

CHALLENGES AND POLICY OPTIONS TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

This paper highlights myriad obstacles hampering the process of national integration in Pakistan. National integration signifies national consciousness, a common national consensus and common national identity, where regional sub-cultures get intermingled into a national political system. This social, political, cultural, religious and economic milieu is a prerequisite to foster national integration. In Pakistan various factors like political and ethnic polarization, tussle amongst constitutional bodies especially civil-military and of late judicial confrontations, economic disparities and religious extremism are horrible challenges to be endured. Heterogeneous elements within national politics have promoted separatism tendencies mainly due to horizontal and vertical divisions. Furthermore, common citizenry feel alienated from political parlance leading to a nightmarish identity crisis striking at the very soul of Pakistan ideology. Henceforth, the ideological question has been in limbo. To cap it all, the Islamic ideological discourse has been exploited by both Islamists and Secular political bodies for their own vested interests. Sectarianism under the garb of 'Sufism' and 'Deobandi' sects gained strength to enormous proportions especially under the realm of military dictators who exploited them to attain legitimacy to their unconstitutional regimes. Such an undue patronage to Islamist parties provided them a golden opportunity to forge together to protest over 'Ahmadi' and 'Zikri' issues irrespective of their

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inbuilt undeniable differences. Once such controversies are over such elements got back into their own shells and unfortunately gave birth to sectarian extremism which has now been challenging the very birth of our nation. In the wake of Afghan Wars, terrorism has crept into our national polity and the menace coupled with sectarianism tendencies has gain strength beyond proportions threatening our national integration. Examples of other multi-ethnic and multi-cultural States faced with various challenges have been taken into consideration while contemplating the intricate situation in order to study their developmental policies which have clamped the incendiary grudges over ethnic issues and have successfully absorbed minorities in the national politics. To sum up, national integration can be ensured by adopting the policies based on sharing, entrustment and allocation of national resources to the provinces and undoubtedly by social mobility.

Key Words: Nation, Integration, Ideology, Sectarianism, Militancy, Constitution.

1. Introduction

“A portion of Mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if.....they have a desire to be under the same government and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of them exclusively”¹

“The feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the identity of race and descent; community of language and community of religion greatly contribute to it; geographical limits are one of its causes; but the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents: the possession of a national history and consequent community of recollections—collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret—connected with the same incidents in the past.”²

The concept of National Integration could have multiple interpretations depending upon the context in which it is being used. However, the most appropriate definitions which represent the true spirit of the concept include, “The creation of a National Political System which

¹ John Stuart Mill, Representative Government, Princeton University Press, 1976.

² James Bryce. “Handbook Of Home Rule (Being Articles On The Irish Question)”. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., I, Paternoster Square 1887 (at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/14518/14518-h/14518-h.htm>)

supersedes or incorporates all the regional sub-cultures'³, and the creation of a "Common national consciousness, a common national consensus and a common national identity"⁴. These two definitions appear suffice to fulfill the functional basis as encompassed political as well as the socio-cultural ingredients of the process of integration. National integration is a process through which people having common goals, sense of belonging and patriotic sentiments arrive at consensus on social, political, cultural, religious and economic cohesion. Pakistan has been entangled by myriad challenges in achieving national integration. Internal front continues to suffer from political instability, economic disparities, ethnic and religious extremism and sub-national tendencies etc.

The problems to national integration are not specific to Pakistan only rather existent at the global level. With the exception of few States, all others are to a greater or lesser degree, confronted with the problems arising out of the presence of heterogeneous elements within their body politic. The severity of the problem varies from country to country; it is of lesser importance in some of the older established nation-states in Europe while in others such as Canada, UK, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and much of Africa, national unity exists as an "uneasy mosaic".

The extent of the threat posed to the integrity of a state by the multiplicity of languages, races, religions etc., depends on a variety of factors but there are basically two requisites which must be present before a country may be deemed to be faced with a problem of national disunity with respect to its ethnic components; a) awareness in the concerned community of its separate identity as a group, and (b) consciousness of the existence of other competing groups. The consciousness of separatism generally arises due to horizontal and vertical divisions. The horizontal divisions may be defined as those based on linguistic, ethnic and racial differences, while vertical divisions are deemed to be based on class, caste, sect etc. Wherever such divisions are pronounced, the first loyalty of the majority of the disaffected people is claimed by the sub-group rather than the state/nation. These diversities and variety in the cultures of various regions and communities is, indeed, a natural phenomenon. This diversity needs to be recognized and promoted in order to enrich the national heritage.

³ Raunaq Jahan. *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*. New York: Columbia University, 1972. p.3.

⁴ Brian, Gunnely. *Journal of International Affairs*. Columbia University, cited by Ikram Azam in *Pakistan's Security and National Integration*. p. 113

National integration for Pakistan does not mean creating ethnic or national homogeneity throughout the country. It rather means only establishing a common citizenry, common political and social structures, a common State, and an additional sense of identity, of belonging together. It means building commonality on top of the existing (linguistic, ethnic, religious, geographical) diversity, and not substituting an artificial new identity for the old ones.

Founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah envisioned Pakistan as a separate democratic homeland for Muslims to be run on principles of Islamic ideas of social justice and equality. Pakistan became reality for the inhabitants of the Muslim-majority areas in the sub-continent and consequently Punjab, North West Frontier Province(NWFP), Sindh, Baluchistan, and Bengal became part of Pakistan in 1947. The theory of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and his Muslim League perceived the Muslims of India to be a distinct “Muslim Nation”, opposed to a “Hindu Nation” in the shape of “Two-Nation-Theory.” Pakistan inherited a wide variety of ethnic and linguistic groups and subgroups, which had very little in common besides being Muslim. Two official languages (Urdu and English), six regional (Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Balochi, Saraiki, Bengali), and ethnic identities were not homogeneous. The founding fathers hence had to make Pakistan into a “Nation”, to integrate the several ethnic groups into a national community - without over-emphasizing on the bondage (religion) they had in common.

