

Minority Ethnic, Race and Sect Relations in Pakistan: Hazara Residing in Quetta

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Abstract

This paper charts systematic persecution, ethnic profiling, target killing, kidnapping, harassment, racial discrimination and ghettoization, ethnic Hazara face in Quetta. The Hazara, a marginalized ethnicity severely discriminated, began migrating initially into British India, from Afghanistan, in 1890s. During 1962-63, the government of Pakistan granted ethnic Hazara citizenship rights. Constitutionally, they were to enjoy equal rights, might form political parties, to represent them in elected bodies of Balochistan and Pakistan. Previously, ethnic Hazara individuals rose to the positions of: Generals; rather, Chief of the Army Staff; and to Federal/Provincial Ministers/Governors, in Pakistan. However, the Hazara began facing discrimination and ethnic, cultural as well as confessional (a majority of Hazara profess Shia sect of Islam) persecution, in Pakistan, in the last two decades of the previous millennium, at unofficial, and continue to face, both, at official and unofficial levels. Since 2012, computerised National Identity Cards of ethnic Hazara in Quetta have been suspended/blocked, a step tantamount to denial of citizenship rights of Pakistan. A Sunni militant terrorist outfit, Lashkar-Jhangvi, warned ethnic Hazara of turning Pakistan into their graveyard, in case, they did not leave this country. Following Iranian revolution ensuing Iran/Saudi (Shia-Sunni) conflict resulted into proxy war. Hazara leaders suspect, systematic persecution of Hazara, aims at, evicting them of expensive land they occupy in and around Quetta. They view ethnic profiling/cleansing not only as attempts to force Hazara sell their houses and businesses at throw away prices, suspecting their loyalties, and reversing 1962-63 official notification, that recognises the ethnic Hazara Pakistani citizens.

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Introduction

Pakistan has been a multi: ethnic; lingual; racial; confessional; cultural and nation Federation. The ethnic identity coupled with variables such as religion, language, territory, culture and caste have potential to generate disputes even violent conflicts amongst diverse ethnic identities. Peace, prosperity, democratic polity and national integration may be secured in case ethnic identities are adequately represented constitutionally in decision making, governance and granted opportunities to preserve and promote specific cultural identities. A collection of people subscribing to similar beliefs, rituals, traditions distinct from others, who reside in proximity and interacting with each other may be termed as ethnic group. These commonalities include language, religious/confessional beliefs, practices, a feeling of historic/blood connection and common forefathers or inhabitance.ⁱ Ethnic identification is based on ancient affiliation to birth place, kinship affinities, beliefs, language and cultural practices naturally shared by individuals to tie with other individuals in the vicinity.ⁱⁱ Pakistan, since its inception, suffered from ethnic; lingual; racial; confessional, cultural and national imbalance that led to the process of disintegration and separation of the majority East Pakistan in 1971. Bengali, the language of the largest ethnicity in Pakistan was denied the status of official/national language. Baloch residing in Balochistan do not feel comfortable with other ethnic identities fearing outsiders that deprives them of economic, social and political rights and has been turning them into a minority in their own homeland.ⁱⁱⁱ Pakistan has been a Sunni dominated state, Hazara, a racial, ethnic Shia minority resides both in Pakistan and Afghanistan. In Quetta, Hazara forms a small marginalized community still holding strong ethnic/sectarian affiliations with the Hazara in Afghanistan and Shia's in Iran.

The Hazara

The ethnic Hazara descendants of the 13th century Mongol armies^{iv} of Chenghiz Khan (1162-1227), speaking a dialect of Dari, known as *Hazargi*, reside in the Hazarajat, central Afghanistan. Though direct linguistic connections between Hazara and Mongol has not conclusively been established, however, a huge Mongol element in the Hazargi points towards formidable sustained lingual ties with Mongol.^v For Syed Askar Mousavi origin can be traced and found to be of Turkic stock residing in central and eastern Asia. He consider Hazara migrants from southern and northern Hindu Kush, to the Hazarajat more than two mellenia ago.^{vi} Conversion to Twelver (*Imami*) *Shiism* occurred around 1500 AD under influence of Safavid Iran.^{vii} Bellow argues, the Europeans began knowing, by 1850s, land of Hazara, specially the interior country.^{viii} The Hazara carried

standing of a brave and hard race, Pashtun considered them faithful and industrious servants.^{ix} Hazarajat comprise three major groups- the Dai-Kindi, Dai-Zengi and Bahsud, additionally six other groups include; the Koh-i-Baba, Sheikh Ali, Badakhshan, Aimak, and Taimani.^x Mostly engaged in agriculture and livestock rearing, money-commodity relation reached Hazara by second half of 19th century.^{xi}

