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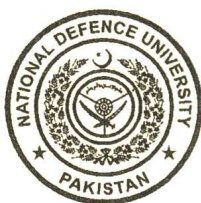
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Editor's Note

The *Journal of Contemporary Studies* is a flagship publication of Faculty of Contemporary Studies (FCS), National Defence University (NDU), Islamabad, and started with the unequivocal objective of advancing critically-oriented academic and intellectual discourse. It is a biannual peer-reviewed journal that offers its readers in academia, government and policy world- an in-depth and scholarly analyses and diverse policy perspectives on important contemporary issues, ongoing debates in the areas of national and international security and wider field of world politics.

This is the seventh issue of the journal containing eight research articles, two book reviews and important primary documents having valuable information for academia and strategic community. The articles in the summer issue are based on the theme of *National Harmony* in Pakistan and were presented at the first-ever 'National Harmony Workshop', organised by the NDU in collaboration with Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan in May 2015. They provide diverse academic perspectives on the subject of 'national harmony' from different universities of Pakistan. Ten leading universities of Pakistan participated in the workshop including: University of Baluchistan, University of Turbat, University of Peshawar; University of Karachi; University of Sindh, University of Punjab; Islamia University of Bahawalpur; University of Karakorum, University of AJK and National Defence University.

The first article by Dr Moonis Ahmar is entitled *National Harmony and Cohesion: A Case Study of Sindh*, examines the dynamics of national harmony and cohesion in Pakistan focusing on province of Sindh presenting a case study of Karachi. The second article by Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan on *Foreign Policy of Pakistan in the Changing Regional and Global Setting* argues that major goals of Pakistan's foreign policy are to ensure external and internal security, protect national identity, territorial integrity, economic prosperity and independence. It stresses the need for strengthening relations with immediate neighbours, major powers and Muslim world based on its national interests. The third article by Dr. Fauzia Saleem Alvi on *Strengthening National Integration Among Educated Youth* highlights the factors affecting national cohesion in Pakistani masses and the role of educated youth and universities in strengthening national integration. The fourth article by Dr. Haji Karim Khan on *Ensuring a Harmonized and Pluralistic Society in Gilgit-Baltistan (GB)* discusses nature of the notion of harmony in GB, the major issues involved and efforts being made by the federal and local government to impart harmony in the region. The fifth article by Syed Mudassar Fida

Gardezi on *National Integration and Cohesion in Pakistan: Voices from AJK* argues that internal integration and cohesion of AJK indicates peace, harmony and tranquillity among all the regions, sects, ethnic groups, races and political narratives within AJK. It emphasises the situation of internal harmony and integration of AJK is quite satisfactory, and it is the most peaceful and harmonized region as compared to other provinces of Pakistan. The sixth article by Ms Faiza Mir and Dr. Abdul Manan Bazai on *Problems of National Integration: A Case Study of Baluchistan* offers an insightful situational analyses of issues relating to national harmony in the past 10 years. Authors argue that socio-economic deprivation, negligence on the part of the Centre; feudalism and external factors have played crucial role in deepening chaos in Baluchistan. The seventh article by Mr. Zahid Khan on *The Quest for National Integration in Pakistan: Pakhtun Perspective* stresses the importance of culture in national integration. National harmony can be achieved through political and constitutional reforms, good governance, socio-economic development, justice, parity, empowerment of neglected areas and federating units and judicious least use of force by the central government. The eighth article by Ms Nabeela Sulaiman on *Impact of Teachers in Cultivating Harmony Amongst Students* argues that within the education setting, teachers not only are responsible for transmitting knowledge but they can also play an important role to minimize conflicting factors (e.g., caste-ism, linguist-ism, religious sectarianism, regionalism, educational disparities, and socio-economic inequalities) by treating their students with equality regardless of their language, sect, caste, religious believes social-economic and health status. All these scholarly articles which were peer-reviewed provide profound insights on the issue of national harmony in the country as well as offer suggestions to the policymakers and teaching community to play their role in the process of national integration in the country. We sincerely hope that each of these articles would inspire our community of readers to undertake further research in the area.

Furthermore, I am grateful to all the contributors who have sent their articles for this issue, and the anonymous peer-reviewers whose valuable comments helped authors to improve their contributions. We hope that study of the *Journal* will invoke curiosity among the readers to contribute their perspectives in the ongoing academic discourses. Contributions are invited from all fields including broad spectrum of related fields like political science, security studies, political economy, terrorism, politics and religion, politics of energy, feminism, media and politics, management sciences, leadership psychology, military strategy, modern history, international law, sociology, education, conflict management and resolution, urban studies, demography, social anthropology, developmental studies, foreign policy etc.

We are accepting articles for the upcoming issue of *Journal of Contemporary Studies* based on original qualitative or quantitative

research, innovative conceptual framework, or a substantial literature review that opens new areas of inquiry and investigation. Case studies and comparative analyses are also welcome. The editorial team at the journal promotes submissions from expert analysts from all around the world. The *journal* seeks to promote a scholarly understanding of contemporary developments and changes related to aforementioned disciplines/fields of social sciences. It intends to promote interdisciplinary research and writing.

Editor
Dr. Shaheen Akhtar

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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.

*

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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

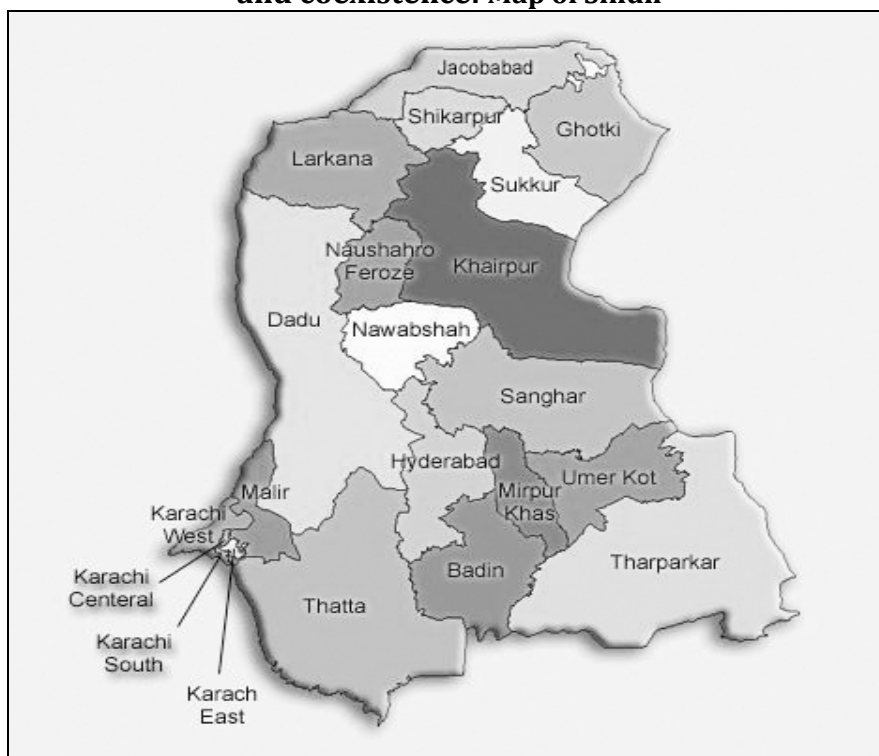
⁶ Ibid., 34.

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=D03AufvVjf-0nM%253A%3B6ahSpwwmKu2cxM%3Bhttp%253A%252F%252Fcurrentglobalevents206.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.

FOREIGN POLICY OF PAKISTAN IN THE CHANGING REGIONAL AND GLOBAL SETTINGS

Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan*

Abstract

The evolution of International Relations, since the dawn of the 21st century coupled with powerful forces such as globalization and communication technology, has fundamentally changed the world around us. These changes have brought a number of challenges and opportunities for Pakistan. The main argument of this paper is that Pakistan needs review of its national interest, goals, priorities and ultimately an overall adjustment and readjustment of its foreign policy in order to cope with the opportunities and challenges that await us. Hence, this paper, by adopting a futuristic approach and keeping the national interest of Pakistan at the centre of discussion, analyzes the impact of a vast array of changes around our borders as well as in the region. After discussing the changes, the paper then raises a number of important questions and evaluates a number of policy responses and alternatives that may be helpful in the formulation of Pakistan's foreign policy in the future.

Key words: *National interest, globalization, diplomacy, national security, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, economic prosperity.*

Introduction

Foreign policy, solely guided by a country's national interest, is used as a tool by a particular country for dealing with the outside world in various areas such as security, economy, trade, commerce, culture and technology. As International Relations have been evolving since the treaty of Westphalia, the conduct, methods and scope of foreign policy have also been changing.

In the age of Globalization, more and more areas of global, regional and bilateral interactions today fall within the ambit of foreign policy. Terms like cultural diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, commercial diplomacy, defence diplomacy, digital diplomacy, economic diplomacy and regional diplomacy are presently considered part and parcel of foreign policy.

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Moreover, in the present era countries rely on a number of methods such as hard power, soft power and smart power in order to achieve foreign policy goals. Ultimately, the purpose and function of a country's foreign policy is to skilfully use its collective strength in order to achieve desired ends and prevent incoming threats.

In any discussion on foreign policy, it needs to be remembered that all states — as realism suggests — are rational not emotional actors. Against this backdrop, two more points need to be noted. Firstly, foreign policy is the reflection of a country's internal environment and secondly, states' foreign policy remains neither static nor rigid. As the famous realist dictum asserts "states neither having permanent friends nor permanent enemies" goes by, the success of foreign policy, therefore, depends on rationality and in its close consonance with the grand strategy, security policy and domestic policy of a country.

In practice, it means that foreign policy changes in nature, scope and orientation from time to time as per the long-, mid- and short-term requirements of a country's objectives, national interest and the dictates of domestic and international environment. It should also be noted that states do not operate in vacuum, they operate as the members of a larger community of states having international obligations.

In the contemporary era, globalization and the revolution, among other types, of the information technology have affected foreign policy thinking and the conduct of diplomacy in a fundamental way. Globalization has also bound the fate of planet earth and the people living on it together. Thus, factors such as the promotion of international peace, amity and respect for international norms and international law also have considerable importance in shaping the foreign behaviour of a state.

Guiding principles of Pakistan's foreign policy

The foreign policy of Pakistan is guided by the vision and principles set forth by the founding father of the country, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who said that:

*Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair play in national and international dealings and are prepared to make our utmost contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world, and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.*¹

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs Government of Pakistan, <<http://www.mofa.gov.pk/content.php?pageID=Foreign%20Policy>>, accessed 5 November 2015.

Article 40 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan also outlines a number of principles that shall guide Pakistan's foreign policy for all times to come. This article states that:

The State shall endeavour to preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic unity, support the common interests of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among all nations and encourage the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.²

Thus, the Quaid's vision and Article 40 of the Constitution outline the guiding principles of Pakistan's foreign policy.

An empirical analysis reveals that the principles of Pakistan's foreign policy, as envisioned by the founding father and mentioned in the Article 40 of the Constitution, have generally remained constant. Understandably, however, the goals of Pakistan's foreign policy have remained dynamic and flexible owing to the changing priorities of the government, internal socio-political and economic dynamics, varying diplomatic and military strategies adopted for the pursuance of national interests, and the dynamic nature of international relations.

In a summarised form, the objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy in the contemporary era can be outlined as under:

1. The primary objective of Pakistan's foreign policy is to safeguard the national security, territorial integrity and political sovereignty of the country.
2. To protect Pakistan's economic interests abroad.
3. To project the image of Pakistan as a progressive, modern and democratic Islamic country.
4. To promote peace, stability and friendly relations with Afghanistan.
5. To find the resolution of all disputes with India including the issue of Kashmir. Raise the Kashmir issue on international forums.
6. To forge cordial and friendly relations with all neighbours, Muslim countries and the larger international community.
7. To fulfil its responsibilities as a responsible member of the international community.
8. To prevent and respond to threats and capitalize on opportunities.
9. To safeguard the interests of Pakistani diaspora.

² G. W. Choudhury, "New" Pakistan's Constitution, 1973, *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Middle East Institute, (Winter, 1974), 10-18.

Foreign policy of Pakistan and the quest for global peace

As evident from the vision of Quaid and Article 40 of the Constitution, the quest for global peace remains a cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan has always been an important partner of the global community when it comes to the promotion and strengthening of global peace. Pakistan has played an important role of a frontline state in ending the menace of terrorism and extremism which has emerged as the most destructive threat to international peace in the contemporary era.

The unfortunate terrorist incident of 9/11 was a critical threshold in the foreign policy of Pakistan. In fact, "9/11 came as a thunderbolt".³ As former President Pervez Musharraf himself mentioned, the incident brought with it unprecedented challenges for Pakistan, which demanded to "absorb external pressure and mould domestic opinion."⁴

No doubt, the role Pakistan is playing in fighting international terrorism has come with a huge cost. Over the last 15 years, 55,000 Pakistani men, women, youth, children as well as army personnel have laid down their lives⁵ in this fight. Pakistan has also suffered a huge economic loss of over 100 billion US dollars⁶ in the war against terror. Despite the huge losses of men and material, Pakistan has remained committed to international peace and will continue to fulfil its responsibilities as a peace-loving and responsible member of the international community.

As a responsible member of the United Nations Organization, Pakistan has always stood by the UN's aims of securing peace. In fact, Pakistan's role as one of the largest contributors to United Nations' peacekeeping missions has been always cherished and appreciated. Ban Ki-moon, the Secretary General of the United Nations, while referring to Pakistan's contributions to international peace, appreciated Pakistan's role in these words: "Gratitude as the United Nations Secretary-General and gratitude as a global citizen for what Pakistan and her people have been doing for international peace and security. More than 100 countries

³ Shamshad Ahmed, Post-9/11 Foreign Policy of Pakistan, *Criterion Quarterly*, Vol 1, No 1, September 2013.

⁴ Shamshad Ahmed, Pakistan's Foreign Policy Post 9/11, *World Times*, 1 March 2008, <http://www.jworldtimes.com/Article/32008_PAKISTAN%E2%80%99S_FOREIGN_POLICY_POST_9_11>, accessed 10 November 2015.

⁵ PTI, "Over 8,500 killed in Pakistan," *The Economic Times*, 28 November 2015, see <<http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/over-8500-killed-in-pakistan-due-to-terrorism-in-five-years-govt/articleshow/49959679>>.

⁶ Ibid.

contribute troops and police for United Nations peacekeeping missions, Pakistan is number one,"⁷

In addition to what is stated above, it should also be noted that Pakistan has at times, reiterated its desire for cooperation, dialogue and diplomacy in order to achieve a peaceful settlement of all disputes with India including the core dispute of Kashmir.⁸ As Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with China and Iran, the desire for peace in Afghanistan remains as strong and important for Pakistan as it has ever been. Instability in neighbouring Afghanistan has had tremendously negative fallout for society, economy and politics in Pakistan.⁹

The Geneva Accord followed by the Peshawar Accord, then the Islamabad Accord and most recently, the Murree talks, reflect Pakistan's strong desire for peace in Afghanistan. Apart from these, Pakistan has always called for peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Pakistan tried to end the Iran-Iraq conflict through negotiations and diplomacy, and recently Pakistan has taken a very clear stance on the conflict in Yemen as well, where again Pakistan has urged talks and peaceful resolution of the conflict without becoming a part of it.¹⁰

Pakistan at the doorstep of a changing world

One of my favourite things about International Relations is its dynamic nature. The world around us changes constantly which keeps politics in a state of flux. Therefore, the most important job of a policymaker in Pakistan's foreign office should be to see, feel, understand and respond to the changes that are taking place.

While all of the above mentioned points are true, understanding the change itself happens to be the most important part of the puzzle. Because change alters old beliefs, it creates new heroes and villains, it keeps new and antithetical forces in motion and lastly change may convert threats into opportunities and opportunities into threats.

So how is our world changing or has changed over the past decade? The world has changed beyond our imagination. The root of this change lies in technology, its belly in politics with the head in economics.

⁷ Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon (at lectern) speaks at the inauguration of the Centre for International Peace and Stability in Islamabad, <<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=45613#.VIM-dLcrLIU>>.

⁸ "PM tells UN India 'missed opportunity' for peace", *Pakistan Today*, September 27, 2014.

⁹ Rasul B. Rais, *War Without Winners: Afghanistan's Uncertain Transition after the Cold War* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994).

¹⁰ "Pakistan calls for peaceful settlement of ME conflict", *The Nation*, 14 November 2015.

Today, we are living in a world that is totally different than the 20th century. It is a completely technologized world today.

The power of technology in politics is present and visible everywhere. From satellite television networks, social media, to mass movements and then to Facebook and Twitter revolutions, these are the innovations that have created new forces of such magnitude and strength which have influenced the conduct of International Relations and foreign policy.

Similarly, the world is changing economically. From the debris of the Cold War and the socialism of Mao Tse Tung, has emerged a China, whose economic rise has taken the world by surprise. A China guided by the ideas of Deng Xiaoping has surpassed Japan and Germany economically, stands at number two today, and is likely to surpass the United States in the coming decade or so.

Coming towards Pakistan's west and east where Afghanistan, India and Iran stand different with the passage of time, India has made significant economic progress in the past two decades. Choosing its way between Socialism and Capitalism, the Indian economy stands 3rd as per GDP (PPP) in the world and is likely to grow further. This is an important development for Pakistan. Because India, like any other country in the world, is translating its economic development into political, military and diplomatic strength.

Iran also looks freer and more confident after the nuclear deal. So Iran, too, must be looking for a strategy to translate its huge stock of natural resources into economic and political strength. Again, Pakistan's policymakers should be cognizant of the fact that Iran's role in the Middle East and Afghanistan and its relations with India will strongly resonate in Pakistan as well as across the wider region.

And finally, there is the strategic change that is taking place around Pakistan. The Middle East stands out as the symbol of this herculean change that has not only transformed the Middle East but has sent shocks much beyond the region. Although one would have been expecting or wishing for a different kind of change, yet no matter how it is, the change is occurring. Most of the Middle East has fallen into chaos. Syria, Yemen, Palestine and, Iraq are bleeding, while the soldiers of the (un)Islamic State (IS) have let the hell loose upon the people. There was a time where one could immediately think of the United States role in such a situation, but again things are now different here too. The people know that is not going to be the case anymore. The US has lost both its credibility and efficacy in the Middle East and now Russia is emerging to fill the void. As it did in Ukraine, Syria and might be thinking of reasserting itself over geopolitics in Central Asia as well.

Coming towards Pakistan's west, the land with which Pakistan shares too much in terms of religion, society, culture, language and history; there was a time when a Pakistani official could go to his home without

being concerned with any threats to Pakistan's security from the western border. Yes, it was the Taliban's era — when Kabul looked much different. A time when Hamid Karzai and many of his ministers and officials were residing in Pakistan and the commander of the faithful, Mullah Mohammad Omar, was ruling Afghanistan from Kandahar.

It was a time when India, the United States and its NATO allies, were not much concerned about Afghanistan. In those times India did not maintain any diplomatic presence and so many consulates were right next to Pakistan's western border. Call it the best of times for Pakistan, because back then none of us could have thought of IS, Fazlullah, others of their like and the Baloch separatists sitting in Afghanistan, waging their war against Pakistan from there.

It is also important to mention here that Iran does not remain an outcast anymore, China is vying for power, and Russia is no more heir to the antiques of the Cold War – it's reasserting itself in a big way. The Middle East is also becoming less and less famous for its oil, shopping malls, skyscrapers and Burj al-Khalifas. Today it is more known for IS, Al-Qaeda and for the number of conflicts going on in the region.

The world around Pakistan has changed much, in fact, is still changing. With more players in the game, the environment around us is much more complex, hostile and competitive. Therefore, it will be a hard job for foreign policy makers in Pakistan to operate in such an environment.

Connect, disconnect and reconnect – Pakistan's relations with India

In most of the writings on Pakistan's relations with India, authors have mostly discussed Pak-India relations in a chronological order depicting the trajectory of relations with special emphasis on some highs and lows. This article suggests that Pakistan and India's relations can be better understood when looked at in a cyclic manner that has its three different phases of connect, disconnect and reconnect.

Pakistan's relations with India have been moving in the manner of a wheel that revolves around an axis without producing any forward movement. Despite having fought two wars and a number of clashes on the border, both countries have also been involved in different rounds of dialogue. The truth, however, remains that diplomacy —although limited to, or mainly focused on crisis management rather than trade, economy or people-to-people contact — has been successful in bringing momentary thaw in relations, but has proved unable to bring about a solution of the core disputes between the two countries.

The demands of the present day are vastly different from those of the 20th century. In future, Pakistan's diplomacy will have to operate in a totally different global and regional environment. Pakistan's diplomacy is

set to deal with an India that has grown much economically and enjoying considerable diplomatic clout in the world. In addition to these changes, India is also poised to become member of the nuclear club, while at the same time its relations with the United States are strengthening by the day. Apart from these developments, India is also sitting right next to Pakistan's eastern border.

So, what are the options for Pakistan to deal with India? The environment that surrounds Pakistan clearly dictates that Pakistan's foreign policy towards India will be guided by security – that should be considered as the rule of the thumb. Henceforth, the general expectation should be that Pakistan's foreign policy towards India will remain directed by the security concerns emanating from across its eastern and western borders. This means, Pakistan will be taking a good care of its borders, improving its conventional and deterrent capability against India, while at the same time allowing diplomacy to try its luck on Kashmir, trade, crisis management, and people-to-people contact.

Diplomacy, no doubt, plays a significant role in resolving long standing disputes. The appeasement of India, however, should neither be the choice nor option. Thus, Pakistan would not like another Ufa taking place, where India dictated the rules of engagement. It is to be noted here that by not reciprocating to the goodwill gestures of Pakistan, the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi seems to have decided to walk on the traditional path of keeping Pakistan under diplomatic pressure.¹¹

The events of the past two years, therefore, lead us to the conclusion that India will try to use pressure tactics in order to take concessions from Pakistan on Kashmir and other issues. If history be the guide, India's current strategy is that normalization of relations with Pakistan will depend on Islamabad's acceptance of Indian regional hegemony and its stance on Kashmir. Pakistan on the other hand, should maintain its position by telling India that normalization of relations will not be coming without discussing and resolving the core issues between the two countries.

The next important question that concerns Pakistani policymakers is that, will Pakistan be able to reduce the Indian influence in Afghanistan? A tough guess! Although the answer to this question is quite difficult, yet through a mix of logic, thinking, skill and imagination, Pakistan can develop an approach that can bring about normalization of relations with Afghanistan that should also aim at a reduced Indian influence as a crucial component of this process.

¹¹ Praveen Swami, "Why Narendra Modi is smoking the Pakistani peace pipe," *The Indian Express*, July 10, 2015, <<http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/web-edits/why-narendra-modi-is-smoking-the-pakistani-peace-pipe/>>, Accessed 5 November 2015.

Pakistan's immediate goal should be to minimize and, ultimately, eliminate threats to its security on the eastern border, while India's influence in Afghanistan should be viewed in a relative rather than in an absolute way. This means that India will remain influential in Afghanistan, because over the last 15 years it has massively invested in creating a pro-Indian lobby in the political and defence establishment of Afghanistan. Pakistan's foreign policy, therefore, by combining soft and smart power, should play a skilful stroke of public and economic diplomacy to counter Indian propaganda, increase trade and commercial activities with Afghanistan and work on an outreach to all Afghans.

How will the future be different from the past this time? The answer is very clear. India, as already stated, has grown economically and strengthened diplomatically. With Narendra Modi occupying the office of the Prime Minister of India, relations should not be expected to take a turn towards normalcy any times soon. The government led by Narendra Modi may add even more offensive elements to its foreign policy viz-a-viz Pakistan which might include, massive arms buildup, conspiring against China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, defaming Pakistan diplomatically, violation of the ceasefire on the border with Pakistan, and a more potent interference in FATA and Baluchistan.

India's violations of the ceasefire along the Pakistan-India border have risen sharply. Moreover, Pakistan's internal problems as well as the conflict in Baluchistan and Fata should give enough reason to India for becoming more offensive. Thus, India, by benefitting from its economic stability and diplomatic clout in the world and by capitalizing on the diplomatic lag of Pakistan, will continue to create more problems for Pakistan. So it should not be beyond the imagination of anyone in Pakistan's foreign office that India would like to bring Pakistan face to face with a strategic fatigue or choke.

With the "Cold Start" in place and the doctrine of "Offensive Defence" in operation, Ajit Doval, the national security adviser to Prime Minister Modi, has publicly stated that India will exploit Pakistan's internal problems for its advantage.¹²

Another major issue that Pakistan foreign office needs to consider is whether Islamabad is going to award India any of concessions on foreign policy? As long as India continues with its "Offensive Defence" policy viz-à-viz Pakistan, Islamabad must be cautious in yielding any such incentive to New Delhi. Pakistan's defence of Indian offence has started giving its own fruit.

The internal dynamics of Pakistan are changing. What had kept Pakistan and its society bleeding over the past 10 years or so, are taking its

¹² Ajit Doval, who became national security adviser in 2014 to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, in his speech in SASTRA college stated to exploit Pakistan's economic, political and social vulnerabilities.

final breaths. Thanks to operation Zarb-e-Azb, Pakistan has made significant gains against extremism. Insurgency in Baluchistan has been degraded and FATA is no more a rendezvous for local and international militants — they have been taught a hard lesson. The mood at all levels inside Pakistan is very clear. The people, government and the army of Pakistan have decided to put an end to the menace of terrorism, fanaticism and sectarianism. In a nutshell, it can be said that Pakistan is on the right track that will finally lead it to come out of the baggage of the Afghan war.

Pakistan's military and nation as a whole have proved its mettle and resilience. This must be enough to make India understand that they too will be dealing with a different Pakistan in the times to come. And if economic turnaround is also made — the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor be the case in point — then Pakistan will be even more stronger and different.

So the change that Pakistan is currently going through is positive, solid and will have long-lasting effects. China is now a global economic powerhouse and its relations with Pakistan will further enhance in the coming years. Sri Lanka can also be considered as wary of Indian domination in the region and the sane heads in Washington and Kabul realize that Pakistan's role with regards to any settlement in Afghanistan is vital and cannot be ignored. Moreover, Pakistan's relations with Iran are expected to improve further especially after Islamabad's principled stance on Yemen.

All of these developments, when looked at collectively, provide Pakistan ample opportunities to play an active role and adopt a region-centric approach to counter Indian designs.

The future of Pak-Afghan relations

Afghanistan provides a mix of challenges and opportunities for Pakistan. As with India, Pakistan's relations with Afghanistan have been hostage to security. However, the biggest trouble with Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan is its deep socio-political and economic impact on Pakistan. The past 35 years have proven the fact that any foreign policy towards Afghanistan will have great social, economic and political fallout on Pakistan be it the Afghan-Soviet war of 1979 to 1988, the era of Taliban or 9/11.

Since the unfortunate event of 9/11, Afghanistan and the region have gone through a rapid change. The Taliban, although ousted from power, are not yet defeated. America and the West have, to a large extent, given up their interest in Afghanistan; new players have taken positions in the region. The only thing that one finds common when it comes to Afghanistan, is the concern among Afghanistan's neighbours regarding the threat of terrorism, extremism and militancy reaching their borders. This threat, therefore, raises the interest of all neighbouring states to get

involved with Afghanistan. So dealing with Afghanistan means dealing with a number of countries that include China, Russia, United States and Iran.

Since the United States attack on Afghanistan in 2001, Pakistan has been facing continued challenges on its western border. Unfortunately, promises that the Americans made to Pakistan prior to the attack were not kept. Resultantly, Pakistan could not develop a considerable support base or a strategic space in Afghanistan's current political establishment.

Secondly, Pakistan, due to its own economic downturn, could not buttress its foreign policy goals in Afghanistan with economic tools. Therefore, we could not invest much in Afghanistan as India or Iran did. Thirdly, the mistrust between the two countries as well as with the Americans and NATO remained a hurdle in developing friendly relations with Afghanistan.

Pakistan should clearly and effectively communicate to Afghanistan that Pakistan's foremost objective — the sanctity of its sovereignty, security and territorial integrity — can never be compromised. Therefore, cooperation with Afghanistan will be conditioned with the elimination of anti-Pakistan elements on Afghan soil — be it the Baloch separatists, remnants of the TTP or other terrorist outfits.

So how should Pakistan pursue its Afghan policy beyond 2015? Stability in Afghanistan is in the utmost security, political, economic and social interest of Pakistan. Policymakers in Washington and Kabul understand that stability will not come to Afghanistan without Pakistan's help. Kabul and Islamabad also agree that terrorists, extremists, militants and others of their likes cannot be and will not be allowed to hijack the destiny of the two countries. The presence of militants on both sides of the border necessitates mutual cooperation to deal with this menace. But in reality this has proved to be an ardent task. Translating the goal of ending militancy into practical action requires; coordination, trust, political will, vision and flexibility which unfortunately do not exist currently.

During last few years, Pakistan has taken serious measures to reach to all Afghans.¹³ This time Afghanistan must understand that blaming Pakistan for everything that goes wrong in Afghanistan will achieve no end. Therefore, the government in Kabul should look to their own incompetence, discrepancies, governmental and institutional problems rather than blaming Pakistan for every wrongdoing that takes place in Afghanistan.

While all of the abovementioned points carry a considerable weight, the most crucial point on Pakistan's foreign policy agenda with Afghanistan should be preventing India from using Afghanistan as a

¹³ Safdar Sial, "Pak-Afghan Relations: Emerging Trends and Future Prospects," *IPS*, Jan-Mar 2011.

launching pad for subversive activities against Pakistan's national interests.

While cooperation on security and political issues might be a hardnut to crack, economics can be the beginning point. Certainly, economics can play a vital role to bring the two countries closer to each other. This suggests that economic diplomacy must take the lead as far as relations with Afghanistan are concerned. Pakistan has the opportunity to develop an economic depth in Afghanistan, because, Afghanistan is a land-locked country. It is industrially and economically underdeveloped and depends on Pakistan for transit and supply.

Moreover, it should not be surprising that 50,000 people cross the Pak-Afghan border daily with a big majority of them being Afghans crossing into Pakistan for treatment, business or meeting families.¹⁴ Therefore, one can say that Pakistan has every chance of developing a huge constituency in Afghanistan.

The above discussion suggests that Pakistan's economic diplomacy should be clever and proactive enough to take advantage of the huge economic opportunities that exist in Afghanistan. More economic integration will have a trickle-down effect on politics and security as well. Economic integration between Pakistan and Afghanistan will also help both countries to reduce militancy in the bordering regions.

