

NATIONAL HARMONY AND COHESION: A CASE STUDY OF SINDH

Dr. Moonis Ahmar*

Abstract

National harmony and cohesion is required in a state which is homogenous, but it becomes a major challenge in a multi-cultural society. This paper examines the dynamics of national harmony and cohesion in the context of University of Karachi and the surge of student's politics on ethnic, lingual and sectarian grounds. Factors, which have destabilized the peace of Karachi for the last 30 years, will also be discussed. Workable solutions/recommendations for re-establishing harmony and coexistence in Karachi will also be presented. The process of nation-building can only be unleashed when there is a commitment at the state and societal levels for moving the country in the right direction and by promoting national harmony and cohesion. A major challenge to seek the objective of national harmony and cohesion in Pakistan is the lack of ownership at the state and societal levels. A general sense of indifference, with a few exceptions, could be found among people about the resources, crises, conflicts, violence and the mode of governance. Despite impediments and challenges in the way for national harmony and cohesion, there is certainly a hope to move in the direction which could at least pull Pakistan from the web of crises, put it on the road to progress and prosperity. National harmony and cohesion is a long-term process as there are no shortcuts to accomplish such a gigantic task in a country which also has experienced its disintegration and at the same time is still grappling with the issues of ethnicity, sect, democracy and religion. Sindh is a unique case study of national harmony and cohesion because of its sharp demographic, ethnic and lingual transformation since the Independence of Pakistan. Sindh can certainly emerge as a model of national harmony and coexistence provided the walls of suspicion and mistrust among different communities are dismantled and replaced with goodwill, harmony, coexistence and tolerance.

Key words: National Harmony, Cohesion, Co-existence, Tolerance, Good Will, Multi-Cultural, Ownership, Indifference, Trust.

Introduction

One can create a state but to transform it into a nation is an uphill task. Pakistan, which emerged on the map of the world as an independent state on August 14, 1947, is still facing a predicament that many other post-colonial countries encounter i.e. how to create a sense of national harmony and cohesion amidst numerous societal contradictions. Lack of ownership at the societal and state level about institutionalizing the process of national ownership and cohesion is a major predicament of today's Pakistan. Likewise, a critical issue which impacts a state like Pakistan is how to create a sense of ownership among people and their leadership about the country.

The question of national harmony and cohesion is as old as the history of Pakistan. In fact, the first test case of national harmony for the nascent state of Pakistan occurred in the then East-Pakistan because of sharp cultural, social, lingual and geographical contradictions between the two wings of the country. Even in the geographically compact West-Pakistan, provincial disharmony and lack of cohesion emerged as a major challenge to the various governments. The formation of one-unit in the then West-Pakistan by merging provinces into one province in 1955 deepened feelings of ethno-nationalism in the smaller provinces of Baluchistan, North Western Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) and Sindh.

Karachi is considered as a melting pot of Pakistan, where ethnic and lingual groups from all over the country intermingle. The city, which has a population of around 20 million, is also a hub of conflicts and violence. Yet, the University of Karachi which is the largest and biggest university of Pakistan with around 35,000 students, 800 faculty and 3,000 staff members is a typical case study of national harmony and cohesion amidst the existence of student politics, primarily on ethnic grounds.

This paper will examine the dynamics of national harmony and cohesion in Pakistan by focusing on the province of Sindh with a case study of Karachi. Following questions will be responded in the paper.

1. What are the *dynamics* of national harmony and coexistence in a multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious country like Pakistan?
2. What are the *issues* that since the inception of Pakistan till today tend to derail the process of national harmony and cohesion?
3. Why there is lack of ownership as far as national harmony and cohesion is concerned?
4. Why Sindh is termed as a major *flashpoint* as far as ethnic and lingual issues are concerned?
5. Why Karachi is considered as a '*melting pot*' of Pakistan and what are the challenges to ensure harmony and

cohesion among diverse communities living side by side in that mega city?

6. How the *challenges* of national harmony and cohesion in Pakistan could be met and what are the impediments in this regard?

