti		05.02.2009	Dera Bugti	Missing
85.	Najeebullah	Ghulam Qadir Qambrani	22.10.2009		
86.	Naseer Ahmed		11.11.2009	.	Traced
87.	Saadullah Baloch	Haji Abdul Raheem	24.08.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
88.	Samiullah Baloch		19.07.2009	Nushki	Missing
89.	Shahzaib Baloch		02.02.2009	Panjgur	Traced
90.	Safar Khan Marri	Sher Khan Marri	26/10/2009	Marri Camp Quetta	Missing
91.	Takari Muhammad Hashim	Ghulam Qadir	21.07.2009	Kalat	Missing
92.	Zakir Majeed	Abdul Majeed Bizenjo	08.06.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
93.	Shabbir Ahmed	Haji Khan	11/10/2009	Brewery Road Quetta	Missing
94.	Qari Naseer Ahmed	Haji Abdul Rehman	11/10/2009	Brewery Road Quetta	Missing
95.	Abdul Hai Bangulzai	Abdul Wahab Bangulzai	29.08.2009	Quetta	Traced
96.	Abdul Kabeer Baloch	Ghaus Bux	27.03.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
97.	Abdul Qadir Langove		08.09.2009	Quetta	Missing

98.	Ali Ahmed Baloch		02.05.2009	Quetta	Missing
99.	Attaullah Baloch		27.03.2009	Khuzdar	Missing
100.	Bashir Azeem, Dr.		06.02.2009	Sibi	Traced
101	Bakhtiar Bangulzai		03.03.2009	Sibi	Missing
102	Chakar Qambrani		06.02.2009	Quetta	Traced
103	Najeebullah	Ghulam Qadir Qambrani	22.10.2009	Quetta	Traced
104	Nasir Ali Baloch		03/09/2009	Turbat	Missing

Year 2010

105.	Abdul Qayyum Comrade	Nazar Muhammad	11.12.2010	Gwadar	Dead body found
106	Abdul Rehman	Ghulam Hussain	03.09.2010	Gwadar	Dead body found
107.	Abdul Sattar	Dad Muhammad	15.08.2010	Panjgur	Dead body found
108	Abdul Wahab	Noor Muhammad	08.03.2010	Turbat	Missing
109.	Naseer Ahmed	Kamalan	05.11.2010	Gwadar	Dead body found
110.	Agha Abid Shah	Syed Gul Agha	15.08.2010	Panjgur	Dead body found
111	Ahmed Dad	Dad Muhammad	03.10.2010	Turbat	Dead body found
112.	Arif Baloch	Noor Muhammad	31-10-2010	Karachi	Dead body found
113.	Bahar Khan	Baig Muhammad	30.06.2010	Quetta	Dead body found
114.	Ghaffar Dashti	Rasool Bux	22-11-2010	Turbat	Missing
115.	Farooq Mengal	Ghulam Rasool	10.05.2010	Quetta	Dead body found
116	Mehboob Ali	Baig Muhammad	31-10-2010	Karachi	Dead body found
117	Irshad Nasir	Nasir Ali	26.11.2010	Kech	Missing
118	Jameel Yaqoob	Muhammad Yaqoob	28-8-2010	Turbat	Dead body found
119	Kamran	Ghulam Sarwar	04.11.2010	Quetta	Missing
120	Khuda-e-Rahim Bangulzai	Murid Khan	11.12.2010	Quetta	Dead body found
121	Master Safeer	Ghaus Bux Baloch	15.08.2010	Panjgur	Dead body found

122.	Qamber Chakar	Chakar Ali	26-11-2010	Turbat	Dead Body Found
123.	Raees Jameel Ahmed	Muhammad Yaqoob	28.08.2010	Turbat	Dead body found
124.	Sameer	Rasheed	13.10.2010	Quetta	Dead body found
125.	Sameer Rind	Mir Abdul Karim Rind	14.10. 2010	Turbat	Dead body found
126.	Ramzan	Murad	24.07.2010	Turbat	Missing
127.	Shahdaad	Pathan	02.05.2010	Gwadar	Missing
128.	Shamsuddin	Muhammad Usman	01.07.2010	Quetta	Missing
129.	Siddique Eido	Eido	21.12.2010	Gwadar	Dead body found
130	Tariq Ali Baloch	Mula Essa	14.11.2010	Turbat	Dead body found
131	Tariq Karim	Muhammad Karim	21.10.2010	Karachi	Dead body found from Lasbela
132	Yasir Ali	Nasir Ali	13.10.2010	Turbat	Missing
133	Yousaf Nazar	Nazar Muhammad	21.12.2010	Gwadar	Dead body found
134.	Muneer Mirwani Advocate	Ghulam Rasool	17/06/2010	Khuzdar	Missing
135	Dr. Akber Marri	Bakhtiar Khan Marri	2010	Quetta	Missing
136	Manzoor Ahmed	Nazeer Ahmed	27/03/2010	Shalkot Quetta	Missing
137	Hameed Baloch		13/12/2010	Panjgur	Dead body found