According to Ahmed Rashid three factors are preventing Pakistan from achieving political stability; failure to establish coherent national identity; confrontation over national security and ethnicity.⁵

Pakistan from the very start has three fault lines as civil military relations, ethnic strife and Islamic ideology, that have fortified its insecurity so it must be cautiously envisaged in order to escape from future instability and chaos.⁶

Pakistan faced myriad internal and external challenges since inception as simultaneously fragmentation emerged nightmarish to its existence. For instance, East and West Pakistan were matter of ethnic

⁵ Ahmed Rashid. *The Situation In Pakistan. Asian Affairs*. Vol. XLI, No. III, Routledge. November 2010. p. 3.

⁶ Ziad Haider. *The Ideological Struggle for Pakistan*. Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press, 2010. p. 17.

fracture because India as arch rival existed in between. Still some Muslims were living in India which had gone awry to the very soul of two nation theory.

2. Main Obstacles to Pakistan's national integration

a. Political Polarization

Generally in Pakistan's history, nation-building and national integration have excluded the people, making it very difficult to transform it into a citizenry. "National Identity" therefore, remained shallow and could hardly develop. The main reason behind this was that the character of the Pakistani State did not significantly change after independence. It still remained of "colonial" character, remaining a tool for controlling the people, instead of becoming an instrument for self-government. The State was captured and instrumentalized by small political elite, which consistently tried to exclude any competing counter-elites. Since the ruling elite mostly consisted of Punjabi rural, feudal landlords, the top echelon of the civilian and military bureaucracy, and (with decreasing importance over time) a small elite of Mohajirs (Immigrants), other groups felt excluded. In contrast to excluded capitalists from Punjab, the tribal leaders from Baluchistan and the rural landowners from Sindh perceived their respective exclusion in ethnic rather than political terms.

Victoria Schofield in research article "Pakistan: 2011" has described at stretch Pakistan's weakness and multiple reasons like weak and instable institutions where the military coup, judicial intervention, lack of accountability have worn away legislative and executive independence. In 1988 with the demise of General Zia ul Haq, Pakistan faced boisterous challenges in form of political instability, bankruptcy, International isolation and hard core Jihadi culture which all were apprehensive to the future course of national politics.⁷ There existed wrestling of power in Pakistan especially among troika as army chief, the President and the Prime Minister, which was detrimental to the national integration and stability. Moreover, the Intelligence agencies were allied with Islamic parties in hatching against democratic forces.⁸

⁷ Op.cit. Ziad. The Ideological Struggle for Pakistan. p. 44.

⁸ Ibid. p. 45.

Basically, Pakistan is a developing country, where boundaries between civil and military relations have been unspecified. Civil military relations lead towards formulation of security strategy. Civil military cooperation is indispensable to carry out national internal stability in routine and to defend nation border in calamity and in external threat. Both institutions can intervene in each other's affairs as military can perform civil developmental projects and civil government can decide about security matters.

To sum up, Military plays pivotal role in developing countries, countries with colonial past. It either overthrows civilian government or has authoritative say in national policy making. As Samuel Huntington has attributed four roles for military in politico military matters that is advisory, representative, executive and advocacy. While taking the case of Pakistan, military has remained overwhelmingly present with strong grip on administration, economy and civil society. This undue leverage was granted to the military by keeping Indian threat and geographical insecurity in consideration. As the 1971 tragedy, which was mostly conspired by India is still fresh in memories.⁹

Undoubtedly, the civil military relations are not devoid of cooperation in recent past during former president of Pakistan Asif Ali Zardari government, where military was aloof from politics. Indeed the army has abstained from meddling in political or economic sectors while keeping the acrimonious consequences of previous military regimes. Military rule can do no better than to exacerbate economy as had done in previous dictatorships because no foreign aid can be secured or flown in.¹⁰

Pakistan's history abounds by scintillating examples of civil military tussle and civilian governments have been toppled down. Pakistan leftist part Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) regime was termed corruption ridden and incompetent, nonetheless it was supported by all provinces while the rest of governments had remained regional only. The recent past PPP government has striven to stretch relations with India. However, Mumbai carnage had reversed the process. Pakistan's former military dictator, General Pervez Musharraf had deposed chief justice of Pakistan's Supreme Court as the aftermath of which lawyer movement was launched with great

⁹ Victoria Schofield. Pakistan: 2011. The Round Table: *The Commonwealth Journal Of International Affairs*. Routledge. 16 January, 2012. p.5.

¹⁰ Op.cit. Ahmed Rashid. The Situation in Pakistan. p.4.

fervor. On coming of Zardari's government the demand was forwarded to reinstate the deposed chief justice but the matter got delayed by some reasons as Ahmad Rashid has connected it with the apprehension of Zardari that corruption cases might not be opened.

However the hallmark of PPP government led by Asif Ali Zardari is 18th amendment where in 2010, Zardari had voluntarily quit the veto power to dissolve national assembly.

b. Ideological Clashes

With the establishment of Indian Mughal empire, Indian Muslims were segregated on the lines of culture and political instability in colonial period. There emerged a gulf between Aligarh and Deobandi traditions as former was strengthening Western standards while the later fortifying orthodox Islamic norms. Simultaneous to independence struggle, Indian Muslims were divided into three strands as first one was affiliated with Indian National Congress Party, who was favoring territorial nationalism. The second chunk of Muslim population was connected with Indian Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who was standing for distinct Muslim identity. Third faction was affiliated to religious parties averse to separate Muslim homeland to prevent the division of Muslim Ummah. However, the Muslim League succeeded in achievement of its goals as Pakistan had become the ultimate reality.

The very first address of Quaid-e-Azam after independence on 11th September, 1947 was clearly a manifestation of secular tendencies by declaring that Muslim and non-Muslim would cease to be Muslim and non-Muslim meaning thereby that followers of both faiths would have absolute independence in pursuing their respective religions. He was averse to theocracy as form of political system. Alas the present day situation is totally diametrically opposed to what Jinnah had thought.