Furthermore, this paper will also examine the dynamics of national harmony and cohesion in the context of University of Karachi and the surge of student politics on ethnic, lingual and sectarian grounds. Factors which, for the last 30 years have destabilized the peace of Karachi will also be discussed and workable solutions/recommendations for re-establishing harmony and coexistence in Karachi will also be presented.

Dynamics of national harmony and cohesion

Conceptually, national harmony and cohesion is an uphill task and cannot be achieved in a short span of time. It is a process, which requires political will, determination and leadership with sound vision. National harmony and cohesion are also required in a state which is homogenous, but it becomes a major challenge in a multi-cultural and multi-religious society. There are 10 requirements for establishing national harmony and cohesion viz:

1. Tolerance.
2. Better education.
3. Equal opportunities for employment.
4. Respect for other cultures, languages and religions.
5. Rule of law.
6. Good governance.
7. Promoting democratic values.
8. Focus on human development.
9. Promoting the feelings of nationalism.
10. Ownership of the country.

The process of nation-building can only be unleashed, when there is a commitment at the state and societal levels for moving the country in the right direction and promoting national harmony and cohesion. Rounaq Jehan, a Bangladeshi professor, in her book, *Pakistan: failure in national integration*, says that,

Nation-building or national integration is a multi-dimensional problem. In the newly emerging states of Africa and Asia, the problems of nation-building are compounded by the fact that the ruling elite must perform the seemingly independent and sometimes contradictory tasks of state-building and nation-building simultaneously.¹

¹ Rounaq Jehan, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*, (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2001), 3.

Looking at Pakistan's experiment in nation- and state-building since its inception as an independent state on 14 August 1947, Rounaq Jehan argues that, "the most formidable problem of nation-building in Pakistan after the state's inception was the integration of Bengali sub-nation. The urgency of this problem is underscored by the fact that the Bengalese were not merely the largest ethnic-cultural sub-group in Pakistan but actually constituted a majority (54 per cent) of population of the country's total population."² As mentioned by a Pakistani writer Aqil Shah in his book, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan*, "the founding fathers attempted to craft a viable nation-state (partly out of the fear that India would seek to undo Pakistan) by imposing a policy of national homogenization on a multi-ethnic society, which quickly politicized ethnic and linguistic cleavages."³ The "national unification project" as termed by Aqil Shah failed to take off because of schism between the ideology of Pakistan and local cultures of the country. That, "Pakistan's ethnic and geographic make-up complicated the building of the classic French-style nation state, defined as one nation in possession of its own state. The Bengalese constituted Pakistan's majority ethnic group, but they were territorially concentrated in East Pakistan and were separated from the country's western wing by some one thousand miles of Indian territory. This division hampered the League's leadership vision of creating a unified nation as well as communication and mobilization between people in the two wings."⁴ He further argues that, "The ML's (Muslim League) late nationalist mobilization of mass support for a homeland for Muslims meant that Pakistan's nationalism had not struck deep roots in the hearts and minds of the population, notwithstanding Mohammad Ali Jinnah's claim of a primordial Muslim civilizational distinction from the Hindus. In fact, there were series of latent disagreement [s] within the Muslim League about the structure of a future Muslim state that were prepared over in the run-up to independence."⁵

Pakistan's sailing to national harmony, cohesion and integration was not smooth since the beginning, and it became further difficult when the bureaucratic-military-feudal nexus of Western Pakistan resulted into the rupture of the democratic process and the imposition of Martial Law in the country. Therefore, "the army's composition played an important role in exacerbating problems of national integration. As a result of colonial policy, which remained unaltered after independence, Pakistan's army was almost entirely recruited from West-Pakistan (or, more accurately from the Punjab). Hence the centralizing, militarizing state became synonymous

² Ibid., 6.

³ Aqil Shah, *The Army and Democracy: Military Politics in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 4.

⁴ Ibid., 53.

