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A BRIEF HISTORY OF BALOCHISTAN

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INTRODUCTION

Balochistan, currently recognised as a province of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has been in a state of conflict longer and colossal than the state of J&K. While, almost no international stage is provided to politicians and leaders of Baloch, except some extended public support from India and Afghanistan.

Many protests are witnessed in the UK from Baloch activists, seeking attention from the British Parliament^[1]. The House which didn't miss to provide opinions on the Kashmir issue from time to time, now remains silent and ignorant of to plight of Baloch victims^[2]. Ironically, it was the Brits who recognised the sovereignty of Kalat (Balochistan) and abolished it later too; according to their needs^[3].

The state of Baloch (or Kalat in older documents) can be observed legally since the time of British set their foot, several treaties were signed to establish trade between the two. As per records, three treaties were signed in the 19th century^[4]. First in 1842, then in 1854 and 1876. The latter two accepted Kalat as a sovereign state, these treaties established a strategic relationship between both parties^[5].

Although many historical documents that were to question Pakistan's existence or would favour Baloch are turned to dust^[6]. It is a reason why there exists no literature on Balochistan, a province which constitutes about 45% of Pakistan(yet a mere 6% of the population). This is a reason why it becomes difficult to understand Balochistan for any layman. In the previous decade, many memoirs and texts were revived by activists and

translations; the researches were conducted by Indian nationals. The autobiography of Mir Gaush Bijenzo would be its prime example.^[7]

The foundation of Baloch Nationalism took place with the formation of Anjuman-i-Watan in 1938, a party formed by Abdul Samad Khan Achakzai; famously known as the 'Baloch-Gandhi'. Achakzai has remained an inspiration for the Baloch movement since then. Till the 1940, leaders of Kalat believed in a unilateral Indian state; a single, secular and sovereign country. Similar ideologies lead to the merger of Anjuman with INC^[8].

Yet, some contrasting plans were brewing at Jinnah's Muslim League. In 1940, the Lahore resolution was passed. It concluded to form a separate country for Muslims, later to be known as Pakistan^[9]. This resolution was extensively opposed by INC and resulted in a demand for a separate Baloch. But, even this was not the changing point of fate for Kalat. Pakistan's god-like Jinnah believed in the autonomy of Kalat, in his words

'in case a state desiring to retain its independence by cooperating with Pakistan in trade and economic relations only, we welcome to have political talks on the same It is my personal belief that if any state wants to remain aloof. It may do so without any pressure from any quarter'.^[10]

Jinnah's change of intentions or scam came in light after months of independence. The struggle of Balochistan can be sub-divided into four parts:

- Betrayal from British
- Political changes in British India and accession
- Alienation and Crimes of Pakistan
- Current state of Baloch (2003-*)

Betrayal from British

When British company rule started in the Indian subcontinent, they needed a ground in the north-western direction; so they had an agreement with Kalat. The primary reason for this strategic deal was to stall the Russian advancement toward India (which already had expanded to Central Asia). Although, Russia's intentions were

unclear they deemed to be the 'enemy' of the British^[11]. Secondary was to put a cap on Arabs. Britain's crusade and Islamism were already at clash, Anglo-Afghan war of 1839 was a result of their turf (Which Afghans won).

Within decades, expansionist English got hold of Balochistan with direct rule by the virtue of 1876 Treaty. Nevertheless, Balochistan was divided into four regions or states: 1) Kalat 2)Lasbela 3)Makran 4) Kharan. All of it was asserted under the control of the Khan of Kalate formerly.

Since the province was a cluster of tribes, a 'Sardari' system was in place (*Sardar means head of the tribe*)^[12]. It is noticeable that *Sardars* do not hold a good reputation from a nationalist point of view, but neither did many Khans(Kalat Kings). It is loosely believed that the choices of these elite individuals, and the fear of losing power due to democracy were another reason for struggle of Baloch^[13]. They also backed decentralised confederation, in fact, Baloch's first student organisation was formed as BSO-*antisardari* group but was later renamed BSO-Awami.