Pakistan's relations with China

Pakistan and China have been enjoying close, amiable and ever-growing diplomatic, economic, trade and security relations since the independence of Pakistan. After partition of the sub-continent both China and Pakistan have been working closely with each other in many areas of mutual interests. As the time passed by, the relations of Pakistan and China have gathered more strength and dynamism. Currently these relations cover a wide spectrum of areas such as; diplomacy, culture, science, technology, economy, military and people-to-people contact.¹⁵

Pakistan and China's interest converges in many areas that makes cooperation both possible and desirable. Pakistan's geography attracts huge interest from China. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is crucial for China's economic development because this project provides the shortest transit route between Eastern China, the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. It is not only about distance, CPEC is also of strategic importance for China because it acts a malady for China's "Malacca

¹⁴ Mohammad Sadiq, *"Pakistan-Afghanistan: The Conjoined Twins"*, (Kabul: Publication Department of Embassy of Pakistan in Kabul, May 2010).

¹⁵ Bloomberg, "China submarine sale to Pakistan ups nuclear clash risk," *The Economic Times*, 18 April 2015, <<http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/china-submarine-sale-to-pakistan-ups-nuclear-clash-risk/articleshow/46966867.cms>>, accessed 10 November 2015.

Dilemma.” So the huge economic opportunities that CPEC gives to both countries necessitate deep and growing relations between the two neighbours.

In addition to these, the India factor will also be a crucial player in Pak-China relations. Both Pakistan and China serve each other as a counter-weight to Indian designs. So Pakistan’s relations with China have a strategic, economic and political value for Pakistan and are expected to become stronger as well as closer with the passage of time.

Pakistan’s relations with Iran

Despite some difficulties — common in international relations — Pakistan’s relations with Iran have remained good and friendly. Both countries have enjoyed a long period of good relations that are central to the stability of the region. Presently, Iran is emerging as a powerful broker in Middle Eastern politics. After the nuclear deal with the United States and Western powers, Iran looks more confident about its regional role. Pakistan and Iran have stakes in Afghanistan as well as in the wider region. The nuclear deal between Iran and the world will give an opportunity to Pakistan to benefit from trade and commerce with Tehran. Iran also provides Pakistan an opportunity to fulfil its energy requirements.¹⁶

Pakistan must bring dynamism in its foreign policy regarding Iran and the gulf countries. Walking a fine line between Iran and the GCC will be a major challenge for Pakistan’s future foreign policy.

Pakistan’s relations with the GCC countries

The Middle East is one of the most troubled regions today. It is considered as an “arc of crisis” owing to the speedy changes that have swept the region since the US invasion of Iraq, and later the Arab spring that began in 2011. As Iran, the GCC and the wider Middle East comprises of Islamic countries, the concept of Muslim brotherhood will naturally resonate across the width and breadth of Pakistan. Our relations with the GCC, Afghanistan and Iran involve societal, religious and cultural factors that come under the broad umbrella of ideology.

No doubt ideology is an important part here, but it should not supersede the vital interests of Pakistan such as religious and sectarian harmony as well as social cohesion. Pakistan should know that the ideology has not worked in its diplomacy as far as the Middle East is concerned. Therefore, future foreign policy must revolve around our national interest.¹⁷ One of the most outstanding challenges for Pakistan’s

¹⁶ Asif Ezdi, “The spin-off of the Iran nuclear deal,” *The News*, December 2, 2013.

¹⁷ Dr. Qaisar Rashid, “Challenges of Pakistan’s foreign policy”, *Daily Times*, 26 November 2015.

foreign policy viz-a-viz the gulf countries will be to wash away the impact of Pakistan's decision on Yemen. It will take some time to undo the effects of Pakistan's decision on Yemen, but again Yemen should serve as an example for Pakistan so in the future it should not opt for indulging in any regional conflict.

Pak-US relations in the changing regional context

Pakistan's foreign relations with the United States are one of the most important of the relations with the outside world. This relationship might also be considered as more dynamic than any other. Geopolitics, security and economy are the main factors driving Pakistan's relations with the United States. Albeit it is important to mention that defining Pakistan's national interest in relation with the United States has been generating huge public sentiments at home.¹⁸

Pakistan and the United States have a long history of engagement and estrangement. Despite 70 years-long history of relationship, United States and Pakistan have not been able to develop solid, long-term and strategic relations with each other. In other words, it is to say that Pakistan's relations with the United States have mostly remained driven by 'ecotegic' (economic plus strategic) dependency not by a long-term thinking.

Since the time of independence, Pakistan's approach towards the United States has been influenced by the Indian factor. Pakistan has looked at its relations with the United States through the prism of security.¹⁹ Alongside security, economy has also been a major factor in shaping foreign policy decisions in Pakistan viz-a-viz the United States.²⁰

If history be the guide, in the coming years, Pakistan's relations with the United States may be expected to move ahead on an issue-to-issue basis. It will be like a few steps, but will not be a long walk together. As we move along the road to the future, three areas of interest are expected to be dominating the future of Pakistan's relations with the United States. These include militancy, Afghanistan and nuclear weapons.

Although Pakistan has rendered valuable sacrifices in the war on terrorism at times, it has been asked for a "do more" by the United States. This shows that Pakistan's diplomacy has not been much successful in telling the United States their side of the story.²¹ Despite the element of

¹⁸ Dr Iram Khalid, *"Pakistan Foreign Policy, Evolution, Development and Strategies,"* (Lahore: Peace Publication,, 1st Edition, 2013), 45-46.

¹⁹ Abdul Sattar, *"Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2012: A Concise History,"* (Karachi:Oxford University Press, 2013), 239.

²⁰ Hasan Askari Rizvi, *"Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy,"* (London: Macmillan Press, 1993).

²¹ Richard W Mansbach and Kirsten L. Rafferty, *"Introduction to Global Politics",* (Routledge, 200g), 381.

distrust remaining high, instability in Afghanistan dictates closer cooperation between the United States and Pakistan. However, this time Pakistan must make sure that the US does not repeat the history. Pakistan must have guarantee that any endgame or settlement in Afghanistan must ensure the protection of Pakistan's legitimate interests in Afghanistan.²²

The challenges for Pakistan's foreign policy in dealing with the United States are huge. Therefore, Pakistan will have to play a clever, pragmatic and proactive diplomacy in order to deal with the United States that is friendlier with India and less friendly to Pakistan. It will have to work out creative solutions to keep the United States engaged after the issues of terrorism and Afghanistan are over.

One-sided economic dependency, as commonly seen in Pak-US relations is a major cause that has inhibited continuity and depth in our relations with the United States. In the future, therefore, Pakistan needs to end its economic dependency on the United States. This dependency when reduced or ended, will allow Pakistan to keep a good degree of strategic autonomy in its foreign policy and build long-term relationship with the United States.

The emerging contours of Pakistan's relations with Russia

The changing regional dynamics is bringing a change in Pakistan's relations with Russia. Although Pakistan has a long history of alignment with the United States and the Western world, yet terrorism, militancy, Afghanistan, and the changing dynamics of the region raise hope and interest in a renewed cooperation between Pakistan and Russia. Pakistan and Russia have had a considerable degree of economic cooperation and a high level of diplomatic engagement during 1960s and 1970s.

Geographical proximity, regional security, Afghanistan, the US drawdown, China, militancy, terrorism and defence cooperation can serve as areas of mutual interest for both the countries. Pakistan and Russia can work together on eradicating terrorism and extremism. There can be no clear answer as to how much of a reset is likely to happen between Russia and Pakistan. But the realities of the region are changing. New dynamics are emerging that can form the basis for a strong relationship with Russia.

Conclusion

Foreign policy is thought as the facade of a country in the global community; as systematic, dynamic, effective and successful foreign policy elevates the stature of a country on the international stage. While a weak and passive foreign policy causes failure and may lead up to negative

²² Dennis Kux, *"The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies,"* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

consequences such as diplomatic isolation, economic downturn and political chaos.

History, pragmatism, dynamism and rationality should act as a guide for Pakistan's foreign policy in the future. Our future foreign policy should not be based on delusions and sentimentality. Instead, Pakistan's relations with every country should be based on national interest, mutual respect, equality and reciprocity.

The protection of global peace and security must, as usual, be an inherent goal of Pakistan's foreign policy. As an important member of the region, Pakistan must continue to work with regional countries for ensuring peace and stability. The threats that our region and the world is facing currently make peace a necessity not a choice or an option.

With India, Pakistan has tried to restore trust and confidence. Unfortunately, such efforts were given a cold shouldered response by India. Although Pakistan should desire peace with India, yet this should not be a one-sided aspiration. Diplomacy should continue its work, but Pakistan cannot afford another Ufa. Hence, if we are not receiving a positive response from India, then it's probably time for a pause until the right time arrives.

Pakistan needs to come out of the diplomatic lag as far as Iran, GCC and Afghanistan are concerned. Our relations with the GCC, Afghanistan and Iran are not only important from a foreign policy perspective but also from the social and economic point of view.

Peace and stability in Afghanistan is necessary for the peace and stability in Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan should facilitate talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban. Indeed, Pakistan should play active role in any effort that is meant to bring peace to Afghanistan.

Pakistan's relations with China will keep on improving. The CPEC will add immeasurable strength to the relationship. The only expectation for the future of Pak-China relations is more engagement and more cooperation on political, economic, trade, commercial, scientific, cultural and strategic levels.

Iran and the GCC are important areas of Pakistan's external relations. Pakistan has huge economic interests in these countries. The success of Pakistan's foreign policy will depend on a balanced approach towards Iran and Saudi Arabia. The stance that Pakistan took on Yemen must guide our foreign policy in the future as well.

With the United States, relations will be conditioned by Pakistan's role in Afghanistan settlement. As a thumb rule, the depth of relations between Pakistan and the United States will depend on the convergence of our national interests.

Although a reset with Russia is very much on the cards, yet it will take more time for the relations to take a complete take off. Pakistan's relations with Russia will depend on the level of interdependence that exists between the two countries. Looking into the future, Pakistan's

relations with Russia should flourish, however, there should be no over excitement and emotionalism in this regard.

Pakistan's foreign policy, like that of any other country, will be hugely affected by our internal environment. Our overall national interest, foreign policy goals and the objectives of our national security and foreign policy are linked to political stability, economic strength, good governance, vibrant institutions and social cohesion. Thus, the best of our foreign policies will not bring us any good unless and until we put our own house in order by bringing law and order, eradicating corruption, improving governance and economic management. Lastly, in order to create a favourable domestic environment, we need to consolidate the effects of operation Zarb-e-Azb and move harder against militancy, sectarianism, fanaticism, and extremism.

STRENGTHENING NATIONAL INTEGRATION AMONG EDUCATED YOUTH

Dr. Fauzia Saleem Alvi,* Aaisha Amjad,*
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Abstract

Pakistan, since its inception, has been confronting the challenge of national integration due to multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic population residing in the country. These dynamics of the society increase the magnitude of integration related challenges faced by the country. Several intervening internal and external factors tend to create split in social fabric of society thus negatively affecting the process of national integration in Pakistan. Like the other segments of society, the youth of the country is confronted with socio-political and socio-economic issues that tend to affect their feeling of belongingness and cohesiveness. The current situation in Pakistan demands for due involvement of important stakeholders to extend measures for strengthening national integrity among youth. In this regard, the educational institutions can play a significant role in enhancing the cohesion in society in general and youth in particular. Empowerment and morale boosting of youth is pivotal in bringing national harmony in the society. Moreover, it will also equip the youth to cope with the societal problems such as rapidly growing intolerance and schism in the society based on ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences among masses.

This paper aims to highlight the youth as a pivotal agent of national cohesion, the factors that generally affecting national cohesion among Pakistani youth and the role of university education in strengthening national cohesion. Along with highlighting the existing policies to strengthen the national integration at university level,

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some measures have also been suggested to further reinforce the national cohesion among youth studying in universities.

Key Words: *National cohesion, integration, national identity, polarization, conflict.*

Introduction

National integration is an essential prerequisite for the survival of a country. It is generally defined as a process of achieving national cohesion, stability, prosperity, strength and feelings of being united as a nation.¹ It may also be explained as a common national consciousness to rigorously stress on establishing a common national identity.² Additionally, it refers to the capacity of a nation to ensure the provision of welfare to all its individuals, with a particular focus on reducing the inequalities and polarization in a society.³ National integration serves as a binding force to develop a strong bondage between the members of society to unite them together. However, the diversity in the ideological, ethnic, religious and cultural fundamentals give rise to the conflict in a society that poses a direct threat to the integrity of a nation. Considering the case of Pakistan, a short glimpse of history reveals that since its existence, the country has been in the disarray due to fragmentation among the divergent multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic population residing in the country. These paradoxical dynamics of society are in flare contradiction to the national interest and increase the magnitude of the challenge to create national cohesion, unity, and integration.⁴ Pakistani society is in a state of transition, confronted with several problems at national and international levels. The day-to-day challenges related to security, politics and socio-economic well-being of people aggravate the ever growing need of developing a harmonious and peaceful society.

In such a gloomy environment, youth seems to be a ray of hope for the future. The youth of Pakistan, that makes majority of the population, is being brought up in highly challenging times. There are several factors that tend to create disintegration and disharmony among Pakistani masses in general and youth in particular. These factors can be categorized into socio-political and socio-economic issues. Considering the socio-economic condition of Pakistan, the lack of jobs, unequal opportunities, growing unemployment and absence of a strong industrial base are considered as

¹ Mirza Muhammad Saleem, "National Integration", *Advance Contemporary Affairs*, Vol.58, no.6, 2008, 424.

² Walker Connor, "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?", *World Politics*, Vol.24, no.2, 1972, 319-355.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ijaz Hussain, "The dilemma of national integration in Pakistan", *ISSRA*, VI (2009), 43.

huge challenges. It has been revealed in various studies that youth of an economically downtrodden country is more prone to adopting wrong means and resorting to violence against state to satisfy their needs.⁵ Their feeling of patriotism and adherence to the national interest start to blur with the passage of time. Thus, they become a vulnerable target of intriguing elements that can easily exploit them against the state and people. The political instability and lack of deliverance of existing government tend to demotivate and discourage the youth. Owing to the deteriorating security situation and lawlessness, the youth is enthralled in frustrations and fear. All these troubling issues signify that the potential hope of the country i.e. the youth is confronted with a serious challenge to develop a sense of belonging with the state and the nation. Resultantly, youth of today develops the feeling of grudge, disappointment, depression, and confusion regarding their national identity and belongingness to the nation.⁶

Considering this milieu, the due involvement of important stakeholders to extend measures for strengthening national integrity among youth becomes the need of hour. In this regard, the educational institutions can play a significant role in enhancing the national cohesion among youth. Patriotic, enthusiastic and united youth can play a pivotal role in increasing the national harmony in the society by dealing with the problems such as rapidly growing intolerance and schism based on ethnic, cultural, and linguistic differences.

This paper aims to highlight the youth as a significant agent of national cohesion, the factors that generally affect national cohesion amongst Pakistani youth and the role of university education in strengthening national cohesion among youth. Along with highlighting the existing policies to strengthen the national integration at university level, some measures have also been suggested to further reinforce the national cohesion among youth studying in universities.

National integration

National integration refers to developing a strong bondage between the members of society that are being divided on the ideological, ethnic, religious and cultural fundamentals. For developing national cohesion, the formulation of national identity is pivotal. Studies have indicated that people are always reluctant to integrate into a single national identity leaving their regional and ethnical identity if the mode of amalgamation is

⁵ Syed Yasir Mahmood Gillani, Hafez ur Rehman and Abid Rasheed Gill, "Unemployment, Poverty, Inflation and Crime Nexus: Co-integration Causality Analysis of Pakistan", *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, Vol.47, no.1, Summer 2009: 79-98.

⁶ Moeed Yusuf and Arsla Jawaid, "Radicalism Among Youth In Pakistan: Human Development Gone Wrong?" *National Human Development Report*, 2014.

authoritative and not people-oriented.⁷ Looking at the examples of countries with diverse ethno-racial population like USA, Canada, Malaysia, the process of national cohesion has always been of a melting-pot approach in which the ethnic and racial loyalties have been melted within the larger interest of state and developed a national identity, with a democratic system of representation for the former.⁸

The foundation of Pakistan took place with a nation composed of a poly ethnic society having diverse cultures, languages and identities. In different eras of Pakistan's history the term of national integration has been moulded into different forms depending upon the political scene of the country. Different regimes have tried to develop national integration in nation with different approaches like during the first decade of the country's history the emphasis was to evolve a national constitutional machinery which could effectively run the matters of the newly emerged state with a strong rivalry being faced from the neighbouring country, India.

During the 1980's the process of national cohesion was embedded in the religious unity which showed a support to the Afghan Jihad against Communism of the Soviet Union. The incidence of terrorist attack on the Twin Towers in New York on 11 September 2001 became salient moment in history due to which, like many other countries of the world, Pakistan was also thrown into a "war against terror" and the concept of national integration was contemplated with it. So in Pakistan, the process of developing a single national identity and national integration becomes an even complex task with the existing realities related to religious, political, and social ideology.

Additionally, considering the role of elite class in creating stability and cohesion in the society, the Classical Elite theory firstly developed by two Italian sociologists — Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1911) — is of utmost importance. Both these theorists dismissed Karl Marx view of socialism in which he advocated that an equality-based society would lead to progress. Contrarily they were of the view that the elite class prevailed in a society because of their superior personality traits like intelligence, better decision-making ability and more developed organizational skills than the common masses due to which they can play an important role in placing the society in the right direction.⁹ Another American theorist C. W. Mills disagreed with Pareto and Mosca regarding the elite having the natural power to rule, rather he

⁷ Rehana Saeed Hashmi, "Ethnic Politics: An overview to National Integration (The Case of Pakistan)", *Research Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol.29, no.1, 2014: 345-361.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Micheal Haralambos & Martin Holborn, *Sociology: Themes & Perspectives*, 5th Edition, 2000: 601-604.

was of the view that the structures of institutions were so designed that the top positions were mostly attained by the elitists. Certain institutions occupied key positions in society and the elite comprised those who held 'command posts' in those institutions. Mills identified three key institutions including the major corporations, the military and federal government, which can manoeuvre the society towards the required progress. Therefore, according to the above perspective, a democratic process of creating national identity and a more responsible role of the elite class occupying important institutional positions can play a significant role in creating national harmony in Pakistani society.

Youth - A pivotal actor of strengthening national cohesion

Educated youth is considered as a vital agent for playing a pivotal role in the development of Pakistani nation. Being the largest and most influential age group in the country, well-informed youth can determine the destiny of a nation. The founder of Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was always very optimistic about the youth of Pakistan and in his many addresses he had highlighted the fact that in the shape of Pakistan he wanted to ensure a safe and well-guarded homeland for the bright and intelligent future generation of the country. He was a firm believer of the fact that the national cohesion of the country was very much dependent on the active and meaningful participation of youth of this nation.

Presently Pakistan is experiencing its "youth boom" period in which approximately 68 per cent of Pakistani population comprises of youth, the largest in history. However, youth, the dominant population of Pakistan are entangled with several grim issues that include expensive education, lack of job opportunities, poverty, insecurity, increasing inflation and corruption. Young people of today are confronted with the serious challenges to secure a better future for them. There are bleak chances for them of attaining a dream job after graduation. Owing to the deteriorating political, law and order situation, the country had to experience phenomena like "brain drain", in which a large percentage of youth prefers to search for secure and prosperous opportunities elsewhere in the world. Keeping this in view, the incorporation of educated youth is prerequisite in all such activities that are aimed to enhance cohesiveness in society. Youth participation in country's political, social, and economic issues is the need of hour. As mentioned in the 'Malaysian Integrity Plan 2004':

“...the transformation towards a developed nation is not solely based on economic and technological progress. It also

needs progress in social, cultural, intellectual, and spiritual fields....¹⁰

In this context, the empowerment and morale boosting of youth is crucial in bringing social justice, institutional credibility and national harmony in the society. Moreover, this will also equip the youth to cope with the societal problems such as rapidly growing intolerance and polarization of society based on ethnic, cultural and language differences among masses. Moreover, the significance of youth studying in universities becomes more evident as in near future this segment of population will become a part of the mainstream work force of the country. The level and magnitude of national cohesion existing in this population currently will reflect the future prospects of national cohesion existing in the country.

Factors affecting national cohesion among youth in Pakistan

Over the past half century, Pakistan has faced the deteriorating political, economic and security situation that resulted in the fissures among its social institutions and fragmentation of societal normative structure. On the other hand, several intervening internal and external factors tend to create split in social fabric of society thus negatively affecting the process of social integration in Pakistan. Like the other segments of society, the educated youth of the country has become a victim to these torments. A short glimpse of the socio-political factors that tend to negatively influence national cohesion and integration amongst Pakistani youth as well as affect their growth and development, are discussed below:

Socio-political factors

- **Sectarianism:** Pakistani people have divisions and sects that mainly include Sunni and Shia, even within these sects there are a number of divisions. Sunni sect includes divisions like Hanafi, Deobandi, Barelvi, Salafi, etc; whereas Shia sect includes Agha Khanis, Bohris, Nusayris and Ahle Tashi. Each sect has their own set of beliefs and considers them right. People abide by the version of their sectarian ideology whereby, the diversity in sectarian creeds gives rise to the intolerance towards divergent sect. Unfortunately, the disintegration based on sectarian affiliation is on the rise. Growing incidences of interfaith disharmony and religious extremism in the name of Islam are amongst the grave issues that tend to create wedge between Pakistani youth on the basis of their sectarian differences. The fanned sectarianism gives

¹⁰ Mohd Tap Salleh, "The National Integrity Plan of Malaysia", *Malaysian Institute of Integrity*, 2007, <<http://www.unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/.../unpan047847>>, accessed March 20, 2015.

rise to feeling of disintegration and disengagement among youth, where it stands confused of their national and religious identity.

- **Madrassa education:** In Pakistan, there are around 12,910 Deeni Madaris, out of which 3% are working in the public and 97% in private sector. Deeni Madaris cater to an enrolment of 1.7 million students of which 67% are males and 38% are females.¹¹ These Madaris are imparting unchecked extremist perspective to several Madrassa students. They have their own system of education that aims to promote radicalised ideologies amongst youth studying there. Therefore, Madrassas serve as breeding ground for promoting radicalized dogmas that tend to divide the youth on ideological grounds. Considering themselves on the right path, they have the greater tendencies to act violently against their state, people and counterparts. The involvement of the young people in terrorist activities provides inevitable evidences of increasing radicalisation and intolerance in Pakistani youth that pose a threat to national integration.
- **War against Terrorism:** Since 9/11, the threats and challenges for Pakistan have been multiplied. The Pakistani nation has been divided into enlightened and conservative segments. It has further widened the rift among the different segments of the society based on the national stance of favouring the USA or stand against it for attacking Afghanistan. Pakistan's decision to help the USA in war against terrorism gave an opportunity to anti-state/anti-Islam elements that exploited the alliance of Pakistan with USA to justify the terrorist attacks across the country. These terrorist groups preach the radical version of Islam and misinterpret the Holy Quran and Hadiths to provoke people for rising against the state institutions. They allege that Pakistan's fight against terrorism is covertly aimed at obliging the USA and West. Propagation of such baseless allegation creates perplexity in the unified stance of Pakistani masses particularly youth against the issues related to national interest. They become an easy prey of terrorists' brainwashing and act as pawns in their hand. Therefore, the violent activities and terror attacks employed by youth factions and several youth centric organizations are on the rise that evidently displays the disintegrated mindset of Pakistani youth.
- **Bad governance:** Owing to bad governance, the society has become victim of imbalance and discrepancy. Masses have no faith in policies of government and they relate the bad governance with the failure of the state to protect and privilege its inhabitants.

¹¹ "Madrassa Education: 2014, Challenges, Reforms and Possibilities", *Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency*, 2014, <www.youthparliamentpakistan.pk>, accessed March 3, 2015.

UNDP statistics state that about 32% of Pakistani youth is illiterate, 10% unemployed and less than 6% have acquired technical skills. The weak political leadership has often ignored this youth bulge. Resultantly, the youth feels isolated, ideologically confused, disintegrated, face an identity crisis and find no outlet to vent out their frustration. While considering the education system, there exists a massive difference among private and public education sector that tends to produce the youth with varying degree of capabilities and potential to excel. Education system itself creates huge disparities among the youth which eventually disrupts cohesiveness.

Socio-economic disparities: Poverty and inflation has resulted into the deep-rooted disparities in the society. Unemployment, besides creating economic imbalance has given rise to the frustration amongst the members of the society, particularly youth. Deteriorating economic condition of country tends to create uncertainty among the youth that appeared to be losing their feeling of patriotism and adherence to the nation and state.

Role of university education in national cohesion

Education strengthens the essential social bonding between members of a society in order to hold them together by emphasising on the existence of normative system that is required to establish harmonious, cooperative, and morally correct society.¹² It enables youth to develop an accommodating culture of tolerance and harmony, where youth is encouraged to resolve their mutual conflicts with the help of negotiation rather than carrying out physical violence against each other. Education can mould the behaviour of the students to make them tolerant and benevolent individuals. The unbiased and non-discriminatory milieu of education system has the potential to impart sense of belongingness and cohesiveness at micro- and macro-level. Through the power of knowledge, even the hostile and radicalised individuals can be turned into harmonised members of the society.¹³

Higher education is a gateway for entering into elite society and it provides a number of opportunities to be a part in upper professions, commerce, industry and civil services.¹⁴ As per John Henry Newman, the universities have always been considered as a hub for imparting higher education and also serve as podium for scholars from different disciplines,

¹² Dr Zafar Qureshi, "National Cohesion through Education." *Dawn News*, November 15, 2009.

¹³ Naveen Khan. "Education in Pakistan has Negative Impact on the Social Cohesion of Youth", October 2014, <www.laaltain.com>, accessed April 13, 2015.

¹⁴ Chandra Muzaffar, "Political culture and nation building: whither Bangsa Malaysia?" *Malaysian Journal of Social Policy and Society*. 2006: 22-42.

who exchange ideas and thoughts.¹⁵ Julian Betts et.al. explained that to increase the compatibility of students in the labour market after the completion of degree has always been the major role of universities around the world.¹⁶

Nowadays, the role of university, besides generating and imparting knowledge, also includes its contribution in social and national development. As in the case of Germany, the universities played role in strengthening national identity.¹⁷ Chang while describing role of universities in national integration of Malaysia writes:

University undergraduates are semi-adults who already have their own predispositions and set ways of thinking and doing things. To change their ways is a formidable task, albeit not impossible. Since the idea of promoting ethnic awareness and consciousness, developing positive ethnic relations and achieving national unity are uncertain at young age among the Malaysians, hence if university is to promote healthy inter-ethnic interactions among the undergraduates, their understanding and acceptance of these values will be fortified.¹⁸

More so, universities encourage greater learner interaction across ethnic, sectarian and social groups. They serve as a platform to impart tolerance for divergent views, reduce the marginalisation of minorities, facilitate behavioural changes and promote loyalty and patriotism among young students. Moreover, the role of teacher is of utmost importance, because he could necessarily be engaged to mould the perception and the pre-existing realities of student to convince them to serve for national interest. Proactive integrative activities among students could play a vital role in strengthening the national integration amongst students belonging to different cultural and social background.

While considering Pakistan, it has been observed that education in Pakistan despite promoting national cohesion is more inclined to erode national unity.¹⁹ The asymmetrical structure, discriminatory curricula and divisive nature of education tend to affect the feelings of shared identity

¹⁵ John Henry Newman, "What is a university. Essays: English and American". *The Harvard Classics* Vol.28, 1909, <<http://www.bartleby.com/28/1002.html>>, accessed March 17, 2015.

¹⁶ Julian Betts, Christopher Ferrall, and Ross Finnie. "The Role of University Characteristics in Determining Post graduation Outcomes: Panel Evidence from three Canadian Cohorts," *Canadian Public Policy*, Vol.39, no.1, May, 2013: 81-106.

¹⁷ Robin Cowan, "Universities and the Knowledge Economy", *Industrial and Corporate Change*, Vol. 9, no.2, 2000: 211-253.

¹⁸ Lee Wei Chang, "National Unity at the university level: Importance of civilization dialogue and way farward", *European Scientific Journal*, Vol.4, December 2013: 173-186.

¹⁹ Ibid.

and sense of group belongingness. Unequal distribution of educational opportunities and resources, the widening gap of quality of education among private and public sectors and discrimination in job opportunities among the students based on their ethnicity tend to negatively affect their mutual social cohesion.

HEC/university policies addressing national integration

In Pakistan, despite the serious issues creating a threat to the national integration of the country, the role of Higher Education Commission (HEC) has been appreciable in harnessing national cohesion among the youth. To generate a narrative regarding national integration and minimizing ethnic and sectarian conflicts among young adults, although, there has been a lack of clearly defined educational policies at university level. However, indirect measures have contributed in creating the vibe that is required at present. Measures taken by HEC regarding representation of less privileged youth to make them a part of mainstream academia of Pakistan and to positively address the sense of deprivation of the students residing in provinces of Baluchistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa are as under:

- Different scholarship and quotas have been introduced to encourage students from Baluchistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) and Gilgit-Baltistan to increase their chances for getting higher education.
- In 2002, HEC announced reserved seats for student of Baluchistan and Fata in medical and engineering universities. There are also many other scholarships in which regional and provincial quota are reserved.

Conclusion

National integration is considered as a survival need for every nation. In Pakistan, the process of national cohesion and integration among youth is greatly influenced by several incompatible factors including socio-economic disparities and socio-political factors. The current chaotic situation in Pakistan demands involvement of the important stakeholders for extending measures to strengthen national integrity among youth. In this regard, the educational institutions can play a pivotal role. Public sector universities serve as a platform for educated youth belonging to different socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds to share the parallel space and avail analogous opportunities. Therefore, the higher education institutions in collaboration with HEC need to take serious initiatives to promote national cohesion amongst educated youth.

Recommendations

Following measures may be taken at university level to further strengthen the national cohesion and integration among the educated youth belonging to different ethnic and cultural background:

- Conduct dialogues between the students belonging to different provinces and cultures as it would be a very important tool for strengthening inter-cultural integration and harmony.
- Arrange seminars and workshops stressing the importance of nationalism and national unity for a nation along with highlighting the need for tolerance for divergent religious, sectarian and cultural views.
- Introduce the different courses on national integration, cultural diversities and ethnic relations discussing the models of other multi-cultural countries (like Malaysia and Kenya) to deal with the problem of national disintegration.
- Organizations and national unity cell may be established within universities for promoting activities and suggest policies to increase national integration and unity among university students.
- Conduct different research studies, to analyse the effectiveness of educational policies aimed at reducing the national disintegration. In addition, qualitative and quantitative studies should be conducted to know about students' perception regarding national integration and level of their sense of belongingness respectively.
- Arrange national conference at university level, where the research scholars from all over the country may share the findings of their studies conducted in the area of national integration in Pakistan.