⁵ Ibid., 37.

with Punjabi domination and a symbol of Bengali alienation from the outset.”⁶ The predicament of national harmony and coexistence which compounded during the days of united Pakistan remained even after the separation of East-Pakistan in 1971. West-Pakistan, which emerged as a successor state of Pakistan, was geographically compact and culturally less contradictory as compared to the Eastern and the Western wings of the country, yet, ethnic, lingual and sectarian cleavages present in the four provinces deepened thus raising serious questions about the country’s national identity. The post-1971 elite of Pakistan representing the centres of power also failed to formulate and implement policies aiming to promote national harmony and cohesion. Yet, an alternate view about the role of state institutions in building national harmony and integration argues that, “Pakistan’s state institutions, especially the national security institutions such as the military and the intelligence services have played a leading [role] in building Pakistan’s national identity on the basis of religion since Pakistan’s emergence as an independent country in August 1947.”⁷

When one talks about promoting national harmony and cohesion as a fundamental requirement to seek national integration two arguments could be made. First, national harmony cannot be just created by state institutions unless there exists a political will on the part of people to accept the need for establishing national cohesion. Merely by rhetoric or cosmetic measures the uphill task of national integration cannot be accomplished. Second, without the feelings of having a common ground in a country which is culturally, ethnically and religiously diversified the very objective of uniting people as a nation cannot be accomplished.

The issues, which derailed the process of national harmony and cohesion since the inception of Pakistan are numerous. First, lack of uniform educational policy which is imperative for creating a sense of oneness. Second, fragile political institutions and the ruptured democratic process which created a void at the national level. The absence of a viable political leadership striving for national harmony and cohesion promoted centripetal forces challenging the very existence of the country. Third, using religion for political purposes resulting into the surge of intolerance, extremism, militancy, radicalization and terrorism. Since the beginning, those who were against promoting provincial identities argued that as an Islamic state and established on the basis of two-nation theory there was no scope of lingual, cultural or ethnic assertion. Fourth, lack of a professional approach to promote national harmony and cohesion. Instead of promoting local products, local schools, hospitals and transport, elites provide space to foreign products, seeking medical treatment in foreign

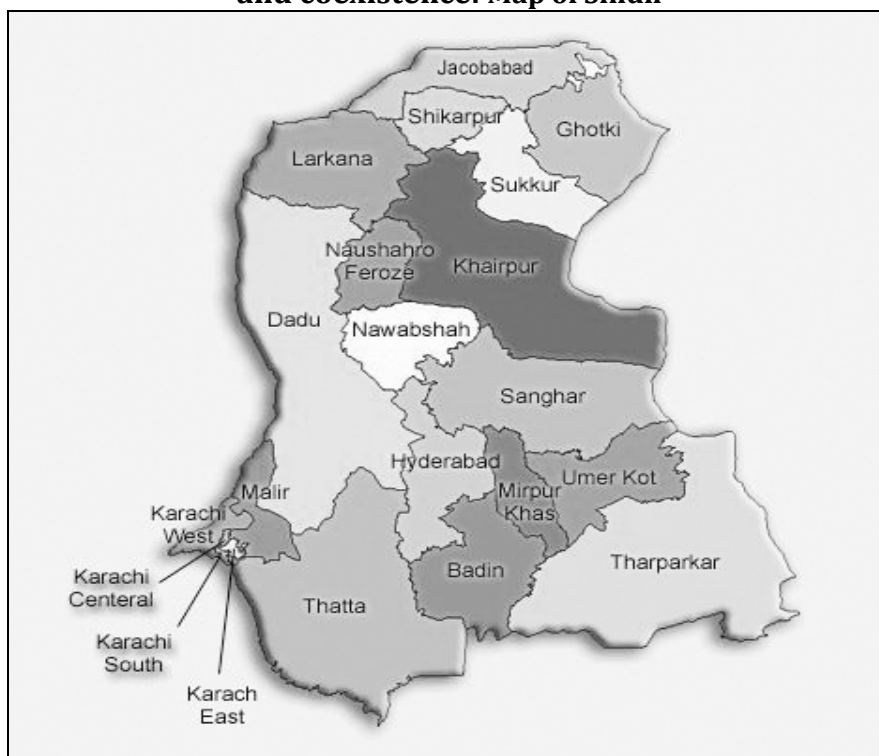
⁶ Ibid., 34.

⁷ Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan; Between Mosque and Military* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 3.

hospitals, sending their children abroad for education and maintaining a lifestyle totally alien to the ground realities of the country. Such type of non-professional and indifferent approach on matters of national importance led to the lack of ownership of the land, culture, products and institutions of the country.