Skipping a few decades near the partition, Khan of Kalate had insisted Achakzai (popularly known as Khan Shaheed) who was already a member of AICC at that time. He went to discuss the case of Kalat with Congress leaders. However, Nehru was not slightly interested in the idea of a separate Baloch. It was mainly due to his reluctance to princely states. They believed the existence of them would become a hindrance to the formation of India. Nehru had said in 1946 'The fact that Kalat is a border state adds to its importance from our point of view as frontiers are always strategic areas. An independent India cannot permit foreign forces and foreign footholds such as Kalat might afford its own territories'^[14]

Little did he know that MA Jinnah was about to claim this state, even if he did; the sympathy and goodwill regarding Pakistan were too much for a futuristic perspective.

There was a strong British influence on Jinnah to coerce the accession to Pakistan. At first, the British respected the sovereignty of Baloch under their treaty of 1876, it is observed that Baloch was important to the British just like Pakistan is to America: A war base and strategic front.^[15]

The only difference is, the US needed it to control Middle East and Afghan; while the English planned to control Central Asia. Both lobbies had far-fetched dreams and it resulted in the destruction of Balochi people.

In a report, Major Gen. R.C Money stated that 'Baluchistan is the right place for an imperial garrison after the war'. It also added that post transfer of powers of British Raj, 'Baluchistan was most suitable since it is not a part of British India'.^[16]

British had a change of mind after a few years, they felt that instead of creating a new base, they could establish one in Pakistan. A country that would be willing to accommodate them. Thus the Brits were more satisfied with Baloch's accession to Pakistan (with the support of INC).

Political changes in British India and accession

The ideology of One Nation is not a secret, although the borders of this nation were never specified but the struggle to get rid of the foreign rule was well established till the 20th century came. INC understood that if communities were divided, or if they supported a single community, it would result in the death of their dream. Hence, the idea of secularism and freedom were synonymous in the pre-independence era.

For British officials, Hindus and Muslims couldn't be perceived as similar. Not even for the Viceroy, well he had seen so many riots taking place. In fact, in a minuted British military talk, the officers discussed about where they could gather 'Moslem' soldiers. It went to an extent where one asked about 'men from Nepal', while another replied 'those are Gorkha, not Moslems'.^[17]

They had preconceived notions, but the theory of Two Nations wasn't their idea; at least not according to any documentation, thicker issues like losing a colony and WW2 were already hovering over their head. If one has to allege a single authority for partition, it would be Muhhamad Ali Jinnah and his rise among the ranks of leaders; and in the Muslim community.^[18]

If MK Gandhi was rooting for self-governance then MA Jinnah had eyes on the seat of PM. Jinnah had committed all selfish deeds from ransom to riots just to make sure that he established a separate nation. An excerpt from *Freedom At Midnight* by Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins is capable of proving it:

'In a tent outside Bombay in August 1946, he had evaluated for his followers in the Muslim League the meaning of Direct Action Day. If Congress wanted war, he declared, then India's Moslems would 'accept their offer unhesitatingly.

Pale lips pressed into a grim smile, his piercing eyes alight with repressed passion, Jinnah had that day flung down the gauntlet to Congress, to the British. 'We shall have India divided,' he vowed, 'or we shall have India destroyed.'

It is observable that torn in the fabric of Hindu-Muslim unity got wider and wider since the Lahore resolution. Jinnah and other leaders of the Muslim League had it all planned out, he stated that Pakistan should be formed where the majority of Muslims exist, i.e. Northwestern and Eastern sides of India. Yet, he became over-confident regarding Kashmir post-independence.^[19]

The course of partition was the main reason for Balochi quest for self-determination. The Kalat State National Party (formerly *Anjuman*) or KSNP had come a long way in terms of ideology, it firmly opposed the Muslim League's idea. Being a socialist party, they stood for anti-imperialism and secularism; having links with INC and moderate Muslim leaders like Maulana Azad, Baloch didn't feel left out of India.^[20]

Even though the British governing power in Baloch had already accepted a distinct status of the state in 1940. The Secretary of State for India argued that Kalat couldn't be a non-Indian state as it came under India according to the Government of India Act of 1935, he sent a letter to the Viceroy regarding the same in 1942^[21]. It is possible that Indian leaders were expecting a single nation till then. On the 4th of August, 1947 in Delhi, a conference meeting was held between Lord Mountabben, Mir Ahmad Yar Khan (Khan of Kalat), CM of Kalat and MA Jinnah. There it was decided that 'Kalat state will be independent on 5 August 1947 enjoying the same status as it originally held in 1838 having friendly relations with its neighbours'.^[22]

When Khan declared formal independence on the 12th of August, the flag of Kalat was swirled, Dar-ul-Awam (Lower House) and Dar-ul-Umra (Upper House) of the State were formed. Not only legislature were formed but a standstill agreement was signed between Pakistan and Kalat. This agreement displayed that Pakistan had recognised the sovereignty of its neighbour.