ENSURING A HARMONIZED AND PLURALISTIC SOCIETY IN GILGIT-BALTISTAN

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Abstract

Creating and ensuring a harmonized and pluralistic society has become the need of the time in the 21st century. Historically harmony has prevailed in Gilgit-Baltistan allowing people living together with peace, acceptance, and love. However, in the last few decades sectarian conflict has created unrest among the masses in the region. This has claimed hundreds of precious lives over the passage of time and needs a comprehensive strategy to uproot it. This paper has been developed on the basis of literature review from the region and newspaper reports related to the very issue. On the basis of the analysis, the paper concludes that taking mere administrative measures to curb the issue is not the only panacea; rather, there is a need for taking a constructive and educative approach to create awareness among the youth and masses through relevant education and training opportunities; ensuring employability through robust market-oriented measures; and strengthening existing education institutions in the region.

Key words: *Harmony, pluralism, educative approach, curriculum reform, peace initiatives*

Introduction

The term harmony refers to a friendly agreement, pleasing combination of sounds, notes sung or played together. In a philosophical term harmony means right and desirable relationship of parts to a whole, whether in nature, society, or an individual. This term is basically used for rhythmic movement and melody in music. It can easily

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be explained taking example from music. According to Arnold Schoenberg, harmony is “the study of simultaneous sounds (chords) and of how they may be joined with respect to their architectonic, melodic, and rhythmic values and their significance, their weight relative to one another.”¹ Philosophers see ‘universal harmony as the actual state of the world’ and ‘harmony in the society as the goal of morality and social relationship.’ Aristotle refers it to a language into which rhythm, harmony and song enter.² Perhaps for the similar reasons one of the greatest proponent of harmony and pluralist society, the Sufi saint Jalaluddin Rumi starts his Masnavi with the story of flute. In the opening verse of the great Masnavi, Rumi says:

بشنوا ز نئے چونحکا یتیم کند
وا ز جدائیہا حکا یتیم کند

“Hearken to the reed-flute, how it complains,
Lamenting its banishment from its home.”³

Do we listen to the tales of flute filled with love and loyalty to its home? We need to encourage people to love their roots. The voice of flute as depicted by Rumi is a symbol of harmony and peace, a deeper association with one’s home or origin.

Likewise, appearing out of the late Latin *pluralitas* (referring to plural) and via the Old French *pluralite*, the word pluralism entered through Middle English into today’s parlance, especially in English Language. Another identical term, having one of the concepts related with pluralism is “plurality”.⁴ As it is clearly observable literally that the term pluralism is composed of the word plural (referring to “more than one”) and the suffix -ism (referring to support or inclination or loyalty towards supporting an ideology, a doctrine or practice, whether socio-culturally approved and promoted or disapproved and depreciated at any level.

In the religious realms the Holy Qur’an also strongly emphasizes on pluralistic teachings to its followers in order to maintain societal peace and harmony. The entire teaching in the Qur’an, literally and allegorically, is a reflection of pluralism and harmony. Similarly, when meeting and greeting each other, a Muslim conveys his or her kind wishes of peace to

¹ Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, (Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1922), 13.

² Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. S.H. Butcher (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1961), <www.gutenberg.org/wiki/Philosophy>.

³ Jalaluddin Muhammad Rumi, “Masnavi Manavi: Teachings of Rumi,” trans. E.H. Whinfield (Ames, Iowa: Omphaloskepsis, 2001), 3, <<http://www.omphaloskepsis.com/Library/masnavi.pdf>>, accessed August 15, 2015.

⁴ *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 1995, s.v. “Pluralism”.

his co-believers by saying Assalam-o-Alaikum (meaning “may peace be blessed upon you”). When a person calls for prayer (*adhan*, or *azan*), he wishes with the high pitch of his voice for “sustenance of offering prayers” (*Haya ‘alas Salah*) in order to “maintain welfare” (*Haya ‘alal Falah*) for all, and Never warfare for all by keeping God, The Almighty (Allah-u Akbar) as witness.

It is unfortunate that in the recent period common people tend to forget the message of love, harmony, peace, patience, and acceptance. Perhaps we need to reflect upon the nature of the very notion of harmony at local and national level; we need to know what are the key factors affecting the notion; and strive to address those issues so that harmony and peace prevail in our country.

The situation of harmony and the dream of a pluralistic society has been a huge concern in Gilgit-Baltistan. The region lies in the extreme north of the country with an estimated population of above two million. It has a paramount strategic importance. The region’s borders join Xinjiang province of the People’s Republic of China in the north, Chitral in the west, and Kalam, Kohistan and Kaghan Vallies of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province in the south. In the east are the occupied territories of Ladakh and Kashmir.⁵ Gilgit-Baltistan is divided into seven districts including Gilgit, Skardu, Diamer, Ghizer, Ghanche, Astore and Hunza-Nagar with 22 Tehsils and 108 union councils including seven municipal committees.

Like its natural resources, Gilgit-Baltistan is also rich in its cultural perspectives. Fourteen language communities — such as Shina, Balti, Burushaski, Khowar, Wakhi, Domaaki, Gujri, Uyghur, Kirghiz, Keloch, Kashmiri, Hindkoh, Pushto, Punjabi — live side by side with each other in different valleys and in the administrative headquarters of the seven districts. Majority of the inhabitants are Muslims belonging to mainly four different communities of interpretations such as Sunni, Shia, Ismaili and Noorbakhshi. Population of various sects varies from district to district. There is no denying the fact that Gilgit-Baltistan’s multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-sectional composition is a rare example of “unity in diversity.”⁶ Given the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic perspectives coupled with the natural resources, the region can showcase huge potentials for local and national harmony and development. Peace and harmony is a dire need in the region in order to take benefit of the resources. However, in the last few decades the region has observed a severe condition of sectarian unrest between the Shia and Sunni communities. This has tended to paralyze the entire society and has engulfed all the efforts on the way to development.

⁵ Gari Khan, “GIS Based Environmental Baseline Information of Shimshal Pamir Lake,” *World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF-P)*, (2009): 9.

⁶ Omar Farooq Zain, “A Socio-Political Study of Gilgit-Baltistan Province,” *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences* 30, 1 (2010): 183.

In this paper while focusing on the very nature of harmony in Gilgit-Baltistan, we highlight the issue of sectarian unrest in the region, which has been an alarming issue in the last few decades and the administrative measures taken at the government level needs to be revisited so as to make harmony flourish in the region. We also give an analytical overview of the GB and federal governments and social sector initiatives to overcome the issue. On the basis of the analysis we argue that besides the administrative approach to curb the issue of unrest there is a need for a constructive, educative, as well as enabling approach to create awareness among the youth and masses through relevant education, training opportunities; ensuring employability based on market-oriented measures; and strengthening existing education institutions in the region.

Sectarian unrest as a key challenge for harmony in Gilgit-Baltistan

Soon after the establishment of Pakistan, the people of Gilgit-Baltistan also got independence and voluntarily joined Pakistan.⁷ For a considerable time afterwards, the constitutional status of the region remained undefined. The agency system, the FCR and the rule of hereditary princes were abolished in 1974 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and various districts were established like those in other parts of Pakistan. The region has been under the direct control of the Federal Government under the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas.⁸

In the year 2009 Gilgit-Baltistan received the Empowerment and Self-Governance Order.⁹ This Order aims at providing greater political empowerment and better governance to the people of Gilgit-Baltistan. As a result, Gilgit-Baltistan Assembly was formed and governor was also appointed. The first GB government has completed its tenure recently and an interim setup is in progress (during the preparation of this research paper). Though the new setup has a province-like status, yet it certainly has created a space for public participation in the decision-making.

Sectarian unrest has been one of the top issues in Gilgit-Baltistan in the last few decades. A historical analysis shows that Islam came to this region in the thirteenth century and all the sects lived in peace and

⁷ Muhammad Feyyaz, "Sectarian Conflict in Gilgit-Baltistan," Background Paper, *Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency*, (2011): 11, ISBN: 978-969-558-213-8, <http://www.pildat.org/publications/publication/Conflict_Management/GB-SectarianConflit-BackgroundPaperEng-May2011.pdf>, accessed August 12, 2015.

⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁹ Government of Pakistan, "Governance Order," *Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas* (9 Sept. 2009), <www.gilgitbaltistan.gov.pk/downloadfiles/governanceorder.doc>, accessed August 11, 2015.

harmony.¹⁰ The issue has been a recent concern as a core issue and researchers believe that sectarian unrest between the Sunni and Shia sects in the region emerged in 1960s and 1970s and got strengthened during the regime of Ziaul Haq.¹¹ Over the passage of time many precious lives have been lost in the region, which is a great human loss and hurdle in the creation of harmony in the society.

The apparent and invisible causes may be different, which need to be understood well through in-depth historical analysis of the issue involving comprehensive empirical studies. As Nosheen Ali, who studied the 'micro politics of sectarianism and state-making' in Gilgit-Baltistan, has rightly mentioned that "in order to make sense of rising sectarianism, we also need to investigate the everyday forms through which religious conflict is produced, as well as the specific political contexts in which religious identities are created and shaped."¹²

Researchers see the causes of the very issue through various perspectives. For instance a study conducted by the International Crisis Group looks at it from the identity crisis and denial of basic rights. "Instead of making Pakistan's grip on the Northern Areas more secure, the denial of basic rights and representative institutions through which to express grievances has led many, particularly youth, to turn in frustration to radical sectarian groups."¹³ The report further explains that "since the Northern Areas have no representation in any federal constitutional or political forum, stakeholders cannot articulate demands or grievances to a wider audience."¹⁴ As a result, these grievances tend to result in unrests in the region.

Aziz Ali Dad looks into the issue from the perspective of cultural disintegration."¹⁵ Aziz further explains that the geo-political developments and demarcation of boundaries between different regions of the surrounding areas during the first half of twentieth century furthered the geographical mutilation of Gilgit-Baltistan and deprived it of Ladakh,

¹⁰ Nosheen Ali, "Northern Pakistan Sectarian Imaginaries: The Micropolitics of Sectarianism and State-making," *Current Sociology* 58, 5 (2010): 738–754, <<http://csi.sagepub.com/content/58/5/738>>, accessed August 12, 2015.

¹¹ Izhar Hunzai, "Conflict Dynamics in Gilgit-Baltistan," *United States Institute of Peace, Special Report* 321, (2013), <www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR321.pdf>, accessed August 11, 2015.

¹² Ali, "Northern Pakistan Sectarian Imaginaries: The Micropolitics of Sectarianism and State-making," 738.

¹³ International Crisis Group, "Discord in Pakistan's Northern Areas," *Asia Report* 131, (April 2007): 1, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/asia/south-asia/pakistan/131_discord_in_pakistan_s_northern_areas.pdf>, accessed August 16, 2015.

¹⁴ Ibid., 9.

¹⁵ Aziz Ali Dad, "State, Religion and Culture in Gilgit-Baltistan," *Wordpress* (2004): 2, <<https://pamirtimes.files.wordpress.com/2009/06/state-religion-and-culture-in-gilgit-baltistan1.pdf>>, accessed August 13, 2015.

Daras, Guraz and Kargil. This, in turn, cut these areas off from the mainstream culture and reduced the religious cultural diversity of the area, which become instrumental in bringing about a gradual cultural dissipation and absorption of the fragmented cultural units within alien cultures of the regions that do not share historical or cultural commonalities with Gilgit-Baltistan.¹⁶

The process gained momentum when Bhutto stooped to the demands of the religious parties, particularly, when General Zia introduced the concept of Islamization in the country in connection with his political perspectives.¹⁷

Some of the researchers look at the issue from curriculum perspective, too. They believe that schools curricula lack creating harmony in the society. After analysis of the 'State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan' Nayyar and Salim found some of the most significant problems in the curricula and textbooks such as:

- Inaccuracies of facts and omissions that serve to substantially distort the nature and significance of actual events in our history.
- Insensitivity to the existing religious diversity of the nation.
- Incitement to militancy, violence, including encouragement of *Jehad* and *Shahadat*.
- Perspectives that encourage prejudice, bigotry and discrimination towards fellow citizens, especially towards women, religious minorities, and towards other nations.
- A glorification of war and the use of force.
- Omission of concepts, events and material that could encourage critical self-awareness among students.
- Outdated and incoherent pedagogical practices that hinder the development of interest and insight among students.¹⁸

Reports show that in 2001 violence in Gilgit broke on the basis of Islamiyat curriculum. Shia community perceived the curriculum very much related to the Sunni school of thought. As stated by Peer Muhammad¹⁹, the agitation continued and in May 2004, a local attempt was made to resolve the curriculum issue and all sects from this region agreed to a settlement on the basis of an agreement. Local communities

¹⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ A. H. Nayyar and Ahmad Salim, eds., "The Subtle Subversion: The State of Curricula and Textbooks in Pakistan (Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics)", Sustainable Development Policy Institute, (2002), <<http://unesco.org.pk/education/teachereducation/reports/rp22.pdf>>, accessed August 13, 2015.

¹⁹ Peer Muhammad, "From Intra-Sectarianism to Fragile Peace: the Gilgit-Baltistan Model," Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies, (2014): 4, <www.san-pips.com/download.php?f=275.pdf>, accessed August 12, 2015.

agreed on separate Islamic Studies courses for Shia and Sunni students, signifying their willingness to resolve differences peacefully, but could not get endorsement from the then government. This led to strikes and protest demonstrations by Shias, bringing Gilgit to a standstill.²⁰

Peer further explains that for it took four years since the Shia community in the Northern Areas agitated over the controversial curriculum, yet the dispute remained unresolved. "Discouraged and angered, Shia students began to boycott classes and stage rallies: on 17 May 2004, more than 300 went on a three-day hunger strike in Gilgit. Within days, the situation gravely deteriorated as thousands took to the streets, blocking roads and bringing businesses to a halt."²¹

According to newspaper reports it took one whole year to the government to defuse the tension and reopen schools in Gilgit and adjoining areas. A *Dawn* news report shows that the then Prime Minister constituted a special committee headed by the then Federal Education Minister to resolve the issue.²² The committee unanimously agreed to the proposal of the federal minister to withdraw books of Islamiyat and Urdu of the Punjab Textbook Board which were perceived to contain controversial contents. It was suggested to replace them by the one published by the NWFP Textbook Board and the National Book Foundation (NFB).²³

If this be the case that our curriculum instead of promoting harmony through appreciation for diversity becomes causes of 'incitement to militancy and violence, encouragement of prejudice and discrimination and insensitivity to religious diversity', then the ultimate expected outcome would be what is being faced by Pakistan in forms of intolerance, extremism, and militancy. In other words the aesthetic elements of harmony and melody seem to be missing from our curricula and textbooks. Similarly, "in the educational curriculum the students of Gilgit-Baltistan do not find a material pertinent to their history and culture.... Thus, they raise question as to why they have been neglected by the state."²⁴ The question is, what results can we expect after excluding important aspects of life and nature in our education? This also raises question about the purpose and role of education. It is a fact that education not only helps in preparing individuals for the role of citizen; train appropriate occupational role; and develop their personality but also builds harmony amongst them. Ideally education is the process of

²⁰ Ibid., 4.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "N.As Curriculum Issue Resolved: Schools Open Today," *Dawn*, April 27, 2005, <<http://www.dawn.com/news/402768/nas-curriculum-issue-resolved-schools-open-today>>, accessed August 13, 2015.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Dad, "State, Religion and Culture in Gilgit-Baltistan," 6.

nourishment and nurture of the innate powers such as intellectual, spiritual, and moral propensities of the child. We need to reflect whether our education partially serves the job market or cater for holistic development of the students? The key proposition is that human beings are learning beings and 'a right type of education' can make things better'. If the type of education that we have, is not effective in making any difference in societal wellbeing, then we need to revisit the very education process, system, the pedagogies and curriculum.

It is a well-established fact that education plays an important role in creating harmony in the societies; it should never aim to create gaps among the communities. The importance of education has been emphasised repeatedly in the Qur'an, which is the ultimate source of guidance for Muslims. Indeed the first verse of the Qur'an revealed on Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) indicates the importance of it. Education is also an important tool for social change. It refers to the methods by which a society attempts to direct and accelerate the learning process.

All the educational policies in the country ranging from the very first conference of education in November 1947 to recent ones have emphasised the importance of education. According to the Pakistan Vision 2025 "Our primary focus is to create a world-class software for development by investing in human resources and governance. Our approach to development is people centric. Development has to be of people, for people, and by people. Therefore, our vision of development is based on inclusiveness and social justice."²⁵ Here it is vital to mention that the best way to develop competent human resource is by educating them.

As Dewey has rightly mentioned:

"When the school introduces and trains each child of society into membership within such a little community, saturating him with the spirit of service, and providing him with the instruments of effective self-direction, we shall have the deepest and best guaranty of a larger society which is worthy, lovely, and harmonious."²⁶

Likewise, "if we wish to concentrate on peace, we must learn how to suspend ourselves in the present and focus on the future we ultimately wish to work on together."²⁷ There is no doubt that in order to ensure harmony and peace in the society we need to invest in education, work with our schools and education systems so as to develop our future generation as peace-loving and beneficial citizens for the nation. The focus

²⁵ Government of Pakistan, "Pakistan 2025: One Nation – One Vision," *Planning Commission, Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform*, (2015) X, <<http://www.pc.gov.pk/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Pakistan-Vision-2025.pdf>>, accessed 13 August 2015.

²⁶ John Dewey, *School and society* (Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 1900), 29.

²⁷ Abida Begum, "The Concept and Perception of Peace Education in Gilgit-Baltistan Pakistan: A Comparative Case Study", *The Peace and Conflict Review* 7, 1 (2012): 29.

needs to be on learning which strengthens the capacities of children to act progressively through the acquisition of relevant knowledge, useful skills, appropriate attitudes for a safe, secure and healthy interactive environment for future.²⁸ In doing so, we need to revisit and re-conceptualize the very notion of our education and curriculum.

Initiates of imparting harmony seem to be just administrative measures

Reports show that the Federal and GB governments have been taking some initiative to create harmony in the region from the very beginning of the emergence of this issue. Several steps have been taken in this regard, which generally seem to be just violence-controlling rather than long-term and strategic mechanisms. We give an analytical review of those initiatives in this section.

In November 2011, the Lawmakers in Gilgit-Baltistan Legislative Assembly took initiatives to control the killing of innocent people through a comprehensive inquiry into the issues by identifying the culprits involved in the unrest and punish them as per the law.²⁹ Likewise, the Assembly in 2012 unanimously passed a bill titled as "Code of Conduct" (CoC), and it was also confirmed to treat the violators of the law under the Anti-Terrorism Act.³⁰ In the same year, the government also took measures to make the KKH safer for the passengers. In this regard, a strong force was established to patrol the strategic highway.³¹ Furthermore, in 2012 after noticing some subsequent cruel incidents on the KKH the GB government undertook a targeted operation to collect illegal weapons from key locations of the capital.³²

In the same year, considering the deteriorating condition of the interfaith harmony and the urge to bring about peace in the region the GB government established the Masjid Board involving top religious leaders from both Shia and Sunni schools of thought.³³ This effort

²⁸ A. Bernard, "The Child-friendly School: a Summary", Paper written for UNICEF, New York, (1999).

²⁹ Shabbir Mir, "Worsening Law and Order: Lawmakers in Gilgit Raise Alarm over Sectarian Violence," *The Express Tribune*, November 24, 2011, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/296693/worsening-law-and-order-lawmakers-in-gilgit-raise-alarm-over-sectarian-violence/>>, accessed August 15, 2015.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Shabbir Mir, "Sectarian Violence: G-B Government Appeals for Peace," *The Express Tribune*, April 30, 2012, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/371486/sectarian-violence-g-b-government-appeals-for-peace/>>, (accessed August 16, 2015).

³² Shabbir Mir, "A Beacon of Hope in Gilgit," *The Express Tribune*, December 24, 2012, <<http://blogs.tribune.com.pk/story/15325/a-beacon-of-hope-in-gilgit/>>, accessed August 13, 2015.

³³ Shabbir Mir, "Healing scars: In G-B, Muharram blurs sectarian differences," *The Express Tribune*, November 24, 2012, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/470524/>>

provided both the leaderships with a platform to sit together, listen to each other, discuss issues and concerns, and come up with solutions and consensus. This initiative was well appreciated by the communities and leadership in the region. For instance, according to a newspaper report in November 2012, dozens of Sunni community members comprising elders and the youth convened in one of the Imambargahs in Gilgit, where they joined hundreds of mourners. The delegation was led by a senior member of the Masjid Board. In 2014 the Gilgit-Baltistan government formed the Ulema Advisory Council to help forge sectarian unity among various sects inhabiting the region. The council consists of renowned scholars and legislators who were to help regulate matters concerning sects. The council included members from all sects.³⁴

Approaches of the federal government in connection with the creation of harmony in the region are also seen in the region under the youth development initiatives. There are certain initiatives of youth empowerment and development undertaken in the region. Working with the youth and involving them in the decision-making is seen as an affective step in connection with the creation of harmony. In GB the Prime Minister's six new schemes to facilitate youth development is a bid to combat soaring unemployment in the country. These initiatives include the micro interest-free loan scheme; the small business loans for those youth who are educated and/or skilled and wish to become entrepreneurs in their industry; the youth training scheme; the youth skilled development scheme; sponsoring the tuition fees for the higher studies of financially deprived students; and the provision of laptops to students.³⁵ Such initiatives, though in the initial phase, tend to play a pivotal role in the context of youth development and inclusiveness. The need of the local/provincial and the federal government steps to make such programmes successful is of a paramount importance.

As far as the Federal Government initiatives are concerned, the role of Karakoram International University, which is the only federal university in the context, is also vital in instilling harmony among the youth in the region.³⁶ The university has been playing key role in nurturing and developing the youth towards a harmonized and pluralistic society. By providing a platform through various programmatic activities, as well as seminars and conferences, the university engages the youth in critical

healing-scars-in-g-b-muharram-blurs-sectarian-differences/>, accessed 15 August 2015.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Talha Ahmed, "Address to Nation: Nawaz Announces 6 New Schemes for Youth Development," *The Express Tribune*, September 21, 2013, <<http://tribune.com.pk/story/607430/address-to-nation-nawaz-announces-6-new-schemes-for-youth-development/>>, accessed August 15, 2015.

³⁶ Karakoram International University, Gilgit, <<https://www.kiu.edu.pk/index.php>>, accessed August 16, 2015.

thinking and analytical discourses with the aim to a holistic development of the youth. Through market and society oriented programmes the university plays a key role in the socio-economic development of the region. As a result of the university alumni become the advocates of the peace and pioneers of community educators. The role of the university may further be strengthened to involve it in policymaking and conducting research in the very notion of harmony in the region. Though school education is not the mandate of the university, yet the university can contribute in framing educational policy and curriculum revision as expert stakeholders.

Besides the federal and provincial government initiatives, those from social or NGO sectors seem to play a notable role in the youth development with the aim to create a harmonized society. In this regard, various agencies of Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) have also been playing an effective role in the context of education development, poverty alleviation, health care, infrastructure, and youth development. In connection with the youth for example, the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) under its Enhancing Employability & Leadership for Youth (EELY) project offers the Youth Development Fellowship (YDF) for young professionals from Gilgit-Baltistan and Chitral between the ages 21-28 years. Such initiatives are not only becoming instrumental in the context of employability but also creating leadership capabilities among youth.³⁷ Likewise, there are other NGOs in the region which also work in various sectors aim at development and harmony.

After analyzing the above mentioned initiatives, it can be concluded that most of the measures are violence-controlling mechanisms through legal and administrative approaches. Some of the initiatives are attention-diverting techniques such as the loan scheme and employment opportunities. Though appreciated somehow these initiatives do not seem to offer sustainable solution or resolution to the core issues of sectarian unrest.

Policy recommendations and implementation strategies

On the basis of the analysis of various approaches to curb sectarian unrest and imparting harmony in Gilgit-Baltistan, we recommend an educative stance in order to promote harmony and appreciation for diversity in GB. We believe that change always takes time and comes slowly on the other hand a fire-fighting stance may not be a panacea. It is imperative to bring about change in minds and thinking, which is indeed a

³⁷ Aga Khan Rural Supports Programme, "Report of the LSO-Youth Convention 2013: Empowered Youth – Empowered Communities," Agha Khan Foundation, (2013), <<http://lson.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/LSO-Youth-Convention-2013-Report.pdf>>, accessed August 16, 2015.

long-lasting change. Therefore, we recommend working with a focus to bring about changes in minds through 'right type of education'. The educative stance in terms of providing a contextually long-term need based curriculum, updated with latest developmental needs and is free from the undesirable elements as indicated by Nayyar and Salim³⁸ would be the first step. Working with the youth while taking a participatory and inclusive approach in the educative process would be the second step. Provision of a platform where people from all schools of thought would have opportunities to interact with each other on educative and humanistic grounds is vital. Such a scenario can be created through an educative stance and a participatory approach. This is discussed in the sections below.

Curriculum reform

As discussed earlier, our curricula and textbooks need a complete revision of content, presentation and pedagogy. The curriculum needs to be revised in more pluralist ways. Only updated, precise, and correct content have to be presented in textbooks. The pedagogies need to be made child-centred instead of teacher or subject centred.

Unlike other provinces, in Gilgit-Baltistan there is no existence of Textbook Board and Bureau of Curriculum and Extension Wing. Therefore, establishment the provincial Curriculum Development Wing as an autonomous body of curriculum development has been suggested. Highly qualified professional representatives from major occupations, who have deeper understanding of the resources and issues of the region, should be placed in with assignment of curriculum revision/development. These professionals must also have the confidence of the communities as being enlightened-moderate people with an already agreed set of criteria. The next step would be establishment of the Textbook Boards with competent educationists who encourage pluralistic perspectives in the textbooks. By introducing transformative measures in education and developing a high quality, contextually relevant, and responsive curriculum acceptable to all communities/stakeholders can make a huge difference in future of the region in creating a harmonies society.

The Karakoram International University, being the apex institution of this region, can potentially be involved in the process of curriculum development for GB which is aspired to be equally acceptable for all, up to the mark of national and international standards as per the aspirations of our youth and as per needs of future generations.

The school curriculum should inculcate inter-faith-harmony, peace, patriotism, respect and appreciation for diversities. In doing so, textbook publishers should be bound to incorporate materials and texts

³⁸ Nayyar and Salim, "The Subtle Subversion," 2002.

that promote these social and moral values especially in primary and secondary level, and measures should be taken to promote respect for all human beings. In addition, there is a need for integrating Peace Education and Human Rights Education in the school curriculum so as to educate people about respect and appreciation for diversity, patience and other cultural manifestations that promote harmony.

Teacher induction and development

Teachers are the actual implementers of the curriculum. They play pivotal role in the national development by imparting quality education among the youth. If they are well educated they can play an unprecedented role in creating harmony in the society by demonstrating and educating values of respect, harmony, patience, critical thinking, and brotherhood among their students. Therefore, it is important to consider various quality measures in teacher recruitment, professional development, and monitoring. According to latest research based literature teachers are seen as researchers, reflective practitioners, curriculum developers, educational leaders and decision-makers rather than simple classroom teachers.

In this regard, teacher education curriculum should also highlight various aspects of harmony and the role of teachers in creating harmony in the society. They need to be developed as role models through robust trainings and educational opportunities so that they are able to inculcate the concepts of love, harmony, integrity, patience and tolerance.

Educational management and supervision

School leadership plays an important role in providing a conducive learning environment in the schools. Our head teachers need to understand the context, the surrounding environment and the need to address them through provision of firm leadership. Literature on school leadership shows that "head teacher's school improvement challenges are inextricably linked to the location, the historical background and the diverse population of the schools."³⁹ Similarly, effective principal leadership concerns chiefly with providing coordination among classroom teachers, discerning needs of the external environment (parent and community), and providing a bridge between the external environment

³⁹ Mola Dad Shafa, "Role of Head Teachers in Managing the Forces Emanating from the External World of Schools in Gilgit-Baltistan of Pakistan," *American International Journal of Contemporary Research* 1, 2 (2011): 67, <http://ecommons.aku.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1006&context=pakistan_ied_pdcn>, accessed August 16, 2015.

and the school.⁴⁰ Therefore, it is imperative to develop strong leadership in the schools through provision of training and other professional development opportunities to the head teachers.

Educating various stakeholders

Educational programmes (conferences, seminars, workshops) should be developed for religious leaders of all sects and other community leaders in the context of harmony. The golden rules set by Islam in the context of humanity, brotherhood, and harmony should be discussed in such forums. In addition, educational and awareness programmes should be launched through media. People associated with the media should be trained and educated through various workshops and training sessions pertaining to their role in bringing about harmony in the society.

It is important to highlight the deep-rooted cultural beauty across the region through different programmes. Such programmes should aim to promote mutual understanding, tolerance and solidarity among the communities of the region. Fortunately the region has a university along with hundreds of colleges, and thousands of schools in various parts. This is imperative that a platform for the youth, involving all the educational institutions exist so interactions through seminars, conferences, colloquia, and workshops could take place.

Initiation of market-oriented and enabling programmes

Gilgit-Baltistan is rich with natural resources. It is a fact that three world famous mountain ranges namely Karakorum, Himalaya and Hindu Kush are home to fourteen highest peaks of the world. Gilgit-Baltistan is also known as the longest glacier ranges (Baltoro, Siachin and Batura) beautiful landscape, crystal lakes and high meadows. The potential of Gilgit-Baltistan is enormous in terms of water resources for irrigation hydro power, minerals, tourism, high value horticulture, and opportunities for trade and transit.⁴¹ These mountain ranges, have been upholding the world's highest peaks like K-2, Nanga Parbat, Broad Peak, Gashabrum, Mashabrum, Rakaposhi, Haramosh and many more.⁴²

The mountain ranges, valleys and ravines — as hugely natural walls and fertile fields have been supporting, nourishing and sustaining the innumerable seeds of snow within them. The unique snow products could also found in the region in the forms of thousands of glaciers,

⁴⁰ James Griffith, "The School Leadership/School Climate Relation: Identification of School Configurations Associated With Change in Principals," *Educational Administration Quarterly* 35, 2 (1999): 268.

⁴¹ Izhar Hunzai, "Conflict dynamics in Gilgit-Baltistan."

