ETHNO-NATIONAL MOVEMENTS AND NATIONAL INTEGRITY IN PAKISTAN

Dr. Asmat Naz
The Women University Multan, Pakistan

ABSTRACT
The ethnicity and other socio-cultural, linguistic problems are sensitive issues, which existing in the society. These elements are a danger for the national integrity and solidarity. In the present research is highlighting the elements of ethnic, national movements based on self-cultural, linguistic, regional and geographical identity, directly influence the federal institutions and solidarity of the state of Pakistan. The ethno-national movements in all the provinces of Pakistan have created by different interest groups for their individual interests. The objective of the research is to widen the importance of integrity among the people and also emphasize on the inter-communal disputes and problems in Pakistan. It realized that the communal, ethnic and regional riots of the people are a hazard for the security, stability and existence of Pakistan. To cope with different ethno-national groups, who is creating the issues for the social, political and economic solidarity of the state and confronting with the authority of a federation and the political institutions is required proper system and state policies.

KEYWORDS
Ethno-National Movements, National Integrity, Pakistan

1. NATIONAL INTEGRITY AND ETHNICITY: AN INTRODUCTION

The word nation is derived from the Latin word, ‘Natio’ which gives the meaning of birth or race. It is a western concept consisted of an evolved community of people living in an identified boundary. The people of a specific boundary are free to have an economic exchange of goods, and commodities, also free of any pressure of dependency. Walker Conner says that a nation is a social group, shares the common ideology, common institutions, customs and a sense of homogeneity. A nation contains a strong sense of belonging associations with a particular territory considered to be peculiarity its own. Karl W. Deutch explained that a nation can be built according to different plans from various materials, rapidly or gradually, by different sequences of steps and partial independence from its environment.
The term National integration consists of a combination of two words of ‘nation’ and ‘integration’. The nation has been derived from the French Word, ‘Natus’ means birth of a race or specific groups. According to the European concept, the community or nation is living in identifying boundary. It refers to unifying multiple cultural, linguistic groups and entities through a process of bringing together and bound with a relationship commonality.

The ‘nationalism’ and ‘national integrity’ are used as the doctrine of political ideology. It is used to explain an attitude of the nation for the national identity and the activities to achieve goals for their self-determination. Simply, the term is used for the common origin, ethnicity and cultural ties. The idea of ethnicity and regional nationalism has developed in the provinces, where have arisen the ethno-national movements and challenge the national integrity. The people of these regions use their own languages, follow their own regional culture and customs, emphasize on their own identity which intend to make a separate region or state.

Yet, it is a form of patriotism based upon the identification of a group of individuals within a nation. There are two main perspectives on the origin and basis of nationalism, primordia’s perspective that describes nationalism as a reflection of the ancient and perceived evolutionary tendency of humans to organize into distinct grouping based on an affinity of birth. Another perspective, describes nationalism as a recent phenomenon that requires the structural conditions of modern society. In a broader perspective nationalism is a progressive step towards equality among the people speak one language and share a common historical background. Nationalism has the strength to remove the distinction between the common men and the aristocratic life of the society, may not influenced particularly but theoretically.

The ethnicity is opposite of the nationalism and national integrity, because it refers to the distinction and differences among the people of any state and region. Etymologically, the word ethnic is derived from Greek word ‘ethnics’, which referred to major population groups sharing common cultural and racial traits, primitive cultures. Ethnicity denotes the group behaviour of members seeking a common ancestry with inherent individual variations. Ethnicity is based on an attachment that brings people together of similar cultural patterns, so making that group a closed network. Ethnicity refers to the complex combination of racial, historical and cultural characteristics by which groups are divided into different political families, and probably hostile. The idea is illustrated by racial group which included, colour, race, skin and the other separate characteristics also involves. Although anything can be used for the creation of an ethnic division, however, after the racial difference, religion and language are the most common components of ethnic identity. W. J. Foltz explains the characteristics of different ethnic groups are biological, cultural and linguistic, where ethnic group develop a distinctive value system. Finally the ethnic group can develop a structural identity by developing a particular type of relationship joint, different from the other’s social roles. Dr. Shireen Mazari is of the view that in most heterogeneous countries, ethnic identities and group loyalties exist in the state and national structure problem arises when ethnic movements convert into national movements. Ethnic groups are, in fact, modern interest groups, which invoke ethnicity as a matter of strategic efficiency in order to make a claim on government sources. The ethnic groups and movements seek benefits in the existing conditions while nationalist groups and movements organize themselves to establish or maintain their own state. The state of Pakistan is inherited a shared identity, infrastructure and institutions of governance which were fractured by political and ethno-national tendencies of
different power groups. Now, there are new opportunities that point to the necessity of reclaiming some of that inheritance to the social groups. The society is divided into different cultural and ethno-linguistic contexts and created the issues of integrity.