Nonetheless, lack of ownership is a major issue which has derailed the process of national harmony and cohesion. Particularly, since the last three decades there has been a growing tendency in Pakistan to seek opportunities abroad either by getting a job or through migration. As a result, the excessive brain drain, created primarily as a result of adverse socio-economic and political conditions, crimes, corruption and terrorism, created frustration in Pakistani society which was exploited by forces striving to destabilize the country. Realistically speaking, a valuable opportunity to promote national harmony and coexistence still exists because of more than a decade of violence and terrorism unleashed by groups whose task is to destabilize Pakistan. But unfortunately, such an opportunity has not been seized by the state and society thus providing more and more space to the forces of chaos and disorder.

Sindh and the challenge of national harmony and coexistence: Map of Sindh



Source: <<https://www.google.com/search?q=ethnic+map+of+Sindh&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=2QIJVdNQxt5T4NmBiAs&ved=0CB0>>

QsAQ&biw=1366&bih=631#imgsrc=aNvYplFQFjv2FM%253A%3BxbRhLO2kiPPAzM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252F1.bp.blogspot.com%252F-4xN9p1eSgtc%252FUhxFWpfJJzI%252FAAAAAAABt4%252Fy7UL8zYvjWI%252Fs1600%252FSindh-map1.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Frightsupdate.blogspot.com%252F2012_11_01_archive.html%3B452%3B481>. Accessed on May 5, 2015.

From any standpoint, Sindh, like Baluchistan is soft under belly of Pakistan because of two main reasons. First, the existence of various ethno-nationalistic groups striving to assert their identities and challenging the writ of the state from time to time. Second, the rise of religious extremist groups targeting moderate and liberal elements of society. When one talks about the issues of national harmony and coexistence in the context of Sindh, it is evident that it is the most diversified province of Pakistan. All the major native ethnic groups ranging from Sindhis, Baloch, Punjabis, Saraikis, Pashtuns, Kashmiris and those from Gilgit and Baltistan have their strong presence in the province. Furthermore, a large segment of the population in the province called as 'New Sindhis' are those whose ancestors migrated from India. They have a strong presence in the urban areas of Sindh. Two major phases of migration in Sindh changed its demographic complexion. The first one started from August 1947 till early 1950s composed of Indian Muslims. The second phase of migration in Sindh took place in late 1950s when the influx of people from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (formerly NWFP) and Punjab took place.

Sindh became the first province of post-1971 Pakistan where violent ethnic riots took place following the passage of Sindhi language bill by the majority members of Sindh Assembly in July 1972. Stephen P. Cohen, an American expert on South Asian Affairs, in his book, *The Idea of Pakistan*, argues that,

It is often forgotten that Pakistan is one of the world's most ethnically and linguistically complex states. Each of its provinces is associated with a single ethno linguistic groups. Punjab with Punjabis, Sindh with Sindhis, Balochistan with Baloch and the North-Western Frontier Province (NWFP) with Pashtuns. Ethnic and linguistic groups identified by cultural makers, often claim they are a 'people' or a 'nation'.⁸

He further states that, "the leaders of the new state assumed that Jinnah's leadership and a common faith would override any differences between the major ethno-linguistic groups. This was a real concern since support for the Pakistan Movement was rapid among Sindhis, Pashtuns, and Baloch; North Indian Muslims had strongly supported the Pakistan Movement, but it was mostly the leadership and the professional classes

⁸ Stephen Philip Cohen, *The Idea of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), 201.

who had undertaken the harrowing migration after partition.”⁹ The issue of non-assimilation of refugees migrating from India following the partition of the Indian sub-continent in August 1947 only occurred in Sindh where millions of them settled.