⁴² H. G. Rasul et al., "Wildlife and Forest of Northern Pakistan," World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF-P), (2013): 60-62.

springs, lakes, streams and rivers. The mountain passes, particularly high altitude ones, have been performing as natural gates for the humans and animals to enter the valleys and pasturelands where a variety of biodiversities live in consonance with their abiotic environment. The Karakoram Highway or the Pak-China Corridor, which is going through the region can also bring economic development to the region.

Therefore, it is vital to realize the importance of these natural resources for the economic development of the region. Market-oriented policies and procedure in the context of power and energy generation, agriculture, minerals, dry fruit, and tourism may result in a paradigm shift among the masses; particularly among the youth of the region ensuring a collaborative engagement in the development.

Conclusion

Gilgit-Baltistan is rich with natural resources, deep-rooted cultural beauties and hardworking human beings. It is important to harness and develop the potentials of the region. The sectarian unrest has been an issue in the region for the last few decades. Local and federal governments have been trying to bridge the gap through administrative and fire-fighting approaches, which in fact may not be a longstanding solution. There is a need to initiate a long term (strategic) reforms in the region through an educative stance.

The long-term or strategic recommendations focus on curriculum reforms responsive to developmental needs, contextually relevant and the youth development by taking an educative stance. In other words, there is a dire need of educational reforms in the region through a moderate curriculum, effective teacher education and community/parent education mechanism. We can re-touch the flute and let it sing the songs of harmony.

NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND COHESION IN PAKISTAN: VOICES FROM AJK

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the doctrine of national integration in specific perspective of Pakistan viz-à-viz Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K) with its special status in the backdrop of greater conflict of erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir. National integration is a complex process that unites culturally and socially discrete groups into a territorial unit. The issue of national integration is worth viewing in a state like Pakistan that is considered a much diverse country in terms of ethnicity, sectarianism, language and race. Analyses of this study are based on number of reports comprised of interviews and focus groups which depict latest voices from AJ&K. The findings show that the minimum standards of common national interests have not yet been identified or agreed upon in the State of Pakistan. Moreover, it points out that political deprivations, socio-economic under development and ethno-regional nationalism in AJ&K are the key factors that can drift away the ideological and emotional attachment of people against the national integration in Pakistan. Hence, it is suggested that, addressing these issues in the existing arrangements of governance would bring a true and long-lasting harmony.

Keywords: *National integration, political deprivation, harmony, AJ&K*

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Introduction

National integration is a complex process that unites culturally and socially discrete groups into a territorial unit. Various studies showed that different states had employed different strategies to cope with the issues related to integration and cohesion based on their relative approaches and ground realities. The state of Pakistan has been undergoing a number of problems since its inception on 1947. The problems range from the lack of national integration, ethnic and sectarian tensions to language issues. Unlike India, where Nehru got the opportunity and laid down the foundation of new state, the founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, could not survive to play his effective role in nation building. After his death, the succeeding leaders could not foresee the imminent threat to national integration; therefore, the country, to this day, remains far away from national integration and ubiquitous national identity. The Pakistani leadership is unable to draw any lesson from the history of Dhaka Fall and the similar practices have almost pushed the province of Baluchistan on the verge of disintegration. More or less similar situations of security crises have been reported in other parts of the country i.e. Karachi, FATA, etc. The information in this study aims to highlight the voices prevailing in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) associated with national integration in the existing administrative arrangements of Pakistan. AJK is a part of greater conflict in the backdrop of erstwhile State of the Jammu and Kashmir where public at large is closely and emotionally attached with the ideology involved in creation of Pakistan.

The design of this study exhibits the foundation of national integration in a brief worldwide view. It also expresses the current status of national integration in Pakistan. It further highlights the key factors missing in the establishment of harmony in the country. Moreover, it points out that political deprivations, socio-economic under development and ethno-regional nationalism in AJ&K are the determinants that can drift away the ideological and emotional attachment of people against the national integration of Pakistan. Finally this study suggests that addressing these issues in the existing arrangements of governance would bring a true and long-lasting harmony.

This study may be divided into the following six sections on thematic bases. The first section of the paper describes the concept of national integration, its various definitions and schools of thought. The second section of the paper provides a comprehensive analysis of the situation of national integration in Pakistan. It also highlights the issues of provincial differences, centre-provinces relations, ethnic split, political instability, poverty, terrorism, radicalism, separatism and sectarianism which have contributed in weakening the national integration and harmony in all the provinces, Fata and AJ&K. The third section examines

the national integration of Pakistan viz-a-viz standpoint of AJ&K. It explains the disputed nature of the AJ&K in the light of the resolutions of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and the AJ&K Interim Constitution Act, 1974. It further elaborates the AJ&K as a part of the larger conflict of Jammu & Kashmir; due to its disputed status and existing constitutional assignments with Pakistan, the people of AJ&K lack adequate socio-economic development and political empowerment. They are also undergoing identity crisis and regional effects of the conflict. Here the existing plethora of issues can drift away the ideology of the people of AJ&K and have harmful effects on the avenues of integration of AJ&K and harmony with Pakistan. The fourth section of the paper identifies the existing mechanism for national integration of AJ&K both at the level of society and government. The fifth section of this paper critically compares the situation of integration of disputed state of AJ&K with all the provinces of Pakistan. It examines juxtaposition on the political empowerment, socio-economic prosperity and literacy rates of AJ&K and the provinces of Pakistan. The last section put forward a brief conclusion followed by some concrete policy recommendations to crate national integration of the AJ&K internally and externally. The primary recommendation is to bring forth the constitutional reforms in the AJ&K to ensure the political empowerment and socio-economic prosperity.

The concept of national integration

Integration literally means the fitting together of parts to make one whole. Parts, of course, cannot be fitted together unless they are compatible. This is the first prerequisite of integration. A country, if it is to survive, must have national unity and integration. National integration is a process of achieving national cohesion, stability, prosperity, strength and feelings of being united as a nation¹.

History has demonstrated that creation of national integration is a complex process. To unify contrasting identities under one government becomes so difficult at the time when all the groups require a conducive environment for their cultural, economic, and political inspirations. In poly-ethnic societies with conspicuous customs, language and identities, the task evolves an abstruse nature. In an effort to understand the challenging relationship between ethnic politics and national integration, operational definition of integration is necessary to explain. Weiner (1965) refers to the term integration as a process that unites culturally and socially discrete groups into a territorial unit. In this way, the established national identity is helpful to overcome the problems between

¹ Mirza Muhammad Saleem, "National Integration," *Advance Contemporary Affairs*, 6 (2008): 424.

central authority and subordinate political groups. In addition to that it links the government with the governed.²

Shakir (1982) presented that the main thrust of national integration is to create congruity among various groups and transform them into a political community. For the economic and political upbringing of that community, national integration is an essential condition. In multi-ethnic societies, creation of harmony and thrive for national integration are important concerns.³

Contrary to the mentioned definitions of national integration, the understanding of former British Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins (1966) is also pertinent, quoted in a briefing paper of open society Foundations Institute for Strategic Dialogue. According to Jenkins:

Integration is perhaps rather a loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think we need in this country a 'melting pot', which would turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of Carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of stereotyped Englishman. I define integration, therefore, not as a flattering process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. This is the goal we may fall a little short of this full attainment, as have other communities both in the past and in the present. But if we are to maintain any sort of world reputation for civilized living and social cohesion, we must get far nearer to its achievement than is the case today.⁴

The definition explains the importance of balance among diverse ethnic groups. It is the duty of the state to create social cohesion through balanced policies. The phenomenon is more critical in developing post-colonial states rather than developed states. It is the duty of the state to create social cohesion through balanced policies.⁵

In case of Pakistan there are different ethnic identities such as Baloch and Punjabi, but it is not easy to say that above their ethnic identities national integration is fully achieved. Hashmi (2014) stated the example of USA where different ethnic backgrounds fully observe American identity while keeping the ethnic diversity alive. She documented,

Among the modern industrialized societies, the United States of America presents the best example, where ethnically diverse groups, with different backgrounds merged in American identity and are

² M. Weiner, *New Nations: The Problem of Political Development* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1965), 52-64.

³ Moin Shakir, "On National Integration," *Social Scientist* 10, 4 (1982), <<http://www.jstore.org/stable/3520327>>, accessed 22 April 2015.

⁴ Rehana Saeed Hashmi, "Ethnic Politics: An Issue to National Integration (The Case of Pakistan)," *South Asian Studies* 29, (2014): 346.

⁵ Ibid., 346.

sharing equally the democratic rights. People with different origin like Italian, Korean, Spanish and Indian, etc, have developed a larger American identity. Despite the fact that they are also associated with their particular ethnic group, ethnicity is not a hurdle towards national integration.⁶

There may be diversity of language, culture and values in different ethnic groups which serve as a hurdle towards national integration and oneness of nation, at the same time there are number of possible government policies which can cater to the needs of national integration. Language diversity is observable in many countries of the world, but, adequate government policies can boost and exploit sentiment of nationalism. Government policies are evident to create pride on country level nationalism. For instance, Canada is a country where more than one ethnic group live and speak their separate languages. Although, in Canadian domestic politics, the language issue has remained very important for years but the government was successful in resolving it through a workable language policy. To alleviate the grievances of many of its ethnic groups, the Canadian government has introduced the multicultural policy, so that everyone should feel as Canadian.⁷

There are two proposals by two different schools of thought in political science for national integration. The first and old one is put forward by Karl Deutsch (1912-1992) who proposed that assimilation of diverse cultural, linguistic and religious group is a precondition of national integration.⁸ While the other school of thought is headed by Walker Connor (born 1926) who claimed that assimilation is itself a threat to national integration. According to him, if minority groups are forced to assimilate into majority groups, then an ethnic war may start.⁹

Contemporary shadow of national integration in Pakistan

Pakistan has been facing several problems since its creation as a nation-state, ranging from lack of national integration to the sectarian conflict. Despite putting their utmost focus on integration of different ethnic and sectarian groups living in Pakistan, the founding fathers of the country could not envisage the imminent threat to national integration. Therefore, quite contrary to their expectations, the country, to this day, remains far away from reflecting national integration and formation of a

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Michael J. Sodaro and Dean Walter Collinwood, *Comparative Politics: A Global Introduction*, 3rd ed., (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, 2008), 150.

⁸ Rehana Saeed Hashmi, "Ethnic Politics: An Issue to National Integration (The Case of Pakistan)," *South Asian Studies* 29, (2014): 347.

⁹ Walker Connor, "Nation-building or Nation-destroying?" *World politics* 24, 3 (1972): 319-355.

ubiquitous national identity. However, national integration has inevitably become a pre-requisite of survival for today's Pakistan that is facing existential threats of terrorism and separatism.

The roots of palpable conflict between different ethnic groups, differences between provinces and emerging and strengthening trends of separation in Sindh and Baluchistan, stretch back to the time of country's emergence. The founding fathers, led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, sought Islam as the uniting force between the Muslims of the sub-continent and thus demanded a separate homeland for them on the basis of two-nation theory, which differentiated Muslims from Hindus.¹⁰ However, Islam did not prove enough to hold the nation consisting of different tribes, cultures, castes, and languages, together and the country broke apart in 1971.¹¹

Despite facing with the debacle of East Pakistan, the leadership seems unable to address the problem of "lack of national integration" and create "cultural uniformity." Not only the leadership's failure implies its inability in curbing the emergence of problems, it also shows its failure in improving governance and addressing the long-standing grievances of the provinces. There is a long list of problems, each with its own history and repercussions, which have weakened the country over the years. Some of the problems have a historical context while others are a result of political instability and short sightedness of the ruling elite.¹²

Today's Pakistan is facing the problems of provincial differences, centre-provinces relations, ethnic split, elitist policies, political instability, poverty, separatism, terrorism, radicalism and sectarianism.¹³ In combination, these issues have harmed the course of national integration. For instance, radicalism has proved one of the major setbacks to the country. Parochial outlook of the conservatives ignited riots in 1954 and opened a path to violence against the minorities. Since 1950s, the radical groups have repeatedly employed violent tools against the minorities and hence represented Pakistan an insecure place for non-Muslims besides

¹⁰ In the Hindu dominated sub-continent, Islam proved a powerful and uniting force in struggle for a separate homeland. However, the strength of two-nation theory proved temporary, and new groups emerged even in 1950s, which relied on ethnic and linguistic rhetoric to accumulate public support.

¹¹ Ijaz Hussain, "The Dilemma of National Integration in Pakistan: Challenges and Prospects," *ISSRA Papers*, 49 (2009), <http://www.ndu.edu.pk/issra/issra_pub/ISSRA_papers_Vol_I_2009.pdf>, accessed 26 April 2015.

¹² M. S. Awan, "Impact of Radical Islamisation of Education on Pakistani Society," *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* 4, 2 (2012): 45-55, <<http://pakistaniaat.org/index.php/pak/article/download/163/163>>, accessed 25 April 2015.

¹³ There might exist several other problems in the country, which are less relevant in the debate of national integration. Therefore, this study does not address all problems in the country and thus only focuses issues directly related to the topic.

sidelining them from contributing to national progress. It also converted the leadership's attention from long-term planning to everyday affairs.¹⁴

Radicalism has also led to terrorism. Religious and ethnic groups have extensively employed this tool to seek attention and pressurize the government. Intolerance for other voices has reduced freedom of speech and assembly in Pakistan and it has been growing with the passage of time. Different political, religious, ethnic and sectarian groups used violent tools to get an advantage over the opponents. Historically, the power structures also supported their allies in their struggle and provided them the necessary support. The Pakistani society, however, witnessed an unparalleled surge in the level of terrorism and violence after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.¹⁵

The literature shows that the rise of sectarian (radical) organizations and *Jihadi* groups,¹⁶ which later on became active in sectarian conflict and the emergence of politically motivated militant wings weakened national strength and harmed the course of national integration. These developments provided the foreign factors (US, Saudi Arabia, Iran and India) an adequate space to pursue their interests. Friends and foes alike inflicted an irreparable damage on the Pakistani society while igniting and exacerbating extremism and terrorism for their interests. The leadership in Pakistan, civilian and military, is looking unsuccessfully to stop extremist elements from challenging the State's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In addition to radicalism and violence, political instability over the years has also harmed the course of national integration. Political instability is one of the major hurdles in progress of underdeveloped and developing states, especially which are multi-ethnic and consist of various ethnic and linguistic groups.¹⁷ In the case of Pakistan, political instability has led to four military takeovers and messy tug of war among various interest groups. After the death of Quaid-i-Azam, continuous changes in government and political stalemate provided the military with an opportunity to take over, thus limited the prospects for democracy to strengthen. Political instability rather kept the leadership occupied with

¹⁴ M. S. Awan, "Impact of Radical Islamisation of Education on Pakistani Society," *Pakistaniaat: A Journal of Pakistan Studies* 4, 2 (2012): 45-55, <<http://pakistaniaat.org/index.php/pak/article/download/163/163>>, accessed 25 April 2015.

¹⁵ Ibid., 46.

¹⁶ A well-known term used nowadays for Muslim Non-State Actors against their militant behaviour or beliefs.

¹⁷ Aslam Pervez Memon, Kiran Sami Memon, Saima Shaikh, and Fahmeeda Memon, "Political Instability: A Case Study of Pakistan," *Journal of Political Studies*, 18, 1 (2011): 31-43.

their “conflicts of interests” and hence they neglected developing the “sense of belonging to one state” and cultural uniformity.¹⁸

Another important problem on the part of leadership was their “elitist policies,” which exacerbated disintegration and provided a fertile ground for the outbreak of ethno-nationalism. The ill-conceived policies of the ruling elite badly affected the track to national integration. Both civilians and military rulers took several unnecessary and ultimately harmful decisions, which disillusioned the populace, especially Sindhis and Balochis.¹⁹ Elitist policies have a long history in Pakistan, ranging from Ayub Khan’s decision to implement “one-unit policy” (1955) to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s initiative of dismissing the elected government of Baluchistan. Such decisions have enraged the ethnic minorities. These groups have, therefore, moved away from the centre over the years and there have emerged several differences between the ethnic groups and the centre.

In addition to differences between the centre and provinces, there have been repeated calls for devolution of power from the former. Different ethnic groups such as Hindko, Saraiki and Muhajirs have raised their voices several times.²⁰ Then government’s decisions to change NWFP’s name to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KP) in order to address the identity crisis of the Pashtun community, led Hindko community’s protests and demand for a separate province.²¹ Similarly, the threshold of ethnic split in the Punjab and Sindh is also worrisome. After the elections of 2013 and consequent allegations on Mutahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) of poll rigging, the MQM chief Altaf Hussain gave an outrageous statement regarding ethnic plurality in Sindh. He said instead of abusing Karachi and its people “Separate Karachi (from the rest of the country) if you dislike its people’s mandate.”²²

In addition to identity crisis and grievances of minority ethnic groups, separatist trends in Sindh and Baluchistan also pose a threat to

¹⁸ This process requires strengthening the populace’s belief in single national identity.

¹⁹ Historically, the decisions of Pakistani leadership have not enraged anyone more than Bengalis. The latter accused the then governments of depriving them of their rights. However, in the context of the abovementioned lines, this study takes into account the post-1971 scenario, where Balochs and Sindhis have proven to be resistant and chanting slogans against Pakistan.

²⁰ Apart from four major ethnic groups in Pakistan, minority ethnic groups have also raised their concerns regarding identity crisis, deprivation of representation and exploitation from ethnic majority in their respective provinces. It remains noteworthy that the abovementioned ethnic groups are not among the major four.

²¹ Kalbe Ali “Hazara Movement: Divided We Fall,” *Dawn*, December 2, 2012, 04:49a.m., <<http://www.dawn.com/news/768333/hazara-movement-divided-we-fall>>, accessed April 24, 2015.

²² “Separate Karachi from Pakistan if you don’t like MQM Mandate: Altaf”, *The News International*, May 12, 2013, <<http://www.thenews.com.pk/article-100684-Separate-Karachi-if-you-hate-our-mandate,-Altaf-to-establishment>>, accessed April 26, 2015.

national unity. Baluchistan, in particular, has been troublesome for the policymakers²³ and those troubles have multiplied after the killing of Baloch nationalist leader Akbar Bugti in 2005.²⁴ Nowadays, several militant separatist organizations are fighting against the state, notably Baluchistan Liberation Front (BLF) and Baluchistan Liberation Army (BLA).²⁵ They have damaged the state property, killed personnel of the law enforcement agencies, foreign workers and civilians.²⁶ Baloch insurgency movement has badly affected the development process in the province. Similarly, G M Sayed-led Sindhu Desh movement has also left a question mark on the future of the federation. Judicial murder of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and assassination of Benazir Bhutto during the military rules also aggravated the separatist trends in Sindh.²⁷ Although multiple differences exist between the nationalists on the goals and future of their movement, they may agree on leaving federation of Pakistan. Separatist trends are likely to exist and nourish in Pakistan due to the presence of the strong centre. Therefore, strong federation remains a hurdle in the way of national integration. The provinces accuse the centre of keeping all powers with itself and thus alienating the former from their basic rights.²⁸

In particular, strong federation has also boosted anti-Punjabi sentiments across the state. The majority of the non-Punjabis in Pakistan consider Punjab as an imperial entity, which overwhelms their mandate, gets attention of all political parties and secures more development projects. From development projects to the distribution of water, Punjab thus remains a party in every provincial and centre-province conflict. Secondly, its overwhelming size and impact on elections outcome has also made it important.

²³ Baluchistan is the largest province in the country. It is the second largest provider of natural gas in Pakistan (26% of total production according to Pakistan Petroleum Limited). In addition, it has an important seaport and several natural resources including precious stones, oil, coal, gold and copper.

²⁴ Bugti was killed in a military operation, conducted by armed forces of Pakistan. Analysts have named it second biggest mistake of military leadership after military operation in East Pakistan.

²⁵ The Baloch nationalists have accused the federal government of gifting away several profitable projects to China for very little in return. They have killed several Chinese workers in the region. For instance, they claimed responsibility of killing the Chinese workers in 2004 and 2006.

²⁶ According to a BBC report, 542 police officers have been killed only in Baluchistan in a decade.

²⁷ Amir Ali Chandio, "Politics of Sindh under Zia Government: An Analysis of Nationalists Vs Federalists Orientations." PhD diss., Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, 2009, 99, <pr.hec.gov.pk/Chapters/308S-2.pdf>, accessed 24 April 2015.

²⁸ Although the centre ceded several powers to the provinces after 18th Amendment, Pakistan yet remains far away from national integration. Therefore, national integration is likely to take more time.

Thirdly, (ethnic) Punjabi majority in bureaucracy and armed forces have inevitably made it a tantamount to the centre for the non-Punjabis. And last, the leadership's failure in introducing flexible but more integrated federation through provision of constitutional powers to the provinces in all three constitutions has even disillusioned the supporters of the federation of Pakistan in Sindh and Baluchistan.

Financial problems, a decade-long war on terror and lack of foreign direct investment have also affected the course of national integration. Terrorist incidents and consequent transfer of capital to other countries has indirectly reduced affiliation with the state. Similarly, the rise of non-state actors in various parts of the country has led to ostensible interference of foreign intelligence agencies in the already turbulent provinces of KP and Baluchistan. In addition to obstructing new development projects, the insurgent movements have diverted the leadership's attention from important matters. Therefore, despite the presence of exploitable resources, Pakistan lags behind in almost every affair of life.

National integration of Pakistan and standpoint of AJ&K

Azad Jammu and Kashmir is a disputed territory which has been under the administration of Pakistan in accordance with the Resolutions of United Nations Security Council (UNSC), and United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and the Interim Constitution of AJ&K, 1974. It is enjoying the status of mere local authority without any international legal status. This territory was liberated by the local people with the help of the tribal people in October 1947 as a result of successful revolt against the Maharaja Hari Singh, the last ruler of the *Dogra* dynasty. As a result of successful revolt, nascent state of AJ&K with provisional government came into being on 24 October 1947. The population of AJ&K is almost 4.2 million and a great number of its State subjects are also settled abroad, particularly in the United Kingdom, thus the state having a very effective and sizeable diaspora.²⁹

AJ&K has been in a unique constitutional relationship with Pakistan right from the day of its inception. This constitutional relationship has greatly undermined and curtailed the empowerment of the people of AJ&K. It has kept them suffering under the controlled, constrained and compromised democracy. This situation of limited constitutional empowerment and lack of political development has had a worst impact on the overall socio-economic empowerment of the people

²⁹ Sardar Aftab Ahmad Khan, "Unlocking the Potential of the Kashmiri Diaspora in the 'Big' Society for Development and Just Peace", *Centre for Just Peace and Democracy*, 5, <<http://www.kdfajk.org/unlocking-the-potential-of-the-kashmiri-diaspora--sardar-aftab-khan.pdf>>, accessed 27 April 2015.

of AJ&K and has triggered a sense of deprivation and marginalization in the minds of the masses, which might turn counterproductive in future.

AJ&K is the part of the larger conflict of Jammu and Kashmir and both the states of India and Pakistan have entered into number of bilateral agreements as well as both are the parties to the Resolutions of UN on the conflict of Jammu and Kashmir. Thus, both the states have categorically accepted Jammu and Kashmir as a disputed territory. Being the part of erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir, AJ&K is also a disputed territory and like the people of Indian-Held Jammu and Kashmir, the people of AJ&K have also been demanding their inherent and inalienable right to self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations through a free, fair and impartial plebiscite. It is also pertinent to mention here that the Article 257 of the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan impliedly recognizes and fully supports the right to self-determination of the people of erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir including the people of AJ&K. It clearly explains the position of Pakistan that the decision of the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir will be decided in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir (including the people of GB and the state of AJ&K). But until the implementation of the Resolutions of United Nations, the state of AJ&K needs some drastic constitutional and political reforms in order to pave the way for sustainable and effective socio-economic development in the region.

The existing constitutional framework of AJ&K has enforced a constrained, controlled and compromised democracy where the Islamabad is the key political player and the constitutional rights of the people are not fully guaranteed. The people of AJ&K have not been enjoying complete powers on all the subjects of legislation. The reprehensive legislative assembly of AJ&K enjoys limited legislative powers to the residuary subjects only and 52 subjects are expressly excluded from the cognizance of the Legislative Assembly of AJ&K under the provisions of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Interim Constitution Act, 1974.³⁰ It infers that the existing constitutional framework of AJ&K deprives the people of AJ&K to enjoy all the political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights to their full extent.³¹

The longstanding unresolved nature of the conflict of Jammu and Kashmir coupled with the lack of constitutional empowerment of the people of AJ&K has created a sense of deprivation, marginalization and acute frustration in the people of AJ&K generally and in the educated and

³⁰ See, Section 31 (2) (a) of the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Interim Constitution Act, 1974.

³¹ CPDR-Centre for Peace, Development and Reform, "An Appraisal of Constitutional, Financial and Administrative Arrangements between the Governments of Pakistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir", (2011), 6, <http://cpdr.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/2011_CPDR_Kashmir_Report.pdf>, accessed 21 April 2015.

ambitious youth of AJ&K particularly, due to the lack of economic opportunities, lack of rule of law and widespread corruption & maladministration without any institution of accountability.³² The situation becomes further aggravated in post 18th Amendment scenario in Pakistan where Constitution of Pakistan devolves most of the powers to the provinces and has created provincial autonomy, a landmark step for the empowerment of the people of all the provinces. But at the stark contrast of it, the people of AJ&K are not enjoying any empowerment and are at the mercy of the local political elite and cannot raise their voices for the political empowerment of the masses.

Azad Jammu and Kashmir has been facing a plethora of problems which have the tendency to drift away the sentiments and feelings of the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir to the ideologies and having the harmful effects on the avenues of integration of this disputed state with Pakistan. There are two aspects of integration in the context of AJ&K: internal and external. As far as internal integration of AJ&K is concerned, it implies the peace, harmony and tranquillity among all the regions, sects, ethnic groups, races and political narratives within AJ&K.

On the other hand, the external perspective of the integration means the ideological and emotional attachment or sense of strong bonding and cohesion of the people of AJ&K with the State of Pakistan until its complete constitutional integration. It is very important that the territory which was liberated by the local inhabitants with the support of the Pakistani Tribal people and being indirectly controlled by Pakistan³³ should have the sense of ideological belonging and association with Pakistan. This will not only ensure the peace and security in the region but also strengthen the legal position of Pakistan on the longstanding issue of Jammu and Kashmir in the international arena particularly the United Nations.

This topic deserves comprehensive analysis as to what are the existing and potential threats weakening and undermining the ideological and emotional bonds of the people of AJ&K with the state of Pakistan? Following are the significant factors which have been weakening the pro-Pakistan political and social narrative of the people of AJ&K. These factors have also been encapsulating a tendency of effective socio-political movement based on ethno-regional nationalism for the constitutional rights, political empowerment and socio-economic development of this region.

³² Waqas Ali, "The Impact of Conflict on Young People in Azad Jammu and Kashmir," *CPDR*, (2012), 4.

³³ Christopher Snedden, *The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir*, (C. Hurst & Co. Publishers: UK), 2012, 83.

AJ&K — identity crisis

The people of AJ&K have been undergoing through the phase of worst identity crisis. Though ethnically, regionally and religiously, they have the perception of their various identities yet when it comes to the political identity of AJ&K, their minds go in the state of numbness.³⁴ There are many people who think AJ&K as the province of Pakistan. But when they realize the fact that there is no representation of AJ&K in Parliament of Pakistan and other constitutional bodies like National Finance Commission (NFC), Council of Common Interest (CCI) etc., they undergo a psychological and emotional dilemma and a paradigm shift in respect of the political and legal perception about themselves and their statehood. On the other hand, there are many people who consider AJ&K as a separate state having some legal status under international law, but they also face a predicament when come to know that AJ&K has no legal capacity to make international relations. The United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) has not recognized the Government of AJ&K and has termed it a local authority under the indirect control of Pakistan.

At this stage, we must keep it in view that regardless of the legal niceties of defining the territory, the identity of AJ&K should be viewed in a two-fold light: firstly, the territory has an affiliate status with the state of Pakistan (not as constituent unit); and secondly, it remains a part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Keeping this in view, it is important that until the exercise of right to self-determination by the Kashmiri people, the relationship between Islamabad and Muzaffarabad should be based on a stable footing. This should be Kashmiri commitment to the idea of Pakistan, in tandem with the full respect for and accommodation of Kashmiri identity.³⁵

The growing sense of “no identity” or “diluted identity” or “hybrid identity” has created an environment of mistrust, uncertainty and ideological breakdown in the society. This “no identity” mindset of the youth of AJ&K is more lethal and counterproductive for the integration of the AJ&K internally and externally with the protecting state of Pakistan. The educated youth of AJ&K has become frustrated due to the identity crisis coupled with the lack of economic opportunities and unemployment caused due to the flawed constitutional framework of AJ&K. The people want to keep their identity of being the inhabitants of Jammu and Kashmir intact until the final resolution of the conflict of Jammu and Kashmir. The identity crisis of the people of AJ&K has been gradually aggravating and

³⁴ Waqas Ali, “The Impact of Conflict on Young People in Azad Jammu and Kashmir,” *CPDR*, (2012), 4.

³⁵ *CPDR*, “An Appraisal of Constitutional, Financial and Administrative Arrangements,” (2011), 12.

the existing uncertain political situation of AJ&K is largely disliked by the public generally and the frustrated youth particularly.

Socio-economic problems

The other potential threat to the pro-Pakistan sentiments is the existing socio-economic conditions of AJ&K. The major factor in this context is the existing constitutional arrangements between the state of AJ&K and the Pakistan through AJ&K Interim Constitution Act, 1974. This Act provides 52 important subjects exclusively to the AJ&K Council. The council is a non-representative and undemocratic body where all the powers are vested with the Chairman. Since its inception, the AJ&K Council is solely overseeing the generation of taxes and revenues to run the affairs of State. This situation has led AJ&K to depend on the Prime Minister of Pakistan (*ex-officio* Chairman of AJ&K Council).³⁶ Due to this unfortunate situation, the socio-economic prosperity could not be attained in this disputed and landlocked region blessed with great natural and human resources. Furthermore, a number of reasons have contributed in economic deprivation of AJ&K including; lack of infrastructure and private sector employment, forest depletion, and proximity to the Line of Control (LoC). As a result, the most important sectors of AJ&K include exploitation of water and other natural resources, investment in industrial development, harnessing foreign remittances and the creation of employment opportunities remained stagnant.