Basically, ethnicity and national integration are different in their meanings as ethnicity refers to a complex combination of racial, cultural and historical characteristics by which societies are divided into different groups and castes. However, the national integrity has referred a unity among the people of different races, regions and languages for the great national cause. The ethnic groups are modern interest groups, raise ethnicity as a matter of strategic efficiency in order to make a claim on government sources. The ethnic groups develop their identity, articulate its demands and assume its efforts to achieve the final task of self-sufficiency. The ethnic awareness changes due to internal groups and external social factors to the ethnic groups. Furthermore, the presence of various ethnic groups poses a great threat to the security and development of Pakistan. The random political, economic and social progress of these ethnic groups also accompanies the deteriorating situation in all the provinces of Pakistan. Thus, the nationalism and national integrity is an awareness of membership in a nation together with a desire to achieve, maintain and achieve the identity, integrity, prosperity and power of the nation. It is an ideology refers to one’s supreme loyalty is to a nation. However, the integrity and nationhood in Pakistani society are challenged by the ethnic groups, who want to develop a separate identity on the basis of their regions, traditions, languages and especially the ethnicity.

The society of Pakistan is based on its ethnic, cultural, regional and linguistic composition. So, the people are not ready to accept the state and control of an authoritarian body on all their sources and institutions. As a result, the problems of national integrity and solidarity of the state are creating and weaken the internal stability of Pakistan. The national integrity and stability is mainly relied on the assimilation, pluralistic approach and the cooperative behaviours of all the people. They should realize that national cause is superior then the personal benefits. Furthermore, the federal government’s positive role can disperse the issues of ethnicity and regionalism and stable the ground for national integrity. Moreover, equality among all ethnic groups, the protection and progress of the languages and cultures of different ethnic groups may help for national unity, security, and integrity in Pakistan.

2. ETHNO-NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN PAKISTAN

The nationalist movements were started in different areas and regions under different circumstances. The regional, nationalistic and linguistic movements were started as a struggle against the colonial imperial rule in India, which also created negative consequences in form of communal politics. However, by the time all these movements also changed in regional socio-cultural and linguistic movements, as in the provinces.

Historically, the seeds of regionalism were presented in the provincial communities, which can be seen in the colonial period and early establishment period of Pakistan. After partition of India, the regional communities became conscious about their sovereignty and tried avoid becoming a part of federal government. In other words, the regional movements were started to deny the federal system and just for their own political, economic and regional sovereignty. The separation of East Pakistan is also a result of the regional movements.
The language, identity and ethnicity become a greater issue in all areas of the country. By the time it not only increased, but also flamed the feelings of disloyalty and disintegration in the provinces. The debacle of East Pakistan can say is a cause of ethno-linguistic problems. The Bengalis were not ready to accept Urdu as a unitary or national language of the country. In the western part of the country too raised the linguistic, ethnic and nationalistic issues. Through these issues developed the language based regional movements in Pakistan. These movements either in Punjab, Baluchistan, Sindh and KPK were started for the protection of their own regional identity and sovereignty. These movements also have the objectives of separatism and individuality, but overcome gradually. Basically, the movements were kept their roots in the sub-continent, prior to the division of this region.

Soon after the division of sub-continent, Pakistan was emerged on religious and cultural grounds and found itself seized with the problems of ethnicity and separatism. The first issue of separatism was developed as, the problem of princely states, particularly that of Kalat and the issue of Paktunistan. In the meantime, the relationship between central elite and East Bengal counter elite’s started to get strained till the latter with the widespread support of political power and active masses. The intervention of Indian army sows the seeds to establish a separate country or state. Pakistan being a multi-ethnic country carries both considerations, the establishment of a provincial setup based on ethnicity as well as administrative efficiency.

In Pakistan, the Bengali, Pakhtunistan and greater Baluchistan movements were dominated on the political scenario. Sindh was also awakening on ethnic basis. There was also a movement for (Saraiki culture) the restoration of Bahawalpur State but the Bengali ethnic movement converted into secessionist movement and ultimately, Bangladesh established as a separate state in 1971. Pakistan being a multi-ethnic country carries both considerations, the establishment of a provincial setup based on ethnicity as well as administrative efficiency.