Pakistan's independence was perceived to be averse to Indian interests, resultantly they were seeking every foul play to trouble Muslims as the hindrances in resources transfer is ample manifestation of their evil intentions in this regard. Consequently, Pakistan's rulers had taken Islam as shield to integrate and strengthen a nation.¹¹

As the rulers in order to take Kashmir issue head on and overcoming India, 'Jihad'(struggle in the way of Allah) was inculcated and

¹¹ Op.cit. Ziad. The Ideological Struggle. p. 23.

religious scholars were asked to summon 'Fatwa'(religious verdict) in order to advocate their cause and mobilize tribesmen. This had instigated religious tinge in state policy for achieving national interests against India. For the same very purpose National Reconstruction and Intelligence and Research Unit under General Ayub Khan were set forth in 1963.

Pakistan is unique modern Islamic nation state founded on the name of Islam, like other Muslim states as from Middle East to South Asia have also use Islamic discourse in their freedom struggle from their respective colonial power even the stubborn secular regime like Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt. Pakistan was asserted on the basis of Islam but it was never meant to be a theocratic state. It was to rehabilitate the Muslim history. Ahmed Shuja Pasha, in Pakistan a Political study quotes Wilfred Cantwell Smith who while analyzing the ideology of Pakistan, says, "Hebrew thought learned from history and put what it learned, into scripture. Islamic thought learned from scripture and put what it learned into history."¹²

The very purpose of creating a separate homeland was to establish and flourish a truly Islamic state. Pakistan emerged in the name of Islamic ideology but the demise of Quaid e Azam in the early years left the ideology question ambiguous and unanswered to the Islamist, Secularist and Muslim democrats, leading to unwavering for political objectives quest. Pakistan is suffering from 'identity crisis'. There is still skepticism that whether it is an Islamic state or Secular modeled on Western norms. The very first constitution was delayed for eleven years due to this identity question. The Islamist were at dismay with the scant extent of religion's inclusion in state affairs because Pakistan was emerged solely on the basis of Islamic ideology whereas on the other side the addition of Islamic provision in the constitution were nightmarish to secular elements.¹³ Above all, after Pakistan's independence Quaid e Azam was contemplating to establish Pakistan on Western modeled modern state which was contrary to the very purpose of Pakistan's establishment. Meanwhile religious leader Maulana Maudoodi was pondering 'citadel of Islam' or Islamic Ideological state as the ultimate way by avoiding the fact that most of military, bureaucracy and political establishment had have secular tendencies. This paved the way to the interlocked situation with unending contest on the same issue. The rulers

¹² Ahmed Shuja Pasha. Pakistan: a Political Study. Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1995. p. 80

¹³ Usama Butt. Pakistan's Quagmire: Security, Strategy and the Future of the Islamic Nuclear Nation. Continuum International Publishing. p. 41.

as military dictators General Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan and civilian prime minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were secular leaders while General Zia and Nawaz Sharif had used Islam as shield for their objectives to be fulfilled. Whatever they had officially expressed but Islamic ideological discourse had been shaped and reshaped by them according to the context.

Furthermore, the role of religion in politics has been hotly contested after independence. Immediately Maulana Maudoodi moved to 'land of pure' to align with the Ahrars for Islamization of Pakistan. Whereas former prime minister of Pakistan Liaqat Ali Khan was also interested in flourishing Pakistan's Islamic ideology but country had allied to the US while keeping strategic strategies in consideration. Islamic ideological discourses were exploited by both Islamist, military generals and politicians alike. This ideology has been strongly debated by bureaucrats as Governor General Ghulam Muhammad and some Bengali and Pashtun politicians such as Suhrawardi and Abdul Ghaffar Khan.¹⁴ But in real course of politics they formed secular political parties as Awami National Parties in the west and Awami League in the East by leading major faction of both East and Western part of Pakistani population. Similarly, Army or Muslim League were not orthodox Islamist but were representing secularism.

Islam was exploited in clamping internal challenges as for instance in 1953 when 'Ahmadi' riot was going on in streets. This was an organized effort to weaken federal government by demanding the resignation of Pakistan first foreign minister, Sir Zafarullah Khan, being an Ahmadi. Meanwhile in 1954 'Munir Report' orchestrated by two justices of federal government exposed the conspiracy and called forth farsightedly national ideological destructive tendencies. This report abstained government from raising and acknowledging Ahmadi dispute because it could detrimental to the state structure based on Jinnah's all inclusive polity. Henceforth the notion of Islamic state for Pakistan in this perspective could only disintegrate Pakistan.¹⁵

In this vague ideological quest Ayub Khan in 1960 foreign affairs article expressed his intention "liberating the basic concept of our ideology from the dust of vagueness"¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 26.

¹⁶ Muhammad Ayub Khan, Pakistan Perspective, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol, 38, no. 4 July 1960, p. 547.

In his autobiography for defining ideology for people need, “they will have tremendous power of cohesion and resistance. Such a society can conceivably be bent not broken such an ideology which is obviously Islam. It was on that basis that we fought for and got Pakistan but having got it we failed to define the ideology in a simple and understandable form..... The time has now come when we must get over this shyness, face the problem squarely and define the ideology in simple but modern terms and put it to the people, so that they can use it as a code of guidance.¹⁷

General Pervez Musharraf simultaneous to his alignment with the US “war on terror” after 9/11 taken Islamic ideology in term of ‘Enlightened Moderation’. This turn of event was justified by expounding the two tenants or strategies as “The first part is for the Muslim world to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socioeconomic uplift. The second is for the west particularly the US, to seek and resolve all political disputes with justice and to assist in socioeconomic upliftment of the deprived Muslim world.”¹⁸

Albeit extremism has been taken at exigency by this notion but it yielded in nothing other than moderation. Moreover, Musharraf’s taken various timely steps as banning key militant groups and registration of Deeni Madaris (religious schools) and reforming their curricula had proved not long lasting. Nonetheless unpleasant consequences were came to the forefront as militant groups were emerged under other names, the registration was fortified when Islamic parties came to the ruling echelon by Musharraf’s banning of the heads of two mainstream political parties Bhutto and Sharif.