Year 2011

138	Ahmed Ali	Ali Ahmed	16.05.2011	Turbat	Dead body found
139	Akhtar Langove		23.04.2011	Quetta	Dead body found
140	Fareed Ahmed Baloch	Abdul Haleem	11.02.2011	Panjgur	Dead body found
141	Haneef Yousuf	Muhammad Yousuf	20.05.2011	Gwadar	Missing
142.	Khalid Baloch	Doshambey	21.05.2011	Turbat	Dead body found
145	Mazar Baloch	Noor Baksh	22.05.2011	Turbat	Traced
146	Muhammad Azam	Haji Mehrab	06.05.2011	Gwadar	Dead Body
147	Muhammad Jan	Muhammad Bilal	18.04.2011	Khuzdar	Dead body found

148	Nabeel Sahib	Sahib Khan	13.10.2011	Gwadar	Released on 16/4/12 in Pasni
149.	Nauroz Baloch		20.05.2011	Turbat	Missing
150	Raheem Yousuf	Muhammad Yousuf	20.05.2011	Gwadar	Missing
151	Ramzan	Muhammad Yaqoob	29.05.2011	Turbat	Missing
152	Shameem Baloch	Muhammad Ameen Baloch	21.04.2011	Turbat	Dead body found
153	Waleed Afzal	Muhammad Afzal	13.10.2011	Gwadar	Released on 16/4/12 in Pasni
154	Zareef Faraz	Balach Baloch	21.04.2011	Gwadar	Dead body found
155	Zubair	Haji Muhammad Noor	05.05.2011	Turbat	Dead body found
156	Shafi Baloch		17- 06-2011	Mastung	Dead body found
157	Asif Ali	Muhammad Yousaf	28 -5-2011	Karachi	Dead body found
Sr. No.	Name	Parentage	Date of disappearance	District	Status
158	Najam Uddin	Malik Muhammad	6-09-2010	Mastung	Missing
159	Ghulam Qadir	Do Shambay	22-05-2011	Turbat	Missing
160	Noor Bukhsh	Do shambay	4-07-2011	Turbat	Dead body found
161	Khalid Mengal	Bilal Ahmed	16-05-2011	Nushki	Missing
162	Kaleem Boloch	Muhammad Azam	26-08-2011	Mastung	Dead body found
163	Sattar Baloch	Jan Muhammad	24-08-2011	Turbat	Released 30 Aug 2011
164	Nadil Baloch	Chakar Baloch	24-08-2011	Turbat	Missing
165	Inayat Ullah	Lal Muhammad	24-08-2011	Turbat	Released 29 Aug 2011
166	Barkat Baloch	Ali Muhammad	24-08-2011	Turbat	Missing
167	Gohram Baloch	Khalid	24-08-2011	Turbat	Dead body found
168	Javed Naseer Rind	Naseer Ahmed Rind	10 -09-2011	Hub	Found dead
169	Abdul Samad Rind	Raes Khan Rind	10-09-2011	Hub	Found dead

170	Abdul Ghafar	Rahmat	05/10/2011	Kuhak Turbat	Missing
171	Amjad	Dad Ullah	17/09/2011	Kalat Bazar Turbat	Missing
172	Munir Ahmed	Muhammad Umer	09/08/2011	Mand Turbat	Missing
173	Nasir	Raham Dil	17/09/2011	Main Turbat	Missing
174	Ali Hassan	Khan Muhammad	4/11/2011	Wadh Khuzdar	Missing
175	Haji Meher Ullah Khalji	-	One year	Siryab Road Quetta	Missing
176	Khalid Bilal	Muhammad Bilal	16/05/2011	Nushki	Missing
177	Zohaib Hassan	Raiz Ahmed	23/07/2011	Shalkot Quetta	Missing
178	Gulam Qadir	-	22/05/2011	Turbat	Missing