In fact, the political central powers of the country in different times directly and indirectly contributed in the development of ethnic, linguistic and regional problems of the provinces. These provinces demanded as regional authority and independence for the protection of their rights and economic stability because these were deprived by the Central government. The political mobilization and ethnic movements in the country was limited among the specific nominated groups of the provinces. A number of nationalistic movements were established for the ethnic and communist rights of the people. On the whole, the federation of Pakistan with the unitary form of government, although claimed as a democratic government did not succeed to unite the people. They try to be an independent and separate on the basis of language, culture and races. The communities of the provinces worked to secure their own identity and favoured regionalism rather than the nationalism. Now-a-days, a tussle of ethnic, linguistic and regionalism is continuing in the provincial communities.

3. THE ETHNIC MOVEMENT IN EAST PAKISTAN

The Bengal was the Eastern zone of Pakistan became its part in 1947. This region has a distance of one thousand miles because of unfriendly Indian Territory, as Sir Frederick Burrow, (the last Governor of Bengal before the partition of India) said that although, it could form a link with the
Pakistan but could not effectively be a part of this country. Early Bengali society was comprised of different heterogeneous communities including Hindu and Muslims. Some major ethnic, cultural differences were existed in the society including language. These groups focused on the differences rather than the similarities of culture, language and customs. The languages Urdu and Bengali discriminated for Muslims and Hindus, respectively. Moreover, it was recommended that then there should teach Urdu, Persian and Arabic in addition to Bengali to indicate the Muslim identity. Through, different proposals and petitions was tried to promote Bengali language in the region rather than Urdu. To some extent, the language issue had been raised in the pre-partition decade. In East Pakistan demanded and focused on the imposition of Bengali ethnic base language and after partition prompted the movement of Bengali ethnicity. The anarchic situation and discomfort in Politics of Pakistan also created many complexities and problems for both sides. The people and political leaders, including elites or feudal cast of western part were not ready to understand the problems of the eastern zone. So, a movement of separate identity was started and on 16th December, 1971, the Separation of East Pakistan and emergence of a new state with the name of Bangladesh is the most noteworthy momentous event in the constitution, regional and political history of Pakistan. The separation of the Eastern wing of Pakistan was becoming a hot issue among the scholars and debaters. There were measured a number of consequences and factors on social, strategic, political, constitutional, economic and most especially language basis. The disintegration in 1971 was a historic result of the ideological foundations of Pakistan, which created a new country on map of the world.

The continuous estuary of the people from the Near East and Central Asian states also left a great impact and put their stamp on the ethnic composition, language and above all on the religious and social structure of this zone. The Eastern Zone was culturally a younger area than the Western Zone of this continent. The imbalances in cabinet and in other government institutions with the eastern Pakistani people also created a number of misunderstandings in both areas. Basically, the political system in Pakistan was quite efficient from the beginning while the East Pakistan affected by the extractive performance more than any other province. This zone was the largest part of its revenue and foreign exchange from jute and tea crops.

The policies of central government were also a great factor of ethnic base movement in Bengal because the leaders and policy makers mostly supported and focused on the development and progress of West Pakistan rather than the Eastern part. The financial mismanagement and imbalance was also created as, the extracted more revenue from East Pakistan, spent less on it than its due share in revenue collected by the central government. In case of East Pakistan, there was a considerable gap between two types of recital and the Political system was very efficient in its extractive capability, while its performance in distributive capability very poor in East Pakistan.

4. ETHNICITY AND THE PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN OTHER PROVINCES OF PAKISTAN

The ethnic diversity in Pakistan is historical and sociological evidence. The identities of the different groups inhabiting the present territory of Pakistan evolved over thousands of years as a result of economic and social interactions, emergence of political states, and response to the invasions and encroachments of outside powers and people. The emergence of Pakistan was a quest for identifying itself as a modern nation led to its demanding from its citizens a unifying Pakistani
identity transcending the evolving ethnic identities, thus creating a tension between ethnogenesis and nation building. The people who were in the process of submerging their tribal clan and caste identities to their national identities of Punjabi, Sindhi, Pakhtoon, Baloch and so on, were now called upon to interrupt this logical transition and demanded for a separate state.25

The long history of Pakistan is facing many chaotic issues, which were driven by ethnic or regional conflicts. By the regional ethnic groups were started many movements Pakistan on the same pattern of East zone, which called the regional ethnic movements. These movements were started with the objectives of separatism and individuality.