Regarding origin of Hazara, mainly three theories gained currency: J. P. Ferrier, a French scholar, proponent of the first, considers Hazara, Indo-Aryan inhabitants of Afghanistan, since the time of Alexander the Great.^{xii} Afghan scholar, Abdul Hai Habibi also subscribes to this theory, the word, *Hazar*, is of Aryan origin, stands for 'pure-hearted', 'generous', not a *thousand*, as understood in Farsi translation of the Mogholi *ming*.^{xiii} Armenius Vambery, Mount Stuart Elphinstone, H. W. Bellow, Alexander Burns et all, consider Hazara, descendants of those invading Mongol soldiers, who were accompanying Chingez Khan's army to Afghanistan.^{xiv} Settling in the Hazarajat of Afghanistan they acquired language and culture of Tajik inhabitants of the area.^{xv} Some proponents of the same theory further specify Hazara, as descendants of Turko-Mongol tribes i.e., those Turk-o Mongol soldiers, who accompanied both Chingez Khan and Amir Timur, respectively.^{xvi} H. F. Schurmann and M. H. Kakar, proponents of the third theory, assume Hazara, an admixture of Turk, Mongol, Tajik, Afghan tribes.^{xvii} Schurmann does not consider Hazara an ethnic group, rather a social name, referring to nomads that inhabited south-eastern Iran and south-western Afghanistan during 4th century of the second millennium consisted of ethnic groups such as the Nikudaris, Nauruzis, Jurmais, and even Afghans.^{xviii} During Mughal King Babur's rule migration to the east, Hazarajat, Kabul precipitated into formation of the ethnic Hazara people.^{xix} Kakar, assumes Hazara offspring of Chaghatayn, Mongol soldiers, who poured into Afghanistan in 1229-1447, married aboriginal Barbar (Tajik) women of central and neighbouring regions of Afghanistan, forming the ethnic Hazara by 16th century.^{xx}

Several Hazara families constitute a unit, Tol, Tolwar, or Tolwara. An individual member of a family has genealogically been related to a Tol, Tayefa and Qaum. Few can trace their ancestors back to above seven or eight generations.^{xxi} A Tol is headed by a Malik. Several Tol, in turn, form Tayefa, a complex unit comprising a network of social and economic relations. Arbab or Khan heads a Tayefa, who links families through the Malik, who reports back to the Arbab or Khan.^{xxii} Qawm, a collection of numerous Tayefa forms the highest unit in the social hierarchy of the Hazara. Qawm a more complex network of relations covers political social, economic, military and cultural relations.^{xxiii} *Ulus*, *Hazargi* word of Turko-Mongol origin, not Pashto, has been the institution to resolve conflicts in the Hazara. *Ulus* has been used for making more effective

decisions ranging from personal to tribal, military to national affairs than the state apparatus.^{xxiv}

In 1890s, the Afgan Amir Abdur Rahman (r.1880-1901) brutally persecuted Hazara, on the basis of race and sect, and subjugated them.^{xxv} Hazara were sold as slaves, forcibly relocated and their pasture lands in the Hazarajat were granted to the Pashtun nomads. Hazara had to flee Afghanistan to the neighbouring countries such as Czarist Russia, Iran, and the British Balochistan (Quetta). Many were displaced internally, in Kabul alone, number of Hazara swelled to the third largest, by the 1970s.^{xxvi} Placed at the rock bottom of Afghan ethnic hierarchy, systematically excluded from almost all government positions and educational opportunities, inside Afghanistan, Hazara found upward social mobility almost impossible.^{xxvii} Since dominant Pashtun considered them non-conformist, hostile, inferior and heretical. Slavery though officially abolished in 1895, in Afghanistan, however, economic and social enslavement of the Hazara continued.^{xxviii} As late as 1960s, Hazara, in general, lacked access to higher education or jobs in higher echelon of Afghan military or civil bureaucracy.^{xxix} The government of Peoples Democratic Party (PDPA), in 1978-92, eased life of Afghan minorities by rejecting stratification on the basis of tribe, ethnicity and religion in the 1987 Afghan Constitution.^{xxx} It stipulated, “All citizens of the Republic of Afghanistan, man and woman, regardless of nationality, race, language, tribe, religion, political ideology, education, occupation, ancestry, wealth, social status or place of residence, are viewed as equals, and entitled to equal legal rights according to the law”.^{xxxi} The Constitution, 2004 granted equal rights to the Hazara and parity with the major ethnic groups and specifically legitimized Shia legal practices.^{xxxii}

The Hazara in Balochistan and National Database & Registration Authority (NADRA)

Hazara have been residing since the mid-1800s in territories now part of Pakistan. The very first group of Hazara, migrated from Afghan Hazarajat, to British India and served in the “Broadfoot’s Sappers”, in 1839-40.^{xxxiii} Earlier a significant number of Hazara reached British India to earn livelihood as hard manual labourers in quarrying sector. Facing large scale persecution by Amir Abdur Rehman, in 1890s, Hazara in huge numbers migrated to Quetta. At the turn of the century (1903-04), following large scale persecution during the Afghan regime of Amir Habibullah, number of Hazara refugees swelled in British India, particularly Quetta.^{xxxiv} In 1904, Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief of British forces in India, ordered Major C. W. Jacob to found a battalion of Hazara Pioneers. Previously, Hazara were recruited in 124th and 126th Balochistan Infantry and troops in Guides Cavalry of the British Indian Army. At Quetta, in 1904, Major C. W. Jacob created a nucleus of drafts from the 124th Duchess of Connaught's Own Balochistan Infantry and the 126th Balochistan Infantry that

developed into 106 Hazara Pioneers. Eight companies of Hazara wearing full dress uniform, drab with red facings together constituted this Battalion, having permanent peace station at Quetta.^{xxxv} Hazara continued residing in British India and successor state Pakistan till the government of Pakistan,^{xxxvi} in 1962, notified Hazara and some Pashtun tribes officially, local tribes^{xxxvii} a prelude to grant citizenship. However, they lacked equal opportunities as citizens of Pakistan, since possessed no, or insignificant voice in politics, and share, in socio-economic development. They were, and still are, considered immigrant, inferior, minority, and marginalized on the basis of race and sect.^{xxxviii} It is alleged there exists a conspiracy to reverse notification that designated them local tribe and revoke/deny citizenship to Hazara. Grant/or renewal of CNIC has been a birth right of every citizen, however, its acquisition is made cumbersome for Hazara, to say the least. Hazara suffer not solely due to terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan but face systematic discrimination on multiple grounds. Numerous Hazara have been murdered when standing in a queue at a passport office. Still nearly 65,000 Hazara survive in Pakistan.^{xxxix}