The current measures have proved unsuccessful to improve the socio-economic situation of the people of AJ&K. The AJ&K Interim Constitution Act, 1974 divides the socio-economic empowerment of Azad Kashmir between AJ&K Council and AJ&K Government. The Government of AJ&K was entrusted the control over the subjects related to education, health, rural and inter-district road communication, electrification, provision of drinking water and population welfare. Interestingly the performance in these sectors is relatively better. For example the literacy rate in AJ&K is around 70%, it has the roads network of 12,000 km, and education enrolment ratio is 96%. However, the important sectors which were handed over to the AJ&K Council including telecommunication, tourism, hydro power generation, banking and finance, stock exchange and the exploration of minerals are completely stagnant. The foreign investment and assistance could be brought by the development of these sectors. These areas are neither developed by the Council nor by the Government of AJ&K is given the power to do it. As a result the state is facing poverty, prevalent unemployment, lower living standards and deprivation. An extraordinary twenty per cent collection charge on tax collection is charged by the AJ&K Council from AJ&K.³⁷ According to P&D

³⁶ Ibid., 15.

³⁷ Ibid.

(2013) it should not be more than 0.5% in any case.³⁸ In order to strengthen the socio-economic condition, it is necessary to focus on the sectors of tourism, hydro power generation, minerals, medicinal plants/herbs, agriculture and live stock keeping, cultural heritage (preservation and promotion) and human resource development.³⁹

All these important reforms would not only uplift the socio-economic conditions of the people of AJ&K but also overcome the panic, frustration and anti-Pakistan sentiments from the AJ&K which will eventually lead to integration and harmony both internally and externally.

Political empowerment

The real factor contributing towards the negative sentiments and ideological shift is the limited and controlled democracy. AJ&K is a disputed territory under the indirect administration of Pakistan. It is neither a province of Pakistan nor a separate state. In the light of the United Nations Resolutions and the AJ&K Interim Constitution Act, 1974, the state of AJ&K was given the nomenclature of "local authority". But perhaps, for all practical intents and purposes, the administrative setup of AJ&K resembles with the "municipality" or "district administration". If this situation is not be addressed by Pakistan and the current constitutional status changed within to a better constitutional document, the people of AJ&K can pose a threat to the integration and harmony in this disputed state region.

The erstwhile State of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K)'s present constitutional position is rooted in its particular history. Before 1947, it was an autonomous state under the suzerainty of the British Crown, with a Hindu Maharaja but a Muslim majority population. This suzerainty lapsed on 15 August 1947, when the British withdrew formal power from the subcontinent. Because the Maharaja prevaricated about whether to join India or Pakistan, tensions arose within and outside the State. A revolutionary government was set up in October 1947, which declared that the Maharaja's Government had been overthrown and replaced by an Azad Jammu and Kashmir Government as the *de jure* government of the State.⁴⁰ Muslim elements of the Maharaja's army rebelled and were joined by ex-army men and volunteers. Some parts of the State came under their *de facto* control. Subsequently, the official name adopted by this government was the "Azad Government of the State of Jammu and

³⁸ Government of AJ&K, "Azad Jammu & Kashmir, At A Glance," Planning & Development Department Muzaffarabad, (2013), <<http://pndAJ&K.gov.pk/Documents/AJ&K%20at%20a%20glance%202013%20final.pdf>>, accessed 3 May 2015.

³⁹ CPDR, "An Appraisal of Constitutional, Financial and Administrative Arrangements," (2011), 15.

⁴⁰ Christopher Snedden, *The Untold Story of the People of Azad Kashmir*, op.cit., 61.

Kashmir”.⁴¹ Thus the Azad Government is successor to the late Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The UNCIP laid down in its resolution of 13 August 1948 that the territory of AJ&K would be administered by the “local authorities” under the Commission’s scrutiny. This seems to be the reference point in the administrative setup established in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. Due to its disputed status, this territory could not be declared part of Pakistan. Moreover, the Government of Pakistan is not authorized by the Constitution of Pakistan to administer AJ&K as discussed above. Ministry of Kashmir Affairs (MKA)’s actions were autocratic and military rule, apart from devolving the Presidential system of 1970 (in AJ&K), has generally disempowered Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

Ever since AJ&K came into being in 1947, the Government of Pakistan has always had a strong presence in AJ&K. It controls defence, security, currency, and foreign relations. Pakistan still controls AJ&K through two devices: the AJ&K council and importantly the five lent officers that Islamabad continues to embed in the AJ&K administration. These lent officers act as Chief Secretary, Finance Secretary, Accountant General, Inspector General Police, and Development Commissioner. Between them, they control the most important aspects of AJ&K’s financial, bureaucratic, and law and order agenda. The lent officer’s institution is evidence of the actual power that Pakistan continues to exercise in AJ&K.⁴²

The parliamentary form of government was introduced, when AJ&K Interim Constitution Act, 1974 was enacted by the elected Legislative Assembly after repealing Act of 1970. This replacement was approved by the Government of Pakistan, which later on resulted in the creation of new legislative body with the name of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Council, headed by the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The section 21 of the AJ&K Interim Constitution Act, 1974, states that the Chairman of the AJ&K Council shall only be the Prime Minister or Chief Executive of Pakistan.⁴³ In addition to this, AJ&K Council was given greater control over finances of AJ&K as income tax and some other taxes were transferred to it. Hence the executive powers were virtually transferred to the Government of Pakistan and AJ&K is, therefore, left with little autonomy or status.⁴⁴ There is no effective role of the elected members of the AJ&K Council in the decision-making. The Chairman being not an elected representative is not answerable to any of the elected body of AJ&K in respect of affairs of AJ&K. The situation in the setup at Muzaffarabad is opposite to this where an elected cabinet is vested with the executive

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² CPDR, “An Appraisal...,” op.cit., 2.

⁴³ See for detail, Section 21 (2) of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Interim Constitution Act, 1974.

⁴⁴ CPDR, “An Appraisal...,” op.cit., 15.

authority and this cabinet is answerable to the people of AJ&K and the Assembly. In the present era, this is not consistent with the norms of a democratic polity. The situation, therefore, leads towards the denial of the political rights of the people of AJ&K. The body of Council makes the people to entitle it as the council totally in favour of the Government of Pakistan. It is by no means the representative. Thus there is a very insignificant role of the elected representatives in legislation on the subjects vested in the AJ&K Council, and levying taxes.

The political rights of the people of AJ&K are being denied by assigning all the controls on subjects to the AJ&K Council as it has marginalized the powers of AJ&K Government over the affairs of the area. Moreover, the 12 seats of the Refugees of Jammu and Kashmir settled in Pakistan, ineffective Judiciary and Election Commission, controlled Accountability Bureau, and interference of Federal Ministry of Kashmir Affairs in the day-to-day activities of the Government of AJ&K has further lowered the status and governance of the Government. Thus in order to address the grievances of the people of AJ&K and to make the region peaceful and in harmony with the established national interests of the state of Pakistan, it is *sine quo non* to bring political empowerment through drastic constitutional reforms in this region.

Ethno-regional nationalism

Another significant factor causing great threat to the national integration and harmony is the growing ethnic nationalism in the state of AJ&K. The major causes of this movement is the stringent constitutional measures of state of Pakistan in AJ&K which deprives the people from social, political, cultural, economic and social rights and reduced the status of the state to a powerless and impotent state without any constitutional empowerment and socio-economic development. The identity crisis is also one of the causes of this growing ethno-regional nationalism which gives a *de facto* status to the people of AJ&K in the light of the glorious history of Jammu and Kashmir. In order to bring these dissidents back on the track of integration, the effective strategy is to give maximum political empowerment in the state and to ensure socio-economic development.

Linguistic and ethnic division in AJ&K

Ethnicity and Race are two intersected but different aspects in our society. They both have significant impact on the process of national integration in Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

In AJ&K we have refined norms and social relationships with respect to racial groups. So far the ethnicity of the people living in the state of Azad Kashmir has not been ascertained by any census.⁴⁵ According to

⁴⁵ Sardar Aftab Khan, "Understanding Politics in Azad Kashmir: The Role of Racial and Ethnic Identities," 1, <[https://www.academia.edu/1476497/](https://www.academia.edu/1476497/Understanding) Understanding_

Snedden (2012) *Gujjars* are the largest group among them. Rajputs who are spread across the region and *Sudhans* mostly settled in Bagh District and Rawalakot are regarded as the influential ethnic groups in AJ&K.⁴⁶ These racial identities are generally accepted classifications of our diverse society and possibly to some extent are the basis of discrimination and racism in the society.

These norms have not only influenced largely on family relationships matters but also have great influence on concerns related to cohesion in the community. According to Khan (2012), in AJ&K, ethnicity along with race has been a source of manipulation by the political leaders to protect their maladministration. Khan further adds that political loyalties have far stronger influence on the basis of districts rather than racial identities where sharing resources or political positions of power matters.⁴⁷

The situation becomes more complicated as the different ethnic groups often speak different languages and exhibit fidelity to their own linguistic tradition. The people of AJ&K speak two dozen indigenous languages by virtue of their multi-ethnic society.⁴⁸

The remarkable linguistic diversity in AJ&K is highlighted in the following table:

Table 1:

**Percentages of major languages spoken in the
State of Azad Jammu & Kashmir⁴⁹**

S No.	District	Population	Kashmiri	Dogri	Pahari	Gojri	Shina	Others	Among Others
1	Bagh	255,000	2%		94%	3%		1%	
2	Haveli	138,000	5%		64%	30%		1%	
3	Bhimber	302,000		30%	30%	5%		35%	Punjabi
4	Kotli	563,000			63%	35%		2%	
5	Mirpur	334,000			85%	10%		5%	
6	Muzaffarabad	350,000	15%		49%	35%		1%	
7	Neelum	171,000	20%		63%	10%	5%	2%	Kundal Shahi
8	Hatian	225,000	15%		48%	35%		2%	
9	Poonch	411,000			94%	5%		1%	
10	Sudhnoti	224,000			95%	4%		1%	
	Total	2,973,000	5.7%	3%	66.7%	17.2%	0.5%	5.1	

Politics_in_Azad_Kashmir_-_The_Role_of_Racial_and_Ethnic_Identities>, accessed 28 April 2015.

⁴⁶ Christopher Snedden, *The Untold Story...*, op.cit., 131.

⁴⁷ Sardar Aftab Khan, "Understanding Politics in Azad Kashmir: The Role of Racial and Ethnic Identities," op.cit..

⁴⁸ Mohsin Shakil, "Languages of Erstwhile State of Jammu Kashmir: A Preliminary Study," University of Azad Jammu Kashmir, (2012), 2,<https://www.academia.edu/6485567/Languages_of_Erstwhile_State_of_Jammu_Kashmir_A_Preliminary_Study>, accessed 27 April 2015.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 10.

Gujri accounts for the second largest group of speakers. It is spoken by the *Gujar* and *Bakerwal*⁵⁰ rustic population. *Pahari* dominates in Azad Jammu & Kashmir, 66.7% of population speak *Pahari*, 5.7% Kashmiri, 17.2% speak *Gujri*, 0.5% speak *Shina* and 4.9% of the population of AJ&K speak other languages.⁵¹ This linguistic diversity thus leads to a low level national integration. Urdu, the official but non-ethnic language has over the year become the *de facto* dominant working language in the state. It is the language used for all formal official tasks and it is the only language that is taught in all schools at all levels.

The linguistic differences strengthened the problem of national integration which resulted in unrests and riots in most parts of the country that in the long run cost us the separation of our Eastern wing.⁵² In this globalised world where homogenization is ruling and needs are persistently changing, the implementation of multilingual policy remains an enormous challenge. But with the belief of Education for All (EFA) movement in mind, it is important to accommodate minority languages. It is, therefore, needed to reflect and provide a comprehensive national language policy.

Various study show that in AJ&K the conflict often occurs over the relative status of the regional languages. None of the two dozen regional languages has been declared even as a national language. It is argued that unsophisticated disposition can suppress the feeling of national integration. Diversity, either linguistic or cultural, is an obstacle in the way of national integration when a proper way out is not sorted out in order to create unity in diversity.

Language unites people. But how could this be possible in a multi-lingual population? Ethnic and lingual divide increases prevailing internal conflicts.

In every nation, there is always a demand for a national language. The acknowledgment of regional language as a national language would enrich its importance. It will grow a sense of ownership and fidelity at national level and it could also serve as an important tool for developing national harmony. Neglecting indigenous languages can be a risk for societal cohesion.

⁵⁰ Gipsy like tribes in AJ&K and the other parts of J&K who carry with them sheep, goats and other animals in a large number during their travel.

⁵¹ Mohsin Shakil, "Languages of Erstwhile State of Jammu Kashmir: A Preliminary Study," op.cit. 10.,

⁵² Rehana Saeed Hashmi, "Ethnic Politics: An Issue to National Integration (The Case of Pakistan)," *South Asian Studies* 29, (2014): 354.

Impact of Jammu & Kashmir conflict on people of AJ&K

The conflict of Jammu and Kashmir also has badly affected the people of AJ&K and has engendered a sense of hopelessness and pessimism in them. They have realized that one of the reasons for their worst socio-economic conditions and bad constitutional status is their direct link with the conflict of Jammu and Kashmir which has imprisoned their all spheres of life and has been depriving their constitutional rights since the inception of the state of AJ&K. It is perceived from the existing literature that this psychological and emotional impact of the conflict is also a major impediment in the way of integration, cohesion and harmony in AJ&K viz-à-viz Pakistan. The state of Pakistan has to give them confidence, trust and empowerment so that they can get rid of the shadows of disappointment and pessimism influencing them and become a catalyst for the integration.

The long-standing and intractable conflict of Jammu and Kashmir between Pakistan and India is of great importance for the people of Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K). The costs of this deep-rooted conflict have become increasingly unbearable for Pakistan and India generally and for the people of the erstwhile state of Jammu & Kashmir particularly. Conflict, socio-economic and political developments are undisputedly interwoven.

AJ&K's development has been greatly affected by this conflict, resulting in persistent socio-economic deprivations and denial of political rights. Although most young people in AJ&K are civically engaged and aware of their basic rights and duties, yet as per the research, conducted by CPDR (2012) on youth, informs that they believe they do not enjoy the constitutional rights which citizens of a state should have.⁵³

Existing mechanism in AJ&K for national integration

Though there is no effective mechanism present in AJ&K to cope with the problems related to integration highlighted above, yet a few strategies to cater these issues are as follows:

Societal players

There are number of factors contributing to the controlling of the problems in the society pertaining to integration. The most important role is played by the political parties of AJ&K. It includes both the state-based and Pakistan-based political parties. It is merely observed that the spill over of Pakistan-based political parties in AJ&K have tendency to strengthen and mend the behaviour of the people towards the integration

⁵³ CPDR, "The Impact of Conflict on Young People in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, (2011)," 4.

with Pakistan. It may be argued that a greater vibe of NGOs acting in the territory of AJ&K particularly in the post-earthquake 2005 scenario has also played its role in harmonizing the weakened and deteriorated cultural and social ties among the marginalized and downtrodden population of AJ&K. Thus the resultant socio-economic development in the region coupled with the intellectual input provided by the pro-Pakistan think tanks, builds new emotional and ideological linkages with Pakistan. Moreover, the print, electronic and social media are also the important tools in creating cohesion which is already prevailed in the society due to social institutions like family, *biradari*⁵⁴ and the numerous religious seminaries/private schools systems being governed and observed by federally constituted boards. The strong cultural ties of the people of AJ&K developed towards the Pakistan due to the Pakistani heroes in all walks of life like sports, politics, TV drama etc is also an important driving factor for the integration.

Governmental arrangements

There are a number of state institutions like police and others departments which are playing their effective role in strengthening the values of integration in the state. The institutions of higher education at public sector and the mechanism of electoral process, though weak and semi-democratic, yet continuous, have also knotted the people of AJ&K with ideological bond with the state of Pakistan. Like the civil administration of AJ&K, the institutions of Armed Forces and security organizations are also promoting the environment of peace, harmony and cohesion in the state of AJ&K.

Similarities between Aj&K and other regions of Pakistan

It can be asserted that AJ&K has followed assimilation⁵⁵ policy of national integration. AJ&K has adopted Urdu as its official language. Besides this, dress code of senior state representatives is reflection of national culture that is *Shalwar Kameez*. Language based heterogeneity in Pakistan is observable in every province and federating unit. The common aspect is religion which is Islam followed by 98% of the people in Pakistan. When the lingual force became stronger than religion, it is capable to divide Pakistani nation into diverse ethnic nations.

In the history of Pakistan, language and religion are evident as two important features in the formation and deformation of nationhood. Before partition religion served first as a tool to segregate Muslims from Hindus and second as an organizing factor for Muslim community and for

⁵⁴ *Biradari* is a word of Urdu language which is equivalent to English word "Tribe".

⁵⁵ Assimilation model is based on social integration. Distinctive cultures are tried to incorporate fully with the national culture through the policy of assimilation.

the creation of their ideology. In all four provinces of Pakistan, Fata and AJ&K a common factor that energizes the nationhood is faith. If socio-political interest and religion are not the same direction forces, their clash can diminish the strength of nationhood. We have learned from history in the case of the East Pakistan (Bangladesh), where increase in the feeling of neglect, lack of political empowerment and poor social status decreased the strength of common religion as a binding force, and finally nationhood collapsed between East and West Pakistan.

Creating Urdu as state language may cause a threat to local languages. That is why Quid-i-Azam created a space for Urdu language under the umbrella of religion in the following piece of his speech delivered at Dhaka University:

The State language, therefore, must obviously be Urdu, a language that has been nurtured by a hundred million Muslims of the subcontinent, a language which, more than any other provincial language embodies the best that is in Islamic culture and Muslim tradition, and is nearest to the language used in other Islamic Countries (Jinnah, March 24, 1948).⁵⁶

In case of AJ&K, political and economic empowerment is even more important because high education and literacy rate have made people more demanding. Lack of economic opportunities in the region has send masses to foreign countries. A huge number of Pakistan diaspora communities in United Kingdom are from AJ&K. Lack of airport services in the region and cellular mobile service (in Neelum Valley only) are good examples about economic neglect. The study shows that AJ&K has the highest literacy rate in Pakistan, particularly female literacy. This leads to another serious economic problem in the region that is unemployment. Now, AJ&K and IHK people are visiting each other's place by availing bus service. When economic development is compared with people of AJ&K, this leads to serious threat to nation disintegration.

The executive function of state is governed by Azad Jammu & Kashmir Council under the AJ&K Interim Constitution Act of 1974. The subjects falling under the AJ&K Council's responsibility include electricity & hydro power generation, tourism, population planning, banking, insurance, stock exchange and future markets, trading corporations, telecommunication, planning for economic coordination, highways, miners, oil and gas, development of industries, newspapers etc. The major sources of income of the AJ&K government, i.e. income tax and some other taxes were transferred to the AJ&K Council, giving it greater control over AJ&K's finances.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Rehana Saeed Hashmi, "Ethnic Politics: An Issue to National Integration (The Case of Pakistan)." op.cit.

⁵⁷ CPDR, An Appraisal of Constitutional, Financial and Administrative Arrangements, 2011, 3, <http://cpdr.org.pk/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/2011_CPDR_Kashmir_Report.pdf>, accessed 25 April 2015.

Table 2
Similar Issues of AJ&K and Other Regions of Pakistan⁵⁸

Region	Language Groups	Issue	Presence in AJ&K
Punjab	Punjabi & Saraiki	Resentment against Punjabi dominance	x
Sindh	Urdu & Sindhi	Lack of representation in bureaucracy	x
Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa	Pashto & Hindko	New province movement on the basis of language	x
Baluchistan	Balochi	Royalty of natural resources, underdevelopment	√
Gilgit-Baltistan (GB)	Shina & Balti	Political empowerment, disputed status (identity crisis)	√

The above table demonstrates that unfortunately a few issues are common with other underdeveloped regions of Pakistan. However, AJ&K is free from the issues based on dominance of any community, contradiction for public representation against the norm of national integration.

Conclusion

The national integration merely depends upon the socio-economic development and political empowerment in a centre-unit relationship of a country. History of the world generally and Pakistan specifically tells us that the unequal distribution of resources and discriminatory behaviour in political administration disintegrate societies. The people of Jammu and Kashmir had strong emotional attachments with the creation and ideology of Pakistan which with the passage of time is weakening. The disputed status of AJ&K and political and economic deprivations are alarming factors against existing integration and harmonized relations with Pakistan. The status of the people of AJ&K have been facing a worst identity crisis and ideological shift which might drift away the emotional attachment of the masses and resultantly yield harmful effects for integration with Pakistan. To attain the national integration, cohesion and harmony of AJ&K, it is essential to introduce constitutional reforms in AJ&K. This will not only bring political empowerment in AJ&K but also strengthen the democratic institutions and result in the socio-economic development, welfare of the people and a strong rebuild in affiliation with Pakistan.

Policy recommendations

In order to create national integration, the state of Pakistan must emphasise the following important considerations:

⁵⁸ Issues are found from the survey of existing literature most of it is referred here in this document.

- It is necessary that Constitutional reforms should be introduced in AJ&K in order to ensure political empowerment of the people of AJ&K. In this context, the powers of the non-representative and undemocratic body of AJ&K council should be reduced so that the maximum powers could be devolved to the people of AJ&K in the light of the principle of 18th Amendment of Pakistan.
- It is also important to keep intact the identity of the state and its local political parties in order to strengthen the stance of Pakistan on the conflict of Jammu and Kashmir internationally. Besides, any action from the state of Pakistan to integrate AJ&K or GB as the province of the federation would have repercussions on the said issue.
- The Federation of Pakistan is suggested to devise a policy to distribute the appropriate proportion of the revenue of the natural resources for the development of the indigenous population. For instance, the share of hydal profit and water use charges for the state of AJ&K should be enhanced.
- The state specific industrial development must be inculcated in the highly potential region of AJ&K i.e. tourism, small industries, handicrafts and cottage industry etc.
- It will also be very effective to promote national integration by establishing the Policy Research Institute at state level under the parasol of the Government of AJ&K and Academic Institutions.

Since both the regions of AJ&K and GB are the part of the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir and also the part of the larger conflict, therefore, it is also suggested to take immediate measures to bridge the gap between these two regions. In this regard, a joint upper house for both the regions can be established to bring the people of both the regions on equal footings and reviving their socio-economic and cultural ties with the aim of ensuring integration, cohesion and lasting harmony. Last but not the least, it would be of great significance to promote and foster the Pakistani national values and interests in the region of AJ&K to harmonize the emerging contradictory and disintegrating factors in the state.

CHALLENGES TO NATIONAL INTEGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF BALUCHISTAN

Faiza Mir,* Dr. Abdul Manan Bazai*

“National integration is the socio-psychological and educational process through which a feeling of unity, solidarity and cohesion develops in the hearts of the people and a sense of common citizenship or feeling of loyalty to the nation is fostered.”

—H. A Ghani

Abstract

National integration is a process through which divisive people and cultures are synthesized into a unified whole. It is a process of harmony, common identity and above all national consciousness. Ever since Pakistan has taken birth, it has been in the grip of numerous problems notably in the province of Baluchistan. Baluchistan is a strategic province that promises future economic gains through different ongoing mega projects, rich untapped minerals, pledging bigger foreign investment, better economic opportunities and greater economic schemes in the country. These problems have generated challenges to the very notion of national integration in Pakistan, in general, and Baluchistan, in particular. This paper, therefore, identifies the challenges of national integration in Pakistan with special reference to Baluchistan. The paper also makes an attempt to describe the leading internal/external factors accountable for the violent situation in the province. It is significant in a way that it not only analyzes the current position and policies of the government, but provides policy recommendations.

Key Words: *Baluchistan, national integration, insurgency, socio-economic deprivation.*

Introduction

The concept of national integration includes two processes — the nation-building and state-building. Nation-building involves doing away with the casuist, linguistic and regional lines on one hand and creating psychological sense of unity on the other. State refers to

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territorial integrity which implies the absence of separatist forces within the territorial boundaries where the administration of central and state government runs.

The important task faced by the leaders of post-independent states of Asia and Africa is to create a national identity out of diverse regional, linguistic and cultural identities. The problem of national integration is a mirror image of national unity. Almost, all the developing nations of Asia and Africa are facing this twin problem of national integration and national identity. Pakistan also does not enjoy immunity in this regard.

Since independence, Pakistan has been in the grip of numerous problems including threat to its frontiers and weaker political system within the country. No individual could safeguard his legal and social interests on account of autocracy preponderance. Political unrest occurred from time to time due to economic disparities, power inequalities, and lack of national integration. These factors are exacerbated by the environment of mistrust, deprivation, and exploited by external elements.

Baluchistan, the largest province of Pakistan, has faced nothing more or less than that. Baluchistan is western most of the four provinces of Pakistan covering an area of 134,050 square miles or 347,188 square kilometres. Its geographical position stretches from the coast of Arabian Sea in the northwards; in the northwest it borders with Afghanistan; on the west with Iran; and in southwest it has links with the Middle Eastern states and onwards to the Gulf Region. Baluchistan is the strategic province that promises future economic gains through different ongoing mega projects, rich untapped minerals, pledging bigger foreign investment, better economic opportunities and greater economic schemes in the country.

This paper identifies the challenges of national integration in Pakistan with special reference to Baluchistan. The paper also makes an attempt to describe the leading internal/external factors responsible for the violent situation in the province. It is significant in a way that it not only analyzes the current position and policies of the government, but provides policy recommendations. It first discusses a theoretical approach towards national integration and situates the case in the context of Baluchistan. In doing so, a number of factors leading to a violent situation in Baluchistan are identified including socio-economic grievances, feudalism, external influence and most importantly the response of the government.

Theoretical framework

Before giving a thought to national integration problems one must be clear about the remarkable marriage of two words;

- a. Nation

b. Integration

A nation is a historically evolved stable community having a territory and based on common values such as economic life and psychological make-up – no matter having achieved independence or in the process of achieving independence¹. In other words, the existence of a community on a particular territory having common characteristics of economic and psychological make-up makes a nation regardless of its status as an independent territory. In addition, nation is also defined as a group having self-government through an independent state².

The term 'integration' mainly refers to a community of distinct groups having similar rights by law and these rights are guaranteed by the constitution. According to Dictionary of Political Thought, "Integration means different groups within a jurisdiction may have the same rights in law that nevertheless enjoy unequal privileges and desperate social, educational and recreational institutions, integration is the process, where by all such institutions are made available to all members of the state regardless of creed, race and origin with the intention of forming a unified civil society within the jurisdiction of a unified state."³

National integration has been a topic of immense importance among the scholars in recent years. The debate on this important issue draws various conclusions. For instance, in order to foster national integration in a particular country, it is important to establish mechanisms at the national level. Subsequently, these mechanisms should serve as a potential force to leverage a sense of satisfaction for the population, in general, and the system, in particular. For this purpose, consensus by the community members play a vital role in the accomplishment and subsequent formation of a national community.⁴ Moreover, the essentials for national power of a country has been described by political analysts as its territory, masses, resources, defence capabilities, a political system, technological advances and diplomatic skills.

Internal stability and security strengthens external position in the region, in general and world, in particular. The ultimate goal of a state is always national security often defined and explained in terms of national defence and is equated with a strong and alert military. However, certain queries remain unanswered, for instance issues of internal security such

¹ Ziauddin Khan, *National Integration in India: Issues and Dimensions*, (Cape Town: Associated Publishing House, 1983), 2.

² Patrick H. O'neil, *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2007), 47.

³ Roger Scruton, *The Palgrave Macmillan dictionary of political thought*, (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 227.

⁴ Hameed A. K. Rai and Saeed Osman Malick, *Comparative and Development Politics*, (Lahore: Aziz Publishers, 1989), 339.

as separatism, revolutions, military takeovers, law and order situations, internal turmoils, subversions, ethnic issues and violent struggles for power — that represent a situation where these internal security issues are indistinguishable as internal or national security issues. Handling such critical issues require proper and well-thought mechanisms. Of course, there is no possibility that one can wait and see internal problems getting so-called insignificant and subsequently become a perceived threat. Therefore, an immediate attention to the nature of internal security issues is extremely important for the very interest of the state.

To prevent and cope with these threats nations acquire power may it be military, economic and political. In fact, power can be an important tool to generate prosperity and subsequently may lead to further power which is crucial factor for political system. The main growth factors can be imported where as the political system cannot be imported. The case studies of Denmark, Chile, Brazil, Nicaragua, India and the Asian tigers like China, Japan, and Korea best verify the maximum standards for political stability in their respective countries to foster economic and socio-cultural development.

In the case of Pakistan political strives, insurgency, feudalism and sardarism have been jeopardizing its political policies leading to social institution in disarray. Pakistan has been struggling to achieve societal integration of its ethnically, socially, economically and culturally diverse society. These disturbing organizations strengthened themselves and have worked a lot in all the provinces but mainly in the largest and less populous province of Baluchistan. Frederic Grare explains three main factors leading to the lack of integration and insurgency in Baluchistan, namely expropriation, marginalization, and dispossession.⁵ What accounts for instability and violence in the province is a question mark which can be better understood in context of a number of facts:

1. Historical factor
2. Socio-economic deprivation and negligence on part of the centre
3. Feudalism or Sardarism
4. External factor

Historical factor

To understand the continuing insurgent movements in Baluchistan, one has to understand the historical perspective.

Among the earliest residents of the central Caspian region, until the nineteenth century the Balochs were a sovereign tribal blending. The Durand Line was drawn in 1893 by British dividing British India and

⁵ Frederic Grare, *Pakistan: the resurgence of Baluch nationalism*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006. Accessed on 10 August 2015, <<http://carnegieendowment.org/files/CP65.Grare.FINAL.pdf>>.

Afghanistan, along with Baloch and the Pashtuns on both sides of the new border. Division plan in 1947 gave both the tribes the choice of joining either Pakistan or India. Baloch leaders disapproved the two choices but demanded for a third way: independence. The last Viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, held that Baluchistan would not be able to continue on its own and forced it to join Pakistan. Suleiman Khan, a very vocal and dynamic leader among Balochs at that time, later pronounced: "We had no desire to be part of Pakistan but we were ignored and the agreement was eventually forced down our throats. Till the very last moment, they kept us in the dark. All the time we were assured that the Baloch would keep their independent state but instead we were sold down the river."

Outwardly, Baluchistan was calm, but in reality trouble was brewing there as in other provinces of Pakistan. The struggle for provincial autonomy and self-determination has been dealt with a military reaction in 1948, 1956, and 1970s.

Before joining Pakistan, Balochistan had a political structure divided into two main claimants, Khan of Kalat (the Head of the State or the ruler of Baluchistan State Union – BSU) having secondary rulers like Nawabs of Makran, Kharan, Lasbella in the Baloch area, and Nawab Jogezeai in the Pashtoon areas.