This identity crisis was further exacerbated by religious and Islamist opposition in Pakistan parliament especially when religious party Mutahida Majlis Amal (MMA) achieved 11 percent of popular vote and established its government in two provinces. Pakistani ruler was Kemalist inspired ‘Liberal dictator’ who ruled loose alliance of feudalistic and opportunistic secular politicians while its opposition consisted of a religious and Islamist based alliance and its mountains were filled with both transnationalist Jihadist Al-Qaeda and nationalist Jihadist TTP.¹⁹ By contemplating the nationalist and transnationalist Jihadi organizations functional basis in Pakistan are not

¹⁷ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*. London and Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967. pp. 196-97.

¹⁸ Pervez Musharraf, *A Plea for Enlightened Moderation*, *Washington Post*, June 1, 2004.

¹⁹ *Opcit.* Usama. *The Salvation*. P. 25.

basically by advocating the cause of Islamic ideological state but it is the outcome of identity crisis which has never been properly addressed.

If we envisage the stability of Pakistan connected with rendering political system to be truly Islamic ideological state then there seems no positive outcome. For instance Iranian revolution was not the Islamist revolution but jurist revolution. In case of Ottoman empire and its Vilayat system where Muslim were main identity and extremist desperate groups stretched from Central Asia to greater Middle East could associate themselves with Caliphate. Modern pure Islamist state example can be fixed at Algeria. The Turkish AK party is also Islamist but it is not modal as its military and bureaucracy are based on secular tendencies. On the other hand, there seems some extent certainty in contemplating that chaos and instability would emerged if Pakistan political system would Secular state. The Islamist would challenge the very act contrary to the soul of Islam and which might led to authoritarianism in Pakistan as happened in Maghreb and North Africa.²⁰

Furthermore, radical Jihadist ideologies are not Pakistan's outcome but these had taken birth in Middle East as reaction of Islamist and radical secularism. It was Syed Qutb, Abdel Salam al Faraj, Slukri Mustaf Al-Shiqaqi, Ayman ul Zawahiri and Osama Bin Laden being inspired by Maudoodi teaching and their breeding places were Egypt, Algeria and Saudi Arabia and not Pakistan.²¹

c. Sectarianism

The prevalent strands of Islam among subcontinent Muslims has been stretched to Sufi or Barelvi Islam. Sufi Islam is more inclusive with no consideration for caste, creed, ethnicity or race. The people of the subcontinent mainly Muslims (barring Deobandi School of Thought) have been firm believers of Sufism and its undeniably peaceful and positive in the spread of Islam in the region particularly those parts forming independent Pakistan. Hence its physical manifestation can be witnessed in the form of large number of shrines across the country which have long been the centres of faith healing and are frequently visited by people from different walks of life seeking solution to their worldly problems and relief from those faith healers like saints or pirs both alive and dead. Thus this indirect link

²⁰ Op.cit. Usama. The Salvation. p. 47.

²¹ Ibid. p. 48.

between man and God rampant in our society has been unfortunately amenable to manipulation and misuse. Pakistan various regimes have supported and coopted influential Pir who were politicized and prosperous and were took as integral part of mainstream supreme socioeconomic order in Pakistan. In 1970 Wahabi and Deobandi Orthodox view took greater momentum on the basis of following four factors; the importation of Pakistan expatriates in Saudi Arabia and Gulf to earn from oil boom, middle class readily adopted these views as Sufism was connected with supreme order and returning to pure Islamic form was deemed as the only remedy available at national disposal; Pan-Islamic revivalism following the Iranian revolution and Saudi attempt to ideologically curb Iranian leverage in Pakistan; the flourishing Wahabism and Deobandi thought in Pakistan during Soviet invasion and Jihad was fortified by Saudi financing , madaris and state policy.

The religious composition of present Pakistan after 1971 is 97% Muslims divided into sunni and shia sects. The sunni are approximately 80% and the shia are 20% of Muslim population.²² Simultaneous to Pakistan independence no sectarian tussle existed but later on in 1950s it emerged and got intensified in 1980s.²³ General Zia era proved to be instigating point of sectarianism in Pakistan's history. There were two main religious parties, Jamiati Islam (JI) was functional in both wings of Pakistan while Jamiati Ulama e Islam (JUI) was specified to N.W.F.P only. Pakistan's religious party Jumaat Islaami (JI) was averse to Qadiani or Ahmadi, who do not believe in finality of Prophet (P.B.U.H) and termed them Kafirs (Infidals) albeit Qadiani were highly posted at that time (1947-77).²⁴ The JI and other sunni led protest against Ahmadi given rise to worse law and order situation where Khwaja Nazimuddin for the first time imposed Martial Law in Lahore in 1953 to subdue sectarianism.²⁵

In order to assess the role of religious leader in Pakistan's politics the glimpses of history will be viewed to know that how and under which circumstances this role had instigated sectarian riots. For instance the Ayub Khan gave great coverage to Ulema and Masheikh, who delivered speeches

²² Amin Lakhani, Why Sectarian Violence Must End, *The Daily Dawn*, Karachi, 19 August, 2004.

²³ Sectarianism-A Threat to Human Security. *The Round Table*, Vol. 94, No. 382, 613-628, October 2005.p. 2.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 3.

in his favour. In 1962 in Muharam, a procession of mourner was stirred by extremist Wahabi sect in Thahri township near Khairpur Mir, Sindh. Yahya totally ignored Mullah and there occurred no sectarian conflict in his era.²⁶Bhutto was hurled by Sindhi and Punjabi nationalists.²⁷During Bhutto, Mullah were active in Punjab and had instigated nationwide protest to term Qadiani as non-Muslim, replacing Sunday by Friday as weekly holiday and to close down liquor shops. After the declaration of Qadiani as non-Muslim these Mullah next target was the removal of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto from the scene.²⁸ Moreover, in Zia time the Wahabi Mullahs of Balochistan had requested Zia in 1978 to declare Zikri of Makran district as non-Muslims as they were the largest target after Qadiani.²⁹But the secular and nationalist Baloch leadership was averse to this and Zia could not afford to annoy them.