Despite dwindling numbers, CNICs of Hazara have been blocked creating a strong impression that they are subjected to systematic persecution leading to elimination tantamount to ethnic cleansing. This notion of ethnic cleansing might be unfounded however Hazara political workers cite fast decreasing numbers of Hazara working at both federal and provincial offices, as evidence.^{xl} Many ethnic Hazara government officials facing systematic killing and harassment have been forced to quit jobs.^{xli} Numerous businessmen, traders and small shopowners have been forced to sell properties at throwaway prices.^{xlii} To unblock/renew/obtain CNIC, NADRA demands of Hazara applicants production of proof of citizenship prior to 1979, when the Afghan entered Pakistan in bulk, following US supported war against Soviet forces.^{xliii} This was the time when proxy wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan between Russia/West, Saudi/Iran and militarization of ethnicities and sects took place.

By 2015, the NADRA announced blocking thousands of CNICs in Balochistan, following the alleged failure of holders “to prove they were citizens of Pakistan”.^{xliv} In Quetta alone, 45,000 CNICs were blocked of Hazara community, Tariq Mengal, Assistant Commissioner, Quetta, confirmed.^{xlv} Numerous additional, unwritten requirements and demands result into blocking of a CNIC. To discern, a ‘fake’ citizen, the authorities check, whether an applicant for a CNIC, can speak Urdu. A flawed strategy indeed, since “a large number of Pashtun, Baloch and Hazara” cannot speak fluently Urdu.^{xlvi} NADRA officials do not consider ‘Hazargi/Farsi/Dari’ a Pakistani language, rather list as Afghan. Hence, if an applicant mentions ‘Hazargi/Farsi/Dari’ as a mother tongue she/he is labeled non citizen.^{xlvii} Not only Farsi had been Lingua Franca in this region but even mother tongue of former Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan, General Musa

Khan also,^{xlvi} retorted a Hazara, Sardar Mehdi Hassan Musa, former provincial minister and grandson of Gen. Musa Khan, who remained Governor, West Pakistan and Balochistan respectively. NADRA officials need to refreshing courses in languages stressing that Farsi is spoken in Pakistan.^{xlix} Sardar Mehdi's father, Hassan Musa, has been the first high-profile Hazara, assassinated in Karachi, in 1998.¹ The killers have yet to be brought to justice. Mehdi Musa himself survived numerous assassination attempts.^{li}

Unlike ordinary citizen's usual practice and procedure to process a CNIC application, a Hazara has to sit and pass an oral interview at NADRA office, and answer, at times, questions regarding history and geography of Pakistan.^{lii} Alternatively there exists a cumbersome process of verification consuming months/years, repeated visits to government offices, MPAs and MNAs for the attestation of documents. Official often, exact/demand bribes, in return for attesting documents.^{liii} In case of a discrepancy CNIC of an applicant can be automatically blocked resultantly the data of entire family is blocked or flagged as 'suspected'.^{liv} CNIC of Hassan (not a real name) was blocked as age of his younger brother had been entered wrong in the documents.^{lv} NADRA refused to unblock CNICs even after the family produced proof of citizenship since 1960. A complaint against NADRA in a court of law is still pending.^{lvi} Muhammad, a Hazara student following completion of college education in Quetta had to apply for admission at a university in Lahore discovered the need of a valid CNIC. "I applied for a CNIC in early 2013," he narrates, provided citizenship proof of my parents and family members from the 1970s, as required but was placed in the 'suspect' category.^{lvii} NADRA insisted upon attestation of his documents and application by an MPA or MNA. He even fulfilled that demand yet waits to get CNIC for over three years now. This resulted into depriving him to continue education according to schedule. "I am fed up and afraid to go after my CNIC," he informs. "What if I get killed in the process?"^{lviii} fears Muhammad. Two Hazara brothers were killed queuing in front of the Passport Office, Quetta.^{lix} Clearly, anguish and anger is mounting. "The blocking of CNICs of ethnic Hazara and Pashtun in Balochistan also deteriorates Pak-Afghan relations and overall regional political landscape", argues Abdul Khaliq Hazara, the chairperson of the Hazara Democratic Party.^{lx} "Even the deportation of Sharbat Gula, National Geographic's iconic refugee girl, was to convey a clear message."^{lxi} More CNICs were blocked after 2012, a pamphlet by terrorist outfit, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi threatened the Hazara to leave Pakistan by 2012. "Otherwise we will make Pakistan your graveyard".^{lxii} Another student Fatima (not a real name) could not continue her studies due to not possessing a valid CNIC, since earlier her mother's CNIC had been blocked. "My mother applied for the renewal of her CNIC in 2014," reported The Friday Times. "All her documents are registered in my father's name (husband's name) instead of her own parents. NADRA blocked her data and referred her to the verification branch for further clearance."^{lxiii} Fatima, a laptop award selectee of a scheme announced by Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif

did not get laptop due lack of a valid CNIC. “Our entire future is at risk now.”^{lxiv} In Balochistan inter and intra city travel is not possible without carrying a valid ID card, required as evidence of identity when passing through dozens of military check posts. Hazara not holding a CNIC, cannot live a routine life, even movement becomes difficult and is subjected to persecution and extraction. The situation worsened further following Taliban leader, Mullah Mansoor’s killing in a drone attack near Noshki who allegedly possessed a Pakistani passport when traveling.^{lxv} An elected Hazara local government representative, victim of NADRA whose sister, married to a Hazara of Afghan descent in Norway, narrates: “She wanted to apply for Norwegian citizenship two years ago and therefore needed to renew her CNIC and passport. The Pakistani Embassy in Oslo refused to issue her the required documents.”^{lxvi} The Hazara lack political representation at the federal level, political parties operating in Balochistan are least interested in affairs concerning Hazara. “We are peaceful and liberal people. We have never inflicted harm on anybody nor are we any sort of security risk for the state,” argues Abdul Khalique Hazara, the chairperson of the Hazara Democratic Party (HDP). “We are going nowhere. We will stay here and fight for our rights under the Constitution of Pakistan,” repeated attempts to contact NADRA for redressal of grievances did not succeed.^{lxvii}

Hazara an Insecure Ethnicity

Murtaza Ali’s parents were always fearful when their son boarded a coach for Karachi or waited for his arrival home in Quetta on Eid. For ethnic Hazara in general including a student aged 24-year, commuting by road in and out of Hazara ghettos, in Quetta could be proved fatal. Thus, like all parents, Murtaza’s father, Captain Safdar Ali, a Hazara, also constantly worried and remained tense until his son arrived safe at planned destination. “Murtaza would sometimes mind that because I would call him again and again till he got to his destination,” says Mr Ali. Three Hazara cotravellers and Murtaza were assassinated near the Chutho village, district Mastung, only 49km far from Quetta.^{lxviii} Earlier his father had seen him off under shadow of the Holy Quran and ritual prayers. Mr Ali lives in the western outskirts of Quetta Block 2 of Hazara Town, inhabited by 200,000 Hazara. A paramedic working at the Helper Eye Hospital near Sariat Road for over 2 decades, the father resigned in March 2016, not reaching superannuation, since, “twice, I was followed by unidentified people while leaving Helper Eye Hospital. I escaped miraculously”.^{lxix} Following resignation, he intended to invest proceeds of his retirement into his “son, Murtaza’s future”, born and raised in Hazara Town, who graduated from Perfect Model High School and Government Science College, Quetta. Later he began learning graphic designing in Karachi, a relatively safer adobe in comparison to Hazara ghettos by Hazara. Muhammad Moosa, a labourer, in an imambargah at Hazara Town, mourns deaths of wife, Rukhsana Bibi and 19-year-old son, Muhammad Asif, traveller of same ill-fated

vehicle targeted by Sunni terrorists. Every two months, Rukhsana had to commute between Quetta and Karachi, with a fractured backbone disc, to treat herself.^{lxx}

Frequent targeting of Hazara in Balochistan, establishes a complete failure of the state in Balochistan if not partisanship. A Shia family was targeted in Kuchlak^{lxxi} on way to Quetta, in September 2017 killing four including a child. Predictably, security forces reached the crime scene after assailants fled unhindered on a motorbike, usual post killing search operations failed to identify or arrest attackers.^{lxxii} The Hazara mourn deaths in midst of un-ending fear and terror. Several massive targeted bomb blasts in Quetta, killed the Hazara in hundreds. Keeping in view vast territory and sparse population of Balochistan province, challenge to protecting all, seems enormous for even well-resourced and committed security force, let alone for a poorly equipped police and dominantly Sunni Frontier Constabulary (FC). Several incidents in Balochistan point towards flawed regional and national security policy, using militant sectarian outfits as proxy inside/outside the country and the failure of security/political leadership. The Hazara might not be safe unless the state changes its security paradigm in the region.^{lxxiii}

A very plausible explanation in currency has been that the Hazara fell victims to a proxy war between Shia- Iran and Sunni Wahabi- Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia persecution of Shia on the basis of divided loyalties has been well known to the world at large. Iran allegedly persecutes Sunni, under 'One Mosque Policy'^{lxxiv} wherein a neighborhood can have only one Mosque, forcing Sunni Muslims to offer prayers at Shia mosque. Liwa Fatemiyoun,^{lxxv} better known as Fatemiyoun Division, a militia comprising Afghan Hazara, recruited by Iran has been fighting in support of Alwi Bashar-al Assad in Syria, a Sunni majority country. The ethnic Hazara, Afghan residents at Iran, devotees of Ayatollah Khomeinssssssssi founded this militia in the early 1980s, that fought in the Iran-Iraq War and Afghan civil war too.^{lxxvi}