The same agreements were signed between India, Pakistan and the Princely State of Jammu & Kashmir. A few months later, both J&K and Kalat were attacked by Pakistan. The former acceded to India, latter was compelled to accede to Pakistan.

A bizarre incident took place on 27th March 1948, All India Radio (AIR) reported a press conference in the National Capital which was held by VP Menon, he stated that Khan of Kalat had been asking for accession to India instead of Pakistan, and India had not paid any heed to this suggestion; neither it had anything to do with it. Listening to this, Khan was disturbed about how he had been treated. Ironically, the Pakistani military attacked Baloch on the same day, forcing it to the accession.

Three days later, on the 30th, Nehru stated that VP Menon had made no such comment and there was an error in reporting by the AIR. This statement has come under suspicion several times by experts, allegedly the report by AIR could be true; making it another reason why India stayed silent on Pakistan's forced occupation of Kalat.^[23]

Another fact to notice is, that by 18th March 1948, Pakistan had acceded Lasbela, Makran and Kharan. It led to a serious loss of power to the Khan and bereaving the sea to his state. Though, these accessions were, too, illegal. Makran was a part of Kalat and power of foreign policy of the other two was given to Kalat by the Standstill Agreement signed.

Without obtaining the formal sanction from the tribal sardars, I signed the merger documents in my capacity as the Khan-e-Azam on 30th March 1948. I confess I knew I was exceeding the scope of my mandate' It is mentioned in the memoir of Khan as his country was taken at gunpoint.^[24]

Khan of Kalate and Jinnah had good relations before the partition, in fact, it was he who fought the case for Baloch's independence against the British as a barrister. Again, Khan's memoirs state that he had been a host to MA Jinnah many times in Quetta. PM of Pakistan and his sister Fatima were given a royal reception and a 21gun salute every time they visited.

The fees for Kalat's case were given to Jinnah by weighing him against gold, and a necklace to Miss Fatima worth Rs. 1,00,000' writes the former ruler.^[25]

With the merger, another struggle had taken place. Now, it was for the political and national rights of the province of Balochistan in Pakistan.

Alienation and Crimes of Pakistan

Before the occupation of Baloch, Mir Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo: a renowned leader (who later became governor of Balochistan under ZA Bhutto's rule), gave a speech in Dar-ul-Awam (Kalat Assembly) on 14th December 1947. It is counted as historic and crucial for the movement of Baloch nationalism,

'By force of arms, the British Government have enslaved most of Asia. They were cruel, tyrannical, they robbed our freedom. We were never a part of Hindustan. Pakistan demands for Kalat, which was earlier known as Balochistan and had been a home for the people of Baloch. This demand is unacceptable.

Our Khan helped in formation of Muslim League in Baloch territories. Our resources were donated for their propagation. And a large majority of people of Kalat under Khan's leadership did everything to help the Muslim League succeed. Yet, what did Pakistan give to us? How is Pakistan reciprocating?.... We are not ready to merge within the frontiers of Pakistan. to amalgamate with Pakistan, then those two countries should also be merged amalgamated with Pakistan.... We are asked to sign the death warrant of one and a half crore Baluch of Asia. We cannot be guilty of such a major crime.

We have a seperate culture like Afghanistan and Iran, and if the only fact that we are Muslims requires us

We have abudant mineral resources; we have vibrant seasports; we have unlimited sources of income. Don't try to force us into slavery in the name of our economic compulsions....'^[26]

Unfortunate for him, Kalat did become a part of Pakistan. Although his words were true, Baloch still has minerals in abundance that are misused by the country. From seaports to pipelines, the government didn't just steal their freedom but also their resources.