Khan of Kalat ruled the area under the power structure designed in Mastung agreement ensuring the secondary *sardars* a complete sovereignty. This sovereignty was further reassured by the British under the Treaty of Gandamak. By the course of events and the administrative division of Balochistan, autonomous status of the *sardars* and the rise of political strife against the breach of contract by the Government of 1948 provoked the armed struggle against the Pakistan Government. The military coup of October 1958 resulted another insurgency lasted for two years led by Nawab Noroz Khan, his cousin and other 13 rulers commanding major tribes including Marri, Bugti, Mengal. All the Baloch *sardars* unanimously decided and took oath on the grave of Mir Mehrab Khan Shaheed (a great nationalist leader), not to carry on relations with their wives unless Baluchistan gets independence. This is known as "Qoal" in Baloch history.⁶

Another insurgency propelled in Baluchistan in 1973-1975 mainly in the areas of Marri and Kalat. The nature of this insurgency was different from the previous insurgencies. This particular insurgency also attracted support from the Soviet Union and some quarters of the Middle East. Thousands of Nationalists fled from the country and engaged in obtaining external and moral support for the insurgency. Provincial assemblies dissolved one after another. The well-knitted alliances kept on changing

⁶ Adnan Adil, *Historical Perspective of Baloch National Movement (Baloch Qomi Tehreek ka Tareekhi Pas-e-Manzar)*, Sangat (monthly magazine) Quetta: January, (2006): 12.

the structure and further dividing into small units. Clandestine supply of arms and cash in Baluchistan has been a bid to bell the political cats. In fact, foreign hands theory applied to this particular insurgency – as there were interests shown neighbouring countries in favour and against. Rather than providing and facilitating a political solution to the issue of insurgency, foreign hands fostered their own interests to the trouble-stricken region. However, the insurgency came to an end leading towards normalization of situation in Baluchistan.

Socio-economic deprivation and negligence on part of the centre

Protecting their national assets is of immense importance to the national interest of a particular country. States engages at any level to protect their resources and make full use of it. Indeed, Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan and naturally a rich land in terms of natural resources such as coal, steel, iron and gold. However, being the lowest populous province, the claims for resource exploitation has been voiced overtime. The natural resources of Baluchistan are estimated at nineteen trillion cubic feet of natural gas and six trillion barrels of oil reserves. In fact, the Government of Baluchistan is least autonomous when it comes to the control over natural resources. It is the federation that controls media, educational curriculum, labour, tourism, welfare and environment. The most critical point is educational curriculum designed by the federal government unintentionally excluding the importance of Balochi language and cultural symbols.

The grievances of Baluchistan against the Centre are longstanding and genuine. Baluchistan is the least developed province, covering about 44% of the country's total land area. Almost 77% is rural with high illiteracy and high poverty incidence. The economic and social backwardness of the province is due to three main reasons: Firstly, it got the status of the province in 1970 — a painful incorporation into the federation — secondly, negligence on part of federal, and thirdly, the most important is tribalism.⁷

Baluchistan enjoys an important strategic position on world map. One of the most charming regions of Pakistan attracted to not only regional but international powers as well. Baluchistan is a richly mountainous region, most of them hard and tough but surely enrich with the hidden natural resources whose economic benefits and long-lasting strategic impacts can never be denied. In fact, it is the responsibility of the government to provide infrastructure in the province. Although, government could easily raise the socio- economic status of the province by establishing road links and target-oriented economic policies under

⁷Noman Ahmad, "The Baloch Imbroglio," *Dawn*, December 18, 2005.

urgent and a crash development project, but the ruling masters showed little incentives and the Islamabad's decades-old policy of neglect and discrimination has kept the province in underdevelopment trap.⁸

Gas wells were first discovered in Sui in 1960s. This gas is utilized throughout the country from kitchens to the industries except Sui itself. The area continues to remain in a state of extreme underdevelopment. While visiting and witnessing the stark contrast of stone-age wilderness surrounding the area we see reality of "Chiragh Tale Undhera."

A UNDP report on Pakistan illustrates that out of Pakistan's top 20 most backward districts, 50% are in Baluchistan.⁹ Baluchistan is the only province among all four with least representation in national services i.e. ex-servicemen in 1995-2008 numbered 6,553 men only. Baloch representation in the armed forces is only 0.8% which is as it used to be in the pre-partition days. In Pakistan's administrative structure, no Baloch has yet been promoted to the high ranks in federal government, even that of the 43 federal secretariats and 72 autonomous corporations, none is headed by Baloch e.g. NHA, CDA, KPT, WAPDA, OGDCL, PPL, PIA, Steel Mill, Port Qasim, Shipping Corporation, Pakistan Railways etc.

By the end of 2008, Pakistan sent 95 missions abroad, of which none was headed by Baloch. Thus, because of their implicit non-representation in Pakistan's socio-political control & policy-making processes, over the last 67 years eloquent Balochs feel that they are living under the same colonial makeup that threatens their very existence.¹⁰

Over centralization of decision-making has added fuel to fire in creating feeling of annoyance, estrangement and agitation in the province causing involvement of the masses in antigovernment activities. The grievances were nurtured against the Centre. The discontent, never far from the surface, at intervals erupted into a loud protest and low-level insurgency in the province. To a Baloch development stands for deficiency and prejudiced policy structure. His staunch belief is that their cattle never are changing into motor cars, ghdans never changing into houses and thumb impressions never into signatures. They have to remain content with scraps like the job of *chokidars*, peons and *malis*.

Feudalism or Sardarism

The conventional *sardari* system in Baluchistan was once fabricated to encourage and uphold the truthfulness, integrity and autonomy of tribesmen. But in the course of events, it has lost all its integrity and efficacy, and has emerged to be a major stumbling block in

⁸ Syed Fazl-e-Haider, "Balochistan Tribalism and Development," *Dawn*, December 19, 2005.

⁹ Imran Umer Baloch, "Unrest in Balochistan," *Dawn*, January 13, 2005.

¹⁰ Mehtab Ali Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy 1971-1994* (U.K.: I.B. Tauris, 1997), 104.

the progress of the province at micro level. The system is still functioning but it works to keep the masses under its thumb, and deprive them of their basic rights of liberty and freedom.¹¹

These tribal leaders claim to be the only sincere and patriots of the province. In fact, they have gained a lot, and what people got out of it is 'Nothing'. The Centre is truly blamed for its negligence and indifferent attitude, but what good and fair have these nationalist leaders done with their people? Nothing. If the Centre is held responsible for keeping the province backward, poor, illiterate and underdeveloped, the question is, how many development schemes and projects, i.e., schools, colleges, roads, hospitals, have been established by these decades and decades old nationalist leaders? The traditional rulers have always feared the loss of empire and failure of their manoeuvres if the common man turns educated and well-informed which may end at questioning their lord's supremacy.

In fact, these flag bearers of peace, nationalism, and justice have tried to leap from tribalism into capitalism.¹² They have nothing to do with Baloch people. No amount of rhetoric about socialism and national self-determination can convert the self interest of reactionary *sardars* into a cause worth fighting for. They really don't want awareness, literacy and development in general so that they can maintain their dominant position in society. History shows that they have always kept their ivory towers high and have made people their slaves, who had everything except voice.¹³

The *sardari* or chiefs system in Baluchistan is a centuries old system. It can be traced back to the resettlement of Balochs from Arabia.¹⁴ This *sardari* system nurtured from tribal homogeneity. Each tribe under a tribal chief used to offer commitment and devotion to the *sardar*, grand *sardar* and the head of the association or confederacy, Khan of Kalat.

The British fabricated their rule in the entire Baluchistan by 1876 under the famous treaty of Gandamak.¹⁵ The British established a stronghold and designed garrisons to enforce law and order in the British and the leased areas, while the native Baluchistan remained under the control of the *sardars*.

The *sardars* were not autonomous but engaged to follow the Raj but with a so-called freehand in managing their affairs of tribes without any interference. They formulated their own judicial system which was

¹¹ Shamsa Ishfaq, "The Scourge of Feudalism," *The Balochistan Times*, March 10, 2005.

¹² Feroz Ahmed, *Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1998), 175.

¹³ Mirza Yousaf Agha, "Crisis in Balochistan," *Dawn*, February 6, 2005.

¹⁴ Rai Bahadur Hatooram, *History of Balochistan (Tarekh-e-Balochistan)*, (Pakistan: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2001), 24.

¹⁵ Mansoor Akber Kundi, *Politics in Pakistan: Bending the Rules*, (Karachi: Maktaba-e-Faridi, 2005), 122.

habitually *jirga* based. A *sardar's* word was ultimate in the affairs of his tribe.

The system continued till the establishment of Pakistan. The *sardari* system, distortion of the past, actually intended to endorse and support the integrity and autonomy of the tribesmen, might be of something good to a certain area in the past, but history depicts that under this system the grassroots development has been denied deficiently.

Under the blessings of centuries old system the thousands of square kilometres vast land and people of the province were affected badly. No step was taken towards socio-economic growth or establishment of educational institutions, instead they paved ways for foreign degrees for their own sons and grandsons. The absence of genuine democracy and lack of awareness of the masses supported and strengthened the *sardars* politically, financially and finally they hijacked the whole movement.

External factors

The strategic importance of Baluchistan cannot be denied as logically presents itself as a big chunk of economic opportunities for the regional and international powers. For the last many years Baluchistan has been in limelight of news due to its promising geophysical position in Indian Ocean. Foreign involvement cannot be over looked as due to some other factors in general and economy in particular, it has accelerated the grim situation and political unrest in the province.

Over the past one decade or half, a faction of American congressmen, some Afghan groups, Baloch nationalist and cohorts have been delineating a political scaffold for an alternative US policy to Southwest Asia. US campaigners for an independent Baluchistan have yet to gain wide support, but their campaign, which now centres around succession, is receiving more attention among policymakers particularly because of the high profile of the recent glitzy events; the congressional consideration on Baluchistan; the comprehensive foreword of a Baloch self-determination bill in Congress; and a exceedingly exposed meeting of the Balochistan National Front in Berlin.

The devotees and followers of the new approach note redrawing of Southwest Asia's political borders through Baluchistan independence would press on American interests on numerous fronts, especially by creating great many new economic endeavours that could counterbalance the cost of Afghanistan intelligent agency WAD, Indian's RAW and KGB of the Soviet Union are evidently active in the area.¹⁶ Involvement causes may be different like:

¹⁶ Mehtab Ali Shah, *The Foreign Policy of Pakistan: Ethnic Impacts on Diplomacy 1971-1994*, (U.K.: I.B. Tauris, 1997).

- a. For India to present Pakistan as insecure and unsafe for foreign investment and economic ties. In July 2004, the “discretionary grants” budget was increased by 700 per cent in the Indian consulates in Jalalabad, Kandhar and Zahidan.
- b. For US to contain China. The space is limited — where China gains America loses, and where America gains China loses.¹⁷
- c. For Iran to counter the growing economic uplift of Gwader Port because due to this Chabahar and Bandar Abbas are at stake.
- d. For Russians the concerns are not in conflict with Americans. In 1960s, the Soviets had asked the govt of Pakistan to allow them to construct a road from Qandahar through Chaman to Mekran coast. They also offered to help in developing one of these ports Jioni, Omara and Pasni. This “philanthropic” offer was not accepted.
- e. For Afghanistan possibility arises from the recent strides of economic and trade developments among Iran, Afghanistan and India excluding Pakistan from any such deal.

Actually, landscape of Baluchistan is such that it offers scores of safe havens, in-accessible corridors to any outsider. It is difficult to make out as who is doing what in those corridors.

Effects of the unrest changing Mehar Garh into Qehar Garh

In 2004, a huge resistance was offered by the Baloch tribal chiefs and tribesmen against an array of federally managed plans and schemes. The oratory between tribal rulers and military has offered the proverbial fuel to the rampant fire. Both have said that it is not 1971, obviously sketching dissimilar conclusions.¹⁸

For the last 10 years incidents of bomb explosions, rocket firing, landmine explosions blowing up of railway tracks and high voltage transmission lines, disrupting the power supply and operation innocently labelled as “action” on part of the government forces has continued for the last two years. The insurgency encircling Kohlu, Sui, Hernai, Barkhan, Tali, Fazel Chal, Sibi and Turbat is leading the areas to the un-residential status on one side and tarnishing the image of Pakistan on the other, but not developing the power muscles of either side. The sense of deprivation that

¹⁷ Author’s interview with Mehmood Ali Shah, ex-Chairman Political Science Department University of Balochistan, Quetta, May 24, 2015.

¹⁸ Author’s interview with Ali Nawaz Magsi, ex-bureaucrat Balochistan Govt, April 29, 2015

occurred over time has never been managed, spiralling into a situation where angry and infuriated youth is more eager to fight than to negotiate.

The political turmoil and uprising also affects the social and psychological interaction of the people. As existed in all other human societies Baloch psychology is also based on their land, traditions, culture norms and values.

Due to the unrest and inappropriate interactions of feudal system and the Centre, the tribal ideologies have changed into political ideologies. The situation has also given rise to psychological controversial issues in Baluchistan like:

- a. Repressed feeling and ignorance creating inappropriate behaviour.
- b. Deprivation and denial of identity leading to a sense of disassociation.
- c. Discrimination of higher reward and lower cost leading to imbalanced thought, frustration & prejudice.
- d. Social and ethnic distance between public and groups.¹⁹

An alarming situation has been developed these days in the province. A tug of war is being carried out between the government forces and nationalist forces. Neither of the parties is addressing the real issue but fortifying their power muscles and dominating positions.

Political analysts, educationists, intellectuals and critics have deep concerns about the situation. Some of them are foreseeing grave harm to the federation of Pakistan.

Apprehensions & demands of the Baloch

There are apprehensions among the local people that this sudden love of province is just noting more or less than interest based. They consider these mega projects like Gwadar Port, the Coastal highway and few dams useless and more importantly they don't have any spill over effects for the ordinary Baloch. What really needed in the province are roads, hospitals, schools, railway tracks, drinking water facilities and electricity.

Another fear is that with the development of Gwadar Port they would be changed into minority and due to the multi-ethnic, cultural linguistic flow and interaction in the area a "Diaspora" will be created. Their fear is just, and example can be quoted here of Germany where Turks are decades and decades old residents but socially and politically have the status of guest workers.

In order to bring peace and stability in the province and to eradicate these consternation government should seriously address the demands of the Nationalists. Unrest in Baluchistan is about due share in

¹⁹ Mehreen Siddique, "Inter-group Politics in Balochistan: Social and Psychological Analysis," *Balochistan Review*, 12-13, (2005): 121.

the existing state power composition. Streamlining and re-visiting hindrances in NFC Award, Fiscal disbursement on the basis of development needs instead of population, just and balanced province-wise gas royalty formula, all should always be kept dear to national harmony programme towards improvement of Baluchistan's poor fiscal position.

All the above mentioned demands come under just two major elements of democracy and maximum provincial autonomy. It means keeping all the powers with the province except foreign affairs, currency, and defence trade and inter-provincial communications and complete internal democracy not sham democracy.

Conflict transformation/response of the state

It is important to recognize that the State's national integration profile today is very different from the picture prior to 2010.

The following indicators are also the major step forward viz-à-viz national integration in Baluchistan, which have strengthened the quest and demand of national amalgamation wave:-

1. Aghaz-e-Huqooq Baluchistan.
2. 18th Constitutional Amendment.
3. 7th NFC Award.
4. The incumbent nationalist government in the province.
 - c) Participated in the general election 2011.
 - d) Participated in the Senate election 2013.
 - c) Participated in the local bodies election.
5. Pak-China Economic Corridor (futuristic conflict transformation strategy).

Conclusion

Pakistan today is facing an array of challenges like economic instability, growing poverty, military manoeuvres in the north region, unstable law-and-order situations in Sindh and Punjab, an increasing rise and fall of cold alliance with the US during and post War on Terror, spill-over effects of Afghanistan's insurgency, and of course, the never-ending contention and mistrust with India. It cannot swallow Baluchistan's insurgencies, which owing to the province's vast land, hostile topography, parched climate, and a population resistant to Islamabad's prejudiced policies have been difficult to hold back.²⁰

Insurgency in the province is a class question. State is failed to access, analyze and address the situation quickly. Government must involve broadest possible range of ordinary Baloch in the dialogue who are hard to buy and harder to manipulate.

²⁰ Author's interview with Jiand Khan Jamaldini, ex-Treasurer University of Balochistan, Quetta, Political analyst and activist, January 20, 2014.

Development process involving the other fundamental facilities should be accelerated because it would open job opportunities and that would allow escape hatch to ordinary Baloch to distance from undemocratic manoeuvres.

If we seek national integration then we have to consider the fundamental elements of integration. A series of more level-headed moves towards progressive future could be a realistic approach on behalf of Centre to place the foundations of a more graceful participatory system of government in which provincial apprehension are addressed in a legitimate framework to revamp their image of incredibility and unreliability of the broken promises. Those who claim to be different from the rest will have to take different initiatives not only in procedural matters but in substantial matters as well; because peace and stability ensures foreign investment and development, not foreign investment and development bring peace and stability at home.²¹

Policy recommendation

There are different techniques through which process of national integration can be enhanced such as the value integration, elite-mass integration, political integration and integrative behaviour. It is important to recognize that the state's national integration profile today is very different from the picture prior to 2010. The need of the hour should be an interpretation of Iqbal's idea of nation:-

“Fard Qaem Rabt-e-Millat say hay Tanha Kuch Nahi,
Mo'oj Hay Darya Man or Beroon-e-Darya Kuch Nahi”²²

National Policy of education

Education is of great importance for bringing about national and emotional integration. It is a forceful weapon which can be used proficiently and effectively for the attainment of our national perceptive. Some of the ways and means to favour and promote national integration are as follows:-

National cohesion via cultural celebrations

- a) Celebration of National Days.
- b) Celebration of birthday's of local idols.
- c) Celebrating cultural festivals.
- d) Celebration of successes/epics/heroic struggles.

²¹ Author's interview with Shah Mohammad Marri, researcher and political activist, 20 January, 2008.

²² A person exists due to connection with a nation, alone a person is nothing. The wave exists in the river, outside the river, it is nothing.

- e) Celebration linguistic differences, styles and patrons by countless methods e.g. media involvement.

Community cohesion policy

Recognition of minor groups & clans pave a way towards further pluralistic profile of society. Disparities within communities may escalate chain reaction of disassociation and dismemberment from the nation character.

Equality and Human Rights Policy and Legislation

Social equality will strengthen all groups within a certain society or even isolated groups enjoying same status in certain respects, often including civil rights, freedom of speech, material & mobility rights, and equal approach to social goods and services. However, state will have to ensure concepts of social equity & securities and economic equality.

Counter-terrorism Policy

State has to address the security issue as the utmost priority because at the end of the day it's peace which promises development. A strong, stringent and a comprehensive counter-terrorism policy need to be formulated along with a doable mechanism to address the evil from its buds.

Citizenship Policy

State has to be all ears to apprehensions of dismantle groups by incorporating and approving a national citizenship policy to ensure a citizen to be a national citizen enjoying all perks, privileges, rights and duties regardless of the class, colour, creed, sex, political identity or economic status. By this state will enhance a definition of nationwide definition.

Together, these recommendations would ensure large policy levers target needs more effectively while highlighting the rationale to intervene to support integration endeavour.

The solution to Balochistan problem didn't lie in the gun powders tactics but in political settlement because "TALKS, TALKS & TALKS ARE BETTER THAN WAR, WAR & WAR".

THE QUEST FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN PAKISTAN: PAKHTUN PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The paper identifies significant fault-lines both within the policy making and policy implementation which obstruct the much desired virtue of national harmony and integration in Pakistan. Normally, it appears that most of the federating units, socio-cultural entities and groups offer a very strong sense of nationalism and patriotism with the state of Pakistan but there are some gray areas which need serious consideration. Nevertheless, a level of uneasiness and frustration on the part of some groups and units in respect of the mode and method of governance and policy directions can be felt in one way or another. For example, Balochis, Sindhis, Saraikis of South Punjab, and Pakhtuns question the policies of federation and seek their due shares and rights as enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan. The history of the centre-province relations in Pakistan does contain some bitter memories, where the rights of the smaller provincial unites were compromised and subjugated in favour of the stronger entity. It's high time to learn some lessons from the past and lead the process of nation-building and integration by taking such steps in policy-making which may help bring the fragmented pieces together cementing a stronger, prosperous and integrated Pakistan.

Keywords: *Federalism, Centre-Provincial Relations, Integration, Relative Culturalism, Rights, Exploitation, Socio-Economic Deprivation, Fair Share.*

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Introduction

National integration is the creation of a feeling of oneness where the diversities are recognized and respected by imbibing a sense of nationhood. Modern states mostly cherish the noble idea based on the principle of unity in diversity. National integration refers to a sense of territorial nationality which overshadows or eliminates subordinate parochial loyalties. It asks that for national integration to occur in a nation a significant number of citizens must develop identification with the nation that supersede identification with ethnic, cultural or religious groups, acquire political awareness, share common norms and values and develop attitudes favourable to the display of integrative behaviour among people of different groups.¹

Pakistan, like most of the states in the world, is a 'Multiethnic' and 'Plural' modern state, facing problems with the formation of a 'common Pakistani Nationhood' since its birth (1947).² This is evident by the formation of Bangladesh out of East Pakistan in 1971, making Pakistan the first state in post-war era that witnessed disintegration. Like many states of the world, this problem is severe and threatening today for the state of Pakistan.³

The project of nation formation of Pakistan and the event of 1971 have been discussed by many scholars. Some scholars argue that the process and project were manipulated by the elite of Pakistan, while others argue of a discourse on Power and Community. Ethnic communities of Pakistan have challenged this project of Pakistani state, like Sindhis, Balochs and Pakhtuns.⁴ Volumes of research work have been done on this issue of Pakistan. These researches have highlighted the failure of Pakistani state in making the project of 'nation making' successful and handling the plurality of ethnicities in Pakistan, arguing that state has been a failure when it comes to tackle the grievances of ethnic minorities in the country. The ethnic gap between different ethnicities of the country has further been widened by the use of force and Islam as a dividing factor.⁵

However, as this study highlights the issue has been treated solely as a political one, without proper analysis, this seems an injustice with the issue at hand. The researches treat ethnic sentiments and categories as

¹ Gurpreet Kaur, "Understanding National Integration and Challenges in its Way", <<http://www.confabjournals.com/confabjournals/images/810201381117.pdf>>, accessed May 2015.

² Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, *The Emergence of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, University of Punjab, 1996), 332-40.

³ Lawrence Ziring, *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), 354-70.

⁴ G.W. Choudhry, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan* (London: Law and Brydone Ltd., 1969), 120-30.

⁵ Syed Abdul Quddus, *Islamic Polity in Modern Times* (Lahore: Ferozsons Pvt. Ltd., 1987), 155-86.

'real world ethnic groups', creating problems both in scholarship and handling the problem. There is a need for looking into the issue through debates of Anthropology and Sociology, coupled with politico economic lens. This will help in understanding the roots of the problem and will provide a good base for the integration process in the country.

Pakhtuns are the second largest ethnicity in Pakistan. There have been different scholarly studies on the society, economy and politics of the region, both from anthropological and political perspectives. Recent research argues that Pakhtuns are showing a growing sense of belonging to Pakistan, however, it also identifies that they consider it a 'multiethnic Pakistan' and primarily identify themselves as Pakhtuns. However, some studies argue that Pakhtuns have integrated into the state of Pakistan.⁶

There is an ongoing protracted conflict in many Pakhtun regions. The chain of militant activities started by the religious extremist group Tehreek-e-Nafaze Shariyat Mohammadi (TNSM) in 1990's has yet to be eliminated. Fata region of Pakhtun population is under military operations since last decade for the presence of extremist militants under the banner of Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan formed in 2007. There have been suicide attacks and militants' targeting of almost every state/governmental official, institute, politician and public space. The war has taken many lives of Pakhtuns and military men.⁷ A thin piece of research argues that the war is Pakhtun's nationalist struggle in the cover of Sharia or religion, but many scholars don't have the same opinion. The conflict amplified from 2004, when Pakistan armed forces started military operations. However, peace has been restored in many regions of the province. This religious extremism has earned a bad name and stereotypical projections of Pakhtuns as 'primitive' and 'fanatic Muslims' in Pakistan, which directly affects the relations of Pakhtuns with the state and the subsequent integration project of Pakistan.⁸

There are reasons to both the problems of Pakhtuns and religious extremists. Regarding Pakhtuns it is pointed out that they were forced by the state after independence in the first few decades to accept and adopt the new situations as historically they were under the encapsulating systems of many empires and colonizing states. The complex socio-political and tribal structures were not taken into account by the state of Pakistan. The recent conflict seems to add to the issue by affecting Pakhtuns way of life.⁹

⁶ Mukulika Banerjee, *The Pathan Unarmed: opposition and memory in the North West Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 10-15.

⁷ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift into extremism: Allah, the army and America's war on Terror* (New Delhi: New Elegant Printers, 2005), 215-220.

⁸ Martha Crenshaw, "The Causes of Terrorism", *Comparative Politics*, 13:4 (1981): 379-385.

⁹ Yasmeen Aftab Ali, "Understanding Pakhtunwali", *The Nations*, August 6, 2013.

Issues and concerns of Pakhtuns and Pakistan

The notion that Pakhtuns have assimilated into the state of Pakistan and no more represent themselves as Pakhtuns but as Pakistanis, is challengeable. The elections of 2008 showed that majority of Pakhtuns voted for a nationalist political party (Awami National Party) and also that recent research shows that Pakhtuns still identify themselves as Pakhtuns primarily. However, research suggests that Pakhtuns do not have irredentist demands of separation (like Pushtunistan issue) but identify themselves with Pakistan as a state and Muslims as Ummah. There are issues and concerns when it comes to Pakhtun's relations with Pakistan. This study will elaborate some important factors.

Nation making project of the state (official nationalism)

When Pakistan came into being in August 1947, it comprised of many ethnic nationalities. Punjabis, Pakhtuns, Sindhis, Balochs and Bengalis were identifying themselves as distant nationalities. One thing that was common amongst the majority was that they were Muslims. Pakistani state in a move to unify its people and regions started a nation-making project. This was built upon existing commonalities along with carving many others. Language (Urdu), Religion (Islam), Culture (Sub-continental) were put together to make a whole Pakistani culture. This official nationalism was imposed from above by the state of Pakistan on all the communities, in spite of its evolution and emergence from below.¹⁰ However, this was viewed by communities (other than Punjabis) as ruled by a powerful and privileged class, termed as '*Salariat*' by Alavi, (1987) in the name of national identity. Rather it should have been a discourse or ideology that promotes hegemony rather than disintegration.¹¹

An analysis of the components of this project shows that regarding socio-cultural setups, there were issues. For example Urdu was imposed as the only state language, neglecting Bengali, Sindhi, Punjabi and Pashto, which created problems for the state. Bangladesh was formed on the base provided by the language controversy. Pakhtuns seldom use Urdu in everyday life, Punjabis still are dualistic (formally speaking Urdu but maintain ethnic identity by speaking Punjabi) and Sindhis have been the most severe opposition to Urdu, however, Urdu has penetrated most ethnicities in Pakistan, but not to a significant level. It has provided an argument to nationalists to oppose the state.¹²

Likewise putting Islam at the heart of this process has problems in itself. The extreme Islamization of the state, resulting from this project has

¹⁰ Farzana Shaikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan* (London: Hurst and Company, 2009), 2-8.

¹¹ Ibid., 8-13.

¹² G.W. Choudhry, *Constitutional Development in Pakistan*, op.cit., 124-130.

consequences. On one side, extremist movements have roots in it; while on the other side, Marxists, leftists and seculars have backed the nationalists to oppose it. This has at times strengthened nationalist and ethnic sentiments, creating problems for the integration process of Pakistan and weakening the state subsequently. It has further divided the society on sectarian basis and has added to 'Ethicizing Islam', where Sufis identify themselves with Sindhis, modernists with Mohajir and Deobandis with tribal Pakhtuns. This has serious consequences for the integration process of the state, when it comes to the case of Pakhtuns. Pakhtuns face difficulty in accommodating themselves in an exclusive Muslim Pakistan, with no ethnic dimension to the identity, though they want Muslimness in a multiethnic Pakistan.

Significantly, this issue is related to other ethnicities of Pakistan like Sindhis, Balochs and Bengalis in the past. It is very important for policymaking processes of Pakistan to keep different ethnicities integrated in the country that will subsequently help in the smooth running of the state.¹³

Constitution and state representation

Pakistan was unable to frame a constitution for around 9 years since its inception.¹⁴ Adding to that was the imposition of Martial Law by President Ayub Khan. Replaced by other constitutions and the formulas like One Unit have had consequences for Pakhtuns and other ethnicities.¹⁵ The initial role of the founding father of Pakistan, constitutional centralization of the state and limited autonomy has added to the fragmentation of Pakistan. Pakhtun nationalists have always used this card of provincial autonomy as the condition for allegiance to Pakistan since the time of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. However, the constitution never addressed this issue of Pakhtuns, for many reasons, prominently because of the fear of disintegration and due to Army's rule for most of the history.¹⁶ An overwhelmingly large population of one province (Punjab) has given this ethnicity a much higher proportion in state institutions. This helps in increasing their proportion while corroding others with time. Pakhtuns (both elites and masses) since decades and especially under Punjab dominated right wing party Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz) have been objecting to these imbalances. This has serious consequences for

¹³ Farzana Shaikh, op.cit., 81-90.

¹⁴ Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan: Political Roots and Development, 1947-1999* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), 35-49.

¹⁵ Hassan Askari-Rizvi, "Political Impediments to Development", in *Development challenges confronting Pakistan*, ed. Anita M. Weiss and Saba Gul Khattak (London: Kumairian Press, 2013), 81-92.

¹⁶ Dr. Arshad Rizvi, *The Political System of Pakistan: A Constitutional Study* (Lahore: Paramount Books, 2014), 160-171.

National Integration in Pakistan. Centralization of the state has added to the ethnic problems in Pakistan and state's failure to share power with indigenous ethnicities are the issues which have helped Pakhtun nationalist elites to effectively mobilize masses in their support. Moreover, like other regions of Pakistan, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, too, has faced rigorous modernization accompanied by its attendant, dislodgment and negligence.¹⁷

The British recruited Pakhtuns in the army in large numbers. After the independence 19.5 per cent recruitment in the army came from NWFP. This situation continues to be the same.¹⁸ Pakhtuns have always looked southwards for its economic activity rather than northwards. (Afghanistan) Pakhtuns have been moving towards the south for better investments, jobs and commerce. The public sector is even ruled by the Pakhtuns and is not dominated by the people of other regions.¹⁹ The 18th Amendment recognized these tensions, and Article 27 of the Constitution now provides "that under-representation of any class or area in the service of Pakistan may be redressed in such manner as may be determined by Parliament."²⁰

Colonial legacy

Importantly, Pakistan has been unable to get out of the colonial mindset. It seems to be ruled under the same mindset.²¹ Pakhtuns like other ethnicities have reservation over the changing of masters only, from British to Pakistan. The terms like rural verses urban, tribal verses settled, traditional verses modern, still reflects the colonial impressions on Pakistani state. This has driven the policies of the state to modernize its people. Pakhtuns having different socio-political setups have challenged this.