Sunni extremist, sectarian outfits in Pakistan believe Liwa Zainebiyoun, Pakistani counterpart of Liwa Fatemiyoun, allegedly recruited from amongst ethnic Hazara, residing in Quetta and Shia of District Kurram, are fighting in Syria against Sunni militias alongside Iranian revolutionary guards in support of Bashar Ul Assad.^{lxxvii} Sunni terrorist group Lashkar-e-Jhangvi claimed responsibility of killing Hazara in Quetta and attacks on Shia in Parachinar (Kurram), declaring "revenge" of crimes committed against Sunni Syrian Muslims by Shia Iran and Bashar al-Assad. Also threatened continued terror attacks unless Shia of Parachinar did not desist from volunteering as recruits to fight in Syrian war.^{lxxviii}

Experts believe that previously Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) began establishing numerous brigades (militias) to fight ISIS in Syria and

Iraq. Two, amongst these, filled their ranks with recruits from South Asia: One is Fatimiyoun; comprising ethnic Hazara minority of Afghanistan, second, Zainabiyoun Brigade; comprising fighters from Pakistan,^{lxxxix} predominantly Shia of Kurram and Hazara of Quetta. Dozens of fighters belonging to these two militias were killed in Idlib and Aleppo, Syria, as a result of Turkish army operation.^{lxxx} Previously, Iran collaborating with US in Afghanistan and Iraq, used her leverage to expand influence in both countries. Arab spring served as a catalyst in ensuing changed regional dynamics in the Middle-East, providing Iran opportunity to further expand her political influence and military arm to safeguard its interests in these countries. Syria, has been a successful application of this new approach.^{lxxxi}

Pakistan has become anxious of increased Iranian influence in Pakistan that may haunt Pakistan in the aftermath of Turkey-Syria standoff, bringing implications beyond Syria.^{lxxxii} Some report, it has recruited around 1,500 fighters, from inside and outside of Pakistan, including Pakistani students in Iran.^{lxxxiii} The recruitees number in Pakistan from Parachinar, southern parts of Punjab, Karachi, and Quetta.^{lxxxiv} Iran's alleged role in backing anti-state and illegal activities in Pakistan has been, some believe, under-reported, though Iranian direct or indirect involvement in such activitie can be suspected.^{lxxxv}

An online advertisement posted by the militia stated, paying each fighter, Rs 120,000 and 15 days of paid holidays, every 3 months. In case of martyrdom, burial with honor in Iran and grant of Iranian citizenship to the family.^{lxxxvi} Even most of the dead were buried in Iran. The first news surfaced in June 2014, when three Zainabiyoun fighters were killed during the fight against ISIS in Iraq.^{lxxxvii} Publicly accessible documents report 137 fighters killed in Syria.^{lxxxviii} Various terrorist outfits, including ISIS and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, have launched numrous suicide attacks in Pakistan targeting Zainabiyoun.^{lxxxix} One such attack by Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, in December 2015, resulted into 23 deaths in Parachinar.^{xc} Allegedly, the Zainabiyoun carried out the terrorist attack on Mufti Taqi Usmani of Dar Ul Uloom Banoria.^{xc} Pakistani Law enforcers carried out multiple intelligences based-operations against the Zainabiyon brigade.^{xcii} In February 2020, the Counter-Terrorism Department (CTD) arrested two of high-profile members of the Zainabiyoun Brigade from Karachi.^{xciii} Anti-human trafficking cell of Federal Investigation Agency (FIA) has been tasked to stop recruitment and is closely monitoring this miltia's activities.^{xciv}

Saudi, Iranian, Pakistani proxies in the region and beyond, i.e., in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria and even Yemen, are using and abusing not only Shia/Hazara but also other sects including Sunni against rivals/adversaries. It affects Hazara severly, making them victims in Quetta. In 2015, a prayer house, a Sunni adobe, was destroyed in Tehran allegedly promoting extremist

thinking.^{xcv} Discrimination of one sect in one country spills over to other places. Iranian authorities have been exerting considerable effort to stem the spread of Salafism and Wahhabism into Iran's mainly Hanafi Sunni majority regions. Iran's Sunnis have long struggled with poverty and discrimination, and are suspiciously viewed as the country's fifth column. Iran's Shiite-centric policies and its security-driven paranoia are contributing to the economic hardships of Iranian Sunnis, and fueling their sense of alienation.^{xcvi}

Predominantly Sunni, Iran's Sistan-Baluchistan province, bordering Pakistani Balochistan the government hanged convicts of drug and other offenses and cut off financial support to the families of the executed leading to political and religious alienation and severe poverty resulting into turning Sistan-Baluchistan a base of armed Sunni insurgent groups, including Jundallah and Jaish al-Adl.^{xcvii} They carried out a number of attacks against Iranian military, Revolutionary Guards, and civilians and have been instrumental in attacking ethnic Hazara in Quetta too.^{xcviii}

Senator Farhatullah Babar, during Question Hour at the Senate of Pakistan, compared plight of Hazara in Quetta to the Rohingya, in Myanmar. They were forced to flee their land in desperation, the plight, if one happens to be Hazara: He/she, is marked to be assassinated.^{xcix} Even Hazara police personnel have been killed, warning! anyone daring to protect Hazara faces elimination. Hazara have been fleeing to Australia and New Zealand by sea via Indonesia and Malaysia. It has been widely advertised lately that Australia no longer accepts refugees arriving by boats.^c Therefore, Hazara fleeing Balochistan are destined to meet fate similar to that of Rohingya Muslims i.e., to become fish food. Neither parliament nor political parties payed attention to plight of Hazara, and "*have been raising our voice for the Rohingya but not for the Hazara,*" he stressed to constitute a special Senate Committee to address issues concerning Hazara.^{ci}