Cohen traces the roots of tension between Urdu speaking Mohajirs (migrants) and native Sindhis by arguing that,

migration creates strange bedfellows. Karachi, once a cosmopolitan but Sindhi-dominated city, is no longer a Sindhi city after decades of migration. Like other cities in Sindh, it has become a byword for rivalry, social dislocation and revenge. Karachi is Pakistan’s most industrialized city, the commercial and industrial capital and hosts two ports. Its population of 12 to 14 million will increase to 20 million in 2015. Half of all Karachiites live in slums and temporary settlements. The city is sharply divided between original residents, Sindhis and Balochs, the migrants Mohajir community and Punjabis and Pashtuns, who came later. The Sindhi-Baloch and the Punjabi-Pashtuns coalition are almost 3 million each, the Mohajirs number about 5 million to 6 million and there are 2 million illegals.¹⁰

Undoubtedly, the privileged position of Indian Muslim Urdu speaking migrants from India since August 1947 in the newly established state of Pakistan became a source of conflict in Sindh where their majority settled. Lingual and cultural differences emerged between native Sindhis and Urdu speaking Mohajirs, who settled mostly in the cities of Karachi, Hyderabad and Sukkur, remained as they were, as they maintained their identity.

From any standpoint, “Mohajirs were well represented in Pakistan’s ruling national elite. By distributing selective rewards to their middle class, usually at the expense of the Sindhi middle-class, the Mohajir leadership promoted extraterritorial nationalism, in which they viewed themselves as the real creator of Pakistan. They had been in the forefront of the movement for the new state, while Sindhis were at best half-hearted supporters. With Urdu as the new national language, and possessing considerable administrative and political skills, the Mohajirs came to regard themselves as a people apart in Sindh, and the integrative process ground to a halt.”¹¹ The lingual riots of July-August 1972 and ethnic violence in Sindh during the years of 1988-1990 severely hampered the level of ethnic tolerance between the Sindhi and Urdu speaking communities.

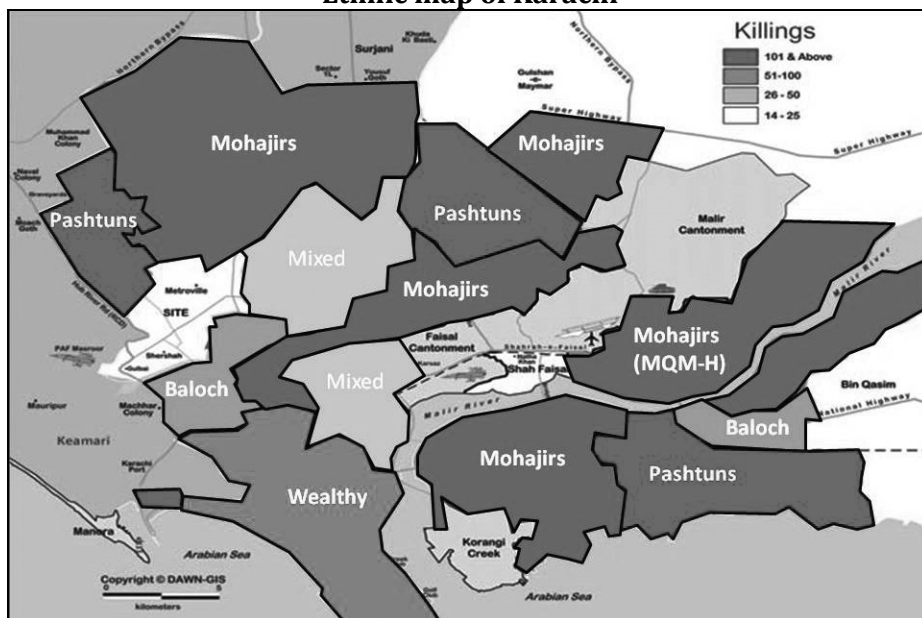
⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 210.

¹¹ Ibid., 213.

Transformation of Karachi

Ethnic map of Karachi



Source: <<https://www.google.com/search?q=ethnic+map+of+Sindh&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=2QIJVdNQxt5T4NmBiAs&ved=0CB0QsAQ&biw=1366&bih=631#imgsrc=D03AufvJf-0nM%253A%3B6ahSpwwmKu2cxM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fcurrentglobevents206.files.wordpress.com%252F2011%252F12%252Fkarachi-map-2.jpg%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fwww.siasat.pk%252Fforum%252Fshowthread.php%253F152692-Karachi-Constituencies-Delimitation%3B960%3B638>>. Accessed on May 5, 2015.