Year 2012

Sr. No.	Name	Parentage	Date of disappearance	District	Status
179.	Muhammad Hanif.	Murad Hasil	05-01-2012	Gwadar	Released
180.	Faqeer Muhammad	Dur Muhammad	10-01-2012	Dasht Turbat	Missing
181	Majid	Dad Muhammad	10-01-2012	Mand Turbat	Released
182	Muhammad	Haji Gul Muhammad	3-02-2012	Mand Turbat	Released
183	Amir Khan	Gulbahar,	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
184	Mir Jan	Amir Khan	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
185	Balakh Sher	Amir Khan	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
186	Mohammad Sher	Amir Jan	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
187	Gul Mir	Douran	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
188	Hazar Khan	Habib Khan	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released

189	Mazar Khan	Habib Khan	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
190	Javed (10 years old)	Habib Khan	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
191	Haneef	Habib Khan	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
192	Lal	Douran,	01-03-2012	Saryab Road, Quetta	Released
193	Dr Naseer Baloch	Ali Muhammad	03/04/2012	Quetta	Released
194	Hafeez Rodeeni		03/04/2012	Quetta	Released
195	Akhter Langov		03/04/2012	Quetta	Released
196	Abdul Majeed Reiki	Mir Shehak	17/09/2011	Washuk	Missing
197	Wazir Ahmed	Shafi Muhammad	24/09/2011	Washuk	Missing
198	Abdul Mahlik	Abdul Khaliq	28/08/2011	Nukshi	Missing

Annexure-V

Bodies of missing persons found in Balochistan in 2012

#	Name	Parentage	Age	Date of Disappearance	Body found (date & place)	Address
1	Saleem Badini	-	30	One month earlier-	Jan 1, Dasht, Mastung	Mach Bolan.
2	Wazir Khan Marri	Qaim Khan		Sep 2011 Hazar Gunji Quetta	Jan 2, Eastern Bypass Brewery Road, Quetta	Hazar Gunji Quetta
3	Abdul Sattar	-	-	-	Jan3, Jafarabad	Dera Allah yar Jafarabad
4	Jameel Baloch	Mula Samad	30	-	Jan3, Khairabad, Turbat	Dasht Turbat
5	Muhammad Murad	Abdul Lateef	-	-	Jan 5, Windar, Lasbela	Hub Lasbela
6	Inayat Ullah	Muhammad Ismail	34	Some days earlier from Karachi	Jan 5, Hub, Lasbela	Karachi.
7	Zila Khan Bugti	-	35	Three days earlier from Jafarabad	Jan 9, Nautal, Naseerabad	Jafarabad.
8	Muhammad Ibrahim	-	-	-	Jan 13, Chaghi	Nushki
9	Unidentified	-	-	-	Jan 13, Chaghi	-
10	Wazir Khan Marri	Zuhair	38	-	Jan 16, Leyari, Uthal	Ghot Lal Muhammad Marri Karachi
11	Ghulam Muhammad		24		Jan 16, Pishin	-
12	Muhammad Azeem	Balach	-	-	Jan 16, Chitkan, Panjgur	Gader Sorab, Kalat
13	Unidentified	-	-	-	Jan 16, Saryab Road, Quetta	-
14	Muneer Ahmed	Muhammad Bukhsh	-	-	Jan 18, Surab Dam, Panjgur	Panjgur
15	Imran	-	-	-	Jan 25, Hub, Lasbela	-
16	Unidentified	-	-	-	Jan 31, Pasni	-

17	Sikandar Mengal	Khair Muhammad	28	Five days earlier from Shah Noorani, Hub	Feb 2, Shah Noorani, Hub	Saroona, district Khuzdar
18	Qadir Bukhsh	Saleh Muhammad	35	Five days earlier from Shah Noorani, Hub.	Feb 2, Shah Noorani, Hub	Saroona, district Khuzdar
19	Unidentified	-	-	-	Feb 12, Dalbandin	-
20	Sangat Sana Baloch	Haji Jan Muhammad	35	7 December 2009 Dasht, Distt. Mastung	Feb 13, Murghap, Turbat	Kadkocha, district Mastung
21	Bakhsha Bugti			Five days earlier from Hub, Lasbela	Feb 13, Hub, Lasbela	Hub, Lasbela
22	Jan Muhammad Marri		60	Five days earlier from Hub, Lasbela	Feb 13, Hub, Lesbela	Hub, Lasbela
23	Zardad	-	40	-	Feb 13, Mand, Turbat	Batgram, Kohistan
24	Saeed Marri	Lal Muhammad	20	15 days earlier from Margat, Quetta	Feb 13, Hanna, Quetta	Margat, Quetta
25	Unidentified	-	-	-	Feb 23, Dalbandin	-
26	Unidentified	-	-	-	Feb 27, Musakhail	-
27	Raheem Dad Nichari	-	-	19 Dec 2011 Bolan-	Feb 29, Dasht, Mastung	-
28	Abdul Rehman	Khair Muhammad	-	-	Mar 1, Turbat	Turbat
29	Fateh Muhammad	-	35	One week earlier from Quetta	Mar 2, Bostan, Pishin	Quetta
30	Abdul Ghaffar	-	-	13 February 2012 National Highway, Sibi	Mar 3, Nautal, Naseerabad	Bhag, district Bolan
31	Zahro Bugti	Thagiya	-	1 March 2012 Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Mar 3, Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Dera Bugti
32	Lanbo Bugti	Nohak	-	1 March 2012 Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Mar 3, Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Dera Bugti