Simultaneous to Iran-Iraq war in 1980s the extremist Wahabi group Swad-e-Azam (Greater Unity) was formed in Pakistan with special demand put forward to Zia that Pakistan should be declared as Sunni state and Qadiani and Zikri as well as Shia should be declared as non-Muslims. Zakat was promulgated as compulsory on both Sunni and Shia which kept the Shia on tenterhook. Their protest was organized under Tahreek Nifazee Fiqhi Jafaria (TNJF) under late Mufti Jaffer Hussain to secure their religious rights.³⁰ Swadi Azam had given birth to terrorist Wahabi organization the Sipah Sahaba Pakistan (SSP). Its ally Lashkar Jhangvi (LJ) was emerged. Southern Punjab was breeding ground for them. Both terms of Benazir Bhutto were uneasy in terms of ethnic strife between urdu and sindhi speakers in Sindh.³¹Basically, in Pakistan sectarianism got momentum with Taliban ruling in Afghanistan, where the weapons were provided freely and recruitments were also carried out from them. Nawaz Sharif had taken sectarianism at exigency because serious incidents were hatched by Sipah Sahaba. Sharif demanded the ousting of Riaz Basra and Akram Lahore, who

²⁶ Ibid. p. 4.

²⁷ Mehtab Ali Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impact on Diplomacy, 1971-74*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1977, pp. 137-138.

²⁸ Opcit. *Sectarianism*. p. 4.

²⁹ Ian Talbot, *The History of Modern Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard, 1999. p. 252.

³⁰ Op.cit. *Sectarianism*. p. 6.

³¹ Ibid. p. 7.

were main terrorist leaders of L.J.³²Whereas Musharraf regime was Mullah-Military alliance which flourished further in Pakistan.

d. Militancy

The “war on terror” has given birth to militancy in Pakistan in general and to frontier and FATA in particular, where civil military leaders are head on to curb the menace of militancy. In Pakistan militancy and extremism have been originated in the past military regimes of General Zia ul Haq and General Pervez Musharraf as both envisaged Afghanistan’s turmoil as an opportunity to facilitate themselves with the US assistance in multiple sectors. The menace of military dictatorship of these two mentioned dictators have dumped Pakistan with extremism and sectarianism. Resultantly Pakistan is suffering from multitude of miseries as weak economy, distortion of national image, undermined national sovereignty and to cap it all Pakistan is near to be an isolationist state.

Furthermore, regional dynamics are also horrible challenges to Pakistan because these are active not only in securing stakes in Afghanistan but are detrimental to the very state structure of Pakistan. For instance, if India role in Afghanistan is concerned then it can pose challenge to Pakistan national integration as well as to Pakistan’s foreign policy because both India and Afghanistan are boisterous to Pakistan throughout the history. Southern and South Eastern Afghanistan is known to the Pashtun dominating areas, these appears to be a majority of Pro-Pakistan population , whereas presence of considerable number of Indian consulates on Af-Pak border indicates a certain degree of Indian interests with availability of some liberty of action. India sought proactive statecraft and pro-Indian lobbies in Afghanistan and has been succeeded to the great extent in this regard. It has flourished diplomatic missions in strategically significant areas which are maximizing Indian influence at the expense of Pakistan.³³

On the other hand, Indian hegemonic status in Afghanistan is strategic defeat to Pakistan.³⁴ India reopened embassy in Kabul soon after Taliban was toppled. It has also opened four consulate offices in major

³² Ibid. p. 8.

³³ Safdar Hussain. Issues and Challenges in Pakistan-Afghanistan Relations after 9/11. *South Asian Studies*. Vol 27. No1. January-June 2012. p. 93.

³⁴ Commander International Security Assistance Force and US Force Afghanistan COMISAF’s Initial Assessment, Memorandum to Security of Defence Robert Gates. August 30, 2009. p. 2-11.

Afghan cities of Qandahar, Mazar-e-Sharif, Herat and Jalalabad. Prior to that there were no consular offices.

Pakistan alleged Indian complicity in flourishing militants networks in Afghanistan various areas especially near Gereshk, in southern Helmand province; at army basis of Qushila Jadid, in the Panjshir Valley north of Kabul; northeast of Kabul; and at Kahak and Hassan Killies in western Nimruz province.³⁵ Mushahid Hussain, Former Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs stated in July 2006 that RAW had been involved in 600 Baluchi training inside Afghanistan and is igniting radicalism in Baluchistan. Moreover he emphasized on Afghanistan covert agency inter-linkage with RAW.³⁶ India is said to be providing funding to Baluch dissident groups for exerting pressure on Pakistan. Her interference and involvement in Baluchistan is a formidable threat.

e. Cultural and Ethnic Integration

Demographically, the Punjabis embody the largest single ethnic group (48.2%) in Pakistan's population, as Pushtoons (13.1%), Sindhis (11.8%), Siraikis (9.8%), Urdu-speaking (7.6%), Baloch-Brauhis (4.2%), and Hindko-speaking (2.4%). Cultural integration signifies that common national culture with which people identify themselves. Hence cultural integration neither overlook cultural diversity nor does it overstate a monolithic society. There may be sub-cultures within the sphere of a common culture and there may be a pluralistic society. However, the myriad sub-cultures get intermingled with their distinct identities and formed one common integral culture. The chemistry of different ethnic groups is not identical even they have not similar or proportional representation in the higher echelons of military and bureaucracy. Henceforth, the venous elements of Pakistan's ruling class have a unequal representation of the various ethnic groups in society. The continued rule by the military led bureaucracy is devoid of popular and cultural representation in the federal government culminating in East Pakistan's separation as Bangladesh in 1971. The 1973 constitution was agreed upon the issue of provincial autonomy but later on the intermittent suspension of the constitution and its inadequate enforcement gave birth to several problems. Consequently, the

³⁵ Grare Frederic. Pakistan Afghanistan Relations in the Post 9/11 Era. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, South Asia Project, Number 72, October 2006.

³⁶ Ibid.

question of provincial autonomy remained unaddressed in today's Pakistan³⁷.