Karachi, which was the federal capital of Pakistan from 14 August 1947 till 1960, when the Martial Law regime of General Ayub Khan decided to shift the capital from Karachi to Rawalpindi and later on to the newly-built city of Islamabad, depicted a model of national harmony and coexistence. Four major factors which transformed Karachi from a peaceful into a violent city are: first, the general elections of December 1964 in which the city faced the backlash from the Pakhtun supporters of Ayub Khan because he had lost elections in Karachi. Second, the language riots in Sindh, when the Sindh Assembly passed a bill declaring Sindhi as the official language much to the chagrin of Urdu-speaking members of the assembly. Third, the April 1985 traffic accident near a girls college in the Nazimabad locality of Karachi which triggered ethnic riots as the driver happened to be a Pakhtun and the girl student an Urdu-speaking Mohajir. Since 1985, Karachi transformed from a peaceful into a violent city because of a chain of events triggered by the 'Operation Cleanup' in the

Pakhtun/Afghan dominated areas of Sohrab Goth in Karachi against drug dealers in December 1986 which led, in retaliation to the massacre of Urdu-speaking locality in Orangi Town. The ethnic riots between Sindhi and Urdu-speaking Mohajir in Sindh, which took place in 1988 and 1990, were the last phase of ethnic violence. Fourth, the rise of MQM along with other ethnic-nationalist groups and various sectarian based organizations further eroded the peace of Karachi.

With the rise of Mohajir nationalism following the formation of All-Pakistan Mohajir Student Organization (APMSO) at the University of Karachi in June 1978 and the subsequent formation of Mohajir Quami Movement (Migrant National Movement) in 1984 significantly changed the political dynamics of Sindh. The issues which were raised by MQM to justify its struggle for seeking social justice and equality in the mode of governance were perceived to be justified as due to the imposition of rural-urban quota system during the regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The influx of people from upcountry into Karachi which changed the demographic complexion of the city and the non-repatriation of stranded Pakistanis (called as Biharis) from Bangladesh to Pakistan enabled MQM to establish its vote bank first in the local bodies elections, held in 1987, and then in the general elections, held in November 1988. The launching of military/rangers/police operation against MQM in 1992-1994 and during 1995-1996 against what was termed as militant and armed wing of that organization further exacerbated polarization in Sindh. However, the co-option of MQM in the country's power structure during the regime of President General Pervez Musharraf and the renaming of Mohajir Quami Movement to Muttahida Quami Movement led to a relative peace in Karachi. The launching of several mega projects during the MQM nominated Mayor Mustafa Kamal helped alleviate the sense of deprivation in Karachi but that phase ended with the exit of the Musharraf regime from power in 2008.

Since APMSO was formed at the University of Karachi, there were Baloch and Pakhtun student organizations even before its formation, another ethnic student organization established at the University of Karachi in early 1980s was the Punjabi Student Association (PSA). The void created with the banning of student unions all over Pakistan in February 1984 by the then Martial Law regime of General Zia-ul-Haq was largely filled by ethnic and sectarian student organizations. Presently, student politics at the University of Karachi doesn't represent the national thinking but is limited to lingual, ethnic and sectarian grounds, which is termed as a major impediment to promoting national harmony and cohesion at the students' level.

Karachi, which was a melting pot and also called as 'mini-Pakistan' witnessed fresh spell of violence after 2009, not only because of periodic confrontation between MQM and the PPP-led coalition government but also due to the rise of target killings and kidnappings for ransom. The city

which was considered quite moderate and liberal also faced the threat of 'Talibanization.' The prevailing situation of Karachi can merely be described as volatile amidst the operation led by Rangers.

Challenges and impediments

A major challenge to the objective of national harmony and cohesion in Pakistan is the lack of ownership at the state and societal level as far as the country is concerned. A general sense of indifference, with few exceptions, could be found among people about the resources, crises, conflicts, violence and the mode of governance. Six challenges, which impede the process of national harmony and cohesion in Pakistan are:

1. Absence of a national leader of a great stature, who enjoys respect and confidence by the people of Pakistan.
2. Absence of a political party, which has a sound credibility, trust and respect at the national level.
3. Bad governance and the absence of the rule of law, which provide space to groups who want to destabilize the country by violence and terrorism.
4. Absence of a core region which can become a role model for social justice, democracy, good governance, tolerance and rule of law.
5. Foreign pressures and acts of intervention to destabilize Pakistan with the help of local groups.
6. Poor quality of life, meagre economic opportunities, sub-standard educational system and lack of proper human development.