A review of ethnic and regional issues in Pakistan reveals that the central problem in Pakistan is the positive correlation between asymmetries in power and size, coupled with a negative correlation with asymmetries of resources.26

The KPK considers as a Pashto majority province but in some regions as Haripur, Abbotabad, Dera Ismael Khan, Mansehra, Kohistan and Chitral are a minority.27 The province KPK has tribal background and their distinct socio, cultural identity, political aspirations or economic priorities. The Pakhtoons of KPK were actually hostile or loyal to the British imperialism. They were agreed for Pakistan through a referendum conducted in 1947, on this condition that full regional autonomy would be given to them.28 After creation of Pakistan, the khan brothers were raised the slogan of Pakhtoonistan. The government of Afghanistan also demanded the return of its Afghan territories were lies in Baluchistan and KPK.29 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Chief Minister of NWFP) also wanted complete dominancy and autonomy on the province. When Quaid visited the province, a misunderstanding was created between Khan and Quaid, so the KK party had been bounded. Khan also arrested because he declared that Muslim League considers Pakistan as their personal Jagir and Jinnah as Governor General would not representative of Muslim nation.30 The disturbance among the leaders was helping to develop the Pakhtoon movement in the province. The Pakhtoons always remained hopeful to keep their province as Pakhtunkhwa for their individuality. The Afghan government and its media were also contributing to propagate the Pakhtunistan issue in Pakistan. The ethnic groups’ rights were guaranteed by the proposed constitutional guarantees. The Pakhtoon ethnic groups in other provinces are having their own individual identity and utilizing the sources. However, they intended to promote their own ethnic base movements for separate state too. In the same pattern, Sindh ethnic conflicts are one of the basic issues in Pakistan. After partition a huge population of Muslims was entered in Punjab and Sindh, this province was reluctant to welcome these people. The settlement of Mohajirs in the province brought many changes, especially, demographic, political, social and economic changes which infected the local community of the province.

A controversy was also started among the Sindhi and Mohajirs as they did not want to indulge in the Sindhi culture. With this element, another factor also annoyed them from the central government, as after partition a main city of the province was made capital of Pakistan by the Quaid, which gave a great set back to the Sindhi people. The decision to make Karachi as the Federal capital brought strong resentment among Sindhi elites, politicians and students because Karachi district was separated from Sindh, which gave a great financial loss, as it deprived of a harbor and an industrial city.31 The separation of Karachi from the province was effected the interests of entire people of Sindh, so they did not accept the government decision and started the Sindhi ethnic and political movements. The Sindh Hari conference passed a resolution against the
decision of the Central Government and a Sindhi Nationalist Movement was established by G. M. Syed. In 1953, he also formed Sindh Awamai Mahaz, which consisted of four parties, the Sindh Awami Jammat, Sindh Jinnah Awami League, Dastoor Party and the Sindh Hari Committee.

Basically, they anticipated that in independent Pakistan could be an economic power in Pakistan. The community of this province was not agreed to accept Urdu as a national language of the country. A conflicting issue and controversy were started like other provinces as NWFP, Punjab and Bengal. The main purpose of the Sindhi nationalists and ethnic movements was to share and protect the cultural, linguistic, economic and political rights of Sindhi people. The Sindhi were also complaint on the Punjabis, who dominated in government, the administration and the armed forces. They condemned the allocation of Sindhi land to absentee, non- Sindhi landlords, and expressed dissatisfaction with the Muhajir community that had exploited the province commercial wealth to satisfy their personal desires. The nationalists emphasized on the dissolution of one unit, restoration of Sindhi language and to struggle for provincial autonomy. Moreover, the considered the division of Sindh a mortal blow to their collective interests and has prevented the mohajirs from dividing the Sindh. On the other hand, the party was demanded the rotation of higher posts as governor and ministers among the Muhajirs and Sindhis and a proper share in the rural and urban shares of the province. Simply it can say that the MQM always demanded for their basic rights and participation and seats in the central and provincial administration of the country. Gradually the MQM kept out itself from its earlier demands and considered the Mujahir groups as the fifth nation of Pakistan just like Punjabis, Sindhi, Pashto and Balochi. So, present segment approach may provide a more realistic base for more ethnic problems in Pakistan.