In his autobiography, Bizenjo states that after the murder of PM Liaquat Ali in 1951, a trio formed. Malik G Muhammad became Governor General, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali became the new finance minister and Nawab Gurmani became the Interior Minister. He alleges that these three held the "real power" after Liaquat's death and all of them were from Punjab. According to Balochi statesman, it was the beginning of Punjabi civil bureaucracy or *Punjabi Fascism.*^[27]

With political vulgarities taking place at almost all times in Pakistan, there came a policy which would destroy all hopes of peace talks between Balochis and the government. The formation of *One Unit* is considered a dark time even among Pakistan nationalists. One Unit scheme was brought by PM Bogra in 1954, it merged all four west provinces; now to be ruled by one chief commissioner. Parallel to another province of East Pakistan. His government insisted that it was to remove inequality in policy-making in the country. It is alleged that this action was taken out of fear of being overpowered by Bengali rulers. A new Assembly that would contain 80

members were shared equally East-West Pakistan was formed.^[28]

In 1958, Major General Iskander Mirza, who previously had Khan of Kalate arrested, imposed martial law on the whole of Pakistan. The protests and rallies against One Unit had gone so far that the whole constitution was dismissed, all political activities were banned; activists were arrested and killed.

Yet, within three weeks, Mirza was sacked and Gen Ayub Khan took his place.

As per memoirs of the Khan, his palace was sacked, wife and children were locked inside a room. All of the royal treasury was taken by the military, they looted everything from ancient coins to all papers that had existed.^[29]

The arrest of Khan of Kalat had instigated tribes of the Balochi people. Sardar of the Zarakzai launched an insurgency in the Mir Ghat mountains. Sardars of Jhalawans also resisted any occupation of their land. But were suppressed by inhuman military actions. In the meantime, National Awami Party chose Bizenjo as their president. They kept working underground, but Bizenjo and all active members were arrested and put in Quli Camp. Where they were tortured in various ways, for example staying in standing positions for several days and nights with arms stretched, standing in the open as naked, getting beaten by cane while hanging upside down, starving them for long period.^[30]

Most of the ruckus in Pakistan is not because of their enmity with India but because they always have been more concerned about external communities than their own. Perhaps, the leaders had a higher loyalty to other countries like China since the time of Ayub Khan.

In the words of Bizenjo himself 'Our leftists felt restless about struggles and movements everywhere – Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia, Eritrea... were worried about the problems of Indian Muslims.'^[31]

Ayub Khan had come up with a new system of democracy, Basic-Democrats. 80,000 representatives were voted by the public who would then select their PM. He also won the Presidential Elections in 1965 against Fatima Jinnah. She couldn't take advantage of being MA Jinnah's sister, allegedly, unfair elections after the coupe, poor finances and her gender are some reasons for her loss.^[32] In 1961, Baloch formed a student organisation named Warna Waninda Gal (Educated Youth Forum). It first campaigned for a university in Balochistan. While later assisted NAP in the struggle against One Unit. It is the same organisation that reformed itself as Baluch Student Organisation (BSO), a name which is currently synonymous with their independence struggle.^[33]

One Unit was abolished in 1970 under the regime of Yahya Khan, it was eventually the first time when Balochistan acquired the status of a province. By 1971, disturbances in East Pakistan had started. Yet, it didn't bother Yahya Khan, in his words '*Sooner or later, East Pakistan will have to be amputated. And if at all that is to happen, why let them suck our blood for two or three more years?*'. These words are enough to exemplify the ideology of Pakistani lobbies, the Punjabi fascism could suppress Balochis but Bengal was out of their reach.^[34]

Even Sheikh M Rahman, Bangladesh's first PM said '*I want to tell you that they* (*Yahya*) will not transfer power to me, even if that meant the breakup of Pakistan. Punjab will not allow me to come to power'. Only months later, a new country had formed. These incidents had put both NWFP and Baloch into the dark. It felt like the province which consisted of almost half of Pakistan now didn't matter at all, it was a barren land for leaders at Rawalpindi.^[35]

Under ZA Bhutto's government, Bijenzo became the ruling Governor of Baluchistan. For the first time, Balochis celebrated a new head. In his period, progressive parties and organisations like NAP, BSO, PSF could flourish. Quetta, the capital was now recognising its talent. New literature was being produced and human rights activism was vibrant. Which, eventually wasn't preferred by President Bhutto.