It is of pivotal significance to assess the distribution of resources and state powers sharing by various different ethnic groups and presumed usage of state powers for vested interests of the few and detrimental of other ethnic groups. The Pakistani state can be envisaged as a neo-colonial state, connected as an appendage to the global capitalist economy and politically subservient to the United States. Within this privileged sovereignty of the state, while perpetuating the existing relations of production and distribution, enjoys relative autonomy. The hegemony of military and bureaucracy are confined not only to exercise the instruments of state power, but also serving their vested interests irrespective of the dominant capitalist and landlord classes.

f. Economic Integration

The policies of laissez faire was carried out till late sixties in management of economy while the considerable amount of foreign aid received during this period perpetuated in reasonable average annual growth rate of the economy. Henceforth, disproportional income between various regions and classes of people got fostered. Consequently, the exclusion of certain regions and groups from the political and economic decision-making processes made the economic inequities harsh to be endured. Pakistan's high dependence on foreign aid has been main hurdle which gone burton to the strive of national integration. Undoubtedly, this dependence has resulted in undue leverage of the west, especially the U.S.A. on our external and internal policies. The subservient policies of Pakistan are greatly resented by those who want neutral foreign policy. Many rightist groups in Pakistan also shared this resentment until the Russian Army marched into Afghanistan in December, 1979.

The Government addressed itself to the task of economic development and set up three national institutions to coordinate nation-building schemes. These were (1) The Development Board, (2) The Planning Advisory Board, and (3) The Economic Coordination Committee of the Cabinet. The development effort which was somewhat streamlined with the introduction of the Six-Year Plans were articulated with the

³⁷ Rehman, I.A., 2003, Minorities in South Asia, Commission on Human Rights, Working Group on Minorities, Ninth session, 12-16 May, Paper No. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.5/2003/WP.13

formulation of the First Five Year-Plan (1955-60) and it achieved sophistication in the Second and Third Five-Year Plans (1960-65) and (1965-70) and the 20 year Perspective Plan (1965-85). This entire planning process was, however, characterized by a rather centralized process of decision-making in which important schemes conceived at the Provincial level were to be approved at the Centre after thorough scrutiny. The provincial share of NFC award has also remained main obstacle even today in national integration. Baluchistan is demanding share of NFC award on basis of area while Punjab demands on population. Sindh wants more share because of her greater contribution in national revenue, while NWFP wants share in electricity surcharge from center. The government unfortunately has not been able to resolve it even after 60 years.

g. Ethnic Strife

Pakistan is not a nation state but a Federation of different nationalities and ethnic groups. Due to various resources as economic deprivation and centralized administration, the sub-nationals i.e. the Baluch and to some extent the Sindhis and Pashtuns felt berefted of true representation in the national affairs. Ethnic strife has been detrimental to the fabric of Pakistan's state. Baluchistan insurgents group since 1970s are dynamic with their conspiracies. In Karachi and Hyderabad, local Sindhi have confrontation with dominant Mohajirs led by MQM. Punjab, which has given sense of deprivation to other provinces, is also suffering from ethnicity and its rural areas have been hub of militant groups.³⁸

The main causes of the ethnic divide have been:-

Pre 1971

Declaration of Urdu as the National Language had kept East Pakistan on tenterhooks because they were apparently in majority, demand for Pashtunistan and above all the issue of Sindhi Nationalism where the declaration of Karachi as the Capital City, the hub of economic activity, was considered as deprivation of Sindhis, large influx of refugees into the Province, allotment of land to military and civil bureaucrats, large scale of migration of Pashtun and Punjabi workforce to Karachi.³⁹

³⁸ Opcit. Victoria. Pakistan: 2011. p. 5.

³⁹ Qureshi, Saima Qayyum, "Ethnicity and National Integration in Pakistan", *Current Affairs Digest*, September, 2003

Post 1971

Baluch uprising 1973-1977, Sindhi-Mohajir-Punjabi conflict, Mohajir community being over represented in government, local Sindhis felt deprived. Declaration of Sindhi as provincial language was taken as Anti Mohajir step. Issue of water accord with Punjab. Formulation of MQM.⁴⁰

EXPERIENCES OF OTHER

Multi-Cultural, Multi - Ethnic States:

The experiences of South East Asian countries in general and Malaysia in particular are examined carefully as these countries have crossed to bear with multi-ethnic hurdles and succeeded consequently by sound policies. These models will be taken in consideration while setting recommendation in order to ensure national integration in Pakistan. Malaysia's example will be considered firstly;

Malaysia

Malaysia with total population of 25 million has three principal races namely Muslim Malays (60%), Chinese (26%), and Indians (8%) is the most successful example of racial harmony and a model of peaceful multiculturalism. The hold on administration at independence was overwhelmed by Malays as government and the security forces like army and police were controlled by them, while Chinese were predominant in the private sector and non-Muslim Indians remained the poorest section of Malaysian society with no hold at all. The government does not impose any restrictions on minority races, which are free to practice their own culture, religion and education.⁴¹

Consequently, Malaysia formulated a range of core policies, long-term, medium term, annual and special development plans; and sectoral and industry-specific plans to guide the management of national development during 1970-2000. For instance,

⁴⁰ Pervaiz, Zahid, "Ethnicity and Problems of Integration in Pakistan", *Current Affairs Digest*, July, 2004

⁴¹ Article 3 of the Malaysian Constitution.

National Economic Policy (NEP) provided a comprehensive action package for the Bumiputras (sons of soil). The NEP (1970-90)⁴² deals in an integrated manner, with four major challenges facing the nation at that time firstly, that of creating a united nation from amongst a diverse population of many races, religions and cultures, in which no single race was in numerical majority; secondly, that of lessening and, in time, eradicating poverty; thirdly, that of correcting the economic imbalance among the main racial groups so that each could enjoy a more equitable share in the benefits of economic growth; and fourthly, that of expanding the economy at a continuous and rapid rate.