Drawing lines for dividing people on ethnic and racial basis is also a colonial legacy. Imperialist used to divide different communities in such a way which could facilitate their rule and provide them opportunities to hold it for maximum period of time.²² For example in Pakistan this division is very prominent. This had never been fruitful for a new federation of

¹⁷ Ahmad Salim, Iskander Mirza, *Rise and Fall of a Person* (Lahore: Gora Publishers, 1997), 202-214.

¹⁸ Hassan Askari-Rizvi, op.cit., 34-45.

¹⁹ Abubakar Siddique, *The Pashtuns: The Unresolved Key to the Future of Pakistan and Afghanistan* (Haryana: Random House Publishers, 2014), 30-40.

²⁰ The Constitution of Pakistan, The Eighteenth Amendment Act, 2010, <<http://www.pakistan.org/pakistan/constitution/amendments/18amendment.html>>, accessed 12 May 2015.

²¹ Ashley J. Tellis, Pakistan's Political Development: Will the Future be Like the Past in *Development Challenges Confronting Pakistan*, 225-230.

²² Charles Funderburk and Robert G. Thobaben, *Political Ideologies; Left, Center, Right*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1989), 10-13.

Pakistan where a single ethnic group (Punjabis) had majority. Resultantly this communal group is having more shares in the bureaucracy and military, thereby having more say in the state affairs. After sometime, other small ethnic groups started perceiving themselves as colonies of the larger ethnic group. This proved to be very harmful for the integration of Pakistan. Many movements within the federating units started for provincial rights, provincial autonomy and self-determination.²³

This has created problems between Pakhtuns and Pakistan and is a potential threat to the integration process of the state. However, efforts have been made for decades by Pakhtun nationalists who interpret it as the foundation of a new social contract among provinces, to become part of the new state.²⁴ Talking about other ethnicities in this regard, arguing that these people were from urban middle class and had received "Anglo-vernacular education rather than a classical education in Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit"; patronage was bestowed upon them because of their help in "Indian mutiny". They were rewarded in many ways and got special attention in education. Lands were granted to them and new canals were created. This drew them into the political leadership of the Muslim League and ultimately Pakistan where they worked for safeguarding the interests of the landlords.²⁵

On the other side, other communities of the Muslim's population got fewer shares in the colonial patronage. Bengalis although more educated than Punjabis were "under represented" in that patronized class. In Sindh although some non-Muslim elite were included in the main stream, yet after partition they were forced to leave and a vacuum was created which to some extent was filled by Urdu speaking Mohajirs. Mohajirs became partner with the Punjabis in Pakistan and supported the notion of indivisible and united Pakistan.²⁶

Balochs like Pakhtuns and Sindhis were also under represented in colonial and "Pakistani" *Salariat* class. This under representation produced a sense of deprivation in these communities and ultimately gave birth to regional rivalries. The rulers of Pakistan could not bridge the rivalries and addressed the grievances of the deprived groups. This further added to the backwardness of these communities in term of economy, politics and social structure. Moreover, the people developed a sense of agitation, and resistance started against the central government. Political system which was already weak further weakened that facilitated the emergence of local and regional identities rather than focusing on single Pakistani identity. Similarly, drawing lines for dividing people on ethnic

²³ Lawrence Ziring, op.cit., 110-120.

²⁴ Syed Wiqar Ali Shah, *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North West Frontier Province 1937-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 222-25.

²⁵ Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, op.cit., 356-366.

²⁶ Ibid.

and racial basis, as discussed above, as a colonial legacy has been fatal in the case of other ethnicities, like Bengalis.²⁷

Politics of the elite and leaders

Pakistan in this case is very much unfortunate, for, after the death of Quaid-i-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, it could not produce a charismatic national level leader. Moreover, the political leadership had made some big mistakes in the initial turbulent years of Pakistan. The removal of Dr. Khan and Ayub Khuro's ministries in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (the then NWFP) and Sindh, can be termed as a very undemocratic behaviour of the leadership.²⁸ Similarly, in Punjab conflict arose between Mamdot and Daultana which ultimately resulted in the dismissal and dissolution of Punjab ministry and legislature in 1949.²⁹ Bengalis on the other side were busy in shaping, formulating and demanding their share and representation in the newly evolving constitution. For them, Bengali language and culture were more important than Urdu and Pakistani culture (which they consider Punjabi culture).³⁰ Fazl-i-Haq government was dismissed on a petty issue of a statement regarding united Bengal. Also in centre, seven governments were dismissed within the first eight years of Pakistan. This clearly shows the incompetence of the leadership in making a national government and integrating different units of the federation. That is why Pakistan could not become nation in being but nation in hope.³¹

In the argument of Jaffrelot, Pakistan's ethnic problem and tension is the result of elite manipulation against the state's centralization of resources. He proposes that these elites used ethnicity as an instrument for their own demands. Exploring through history of decades, he explains that as Pakhtuns, Balochs and Kashmiris are present across the borders of Pakistan; it drives the foreign Policy of Pakistan with Iran, India and Afghanistan, as the elites manipulate the ethnic portion of Pakistan.³²

This shows that elite's political manipulation is very important to be addressed. In the case of Pakhtuns it was Ghaffar Khan in pre- and post-partition era in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa who took the field against elite's manipulation of the masses in the name of federalism, democracy and Islam. Pakhtuns were driven by these political leaders in the movement

²⁷ Farzana Shaikh, op.cit., 46-55.

²⁸ Basharat Hussain Qizilbash, *Federalism in Pakistan: early Years* (Lahore: Pakistan study Center, 2001), 30-40.

²⁹ Dr. Arshad Rizvi, op.cit., 109.

³⁰ Hassan Askari-Rizvi, op.cit., 83-88.

³¹ Lawrence Ziring, op.cit., 110-130.

³² Christophe Jaffrelot, *A History of Pakistan and its Origin, Direction* (London: Anthem Publishers, 2004), 30-40.

and Pakistani State's behaviour with them was considered to be one with all Pakhtuns.³³

Importantly after failure in national politics, political leaders became ethno-centric. It was mainly because of the feelings of marginalization and unequal opportunities in the affairs of state. For example Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardi who had been an active member of Muslim League from 1936, formed a Bengali base political party "Awami League" in 1949. Similarly, G M Syed who once was an advocate of the cause of Pakistan termed his struggle in favour of independent state of "Sindhu Desh". Bacha Khan, though from the beginning was holding ideology of Indian National Congress, was forced to be more ethno-centric when Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry was dismissed in 1948. Ayub Khan and Ziaul Haq although banned political parties during their reigns, yet feelings of ethno centralism deepened.³⁴ Zia's Islamization, involvement in Afghan Jihad and harsh policies towards Pakistan People's Party, added a further blow to the issue of ethno-centric politics.³⁵ In his times the religio-ethnic factor was more prominent. Other political leaders including Benazir Bhutto, Nawaz Sharif, Pervez Musharaf and Asif Zardari, all failed to end ethno-centric politics and grievances of small ethnic units i.e. Baluchistan and Pakhtunkhwa are still on the rise providing the local leadership to further widen the gap between centre and federating units.

The political elite, therefore, played an important role in further dividing the ethnicities and federation of Pakistan. In the words of Wilcox, "If Pakistan is to become one nation, it requires years of common history and experience under gifted leaders, who, while maintaining consensus within their own circles, recognize their obligations to the broader public."³⁶

State's role

State is one of the most important resources for a community as well as the sole distributor of the available resources, occupying a very central role in the whole process of the country. Cultural differences among ethnicities in the state are not sources of conflict and ethnic violence, till the time they are exploited by the state or at least ignored by the state. State's role coupled with elite manipulation drive differences to conflicts among ethnicities or state and a minor ethnicity. In the case of Pakhtuns, state has been playing a significant role. State's avoidance of the socio-cultural features of Pakhtuns, in institutions and media has resulted

³³ Abdul Ghaffar Khan, *Zama Zhwand O Jaddo Jehad* (Pashto) (Kabul, 1983), 730-40.

³⁴ Safdar Mahmood, op.cit., 117-23.

³⁵ Sreedhar, John Kaniyalil and Savita Pande, *Pakistan After Zia*, (New Delhi: ABC Publishing House, 1989), 86-95.

³⁶ Wilcox, Wayne Ayres, *Pakistan: The Consolidation of a Nation*. (New York: Columbia University Press, (1963), 221.

in gaps between them and the state. State shall use its resources and machinery to bring harmony and flourish equity in the country, rather than to suppress ethnic cultures and ethnicities.³⁷

Resources

Resources include socio-economic and political opportunities, even the state itself. It is very clear that all ethnicities in Pakistan have a sense of ownership to the state of Pakistan equally. This encompasses the institutions of the state, its machinery and the socio-economic opportunities. In Pakistan it may include civil military bureaucracy, water resources, energy resources etc. Pakhtuns, when they were least represented in civil military bureaucracy of the state, were having strong grievances against the state, but today are accepting the state of Pakistan.

It has been argued that national harmony and peace is achievable through distribution of resources with justice (those needing more shall be given more). When people are even deprived of necessities of life, they come in conflicts with those powering the resources and the state, as can be seen in the case of Pakhtuns, when it comes to water for energy. Pakhtun's discourse on Pakistani nation is often limited and is identified with the distribution of resources, along with the dynamism of inter-ethnic power.³⁸

Political and economic opportunities and resources are so compelling that it helped in reducing the separatist and irredentist demands of Pakhtuns to the extent that scholars thought of complete integration of Pakhtuns in Pakistan in near future. However, there are issues between Pakhtun majority province and the centre state of Pakistan when it comes to resources and their distribution with the central government. It includes royalty of hydroelectric power generation, poor system of irrigation, low presence and working of large scale industries, unemployment and most importantly the issues associated with the current wave of violence in the region, placing the province third in the list of social services. The state is both a resource in itself and a distributor of resources. Under the Local Government Ordinance 2001 local governments have the authority to plan and spend the funds according to local priorities in accordance with the budget approved by the budget council. Federal government should try to take into confidence the government of different provinces regarding formulation process of various domestic and external policies. In this regard this year National Finance Commission (NFC) is to work out a component to distribution of assets between national government and the areas for the following five

³⁷ G.W. Choudhry, op.cit., 133-150.

³⁸ Ashley J. Tellis, *Development Challenges Confronting Pakistan*, op.cit., 225-237.

years. How will it benefit the Pakhtuns? The efficiency of the process has been remarked upon not only by academicians but also politicians.³⁹

Conclusion

National integration and harmony cannot be achieved without understanding the character of the nation. The dream of unity and harmony will not see the light of the day unless we intrinsically believe in the validity of different beliefs and approaches. No nation and country can stay in peace at home and on the borders without fusing among its hearts and minds the virtues of tolerance and adaptation. For countries like Pakistan which is the home to different religious, ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups, the need and urgency to develop the feelings of national integration stand important. One has to accept the fact that despite all differences, Pakistan is one political entity. We have to co-exist with each other peacefully, respecting the culture and religion of our fellows. The policymakers and those in control of important post and positions, too, need to reconsider their priorities and directions. It's time to take some lessons from our failings in the past and avoid committing blunders that have cost us one wing of the country. It's time to dispense justice and maintain equality that will help look positively towards all segments of our nation. It's time to bury our past with all its bitterness for good and endeavour for a better, prosperous and united Pakistan.

As a matter of fact Pashtuns, like any other community, stand heart and soul patriotic citizen of Pakistan. To question their patriotism and loyalty will be a big misjudgement and injustice. The misperceptions and misunderstanding of the early days of our nation in respect to some of Pakhtun leaders have long disappeared. For Pashtuns irrespective of which part, province, region, or administrative unit they live in, Pakistan stands "First", and they live and die for Pakistan. Let us pray and struggle for a better, united, respected and prosperous Pakistan.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis the study proposes some policy recommendations which are listed below:

- To frame a structure in which representation is given to all ethnicities or provinces properly, not based only on population in which few are benefited. Senate shall be empowered more to keep that balance and cope with the constitutional problems. It shall also have a major focus on distribution of resources and enhancing provincial autonomy.

³⁹ Abubakar Siddique, op.cit, 203-220.

- To involve, engage and motivate people from all ethnicities and provinces in institutions of the state, in order to promote the sense of ownership of Pakistan. It should primarily focus high level civilian and military bureaucracy along with other institutions.
- Serious efforts should be made to attract key leaders into reconciliation negotiations to minimize the elite manipulation of people by political ethno centric leaders.
- Administration of differences in Pakistan obliges a methodology of political transaction and needs to run as one with the reinforcing and extending of the majority rule process.
- The process of enhanced decentralization needs to be initiated in Pakistan to minimize the autocratic role of one powerful unit.
- Democratic enhancement could also be achieved through public discussions on governance, peace and militancy. The standing and steering provincial committees can play an important role in this regard.
- State need a straightforward enumeration with standard interims that mirror the advancing demographic patterns in Pakistan. Most likely, it helps the state to distribute the assets and to view the future development and needs of ethnic gatherings.
- It is obliged that state needs to develop the methodologies in view of auxiliary and perceptual viewpoint. Auxiliary included, political engagement, political changes, social giving's and critical bargains while the perceptual incorporates the expunction of misperception achieved in the general public. This might be possible when there is trust and close connection with the fighting gatherings: the ethnic gatherings and the state power.
- The 18th Amendment is a hint of something to look forward for the nation and its usage can bring the change at grassroots level by lapsing money related and political influence.
- State's role in fostering a modern political culture among citizens is also important. This helps in making ground for federalism, democracy and better participation and lesser conflicts between units and people.
- Involving general public from all units in constitution making process is important to enhance national integration.

- Demands of all the segments and units should be incorporated by the state so as to foster harmony and peace in the country.
- Removing colonial and imperial impressions from institutions, education system and politics of the country by the help of all stake holders in the country.

IMPACT OF TEACHERS ON CULTIVATING HARMONY AMONG STUDENTS

Nabeela Sulaiman*

Abstract

This study mainly focuses on investigating impact of teachers on cultivating harmony among students for a peaceful nation. The population of the study was composed of heads, teachers and students of schools, colleges and universities in Bahawalpur. Sample of 260 individuals was drawn randomly. Mixed-method research was used. A questionnaire consisting of both open- and close-ended items was developed. Reliability of tool was 0.82. Findings of the study showed that the practice of integrity in educational institutions is at moderate level. It decreases as level of institution increases. Teachers are making substantial efforts to create harmony among students. They have strong impact on students' mindset for cohesion. Intervening factors like linguistic background and gender have no significant impact on harmony level among teachers and students. Some strategies are also given to enhance the role of teachers in promoting national integration.

Keywords: *National cohesion, impact of teachers in harmony, harmony among students, harmonious environment of educational institutions.*

Introduction

Harmony has been the generic and everlasting human goal, which can be conceptualized as harmonious mutual relations and feelings of one nation among the citizens of a country belonging to diverse social-economical classes, religious sects, casts, races, cultures and languages while living in different geographical parts of a country. It is a way of promoting unity and cohesion, and sentiments of patriotism in the hearts of citizens. Particularly, national harmony is greatly essential for strengthening the national defence, for survival and peaceful living, as well as keeping the nation united and integrated. Harmony is about comprehensiveness, admiration and a feeling of having a place for everybody. It urges individuals to partake in their group, respect social

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and religious differences, and foster a feeling of having a place for everybody.

An individual, who values amicability, looks for internal satisfaction and advances social union. He admires the solidarity and assorted qualities of a multi-social society. In a report of UN-Habitat it is argued that a city cannot claim to be symphonious if a few groups accumulate assets and avail free opportunities while others stay bankrupted and denied. Financial disparities and hardships inside urban communities undermine the amicability of urban communities, as well as of nations, as they make social and political cracks inside a society that fuel social agitation. Religious congruity can be held together by a real regard for one another and positive sentiments between different ethnic and religious groups.¹

Pakistan is one of the largest countries in Muslim world. Being a Muslim country, it is facing the challenge of harmony and the issues which are hindering its way like extremism, hate, intolerance and violence among different communities. Several people have become victim of terrorism and hatred among communities since 1980. BBC news has reported on 28 September 2005 that, in past 20 years, more than 4,000 people were killed in different attacks by extremists in Pakistan. The religious extremists have not only made several attacks on mosques but also spread intolerance among people by preaching hatred for each other. Especially *Ulema's* role in declaring other religious groups as non-Muslims is prominent. Most of the Pakistani Muslims have blind faith in whatever *Fatwa* the *Ulema-e-Ikram* give against religious believers of other groups. Pakistan came into existence in the name of Islam where Muslims could practice their religious values freely and with a peace of mind, but now the name of religion is being used for the purpose of politics (e.g. *Jamaat-e-Islami & Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam etc*), which has increased the competition among religious parties and eliminated the chances of harmonization in the Pakistani community.

Pak Institute for Peace Studies (December 2011), in Policy Brief titled "Peace and Religious Harmony in Pakistan" states:

Firstly, the perceptual differences in the socio-cultural and ideological domains have evolved two particularly distinct classes in Pakistan, the so-called liberals and the traditionalists – which are also referred to by many as the secular and religious classes, respectively – who are in perpetual conflict. Existence of problematic group histories across the sectarian, ethnic and political divides further undermines the prospects for peace and harmony. Secondly, the withering away of the state-society relations

¹ Hazri Jamil, and Santhiram R Raman. "Malaysian Educational Policy for National Integration: Contested Terrain of Multiple Aspirations in a Multicultural Nation." *Journal of Language and Culture* 3, no. 1, 2012: 20-31.

notwithstanding, certain segments of Pakistan's society are in direct armed conflict with the state.²

Saba Eitizaz (23 March 2013) reports:

Almost 200 Shia lives have been lost in the past two months of 2013 due to a rise in sectarian violence in Pakistan. Observers say the government is being severely tested in its ability to protect Shias — a group which comprises nearly 20% of the population. But this tide of hatred has left many pockets of Pakistan untouched, where blood ties are stronger than religious divides.³

Mumtaz Ahmad, the executive director of Iqbal International Institute for Research and Dialogue at International Islamic University, Islamabad, in his keynote address at a two-day seminar (October 2014), on "The issue of religious harmony in Europe, South Asia, and the Middle East," said, "religious discord was supposed to be a relic of the past, consigned to the dustbin of history. Yet, religious and sectarian rivalries persisted, claiming a massive human toll."⁴

Mike Wooldridge (18 March 2013) stated,

Political and religious leaders in Pakistan have condemned what appears to be a rising tide of intolerance and sectarian violence in the country. Minority groups, civilians and military personnel have all been targeted by a variety of extremists. The authorities have increased help for Christian families in the city of Lahore, after their homes were attacked by a rampaging mob.⁵

For the last few decades, Pakistan is facing threats to its national harmony due to differences and conflicts based on languages, cultures, economic, social conflicts, and terrorism⁶. Due to these reasons, there is a great need to examine the causes, consequences of the factors that are contributing in weakening the harmony among all Pakistanis and suggest measures to promote unity. Weak national harmony may lead to enhanced severity in conflicts and issues, threatening the national unity. It also may promote unlawful activities, terrorism, resultantly hindering the economic development and increasing the poverty.⁷ It has been suggested that caste-ism, linguist-ism, religious sectarianism, regionalism, educational

² "Peace and Religious Harmony in Pakistan", Policy Brief, *Pak Institute for Peace Studies*, December 2011.

³ Saba Eitizaz, "Sharing hope for harmony in Pakistan", March 23, 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-21898630>

⁴ Mumtaz Ahmad, "Inter-Faith Harmony Urged In Pakistan," *Christians in Pakistan*. October 16, 2014. Accessed September 25, 2016. <http://www.christiansinpakistan.com/inter-faith-harmony-urged-in-pakistan/>.

⁵ Mike Wooldridge, "Pakistan authorities tackle violence ahead of elections", March 18, 2013. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-21827157>

⁶ Arshad Ali, "Socio Economic Cost of Terrorism: A Case Study of Pakistan," in *Pakistan Security Research Unit Brief*, 2010.

⁷ Ibid.

disparities and socio-economic inequalities play a significant role in creating differences among citizens of a state⁸ that may contribute to harm national harmony. Thus, dealing with these issues appropriately may help promote national harmony.

However, in current situation knowledge of personal, social, and civic responsibilities is the key area, which may help us combat terrorism. It has also been included in major frameworks for 21st century skills. The education system, schools, curriculum, as well as teachers are thought very critical among the factors influencing national harmony.⁹ Schools accommodate individuals with various social, economic, and language background as well as develop attitudes and skills.¹⁰ Education is the tool to develop socially, intellectually, physically, emotionally balanced citizens and leaders of the future for a country.¹¹ Within the education setting, teachers are responsible not only for transmitting knowledge but also playing an important role to minimize conflicting factors (e.g., caste-ism, linguist-ism, religious sectarianism, regionalism, educational disparities, and socio-economic inequalities) through treating their pupils with equality regardless of their language, sect, cast, religious beliefs, social-economic status and health status.¹² In this regard, they can contribute to develop the environment that help promote patriotism,¹³ foster mutual respect, control bullying in school,¹⁴ encourage weak or disable students to participate,¹⁵ provide equal opportunities to all students for participation in co-curricular activities, as well as enhancing self-esteem in

⁸ Bernadette Hayes and Ian McAllister, "Education as a Mechanism for Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland." *Oxford Review of Education* 35, no. 4, 2009: 437-50. Also see, Joan Esteban and Gerald Schneider, "Polarization and Conflict: Theoretical and Empirical Issues." *Journal of Peace Research* 45, no. 2, 1 March 2008: 131-41.

⁹ Hayes and McAllister, "Education as a Mechanism for Conflict Resolution in Northern Ireland," *op.cit.*

¹⁰ Muhammad, Syahril, and Samsu Somadayo, "The Implementation on Multicultural Education Values in Fostering Inter Ethnic Harmony (a Naturalistic Qualitative Study in State Junior High School 1 Ternate)," *Journal of Education and Practice* 5, no. 2, 2014: 89-94.

¹¹ David B. Strahan, Mark L'Esperance, and John Van Hoose, *Promoting Harmony: Young Adolescent Development and Classroom Practices*. 3 ed., Ohio Westerville: National Middle School Association, 2010.

¹² Y.C. Sherer, and State University of New York at Albany, *Current Bullying Prevention/Intervention Practices in American Schools: Perspectives of Practicing School Psychologists*, State University of New York at Albany, 2007.

¹³ Pedro Noguera and Robby Cohen, "Patriotism and Accountability: The Role of Educators in the War on Terrorism," *Phi Delta Kappan* 87, no. 8, 1 April 2006: 573-78.

¹⁴ Sonia Sharp and Peter K Smith, *Tackling Bullying in Your School: A Practical Handbook for Teachers*, (Routledge, 2002).

¹⁵ Diane Lea Ryndak, Denise Clark, Maureen Conroy and Christy Holthaus Stuart, "Preparing Teachers to Meet the Needs of Students with Severe Disabilities: Program Configuration and Expertise," *Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities* 26, no. 2, 1 June 2001: 96-105.

them.¹⁶ Moreover, teachers are thought to serve as a tool to implement national curriculum,¹⁷ playing living role model,¹⁸ and creating feelings of love towards national culture, language, heritage, heroes, festivals, days and national symbols.¹⁹ Researchers indicated that teachers' discriminating behaviour among students with diverse cultural backgrounds causes eliciting tension.²⁰

It is the prime obligation of teachers and policymakers throughout the world to understand this vital need and integrate suitable changes in the training framework to teach such a worldwide outlook and general human values in a viable way. Worldwide Harmony Association reported the effects of advanced innovations that with development of current science and innovation, our education system has become more 'ability-based' and facts-driven' instead of value-centric. As an outcome, the predominant ethos has grown more materialistic prompting a wide range of contentions. Thus, the need obviously arises to create proper models for incorporating harmony in the current system of education with a successful way.

Authors of advancing harmony²¹ gave significance to: Positive relationships between teacher and students based on common trust on each other; Teacher ought to have information of his/her students' comforts, interests, home lives and so forth and be good example for students; Safe, welcoming classrooms, where students are made to feel esteemed and agreeable in school environment; Student-focused classrooms; At the point when learners feel that their instructor is profoundly putting resources into their prosperity, they normally react with more inspiration to learn; Students' intellectual and passionate improvement; Emphasis on association between subjects make students' learn better; Sensitivity with learners shown by teachers help strengthen their self-esteem; Teachers are expected to utilize assortment of showing procedures so as to suit with mixture of insight levels (no one is left behind); Teachers ought to exhort learners about settling on choices

¹⁶ Elan C. Hope, Alexandra B. Skoog, and Robert J. Jagers. "'It'll Never Be the White Kids, It'll Always Be Us'", op.cit.,

¹⁷ S. N. Bennett, E. C. Wragg, C. G. Carré, and D. S. G. Carter, "A Longitudinal Study of Primary Teachers' Perceived Competence in, and Concerns About, National Curriculum Implementation," *Research Papers in Education* 7, no. 1, 03/01/1992: 53-78.

¹⁸ Angela Lumpkin, "Teachers as Role Models Teaching Character and Moral Virtues," *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation & Dance* 79, no. 2, 02/01/2008: 45-50.

¹⁹ Audrey Osler, "Teacher Interpretations of Citizenship Education: National Identity, Cosmopolitan Ideals, and Political Realities," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43, no. 1, 02/01/2010: 1-24.

²⁰ Susan Rakosi Rosenbloom and Niobe Way, "Experiences of Discrimination among African American, Asian American, and Latino Adolescents in an Urban High School," *Youth & Society* 35, no. 4, 1 June 2004: 420-51.

²¹ David B. Strahan, Mark L'Esperance, and John Van Hoose, *Promoting Harmony: Young Adolescent Development and Classroom Practices*, 3, op.cit.

identified with their physical, enthusiastic, social wellbeing; There ought to be utilization of cooperation to create feeling of having a place among learners; and teachers ought to be mindful of tormenting exercises in their schools.

The instructors are relied on to live out what they instruct, for which more profound duty, conviction and cooperation on the part of learners is required. Just a proper perceptual change among the teachers can address this issue. Spiritual values are fundamental to worldly education. Utilization of profound qualities advances peace.²² Teacher must fit religions in classroom with the assistance of co-curricular exercises. Religion ought not to be turned into a separating variable and a source of contentions.

Notwithstanding, the basic course, the improvement of an exhaustive curricular package for harmony integration, will include modification of curriculum for mix of societal concerns in the material, techniques for showing different subjects, fusing a couple of elective courses and supporting co-curricular exercises. To really execute the harmony and integration into the current education system, as experts have proposed the steps²³ that spreading mindfulness through workshops, classes and media, about the earnestness of the requirement for integration of harmony through instruction, and proposing a conceivable system to satisfy this need, will be useful in adding to the imperative inspiration and responsibility of teachers, training managers and different partners of training to work in this course. In reality, such a giant exertion needs to be sought at different levels. On one hand, it needs proper activities on the part of policymaking and monitoring bodies to attempt and give important arrangement mandates, motivating forces and support as well as suitable standards and rules to convey this assignment forward. On the other hand, it requires far-reaching research and development (R&D) work for curricular advancement, asset material, teaching and assessment strategies, in addition to the instructor introduction programmes. The pilot level tests in actualizing these inventive inputs will be useful in accepting and dispersing the new models. It will be important to create Centres of Excellence for Harmony through Education in different colleges and conspicuous organizations of teacher training to complete the aforementioned formative exercises in a thorough manner. The system of educator training for 'Harmony through Education' ought to incorporate operation by giving introduction of in-service teachers and other staff, by and large; orientation of pre-service instructors through

²² Gujarat Vidyapeeth, and Jain Vishwa, "Effective Curricular Models for Teacher Education for Peace and Harmony EPH," Paper presented at the International Seminar on Teacher Education for Peace & Harmony, Raj Ghat, New Delhi, adjacent to the 'samadhi' of Mahatma Gandhi, 2012.

²³ Ibid.

curricular adjustment in B.Ed., M.Ed. courses; specialized projects to get ready educators for congruity through instruction; specialized research (M.Phil., Ph.D) programmes for creating specialists and teacher trainers (expert mentors); and duly perceiving the significance of education for peace and amicability by giving suitable weight-age in evaluation and compensating the quality ability of instructors and additionally the learners, and lastly making a helpful value-based institutional environment.

Taking everything into account, it will oblige clarity of vision, proper curricular models pedagogical procedures, essential asset material, sufficient educator training projects and production of amiable environment and arrangements to reinforce this exertion. Viable Teacher Education for Peace and Harmony is essential for this process. Several steps have been initiated by Pakistan Government to overcome non-harmonious situation in country,²⁴ in which curriculum implementations are crucial. Teachers have both knowledge and skills to inculcate core curriculum components within their institutions.

Taking together, it can be assumed that national harmony can be promoted through active role of the teachers at schools, colleges, and university levels. These foster the idea of examining the current practices in educational institutions related to national harmony. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to determine the influence of teachers on the factors and components of harmony among students.

Methodology

This study mainly focused on the impact of teachers on cultivating harmony among students for a peaceful and integrated nation. For this purpose, perspectives of heads of educational institutions, teachers and students were considered as focal point to have initial look on the scenario. In these circumstances educational institutions of Bahawalpur City including schools, colleges and universities were considered as population of the study. As many as 260 individuals from two universities, two colleges and 10 schools were randomly selected for data collection. Sample was comprised of heads, teachers, researchers and students. A questionnaire was developed to solicit responses about current situation in educational institutions, hurdles in harmony and suggestions to develop role of teachers in preaching harmony. There were 39 items in questionnaire, in which 37 were close-ended to have overview of present scenario about harmony development and remaining 2 items were open-ended to take opinions about hurdles in promotion of harmony in educational institutions and suggestions to endorse it. Tool was validated by taking experts opinions about face, content and construct. After taking

²⁴ *National Education Polic 2009*, Ministry of Educationm, Government of Pakistan.

reviews from them and making necessary amendments a final version of questionnaire was implied to collect data from selected sample. Reliability of the scale was 0.82. A total of 228 filled questionnaires were received with the response rate of 88%. In which there were 8 heads of institutions, 64 teachers, 55 research scholars and 101 students. Among respondents 39% were male and 61% were female. A total of 83% individuals were from Bahawalpur while only 17% were from outside Bahawalpur City. While 45.6% of sample was derived from university population, 26.3% was from college and 28% of the respondents were from school side. Demographic of sample Mother Tongue is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Mother Tongue		
Mother Tongue	F	%
Urdu	88	38.6
Punjabi	85	37.3
Saraiki	52	22.8
Total	228	100.0

Results

Three groups of items were made to make results objectively. First group was related to role of teachers in cultivating cohesion among students, second was about the harmonious environment of educational institutions, and third group was regarding the implications of harmony among students. Frequencies, percentages and mean scores were calculated to have comprehensive view of results. To checkout language and gender disparities among respondents ANOVA and T-test was used with significance level of .05. Results are presented in the form of tables and figures.