33	Mangal Bugti	Zahro Bugti		1 March 2012 Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Mar 3, Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Dera Bugti
34	Rahim Bux	-	-	1 March 2012 Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Mar 3, Pirkoh, Dera Bugti	Dera Bugti
35	Unidentified	-	-	-	Mar 3, Jafarabad	-
36	Unidentified	-	40	-	Mar 5, Quetta	-
37	Ahmed Ali	-	30	-	Mar 6, Dasht, Mastung	-
38	Unidentified	-	-	-	Mar 11, National Highway, Bolan	-
39	Unidentified	-	-	-	Mar 11, National Highway, Bostan	-
40	Unidentified	-	-	-	Mar 29, National Highway Pishin	-
41	Abdul Mannan	Abdul Samad Pirkani	-	-	Apr 6, Kanak, Mastung	Mastung
42	Rais Raisani	-	-	-	Apr 6, Kanak, Mastung	Mastung
43	Abdul Wahab	-	-	-	Apr 9, Surab	Surab
44	Shahnawaz	-	-	-	Apr 9, Surab	Surab
45	Ali Raza Bugti			-	Apr 13, Dera Allahyar	Rajanpur, Punjab
46	Rakhia Bugti	-	-	- March 2012	Apr 13, Dera Allahyar	Got Salaudin, Dera Bugti
47	Abdul Latif Jattak	-	-	-	Apr 15, Kararru, Khuzdar	Mullla Kuhzdir
48	Unidentified	-	-	-	Apr 15, Western Bypass, Quetta	-
49	Jahangir Baloch	-	-	Mar 27, Quetta	Apr 22, Gulistan, Qilla Abdullah	Pudgali Chowk, Quetta
50	Muhammad Khan Marri	-	-	March 26, New Kahan, Quetta	Apr 22, Gulistan, Qilla Abdullah	New Kahan, Quetta
51	Nadeem Ahmed	Muhammad Hussain	20	A few days earlier	Apr 24, Musakhail	-

52	Ghulam Nabi	Ali Bukhsh	20	A few days earlier	Apr 24, Musakhail	-
53	Unidentified	-	-		Apr 29, Mach, Bolan	-
54	Shahzaman Pirkani	-	-	A few days earlier	May 2, Mastung	Killi Geo, Quetta
55	Muhammad Murad	-	-	A few days earlier	May 2, Zero Point, Uthal	New Kahan Marri, Quetta
56	Dil Murad Marri	-	-	A few days earlier	May 2, Zero Point, Uthal	New Kahan Marri, Quetta
57	Unidentified	-	-	-	May 2, Satellite Town, Quetta	-

Annexure-VI

Security personnel and militants killed in Balochistan in 2012¹⁶


Date/ place of incident	Nature of incident	FC		Army		Police		Other forces		Militants	
		Killed	injured	Killed	injured	Killed	injured	Killed	injured	Killed	injured
Jan 1, Dera Bugti	Landmine blast	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan 4, Pishin	Crossfire	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	7
Jan 5, Dera Bugti	Bomb blast	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan 11, Turbat	Firing	14	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan 16, Chamalang	Firing	41	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	4
Jan 26, Sui, Dera Bugti	Firing	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan 27, Dera Murad Jamali	Bomb blast	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jan 29, Turbat	Landmine blast	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feb 1, Marget, Mach, Bolan	Firing	26	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	3
Feb 4, Naseerabad	Landmine blast	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feb 18, Dera Bugti	Remote-controlled explosion	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mar 1, Dera Bugti	Firing	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Mar 3, Mach, Bolan	Firing	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mar 5, Naseerabad	Firing	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3	-
Mar 6, Sui, Dera Bugti	Firing	13	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	9

¹⁶ Source: Media monitoring and reports sent by HRCP field volunteers.