The Hazara at the Supreme Court of Pakistan

To identify state elements responsible for atrocities, the Hazara, requested Supreme Court of Pakistan, to appoint a judicial commission, similar to the one constituted, following deadly twin bomb attack that targeted lawyers in Quetta. On 8th January 2018, a bench, headed by Justice Asif Saeed Khosa, to follow Quetta Commission report, authored by Justice Qazi Faez Isa directed, to pass an appropriate order in face of a virtual "genocide", in Balochistan. Hazara Action Committee (HAC) leader, Liaqat Hazara reported fleeing of above half of the sixty thousand-strong Hazara. Our people became mentally sick because they are denied right to move freely and forced to live in a two-kilometre radius area, a reference to the Hazara Town, Quetta,^{cii} he declared.

Around 2,000 peaceful, innocent and law-abiding Hazara were murdered during premeditated sectarian attacks and suicide bombings, including: professionals; doctors, engineers, lawyers, businessmen, bureaucrats and students during previous two decades. In view of the petitioner, Quetta Civil Hospital Aattack conspicuously resembled an earlier attack at the same premises, targeting Hazara. Attacks on Hazara were owned “by the same anti-state militant organisations and their protégé/splinter subordinate groups”.^{ciii} The then Attorney General (AG), Ashtar Ausaf informed the Supreme Court of the federal government’s intention to follow recommendations of Justice Qazi Faez Isa Inquiry Commission and to work on a mechanism to trace the financial links of terrorist outfits. Allocation of Budget, recruitment of human resource to counter all forms of terrorism, measures such as safe city surveillance projects, satellite systems and geo-fencing were fulfilled, AG reported.^{civ} The AG assured the Court implementation of recommendations of the commission and complete work on a centralised database of terrorists over next 18 months by National Counter-terrorism Authority (NACTA), enabling the police of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in identifying/tracing culprits by sharing of fingerprints, in addition to monitoring border movement. Ensuring strict monitoring of different madressahs and developing provisions for educational alternatives at close proximity to religious seminaries in entire country was assured by the government.^{cv}

On 28th April 2018, two Hazara shopkeepers were shot dead due to their ethnicity, in Quetta. Fourth targeted attack in the month of April alone, violence against Hazara Shia continues, the National Commission of Human Rights reported. Death toll of Hazara reached 509 resulting in militant and targeted attacks during last five years.^{cvi} The Hazara began holding sit-in to protest genocide. Ahsan Iqbal, then Interior Minister, met protesters in Quetta and persuaded to end sit-in. Militant groups including Lashkar-e-Jhangvi rooted in Punjab attacked Hazara-Shia minority in Balochistan. Militant groups now allied with TTP have been freely targeting Shia minority since the 1980s. Current Hazara killings are claimed mostly by the Khorasan branch of the Islamic State – a militant group earlier part of the TTP, LeJ and others. The common bond of all these militant groups has been hatred of religious/ sect minorities. In Quetta on December 15, 2017, Christians were killed in an attack on the Methodist Church, the Hindu community has been fleeing the province too. Both the provincial and federal governments have largely been shutting eyes if atrocities are committed against minorities, particularly, the Hazara-Shia. The Supreme Court pointed towards lack of legislative will against minority killings such as the Hazara.^{cvii}

Suo motu notice of continued terrorist attacks against the Shia Hazara on May 11, 2018 at the Quetta registry of the court stressed right to life, most sacred human right guaranteed by Article 9 of the Constitution and noted right of the

weaker, dwindling, peaceful and law-abiding Hazara was violated with impunity by miscreants. “There has been failure of the State and the law enforcement agencies in protecting the fundamental rights of the Hazara. Such state of affairs elevates the fear of Shia community in Pakistan and indemnity enjoyed by terrorists forms a matter of great public importance,” the order stipulated.^{cviii} The federal and provincial governments were to submit details of the measures taken by law enforcement agencies under their charge to ensure the security of the Hazara and also report reasons of failure to safeguard them.^{cix}

Hazara Peaceful Uprising

No travel route, shopping trip, school, work commute, has been safe for the Hazara, reported Human Rights Watch. Hazara report a figure closer to 3,000 killings. In Quetta Hazara women during hunger strike (May 2-5, 2018) provided graphic details of horrors faced by them on a daily basis. Fleeing of 70000 Hazara, mainly to Australia, has been marred with reports of numerous drowning during perilous sea journey and confinement of the remainder to two ghettos, in Quetta, guarded by police and military check posts. The women did not accept security offered by Ahsan Iqbal, then interior minister, and broke hunger strike after COAS General Bajwa provided assurance. They were not protesting for better living conditions, schools, health, jobs: instead demanded, basic human right, i.e., right to life, enshrined in the 1973 Constitution, international law and in all religions. Still, in broad day light, a *Lashkar-i-Jhangvi* spokesman accepted responsibility of killing the Hazara. Slaughtering of Pakistani Hazara began following 9/11 soon after Afghan Taliban abode safe havens in Quetta: Desire to continue the Hazara genocide in Afghanistan resulted partly into killings thousands of Hazara allegedly siding with the Northern Alliance in Afghan fratricidal civil war. The *Lashkar-i-Jhangvi* and *Sipah-i-Sahaba* Pakistan, allies of the Afghan Taliban tried guns on the Hazara. The Supreme Court of Pakistan, in 2011, released on bail Malik Ishaq, founding member of the *Lashkar-i-Jhangvi*, allegedly mastermind behind bars of the attack on the Sri Lankan cricket team in 2009. The Hazara apprehension at his release, were well known, moreover, several prominent Shia-hating extremists broke out of Mastung jail, perhaps with inside assistance.^{cx}