These challenges cannot be met unless there exists a regional core in Pakistan that can help deal with issues which deepen conflicts in the country. Punjab, as the populous and comparatively developed province of Pakistan can be a core region, but within this province there are demands for its division. Furthermore, the historical absence of Punjab's role for democracy, political pluralism and human development prevents that province to play the role of the core region. PML (N), which is a national party but has its power base in central Punjab, can play a major role in clearing misconceptions about Punjab among the people of smaller provinces concerning its exploitive and manipulative tendencies.

Despite impediments and challenges in the way for national harmony and cohesion, there is certainly a hope to move in the direction which could at least pull Pakistan from the web of crises and put it on the road to progress and development.

Some of the recommendations, which may help strengthen the process of national harmony and cohesion are as follows:

1. To create a Pakistani man and woman by introducing a uniform educational system primarily at the school level.

This would require inculcating better work ethics, adherence to the rule of law, tolerance, harmony and commitment for the country. Particularly schools located in and around the conflict or violent zone must receive special attention from the government so as to prevent the permeation of aggression, intolerance and violence among students.

2. To ensure social justice and the supremacy of merit in education, employment and in other walks of life.
3. To focus on the teachings of Islam which promote peace, tolerance, justice and the rule of law.
4. Fair distribution of resources at the provincial, divisional, city and district level.
5. Eradicating nepotism and corruption.
6. Creation of new provinces by upgrading existing divisions.
7. Promoting a Pakistani culture which should reflect sub-cultures of the country. The culture of sports, music and songs needs to be encouraged at the federal and provincial levels because a healthy society can help neutralise the forces of retrogression, intolerance, extremism, militancy, radicalism and terrorism.
8. Promoting Pakistan's national language, Urdu, in official business and ensuring its ownership by the concerned stakeholders. At the same time, provincial and regional languages also need to be encouraged.
9. Promoting uniformity in infrastructure, shopping/business centres and communications so that people living in any part of Pakistan can feel at home. Pakistan Railways which could have been a useful source of national harmony, cohesion and integration needs to be revitalized because railway passengers from different parts of Pakistan will have an opportunity to interact with each other and establish strong bonds of unity. Revitalization of Pakistan Railways would require modernization of the railways by improving its facilities, speed, timings and affordability of fare for passengers.
10. Focus on human development so that common people can have access to the basic facilities of life like safe and clean drinking water, quality education, good roads, public transport system and hospitals. Courts free of corruption and capable of providing speedy, efficient and fair justice to ordinary people need to be ensured.

The abovementioned recommendations can only be implemented if there is clarity, consistency, coherence and perseverance on the part of

those who matter. Merely by rhetoric, national harmony and cohesion cannot be ensured. Several efforts were made in the past by successive regimes to accomplish the goal of national harmony, coexistence, reconciliation and integration but as long as intentions are not fair one cannot expect any breakthrough as far as seeking a better future of Pakistan is concerned.

Furthermore, national harmony and cohesion is a long-term process as there are no shortcuts to accomplish such a gigantic task in a country which also experienced its disintegration and is still grappling with the issues of ethnicity, sect, democracy and religion. Sindh is a unique case study of national harmony and cohesion because of sharp demographic, ethnic and lingual transformation of this province since the inception of Pakistan. Yet, Sindh Assembly was the first assembly in undivided India which passed a resolution in support of Pakistan. The surge of Sindhi nationalism in the post-Pakistan reflected dismay and frustration among many of the native Sindhis who feared they will soon become minority in their own province because of the sharp rise in the population of non-Sindhi population particularly those who migrated from India called as Mohajirs and those who migrated from upcountry.

Sindh can certainly emerge as a model of national harmony and coexistence, provided the walls of suspicion and mistrust among different communities are dismantled and replaced with good will, harmony, coexistence and tolerance.