At the same moment, Sardar Ataullah Mengal, another prominent leader of Balochistan was chosen as the Chief Minister. With the help of Bizenjo and NAP, his government forwarded a resolution to abolish the *Sardari tribal system*. But, they lacked the permission of the centre.

Several other proposals were made:

- Provision of land and settlement for nomads
- To stop the exploitation of Balochi minerals and resources
- Land revenues for small farmers were abolished
- A new structural framework took place to identify the province's venue
- The press was finally freed from curbs and restraints.
- Government jobs were reserved for local people

All of these turned Balochistan into a separate place of freedom and development while the rest of Pakistan was floating in turmoil.

Though none of this lasted for too long, nine months later in February of 1973: the Baloch government was dismissed. It led to agitation among the locals and a strong rebuttal, it was branded as a rebel against Pakistan.^[36]

For almost the next five years, Balochistan remained under the rule of the Pakistani military. Every possible human rights violation took place; many ministers and leaders had changed their sides to save their lives or earn bread.

A new series of insurgencies took place from 1973-1977, and the government and Army were well scared after the formation of Bangladesh. Therefore, any demand for cultural nationalism was crushed by the military. It came with the rise of Nawab Akbar Bugti, who is revered by the people of Balochistan. Bugti did leave a legacy behind with reason for Baloch's self-determination but he accused Bizenjo of trying to separate NWFP and Baloch province. Furthermore, the centre held charges on Mengal, Bizenjo and Wali Khan for having contact with Bangladeshi PM Sheikh Rahman. These incidents did undermine the Baloch struggle.

There were 178 major engagements and 167 lesser incidents that took place between Pakistan and Baloch forces. The militia were using classic guerrilla tactics to handle the Army, they couldn't claim freedom but stop the government from exploiting their resources.^[37] By 1974, they were able to cut off most of the main roads into Balochistan, disturbance in rail-link, blocking coal shipments to Punjab and hampering oil-related activities.

'Butcher of Balochistan' General Tikka Khan, the same man who committed war crimes in Bangladesh was given the duty to crack down on the insurgencies.^[38]

After a couple of decades, Mengal and Bizenjo created a new party called the Balochistan National Party (BNP), while Akbar Bugti created his own Jamhoori Watan Party (JWP). Coming over their political differences, they also formed a coalition government. Although development in the province didn't go so well and later Musharraf took over with a military coupe, war with India made the matter worse.

A new era of freedom struggle took place in 2003 with the formation of BLF and the fifth insurgency allegedly started in 2005.

Current status of Balochistan (2003-*)

If the times of 2020 are taken into discussion, Pakistan is one of the most suffered countries by the Coronavirus Pandemic. Not only did they fail to produce or import enough test kits, but the lack of infrastructure and already contracting economy has given the people a time of tribulation.

Amid it, Balochistan remains the most undeveloped province and yet no help from the central government has been provided to date.^[39]

Balochistan Liberation Front (BLF) is known to be the most overt and reputed Front that has been fighting for the independence of Baloch. Not only a resistance front but an educated one, according to reports: most of their recruits are from the BSO-Azad.^[40]

The Azad wing of BSO was co-founded by Dr Allah Nazar, another prominent separatist leader. Dr Baloch, who left his medical studies to fight for the cause has been declared a terrorist by the government of Pakistan. BLF is alleged to be aided by India's secretive organisation R&AW, also centre claims that Dr Baloch has links with the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA), an organisation formed in Afghanistan; which roots for the same cause.^[41]

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Ongoing and fifth insurgency started in 2005 when a female doctor was raped at Sui's gas facility. It agitated the Bugti tribe, they were led by Akbar Bugti and took hold of the supply by armed action. In an attempt to crush the uprise, Frontier Corps were deployed in the province. The attacks on gas pipelines, transmission towers, road lines etc continued, as they aimed to disrupt physical contact with Punjab province.^[42]

In December 2015, Marri tribe attacked President Musharraf's visit; it only resulted in a harder suppression of the Militia. In 2006, Akbar Bugti was killed in action by the Pakistan Army. The government also charged him with attacking the President.^[43]

After the death of Bugti, his party JWP was split and a new Baloch Republican Party emerged, founded by his grandson Brahamdagh Bugti. Besides the BRP, a militia exists with a similar name Baloch Republican Army. Pakistan Security Agencies claim that BRP is a cover-up for their violent side: BRA.^[44]

Interestingly, BRA was formed of mainly Bugti tribesmen who followed the ideology of Akbar Bugti. Although they have gathered support from many other parts of Balochistan in recent years.