Mar 7, Dera Murad Jamali	Firing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
Mar 10, Dera Bugti	Firing	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 Amn Lashkar	-	-	-
Mar 12, Mashkey, Awaran	Firing	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mar 17, Dera Bugti	Firing	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mar 21, Quetta	Firing	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Mar 23, Zhob	Firing	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Apr 7, Barkhan	Firing	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Apr 7, Kalat	Firing	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Apr 11, Dera Bugti	Firing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6
Apr 24, Quetta	Firing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
Apr 26, Quetta	Firing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
April 27, Turbat	Firing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
May 1, Quetta	Bomb blast	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Annexure-VII

Requests for appointment to meet civilian and military officials

 **HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN**
(Balochistan Chapter)

Ref No: _____ Date: 10-5-2012

From: Vice Chair Person HRCP Balochistan
To: Honorable Chief Minister Balochistan.

R/sir,

With due respect, that a delegation of HRCP comprising Chairperson, Vice chairperson, and council members through out Pakistan whom visiting Balochistan about Law and order and Human rights situation, the delegation desire to exchange their views with your kind honor, on 17th May 2012.

Thanking you in anticipation

Tahir Hussain Khan
Tahir Hussain Khan Advocate
Vice Chairperson
HRCP Balochistan Chapter.

Office # AF, 2-3 Jinnah Computer Center, M.A. Jinnah Road, Quetta.
Tel: (081) 2827869, Fax: (081) 2820117, E-mail: quettahrpc@gmail.com



HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN
(Balochistan Chapter)

Ref No: _____

Date: 10-5-2012

From: Vice Chairperson HRCP Balochistan.
To: Honorable Commander Southern Command
Balochistan, Quetta.

R/ Sir,

With due respect, that a delegation of HRCP comprising Chairperson, Co Chairperson and Council members through out Pakistan whom visiting Balochistan about Law and order and human rights situation, the delegation desire to exchange their views with your kind honor, on May 18th, 2012 at 12: 00 PM.

We are looking forward for your early response in this regard.

Thanking you in anticipation

Tahir Hussain Khan

Tahir Hussain Khan Advocate
Vice Chairperson
HRCP Balochistan Chapter
Cell # 0300-8380728

Office # AF, 2-3 Jinnah Computer Center, M.A. Jinnah Road, Quetta.
Tel: (081) 2827869, Fax: (081) 2820117, E-mail: quettahrpc@gmail.com



HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN
(Balochistan Chapter)

Ref No: _____

Date: 10-5-2012

From: Vice Chairperson HRCP Balochistan.
To: Honorable Speaker Balochistan Provincial Assembly,

R/ Sir,

With due respect, that a delegation of HRCP comprising Chairperson, Co Chairperson and Council members through out Pakistan whom visiting Balochistan about Law and order and human rights situation, the delegation desire to exchange their views with your kind honor, on May 17th, 2012 at 1: 00 PM.

We are looking forward for your early response in this regard.

Thanking you in anticipation

Tahir Hussain Khan

Tahir Hussain Khan Advocate
Vice Chairperson
HRCP Balochistan Chapter
Cell # 0300-8380728

Office # AF, 2-3 Jinnah Computer Center, M.A. Jinnah Road, Quetta.
Tel: (081) 2827869, Fax: (081) 2820117, E-mail: quettahrpc@gmail.com



HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF PAKISTAN
(Balochistan Chapter)

Ref No: _____

Date: 10-5-2012

From: Vice Chairperson HRCP Balochistan.

To: Honorable Inspector General Frontier Corps
Balochistan,

R/ Sir,

With due respect, that a delegation of HRCP comprising Chairperson, Co Chairperson and Council members through out Pakistan whom visiting Balochistan about Law and order and human rights situation, the delegation desire to exchange their views with your kind honor, on May 18th, 2012 at 10: 00 AM.

We are looking forward for your early response in this regard.

Thanking you in anticipation

Tahir Hussain Khan

Tahir Hussain Khan Advocate
Vice Chairperson
HRCP Balochistan Chapter
Cell # 0300-8380728

Office # AF, 2-3 Jinnah Computer Center, M.A. Jinnah Road, Quetta.
Tel: (081) 2827869, Fax: (081) 2820117, E-mail: quettahrpc@gmail.com