After partition, it was considered a part of Pakistan because the Kalat and other tribal areas of Baluchistan had decided to include in the federation of Pakistan. However, the Marri and Bugti tribes sent a memorandum to the British government that their areas should be separated from the Punjab. It is believed that at that time tried to make a separate Baluchistan on the basis of separate ethnicity but not succeeded. However, it was suggested that the Baluchi community would be independent in its internal socio-economic, political and cultural matters. At the partition of India, Baluchistan was not a fully established administrative unit. In 1947, the Baluchistan was divided into three main areas, as a vast buffer zone between NWFP and Afghanistan and introduced administrative reforms. However, the seeds of separatism remained alive among the people. So, the Baluchistan students Organization (BSO), was established as a strong nationalist organization in the province. In the periods of military rule, the nationalist feelings in the province were deemed because of the participatory democracy but again aroused. However, the regional parties and leaders are struggling for the political, economic and social rights within a democratic, federal, parliamentary framework. The Baluch community is gradually getting main position in all aspects of life, as they have a slightest representation in civil-military Bureaucracy. However, the struggle for separatism is continued by the people of Baluchistan on the base of their separate identity, language and culture.

In the Punjab, the people are also putting on the same lines of separatism on the basis of their own individuality, culture and language base ethnicity. The Saraiki language in southern part of Punjab became a part of regionalism and separate language base nationalism. The idea of ethno-linguistic identity is based on the ideology and linguistic individuality of the concerning people which uniting them against the repressive forces. According to different analyzers, this issue is propagated
by Saraiki nationalists, who want to be a separate identical region for the development of Saraiki language and class. However, there are many Socio-economic and mainly political factors, work as a hindrance for the development of Saraiki nationalism. The Saraiki nationalist movement was started for the separation of Saraiki region. The basic aims of the Saraiki movement were to assert the separate identity of language and to secure for its increased official recognition. Moreover, try to create an awareness of a collective sense of identity between the local communities.

The Saraiki nationalists or ethnic community in Punjab wanted to decrease the influence of other languages and ethnic groups, so a language base political war/movement has been started in the country. This has led to a proposed separate province and Saraiki region. The Saraiki nationalist movement activities were started in the reigns of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and in Zia-ul-Haq, but by the use of power it diminished. However, after Zia the Saraiki movement started with new ambitions, through several parties as a Pakistan Saraiki Party, Siraikistan Qaumi Movement and Saraiki National Party in Punjab.

The movement of Saraikiism was started to protect the Saraiki identity in Punjab, but it has not succeeded to form a pressure group just like Bengalis, Sindhi, Punjabi, Muhajirs and Pakhtoons. The Saraiki movement helped to promote the regional, socio-cultural and linguistic identity. The Saraiki movement is the combination of a planning of language and political influence and the efforts to establish a collective identity to convince Saraiki people and others for the development of the status of Saraiki. This effort of Saraiki identity can make them separate from the language of Punjabi people. This was the objective to establish Saraiki as a separate language by invoking shared awareness of the native past in the people, who living across the Saraiki region and speaking different dialects of the Saraiki language.

The less development of the region is also a cause of the beginning of the Saraiki movement in Southern Punjab and the ethno-nationalism is generally a response to perceived injustice. Generally, the slogans and demands of the Saraiki nationalists have been joined with linguistic rights and economic grievances, but after 1990s the linguistic issue got much importance of local and political levels.

The Saraiki movement asserts the separate identity of language and to secure for its increased official recognition. It worked to create an awareness of a collective sense of identity among the communal groups. The factors like geographical, cultural and linguistic differences with the Punjabis and the settlement of Punjabis in Saraiki areas before and after the partition on their own do not account for the need of Saraiki to assert their separate identity through the Saraiki movement.

The Saraiki middle class reacted to the threat to their language and identity and set out to develop an ethno-national consciousness in order to resist the assimilation of their ethnic group and language. The efforts towards this cause were directed towards creating a Saraiki identity. The politicization of the Saraiki movement began with the Bahawalpur province movement. This was a movement for the creation of a separate province in form of princely state of Bahawalpur. The state acceded to Pakistan in 1947 and in 1954, merged with newly created policy of one unit for the western part of Pakistan. Punjab being the largest province was perceived by the nationalist from the other provinces of West Pakistan as the dominating area in one unit.37
The Saraiki movement was promoted by a number of prominent leaders as, Ch. Farzand Ali, Mian Nizam-ud-Din Haider, Sardar Muhammad Khan and Seith Ubaidur Rehamn. In 1990, the Mahaz movement started to protest against its policies of amalgamation. Moreover, Majeed Kanju and others are now working for the establishment of Saraiki province. It will help to secure the economic, political and cultural rights of the people of this region. These movements make the people much conscious about their future and basic rights. A number of pamphlets were issued by the Saraiki regional movements, which pointed out that the Saraiki area not treated fairly. Moreover, the land of Saraiki area has been given to non-Saraiki people, who increasing their dominance on these people.