Other militia groups like the United Baloch Army(UBA) and Laskhar-e-Balochistan(LeB) have come up in recent years. The former was a result of an internal tussle between BLA members after the death of Balach Marri in 2007, while the latter was formed in 2008 with the help of Mengal tribe; it mainly operates in Makran and Jhalawan.

Trouble for Balochi tribes has only increased since Chinese settlements showed up. On 11 November 2006, the first convoy of Chinese goods reached the famous Gwadar port from Xinjiang. New constructions at the port, road lines and China-Pakistan-Economic-Corridor (CPEC) only point toward colonization inside Baloch. Pakistan has taken an immense amount of loans from China, a communist country which is known to trap others in debt.

In addition to this, the Pakistani Army has been investing in Chinese defence equipment. It wouldn't take years if PLA started occupying parts of Balochistan as a trade exchange.^[45]

The case of Balochistan's destruction has been widely avoided by international voices. Apart from the cruelty of ground troops through decades, air power was used by Pakistan and Iran in 1973-1977; killing hundreds of innocent villagers.

Another reason for hatred against Pakistan is the Punjabi fascism. People from Punjab and other provinces have turned for a home in Balochistan, also Chinese settlements raise fear in the hearts of the locals. A study shows that by the rate of settlement of Chinese(2016), it would outnumber the Balochis by 2048^[46]

The government has taken up a policy to employ counter-nationalists. Tehreek-e-Nefaz-e-Aman Balochistan (TNAB) was forced by the intelligence agencies of Pakistan to suppress Baloch-nationalist movement. This organisation has used brute force on locals and is known to be the armed side of United Front of Balochistan (UFB).

In present times, Baloch activists have tried to raise their voice from foreign lands. BRP leader Brahumdagh Bugti is currently living in Switzerland. His presence on the Internet has helped in raising awareness about the conditions of Balochistan.

The leader of BSO-Azad, Karima Baloch has also contributed a lot to the cause. In 2016, she made a video addressing PM Modi of India; requesting help. Karima is currently living in Canada as a refugee.^[47]

Conclusion

The ground realities of Balochistan seem worse than the stats, it could never achieve socio-political autonomy since the accession. *De-facto* political powers and economic resources are in the hands of the federal government, although the 18th Constitutional Amendment provide various powers to the provincial government.

Pakistan has made the same mistake repeatedly over the decades, political issues and insecurity of its people are stated as *mutiny* and responded with inhumane military actions. The army also took the course of abductions, disappearances and murdering innocent people, these are called "kill-and-dumb" operations. According to the

Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, Mama Qadeer claimed 47,000 Baloch and around 37,000 Pashtuns are missing. It would exclude the number of locals killed in encounters.^[48]

NGO Voice for Baloch Missing Persons (VBMP) has been fighting for justice since 2009, they even performed a foot march of 2,500KM as a sign of protest against the atrocities of the military on locals. Subsequently, this matter has also been recognised at UN forums.

Former CM Attaullah Mengal told Nawaz Sharif '*This is not Pakistan Army. It is Punjabi Army that is indulging in such inhuman acts against the Baloch people*'.^[49]

Only if the Islamic State of Pakistan would start to focus on internal issues like economy, development, and growing religious and cultural fascism. They have spent every last penny in pursuit of Kashmir, and aiding of terrorism. In 1947, when Bizenjo said that 'they are asked to sign the death warrant of own Balochi people; his words couldn't be proven more prescient than today.

At the time of partition, when Maj Gen Syed Mahdi Hasnain was asked why he chose India instead of Pakistan despite being a Muslim, he replied '*While the nation formed on basis of faith will celebrate now but won't last forever, the nation formed on basis of respect for every faith will have a difficult beginning but will always celebrate'.*^[50] The idea and reason behind the formation of Pakistan have been questioned since 1940, slowly slipping away Baloch and Sindh would only leave the Punjab province as the "land of pure" (Pakistan).

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