A probable nexus referred to by Jalila Haider, a Hazara lawyer and human rights activist, has been forcing Hazara, to sell properties at throw away prices. Were they acting in conjunction with some of the land mafias that thrive across the country? Other questions posed have been why Balochistan, the most heavily militarised province of the country has been so lethal not just for Hazara but also for Baloch nationalists and non-Baloch workers too?^{cxii} If numerous intelligence agencies clubbed with paramilitary forces and regular troops operating there manage to largely contain a separatist rebellion, why can't they eliminate groups: *Lashkar-i-Jhangvi* and the *Sipah-i-Sahaba*? The government and their henchmen

are to be blamed for utter failure in implementing the National Action Plan to end religious extremism in the country.^{cxii} Steps to cracking down on hate speech in television chat shows, classrooms and mosques were not taken instead, normal cycle of killings of minorities continues, alongside crocodile tears from politicians and the media, a business as usual.^{cxiii} General Qamar Javed Bajwa's visit may have pacified the Hazara but will he be able to keep his promise of peace in the capital of Balochistan?



Hunger Strike: Activists Jalila Haider and Hamida Ali Hazara.

Source: Daily The News, Islamabad, May 6, 2018

Young activist Jalila Haider ended her hunger strike, Hazara elders announced ending five-day sit-ins, in various localities of Quetta too, following assurance of COAS General Qamar Javed Bajwa, “those targeting the Hazara community would suffer twice”.^{cxiv} More than 19 Hazara and Christians have been killed in terror attacks, in Quetta, in April alone, at various locations including: Brewery Road, Saryab Road and Jan Muhammad Road. Sunni sectarian armed group, *Lashkar-e-Jhangvi*, an affiliate of Islamic State in Iraq and the Lebanon (ISIL), claimed carrying out April attacks in Balochistan.^{cxv} Hazara elders claim killing of over 825 Hazara in different parts of Quetta in the last 15 years.^{cxvi} HRCP reports 525 fatalities in bomb blasts and target killings.^{cxvii} Trained shooters have fired at the victims, yet no one has been arrested. The cold hard fact is, everyone wants to flee from Quetta. “I want to go abroad. I’m here to obtain my passport. An agent has promised to send me abroad if I pay him Rs 500,000,”^{cxviii} reported 19-year-old Haider Ali, talking to *TNS* outside the passport office in Quetta. A resident of Hazara Town, Kazim Hussain rejoined, “It’s a pity that our people cannot even go to the market to buy groceries.”^{cxix} There’s a funeral every day. Business is slow in the capital of Pakistan’s largest province. “Our business has collapsed due to lawlessness. The government is

oblivious of the gravity of the situation,” reported Haji Ashiq Achakzai, a local businessman.^{cxx} Chief Justice of Pakistan Justice Saqib Nisar took suo motu notice of the target killings of the Hazara in Quetta and remarked. “Their killers are openly holding rallies,” the Hazara cannot secure admission in schools, universities and treatment in hospitals. “Are they not citizens of Pakistan?”^{cxix}

Conclusion

Situation of national, religious/confessional and ethnic minorities in Pakistan has not been enviable. Article 9, article 20 clause a, b, article 25 clauses 1,2,3, and article 36 of the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 have been severely violated. In addition, articles 1, 2,3,5,7,13 clause 1, article 14 clause 1 and article 15 clause 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights are grossly violated too. Internally the Supreme Court of Pakistan, apex bodies of lawyers, Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, civil society organisations and effectees have voiced their concern and demanded of Government of Pakistan to take adequate measures and rectify the situation of ethnic Hazara in Pakistan. Internationally, the US Congress granting \$700 million to Pakistan, conditioned release of half of the amount upon confirmation by Secretary of Defence of operation against the Haqqani Network and Lashkar-e-Tayyaba. The USA also expressed reservations on hardships faced by Pakistani minorities: Christians, Hindu, Qadiani, Baloch, Sindhi, and the ethnic Hazara.^{cxxii} It can be safely concluded that integration of ethnic Hazara into mainstream polity of Pakistan requires both, long term and short term, measures, however, delay in long-term changes shall not hinder possible short-term improvements. The number of groups enimical to, and attacking, the ethnic Hazara is limited, comprising, a small bunch of sectarian terrorists. Though protecting every Hazara physically is almost impossible, however, the large intelligence and security network can effectively be employed to identify and progressively burst groups targeting members of this ethnicity. The state has been in a habit of pointing at external sponsors of militancy, though perpetrators of terrorism in Balochistan, are invariably and predominantly Pakistani sectarian/extremist/terrorist outfits. Preventing violence against Hazara does not seem a priority of the state, and lessons to be learnt are not being learned due to lack of accountability? The Balochistan government, weak and sidelined, whatever it may be in security matters, needs to take a stand. When it comes to the Hazara, there has long been a suspicion that security and political establishment has completely failed in providing protection to life or liberty of ethnic Hazara in accordance with law. The provincial government needs to demonstrate empathy and concern towards all people including religious minorities and ethnic Hazara.