The National Development Policy⁴³ introduced in 1991 also had four major objectives which focused on firstly, anti-poverty strategy to be zooming on eradication of hardcore poverty, rather than poverty in general and at the same time reducing relative poverty; secondly, rapid development of an active Bumiputra Commercial and Industrial Community (BCIC) to increase the meaningful participation of the Bumiputra in the modern sectors of the economy, rather than the emphasis on Bumiputra ownership and control of corporate equity; thirdly, a greater reliance on the private sector in the restructuring by creating greater opportunities for its growth; and fourthly, human resource development as a fundamental requirement for achieving the objectives of growth and distribution.

Vision 2020 calls for total development and envisages that by the year 2020⁴⁴, Malaysia would be a unified whole and amalgamated with nourished ethos while living in liberal democratic and caring society where equitable socio-economic provisions would ensure. Vision 2020 is not much different from NEP or NDP in its core components. It provides a useful perspective on the strategies for achieving the goal.

The policies have shown positive results for national integration as well as economic gains for the sons of soil. The lessons learnt from

⁴² Government of Malaysia, Second Malaysia Plan., p.3. The origin of the definition was the *Rukunegara* (National Ideology) of Malaysia.

⁴³The descriptive part of this section is derived from Government of Malaysia, The Second Outline Perspective Plan, 1991-2000 (Kuala Lumpur: National Printing Department, 1991) pp.14-20 and Government of Malaysia, Sixth Malaysia Plan, 1991-1995 (Kuala Lumpur: National Printing Department, 1991) pp.4-5.

⁴⁴The descriptive part of this section is derived from Government of Malaysia, Vision 2020: The Way Forward (Kuala Lumpur: National Printing Department, 1991).

Malaysia experience would conclude as under: The government role in market and fair distribution of resources among all ethnic groups is indispensable in multi-ethnic states in order to escape violence and rebellion. To ensure rapid economic growth for establishing new recruitments and commercial and capital opportunities. Both public and private sectors should take macro economy and industries head on respectively. Flexible and sustained core developmental policies must be adopted according to requirements and context. Peaceful coexistence is necessary to the utmost in multi-ethnic and multi-cultural states to foster cooperation and harmony so that stability can be resulted. Only two strategies of expansion of the economy and government-run affirmative action programs targeted to the poor can eradicate poverty.

Other Countries in South-East Asia

Indonesia

Indonesia a country of 235 million people with 86% Muslims, 2% Hindus and 3% other unspecified and ethnic groups of Javanese 40.6%, 6% Protestant, Minangkabau 2.7%, Betawi 2.4%, Bugis 2.4%, Banten 2%, 3% Roman Catholics, Sundanese 15%, Madurese 3.3%, Banjar 1.7%, other or unspecified 29.9% live on over 17,500 islands⁴⁵. Since the very start the Indonesian Government recognized three minorities of foreign origin Chinese, Arab and Dutch descent but, of these, only those of Chinese descent have been taken as troubling. Thus, nonetheless, government has adopted various measures under Indonesian ideology of unity through diversity to foster cohesion by Chinese.

The Indonesian Policy of national integration for indigenous population is aimed at amalgamating rather than absorbing them into the Javanese society. The indigenous cultural development is endured and amalgamation is encouraged through the national language and education, national symbols, national institutions and the Pancasila (five principles of life)⁴⁶. Absorption model has been put forwarded by government in consideration of Chinese to abandon their (Chinese) identity and be

⁴⁵CIA-The world fact book, accessed on 8thfebruary, 2014. at website <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/id.html>

⁴⁶ Suryadinata, Leo. 1988. 'Government policy and national integration in Indonesia' in *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 16, No.2, pp. 111-131.6

transformed into "indigenous" Indonesians. Chinese economic strength and leverage was lessen partnership between the Chinese and the indigenous Indonesians. This was enforced through ban on retail trade and ousting Chinese traders from rural areas in the 1950s and 1960s. Laws were passed in 1974 to limit all foreign investments to be in the form of joint-ventures with local companies wholly or majority-owned by indigenous Indonesians, and in 1979 to provide indigenous Indonesian with preferential access to government goods and contracts.

Philippines

Philippines a country of 91 million people with 81% Christians, 5% Muslims and around seven ethnic groups has been head on to achieve amalgamation of smaller groups into the larger society. The constitution is unspecified as to whether integration signifies assimilation, or amalgamation, and that integration does not necessarily mean "advancement". The PANAMIN (Presidential Assistant on National Minorities)⁴⁷, a government agency is set up to integrate ethnic minorities into the Filipino society. Integration was to be fostered through socio-economic development and protection of the rights of the country's non-Muslim ethnic minorities. Around one million Muslims are stretched all over the Philippines, and various arrangements have been done in each province and city like mosque, where they can worship. Hitherto the Muslims are still under tough conditionalities, with lowest human development indexes, escalated poverty, lowest literacy and no proper access to public services. Young Filipino Muslims are turning to religion for support as they face a future complicated by anti-Muslim bias and injustices. These factors, coupled with the inability of government to provide public services and economic opportunities (a decade after signing a peace accord that promised a better life), have pushed many young Muslims to join more radical elements. Interfaith dialogue and peace advocacy are gaining strength. Civil society and religious organisations are working together to resolve conflicts and discrimination⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Okamura, Jonathan Y. 1988b. The politics of neglect: Philippines ethnic minority policy in *South Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, vol.16 No.2,pp17-46

⁴⁸ Amina Rasul Bernardo, Aarticle in *Islamica Magazine*, Issue 20 accessed on 26.11.2013 at site <http://www.islamicamagazine.com/Online-Analysis/A-perilous-present-and-uncertain-future.html>

The Philippine's case shows that the displacement of cultural minorities from their ancestral lands has forced their "integration" into the market economy as low-paid wage laborers on agribusiness and industrial tree plantations, vegetable farms and mines, but it has not resulted in their material, economic, social and political advancement as was the objective of the commission on National Integration.

3. Policy options

1. Specific Recommendation

The unification of diverse elements of society must be at exigency in order to eradicate the undue and vicious gap between multiple cultural and ethnic groups. Following four steps are indispensable on the part of government.