Thus, Saraikiism is a response of underdevelopment of the people of southern Punjab. They wanted to get progress, prosperity and equal rights just like other areas and people of the country. This sense of deprivation in the community of southern Punjab is a basic cause of their assertion and struggle for a separate identity. These people require serious attention of the central administration because the discriminating attitude of government increasing the feelings of aggression and regional politics in the people.

Pakistan is multi-ethnic and multicultural or lingual country. There are also so many multi ethnic, linguistic and racial groups in India but the problems of ethno linguistic assertions, successfully managed through the mechanism available for resolution of such tensions with the Indian constitutional framework. After the establishment of Pakistan, it composed of different substantial group as Bengalis, Punjabi, Sindhi, Bloch and Parkton, which had quite different levels of social, political and cultural modernization. The Bengalis, Sindhis, Bloch, Pashto and other substantial groups were apprehensive of their domination by the Punjabis and the migrant from northern and western parts of India to join Pakistan.

.5. CONCLUSION

The integration is a process that can help the diverse groups of society either they culturally different or linguistically a diverse one. These groups established a national identity, when they are loyal towards their common interests. The integration preserves the existence of an ethnically plural society, where every group is characterized by its own language and cultural qualities. The national integration is referred to developing a sense of territorial national identity which would develop political loyalties. However, it also used for the development of central authority to unite the subordinates under a single power of a territory. Simultaneously, the national integration refers to objective central feelings under its claimed jurisdiction.

The linguistic and cultural issues remain a major problem and a cause of disintegration in the country. The problems of regionalism and provincialism also created because of the ethnic difference. Although, in the past or colonial period the issues of language and culture were emerged among the Hindus and Muslims of Sub continent, which became a great cause of the division or partition of the colonial region. Same practices of different ethnic groups are continuing in all provinces with the slogan of separatism on the basis of ethno-linguistic, regional and cultural identity. Mainly, the ethnic groups in the provinces wanted to enhance their political power, social superior status and also tempted to make control on wills and economic sources of the common men. The linguistic and cultural issues of Pakistan are creating seeds of separatism or
disintegration. The cultural and linguistic diversity also disintegrating the socio, political and federal system, as the Bengali separation was great consequence of this diversity.

© 2017 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

END NOTES


2 Madhu Misra Sudan, Politics of Regionalism in India with special reference to Pakistan, New Delhi, 1988, p. 148


5 Madhu Misra Sudan, Politics of Regionalism in India with Special Reference to Pakistan, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, 1988, p. 148

6 Ali Ashraf, Ethnic Identity and National Integration, New Delhi, 1994, p. 92


8 The Harper Dictionary of Modern Thoughts, New York, 1900, p.285


10 John Rex, Rau and Ethnicity, 1986, Milton Keynes, p.16


12 Shrieen Mazari, Director General of Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, in her paper presented at the conference on “From Unipolarity to Multipolarity, Charting a strategy for Pakistan”

13 Ayesha Shahzad, the issues of ethnicity in Pakistan, (1972-85) Higher Education Commission, Islamabad, 2007, p.1

14 Tahir Amin, Ethno National Movements in Pakistan, Islamabad, Institute of Policy Studies, 1988, p. 2


16 Inayatullah, Politics of Ethnicity and Separatism in South Asia, Center for South Asian Studies, University of Punjab, p. 10.
Ethno-National Movements and National Integrity in Pakistan


18 S. Haroon Ahmed, Contemporary Conflicts, Pakistan psychiatric Society, Sindh, p. 196.


24 K.B. Sayeed, politics in Pakistan, the Nature and Direction of change, New York, Prager 1980, pp. 65-82.

25 Feroz Ahmed, Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1998, p. 271

26 Ibid, p. 272


28 Surendra Nath kaushik, Politics of Regionalism in Pakistan (vol. 13), op.cit, p. 462


30 Tendulkar, D. G., (1967), Abdul Ghafer Khan: Faith is Battle, Delhi

pp. 464-5.


33 Tahir Amin, op. cit, p.92.


35 Syed Iqbal Ahmed, op.cit, pp. 174-175.

36 Ayaz Muhammad, op. cit, pp. 114-115.


38 Rahman, Tarique, op. cit, p. 182.

39 Ibid, p. 189