Long term steps, promoting national integration such as inclusion of ethnic Hazara into Federal/provincial services, secure their right to profess, practise and propagate religion and establish, maintain and manage religious

institutions and end discrimination on basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. distinction on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty shall be abolished. Everyones' right to a nationality has to be restored and Hazara Shall not be arbitrarily deprived of nationality nor denied the right to change nationality. If Pakistan fails in addressing the situation it will bring bad name to Pakistan as a state internationally. Last but not the least good neighbourly relations based on non interference in internal affairs of each other shall be promoted and role of proxies as tools of foreign policy shall be discouraged in the region.

Appandix-I

The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 and Miniorities

Article 9. Security of Person:- “No Person shall be deprived of life or liberty save in accordance with law.”

Article 20. Freedom to profess religion and to manage religious insttitions: Subjet to law, public order and morality:-

“every citizen shall have the right to profess, practise and propagate his religion; and

every religious denomination and every sect thereof shall have the right to establish, maintain and mange its religious institutions”

Article 25. Equality of Citizens

(1) “All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law.”

(2) “There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex”

(3) “Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children.”

Article 36. Protection of minorities

“The State shall safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of minorities, including their due representation in the Federal and Provincial services.”

Appendix-II

Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Article 1:- “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.”

Article 2:- “Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.”

Article 3:- “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.”

Article 5:- “No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”

Article 7:- “All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.”

Article 13:- 1. “Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.”

“Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.”

Article 14:- 1. “Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.”

“This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.”

Article 15:- 1. “Everyone has the right to a nationality.”

“No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.”

Appendix-III

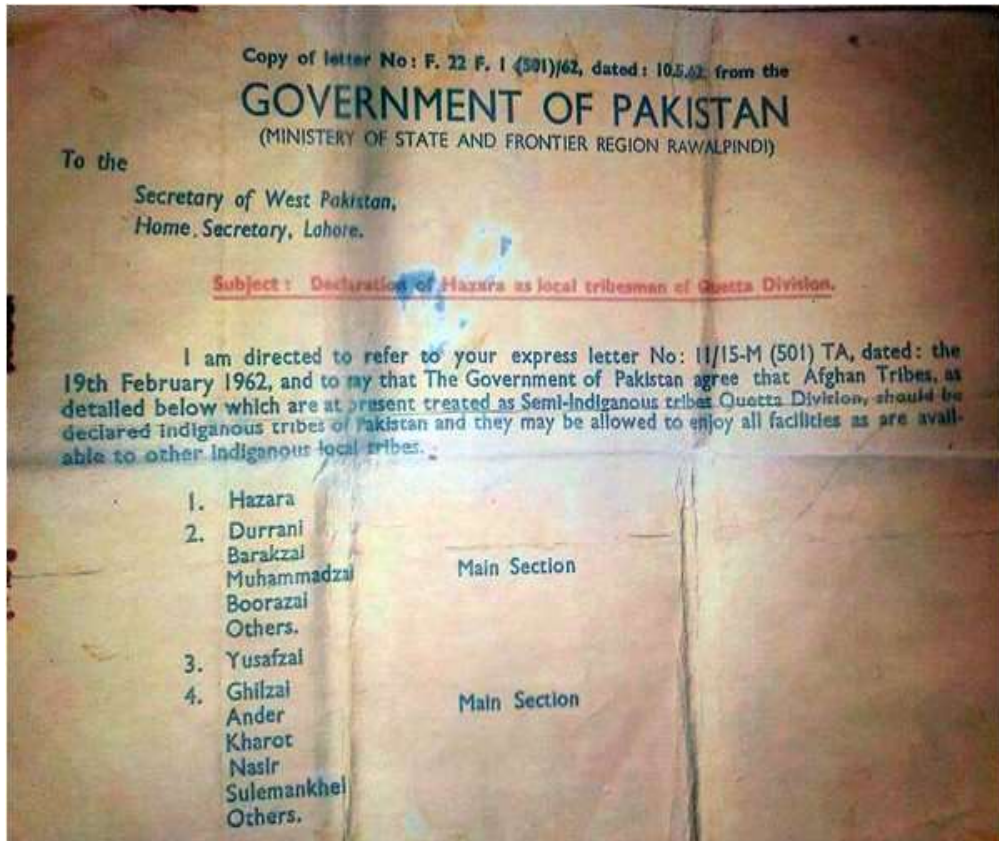


General Musa Khan Hazara S/O Sardar yazdan, Subadar major, He was buried in Mashad, Iran

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Appendix-V

This is to be certified that Hazara
tribe has been declared as a local tribe of Quetta
Division by the Government of Pakistan.



M. J. Khan
15.6.63
CITY MAGISTRATE, QUETTA

Source: S.A Mousavi , *The Hazaras of Afghanistan: An Historical, Cultural, Economic and Political Study*, Curzon Press, UK, 1998, P.246

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