(a) Sharing

The equal representation of Provinces in the Senate could not ensure the desired results and more steps will have to be taken to involve the federating units in the decision making processes in the political and economics spheres so that collective ownership of national resources and responsibilities could also be ensured.

(b) Entrustment

Entrustment of authority and power is also imperative while initiating the process of adequate representation and participation. This would facilitate expeditious solution of problems faced by the people ensuring greater responsiveness of official policies and actions to the locally-felt needs. For example, primary education and basic health units to be handed over to district Councils along with necessary financial subventions; Provincial Governments distribution of power to be delegated to the Provincial Governments and granting autonomy to universities will improve the operational efficiency and remove many irritants and bottlenecks.

(c) Allocation

National resources should be equally distributed to stimulate the socio-economic upliftment of backward areas. The affluence of few on the

expense of major chunk of population is enigmatic of national ethical weakness. The federal economic gains should descend to the provincial representatives in order to clamp the vicious circles of poverty and backwardness.

(d) Social Mobility

Geographical barriers should be removed through continuously increasing inter and intra-regional mobility of men and women of various walks of life. Interprovincial and inter regional exchange of visits of delegations of writers, journalists, religious leaders, and farmers etc., should be orchestrated to promote national harmony. Similarly inter regional and intra-regional sports and cultural events involving both governmental and private organizations should be encouraged. The long term interaction through posting of officers of provincial cadres (in addition to the Federal cadres) like professors, teachers, engineers, doctors etc. could also be beneficial to promote national integration.

A stable political system demands strong democratic culture, supremacy of institutions and besides all the political parties should not extend their support to absolutist and despotic governments. All the stakeholders should work for nation-building and ensure that they honor the constitution within parliamentary system. The Federal system of government is indispensable for Pakistan, as enshrined in the 1973 constitution. For it reconciles the conflicting parties, keep the provinces satisfied, narrows the gap of trust deficit, improves inter-provincial and center-province relations and reduces separatist tendencies. So, decentralization and devolution of provincial autonomy is a concrete step to satisfy the nation. Transparency and accountability of the judiciary should be given priority so that a fair and just judiciary can dispense justice to all and sundry and also to protect state institutions, minimize ills obstructing the social and political integration of the country.

Religious and intellectual scholars should present the true Islamic teaching in order to establish peace. Militancy should be dealt with at exigency. Steps must be taken for tracking down terrorist groups and the sponsoring countries be made to halt their activities. A Madaris modernization program must be implemented. To promote equity and harmony, necessary for national unity and integrity, we should honor all ethnic and tribal groups, and ensure the protection and promotion of their languages and cultures and all as national cultures and languages.

To improve and redress the situation in Federally Administered Tribal Areas(FATA) a planned, systematic and phased merger with Pakhtunkhwa program would reduce a Colonial bifurcation, dilute militancy, unify societal leadership and improve governance. The government should follow a multi-pronged strategy of political and socio-economic development.

It is critical to initiate futuristic steps to make peace with India, put Kashmir on the back burner, improve and stabilize relations with Iran and Afghanistan for safeguarding our national security. The USA, China, India or Saudi Arabia are therefore neither friends nor enemies, but are rather firmly committed to their strategic interests which may or may not be aligned with Pakistan's advantage. We have to generate the feelings of patriotism and nationalism instead of regionalism and provincialism.

2. Other General Recommendations

The other measures suggested below for national integration are recommended to be brought under the domain of the Ministry of Inter-Provincial Coordination:-

- The constitution of Pakistan be safeguarded and implemented in true letter and spirit by not letting it prey to political manipulation.
- The integration of the poor in the political process is essential. The politics from the hands of the feudal and rich will have to be transferred to middle class and poor.
- Each Province has its own distinct language, culture, tradition and custom and we should strive to cultivate *unity in diversity*. Any effort to stampede these diversities into uniformity through regimentation only creates ill will. The Provinces should flourish in a climate of tolerance, mutual respect and accommodation.
- An independent Agency like the Public Service Commission should be assigned the responsibility for periodically verifying and reporting on compliance by Government departments etc., which have significant bearing on National Integration. This would help in removing many misgivings and irritants. Observance of recruitment quotas in Government Agencies could be one such item.
- In the developmental activity at the Federal level, preference may be given to projects which would promote economic integration and interdependence of Provinces, firmly establishing the foundation of a unified economy.

- The distribution of financial resources should be on equitable basis like industries, Oil and Gas should be both federal and provincial subjects, so that no discrimination is made to any province. This has created dissension amongst the various units of Pakistan in the past.
- The inter-Provincial internship of doctors and the apprenticeship of engineers. These professionals should be given substantial inter-Provincial allowances and other facilities to make it attractive;
- Inter-Provincial transfers of Government servants should also be mandatory for a certain percentage of all cadres. The Federal Government and Provincial Government employees should be encouraged to learn the language of the Province posted.
- Trade unions, labor unions and other such bodies should be encouraged to organize themselves on national basis. These unions may be recognized/patronized only if they have inter-Provincial affiliations.

Socio-cultural organizations should be set up at national level to promote harmony by attracting journalists, writers, thinkers, intellectuals and other opinion molders for sharing views.

4. Conclusion

The overall problem may look quite intricate and murky but it can be resolved by enforcing the rule of law, ensuring the supremacy of the constitution, giving the constitution a true federal color, strengthening the institutions over the personalities, distribution of resources on equitable basis, promotion of regional languages and cultures, feeling proud of our culture and not being influenced by Indian and Western cultural invasion

through, media will definitely create harmony in our national life. It has become imperative that the past policy mistakes are not repeated again and, instead of brushing them aside in the name of Islam, the real impediments to national cohesion are brought in the open and debated upon and the corrective measures taken in all sincerity. Hence, the present structure of Pakistani polity requires urgent change with expeditious framing, implementing and sustaining a democratic and federal constitutional order with equal opportunities for the lesser satisfied Provinces. This would ensure full participation of all the Provinces in the affairs of the Federation, adequate provincial autonomy consistent with national cohesion, and the protection and promotion of their genuine rights and interests of all the federating units and ethnic communities.

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