Table 2: Teachers in cultivating cohesion among students

Sr.	Statements	Agreed	Disagreed
1	Teachers treat all the students equally	77%	22%
2	Teachers avoid favouritism for the students of their sect	69%	31%
3	Teachers avoid favouritism for the students of their caste	80%	20%
4	Teachers have intention to know hobbies of all students	27%	73%
5	Teachers promote self-esteem of students	79%	21%
6	Teachers promote honesty among the students	86%	14%

7	Teachers encourage students to take their own decisions	77%	23%
8	Teachers discourage bullying activities in their institutions	59%	41%
9	Teachers preach equal respect to all religions	82%	18%
10	Teachers do special care for students	78%	22%
11	Teachers relate their teaching with national interests	72%	28%
12	Teacher-student relationship is based on mutual respect	89%	11%
Total		73%	27%

Table 2 indicates the part of teachers in cultivating cohesion among students that how successfully they are being positive role model for their students and to what extent they have played their part in creating sense of harmony among students. As many as 73% of respondents have agreement that teachers are playing their required role in promoting peace and harmony without discriminating on the basis of students' background, language, and social groups.

Table 3: Harmonious Environment of Educational Institutions

Sr.	Statements	Agreed	Disagreed
1.	Students from different living areas have equal opportunity to participate	71%	29%
2.	Discussions among the followers of different religious sects do not lead towards mutual conflicts	44%	55%
3.	Social well-being is preferred over the personal interest of students	56%	44%
4.	Students from different social groups have equal chance to participate in academic activities	73%	27%
5.	Students are not discriminated on the basis of their castes	85%	15%
6.	Students' grouping is not based on caste system	80%	20%
7.	Meritorious culture is promoted in educational institutions	67%	33%
8.	Honest students are encouraged in terms of appreciation	84%	16%

9.	Truth is appreciated at the institutions	71%	29%
10.	Patriotic songs are encouraged at different occasions in educational institutions	60%	40%
11.	Number of cultural activities are done more than of activities on drama/film songs	47%	53%
12.	Poor student have equal opportunity to participate in co-curricular activities	61%	39%
13.	Sports teams are selected on the basis of merit	50%	50%
Total		65%	35%

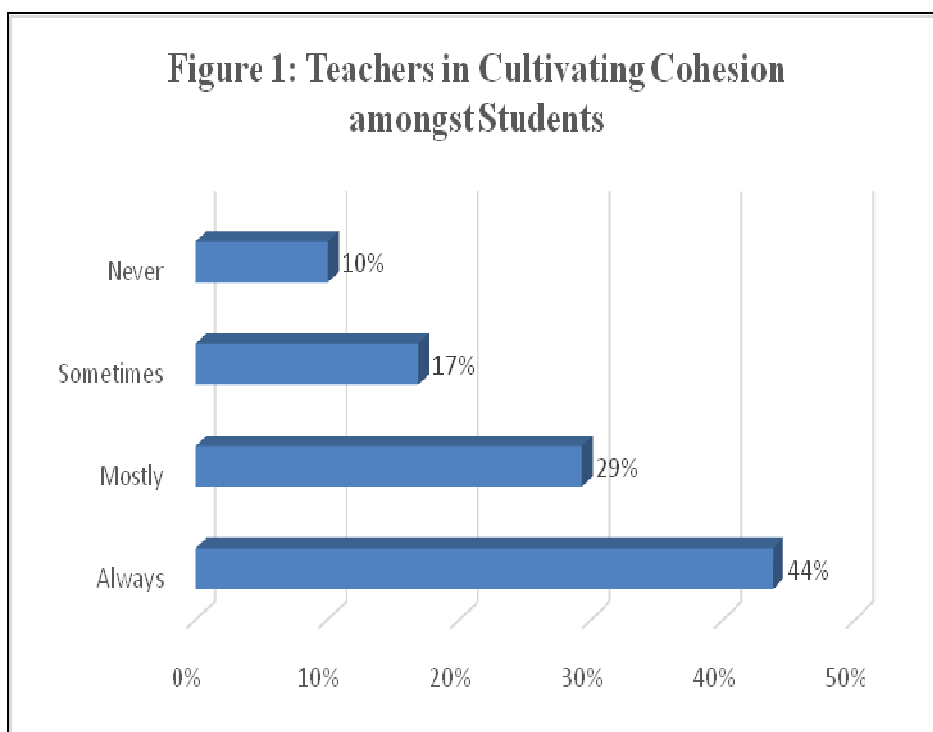
Table 3 gives an overview about the harmonious environment of educational institutions. A total of 65% respondents agreed that this factor is playing positive role in cultivating harmony among its population. Although some of the dimensions are below desired outcomes such as 50% respondents have given view that sports teams are selected on merit basis whereas remaining 50% disagreed. The preference of cultural activities among students is decreasing with the passage of time. As many as 56% respondents said that social well-being is preferred over the personal interest of students.

Table 4: Impacts on Harmony among Students

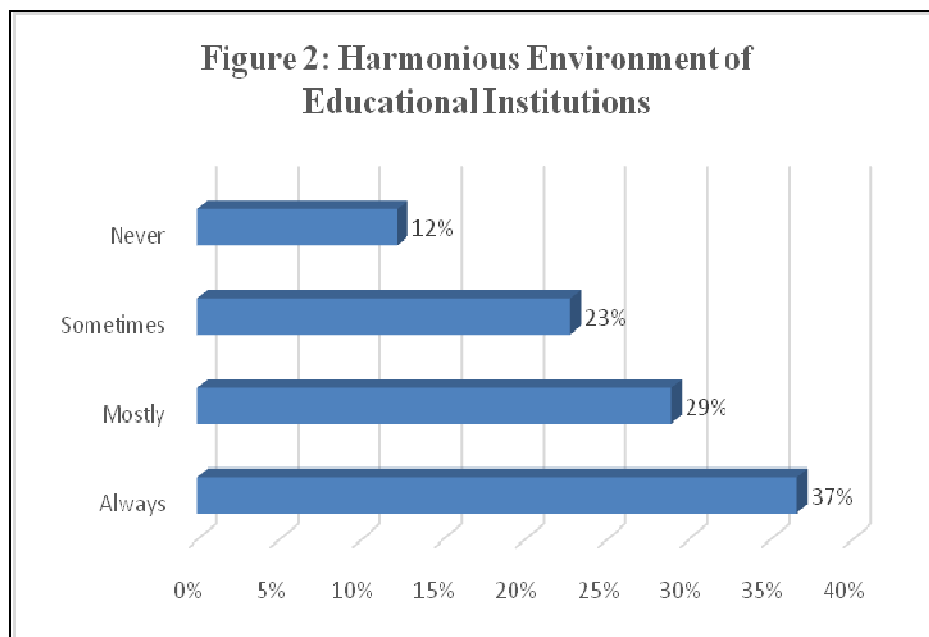
Sr	Statements	Agreed	Disagreed
1	There are not language biases among students	62%	38%
2	Students enjoy learning environment of educational institution	76%	24%
3	Students from different sects tolerate each other	64%	36%
4	There is tolerance among students for the religious matters	56%	44%
5	Students feel self-respect in classrooms	75%	25%
6	Students feel that their teachers are deeply concerned for their success	86%	14%
7	Students work in teams	68%	32%
8	Students feel uncomfortable discussing the controversial issues	50%	50%

9	Students like to sing national anthem on the start of academic events	60%	40%
10	Students feel embarrass in discussing caste related issues with their class fellows	28%	72%
11	Students do not hesitate to make friends from poor families	60%	40%
12	Students become friendly with disable students without any hesitation	66%	34%
Total		62%	38%

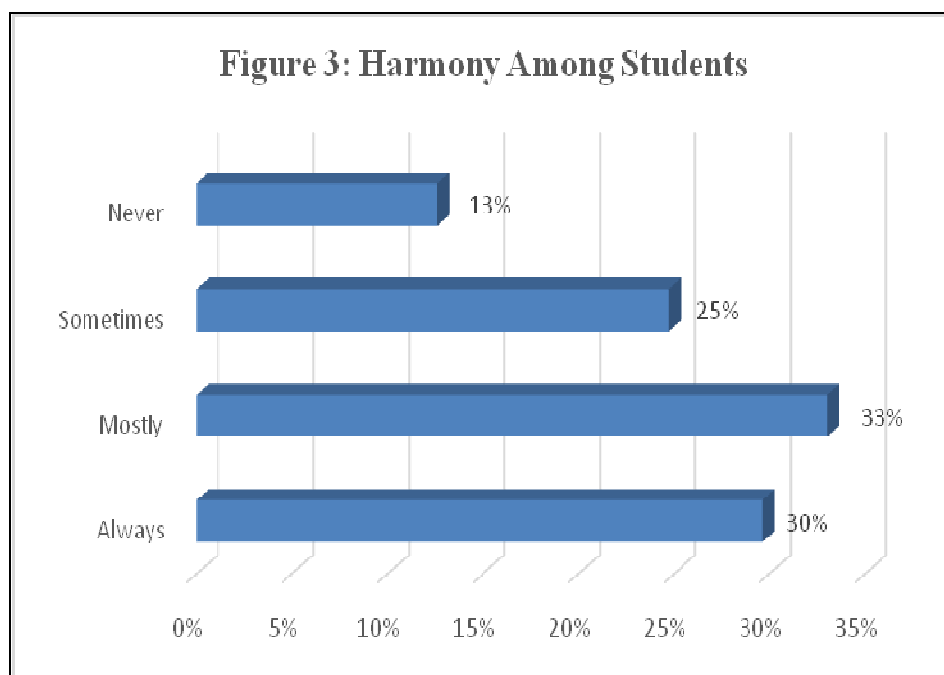
Table 4 shows results about harmony level among students. A total of 62% respondents agreed that there are implications of teaching-learning environment on students whereas only 38% of respondents have given unfavourable viewpoints regarding the phenomena.



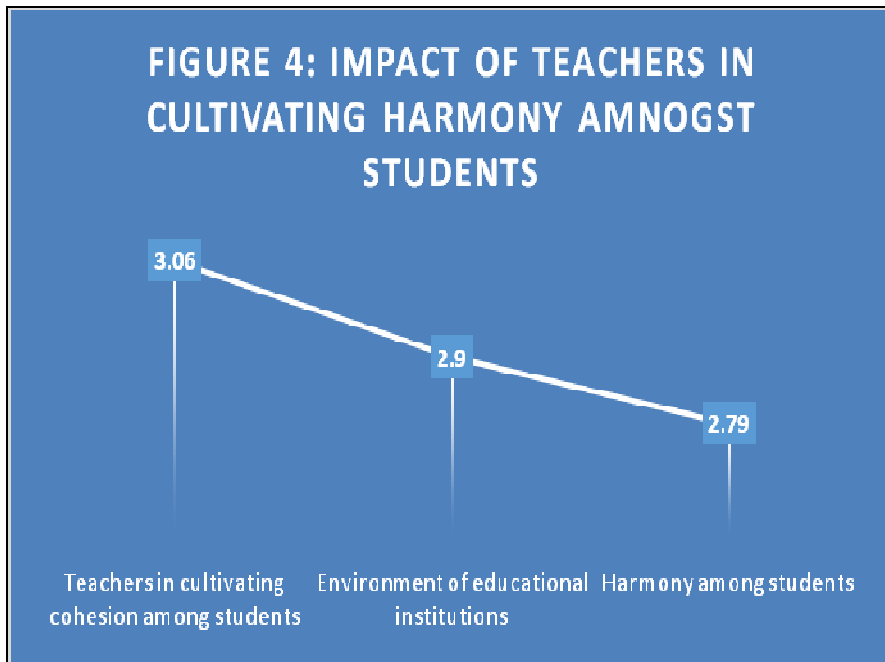
Survey of Educational Institutions in Bahawalpur



Survey of Educational Institutions in Bahawalpur

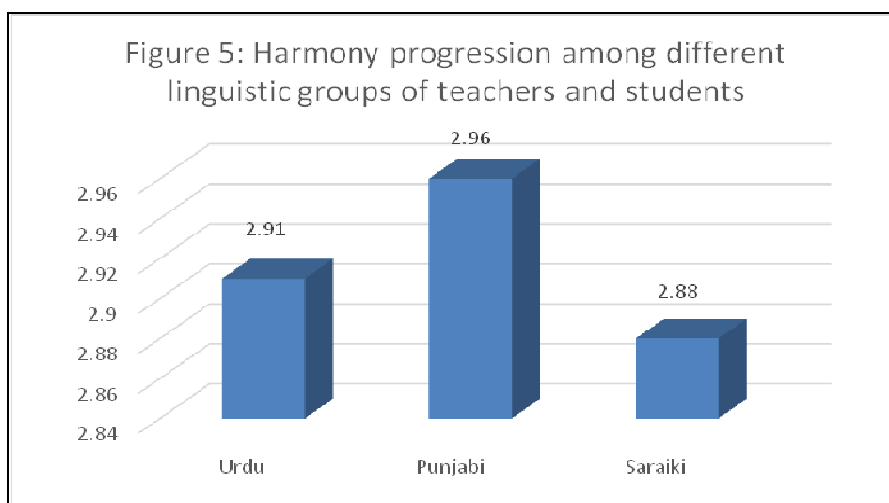


Survey of Educational Institutions in Bahawalpur



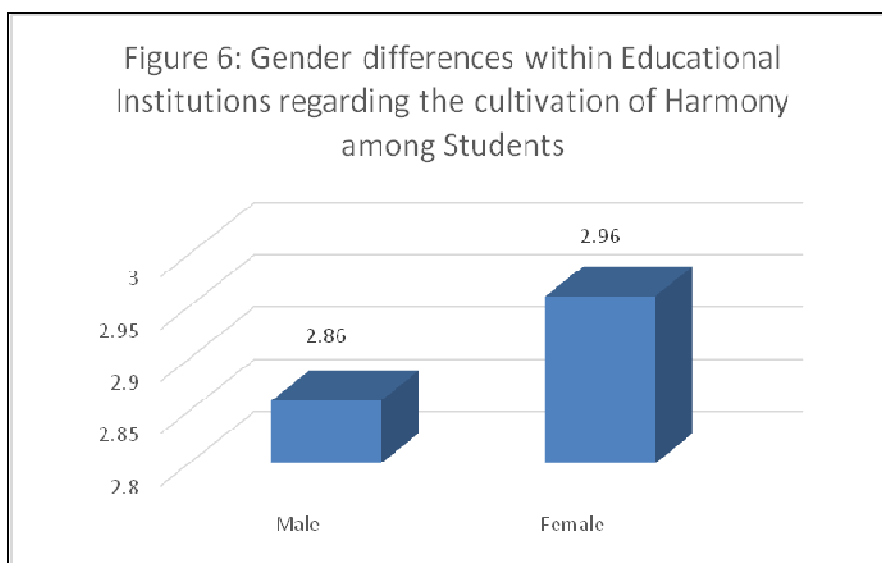
Survey of Educational Institutions in Bahawalpur

Teachers have made their efforts to inculcate harmony among students but their impacts on students are somewhat lower than expectations (Figure 4). Mean value for teachers in cultivating cohesion among students was 3.06; whereas as environment of educational institutions regarding promoting harmony was 2.9, mean value for harmony among students was 2.79, which give impression of slightly favourable successful impacts of teachers in promoting harmony among them.



Survey of Educational Institutions in Bahawalpur

Language is a major factor which can have effects on the peace level of nation. Results compiled from different linguistic groups are tested by applying Analysis of Variance test. Results would have to be significant at 0.05 level. Significance level of variance for linguistic groups was 0.445, which indicates that there is no significant difference of harmony progression among different linguistic groups but to some extent. (Figure 5) A minor difference is defined as teachers and students with Punjabi language background have coordination attitude with others (mean = 2.96) as compared to Urdu (mean = 2.91) and Saraiki (mean = 2.88) language people. Major differences are not observed.



Survey of Educational Institutions in Bahawalpur

Gender may have less or more effects on perspectives. T-test was carried out to find gender differences with significance level of 0.05. It was calculated as 0.02, which means that there is significant difference of harmonious practices among male and female institutions. Female institutions have shown somewhat positive reaction (mean = 2.96) towards the phenomena as compared to male respondents (mean = 2.86) (Figure 6).

Discussion

Promotion of harmony and cohesion through education system can eradicate extremism and terrorism. It will also boost Pakistan's image at international level. With less focus on differences, and more focus on unity, our strengths can be used for the development of our country. Education always plays an important role in developing nations, and the most important pillar of it is the respected teachers.

Teachers have their lasting impacts on students whatever they do. In fact students get inspirations from teachers' personality, too, and they often take their teachers as role-model, try to conceive their way of thinking, practicing and behaving. Teachers are cultivating harmony among students. There is no significant discrimination found among students on the basis of their language, sect, caste and gender or socio-economic background. Mostly teachers prefer social well-being on personal interests of students. They discourage bullying activities into their institutions, and most of them encourage students to take their own decisions. Teachers can play their role in creating critical situation by discussing religious sects but one of the most appreciable things is that 82% of teachers from targeted population preach equal respect to all religious groups. Mutual trust among teacher and students, where teachers know about the hobbies, interests and home lives, has less probability within universities where education is very fast paced at a semester level and in those schools with huge enrolments. However, student societies in such institutions can perform a crucial role through holding seminars and organizing events. An example of such event can be taken recently from Karachi, after a suicide blast in a Church in Lahore, Muslim social workers guarded their Church by forming human chains as a gesture of goodwill on their next prayer day.

Environment of educational institutions is harmonious at average level. Merit is main component to strengthen harmony in nation. When merit is ignored or favouritism is practiced then hate for advantaged group and biasness aroused from deprived individuals which leads to dis-integrity among social classes. Honest students are mostly appreciated in educational institutions, which creates their longing to keep it with them but 29% results revealed that truth is less appreciated. We can turn it near to 0% by increasing value-based assessment in our education system.

Students are the future leaders who build their character in educational institutions. Study found that 50% students feel uncomfortable in discussing controversial issues. Most of them do not hesitate making friends from poor families and becoming friends with disable students. Although students do not care of castes and groups in making their groups in educational institutions, yet they often feel less embarrassment in discussing their caste related issues with class fellows. It not only increases awareness among them about other castes and local languages but they also learn that how to take care of other groups values.

Recommendations

Teachers have significant lasting impacts on students' mindset regarding peace and harmonious environment but we can turn it from "little" to "more" by implementing following strategic recommendations:

- There is need for extensive research and development work for curricular development. A special course on harmony education can be included in teacher education courses. Their training of integration of values can be initiated with formal settings.
- Seminars and workshops on departmental level in universities can be organized for faculty members to increase their motivation for integrating harmony within their educational environment.
- Teachers' assessment may have value-based criteria and incentives on value-competence can be provided to them with academic achievements and skill-competences. It will integrate value-based educational environment. Teaching licence based on the skill set and psychological bias level of the teacher can be issued to them after taking personality and aptitude tests. This will help them recognize their value as a morality moderator.
- Special cultural events can be organized within and inter-institutions to refresh sense of national identity and promote cohesion.
- Students' groups can be made heterogeneously on the multi-cultural basis. They will have more opportunity to share their ideas with each other and interact to recognize crucial diverse.
- In tribal areas, radio is the most effective way of communication. Government should air special interactive programmes to promote harmony. Involvement of local people is necessary, as many of them don't even allow their children to get education.
- Teaching students the importance of Honest Living will inspire harmony.
- Although the results are moderately in favour of equality-based environments in schools, yet abandoning favouritism in gradually higher institutions can help achieve unbiasedness among students.
- Educational institutions can organize students' trips to temples and churches to create awareness among them about culture of other religious groups. They can hold collaborative events among the students of different religious schools.
- Spreading awareness through workshops, seminars and media, about the urgency of the need for harmony.

Book Reviews

Title: The Politics of Climate Change Negotiations

Author: Dr. Christian Downie

Publisher: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014.

International society, in the last two decades has observed strange havocs in the silhouette of perverted disasters. The scientific community under Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) of United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) attributes this sudden change towards the anthropogenic (manmade) activities like GHGs (greenhouse gases) emissions that are claimed by these bodies to be responsible for the hasty climate change. The developed as well as developing states are facing the scratch alike. The world has now started turning towards the international green sustainable living options. For this reason the international cooperation is on the rise in terms of the climate change debates.

The writers, world over, have also moved to this zone of vitality and produced good works. One such fine book is written by Dr. Christian Downie in the year 2014 titled, 'The Politics of Climate Change Negotiations'. The book covers the important aspects of climate change negotiations and political motives across the board. The theoretical and practical accounts have made the book a must read for researchers, climatologists, politicians, academics, diplomats and policymakers. In the first phase the author describes the basic theory of negotiations in political arena with the gradual flow of the discussion towards climate change phenomena. The next section of the book consists of narration of the successes and failures of international negotiations structuring the assessment over the edification for the future policy needs.

One of the important features of the book is the collection of 105 interviews with numerous climate change experts, negotiators, residential aides, ministers and climatologists. All this allowed Dr. Christian Downie to have a solid stance, in order to explore the further horizons in the climate change politics. The book explains in details the questions of why various states agree or disagree, how the climate negotiations face opposition and go-slow tactics by developed nations, how developing states remain unvoiced? The book presents some cases where states changed their former stances and opted for new strategies to counter the climate negotiations.

For the study of global relations, the book is of a unique nature. The book applies a two-level game perception for relating international negotiations being developed by US political scientist, Robert Putnam. The book revolves around 105 interviews from top climate negotiators representing diverse nations that have been involved in the process since

1990. It also keeps the simple outlook of the critical affairs of rising average mean temperature globally as per scientific data. So the staging of numerous cases with three sets of international climate negotiations provides outstanding erudition. Although, this volume is not the first to look into the complexities of the climate negotiations, yet importance of the topic (being international issue) makes it an important text. The international relations in terms of security, trade and the environment often are maintained via negotiations at international debates. This book explains the intertwined longer climate negotiations with vibrant variety of arguments presented by leading developed and developing states on the international forums. By developing a series of repetitive but focused and pointed arguments, the book gives idea about insufficiencies present in the existing theoretical frameworks, literature, and scholars for the preferences of states for longer negotiations over politics of climate change. There was a real issue explored as to why some states showed eagerness towards an agreement in the first year of negotiations, but then interestingly took a volte-face in next years, such that all the factors remained unchanged as was previous years.

Different strategies and variables have made the multifaceted climate phenomena even more speckled. The various strategies used, by the leading states, included are but not limited to the carbon emissions lowering, trading of carbon credits, GHGs cutbacks and restraining, mitigation and adaptation that would play a role for the better sustainable development of the international community.

However, besides the core scientific and technical issues pointed and discussed in international political quarters of this volume, the common contribution of this book is to draw our attention towards one of the most important issue of international negotiations which is more than to get the involvement of the political manoeuvring at every stage. Making the once simple technical discussions a matter of longer and delayed debates, agreeing on some and disagreeing on other for political or economic motives shows some calculations.

The domestic politics, the various socio-economic factors and international pressure caused the change in positions taken one after another by political heads and state figures having a lot of experience to their credentials. The book has presented the arguments that mostly the domestic economic incentives and political factors are behind the zigzag course of action adopted by the advanced economies in the climate negotiations repositioning.

In the Chapter 7, an apt discussion on the theoretical framework of immature and mature game is another important addition to the understanding of behind the scene international politico-economic affairs. The theoretical framework has been examined in bilateral negotiations, but not in climate sense, especially in multilateral settings. So it allows

better and some detailed description of the complexities involved at international multilateral forums.

The framework has several limitations and the author situate arguments concerning the temporal or chronological dimension that may be helped by distinguishing that national arrangements as well as political parties play a role. This makes the already complex system more complex. Just like in the case of USA, international community has observed that there were domestic political environments that compelled the government to back out from Kyoto Protocol due to seeing a cut in the GHGs emissions as a danger to the economic progress (especially industrial, agricultural and services sectors) of the country.

As the book suggests, the climate talks are very convoluted with multifaceted approaches that are complex and surely demand a wholesome command over climatologically derived technical, economic, political and international operational mechanisms. A good appreciation of all these may allow a discussant to move ahead and have some debate over climate change.

On the other hand, the writer expects that the governmental decision-making would be in line with the international needs over a period of time, with the anthropogenic disasters surfacing one after another and getting better leadership in the coming times (the writer has used this optimistic wish throughout the book) and successful agreements.

The meaningful discussion with the practical examples of the negotiating behaviours of USA and EU, during international efforts for a treaty, poses serious questions for the common readers. So it becomes clear that there is something wrong either with the climate science-presented data or the political decision-making in the under discussion regions. The writer has made a great deal by the well-documented study while addressing the unanswered complexities and problems involved in negotiations. Formerly single instances were analyzed but the writer has made the point with multi-level climate negotiations while viewing the parties changing their stances again and again.

The in-depth analysis of the strategies adopted by the various states makes 'The Politics of Climate Change Negotiations' a manual of choice for international climate negotiators besides allowing an apt addition to the literature of the once limited field of international negotiations. The practical arguments make this work a ray of hope for future workings of international political experts and welfare for humankind in terms of less global warming and peaceful sustainable living over the planet earth.

Reviewed by S. M. Ali Shah, PhD Scholar, Department of IR, NDU, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Title: Structures of Violence: The Indian State in Jammu and Kashmir

Publisher: The International Peoples Tribunal for Human Rights and Justice in Indian Administered Kashmir (IPTK) and The Association of Parents of Disappeared Persons (APDP), 2015.

Although much has been written about state of the human rights in the Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir, yet recently two rights groups composed of lawyers, activists and relatives of disappeared people - Srinagar-based organisations -- jointly published a report titled "Structures of Violence: The Indian State in Jammu and Kashmir" which is full of the painful individual stories and makes a thorough examination of the complex issues of the human rights.

The 800-page report, compiled in book form, not only identifies recent incidents but also uncovers previous massacres and fake encounters, killings of innocent people in an unprecedented way that shows authors' in-depth knowledge about the society and complicated state structure. Prepared over a period of two years, this is a third report in a series by these two indigenous rights groups.

In July this year, Amnesty International stated that during last 25 years not a single member of the security forces deployed in the state has been tried for human rights violations in a civilian court. This lack of accountability has in turn facilitated other serious abuses. Now, this report confirms that human rights situation in Kashmir is one of the major challenges to the civilized world and human rights defenders to deal with. The report documents the extra-judicial killings of 1,080 persons and enforced disappearances of 172 persons and numerous cases of torture and sexual violence. Stunning aspect of this report is that it put forward 333 detailed case studies with 972 identified alleged perpetrators including 464 army personnel, 161 paramilitary personnel, 158 Jammu and Kashmir police personnel and 189 government gunmen. Besides, it also presents individual case studies which unveil the pattern of violence by the state authorities as well as personal agony and pain of the victims' families.

It is widely stated that the Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir has become the most densely militarized zone in the world but people hardly know exactly how many Indian troops are stationed there. This report claims that the strength of the armed forces, including the army and BSF, in Jammu and Kashmir from a conservative 6,56,638 to 7,50,981. It shows that almost every citizen of the Kashmir lives under the close watch of the troops. Some observers say that there is one soldier on the ground for every 15 Kashmiris.

It has long been alleged that state authorities established a few outfits of the mercenaries who are being used to keep a check on the local population particularly on the young people. This report exposes the nexus between these government funded groups and the state authorities. It says that "Indian army controlled, armed and financed government gunmen – Ikhwan and Muslim Mujahideen – and used these operatives to commit crimes."

The report dedicated a whole chapter to examine the role of the judiciary. Several cases have been studied which were sent to the courts decades ago for decision. Ironically, it finds that judicial system which is meant to provide justice to the citizens at times becomes complicit and supportive to the structure of violence. The report concluded that justice delivery system has been "conclusively exhausted."

Amnesty International also recently accused the authorities in Kashmir for creating stumbling blocks to prosecute those who have committed serious human rights abuses. The report unveiled how the state mechanism is being used to support the structure of violence. It says that the court-martial in Jammu and Kashmir is found to be opaque, impossible to access, against principles of natural justice, and biased. As many as 333 case studies of enforced disappearances, extra-judicial killings, sexual violence and torture with 972 identified alleged perpetrators have been reported and analyzed.

Amazingly, in this report names, ranks and even units have been mentioned who have directly been involved in the human rights violations but were not punished so far. A long list of the HR offenders is given in this report i.e. one major general, seven brigadiers, 31 colonels, four lieutenant colonels, 115 majors, 40 captains, 54 senior officials of the paramilitary forces and a retired director general of the Jammu and Kashmir Police, a present additional director general of police, two inspector generals, two deputy inspector generals, six senior superintendents of police, and three superintendents of police are named who committed serious human rights abuses directly or issued orders to kill, kidnap or beat citizens.

Ironically, this report could not attract due international attention despite its rich content, insightful, indigenous narrative and very painful and capturing stories of human tragedies. It has objectively recorded what has happened to the people of Kashmir since 1990. For instance, in 38-long pages all major incidents have been properly documented which made huge impact on the socio-political life of the common people and victims who are still waiting for justice.

As many as 106 personal testimonies tell us how the people of Kashmir run their day-to-day life. Personal stories, family account and circumstantial evidence expose the real face of the state mechanism to suppress people's will and civil liberties. Very minute details were collected in each case i.e. dates, witness's personal information. It is premature to envisage but there is likelihood that this kind of reports may

help bring the perpetrators of the human rights violation in Kashmir to the justice by employing international laws that do not accept any excuse on gross HR violation and consider them international crimes.

It is encouraging to note that key information about the security forces deployment or illegal detention were gathered through the Right to Information laws, witness testimonies and litigation. It appears that RTI can be used as an effective tool to improve human rights situation in the conflict zones, if skilfully applied.

There is no denying the fact that Kashmir is a festering wound in the heart of South Asian region and deserves a political solution to end its inhabitants' miseries once for all. The people struggle to achieve right of self-determination and the way they rendered sacrifices also show that it cannot be dealt as a law and order problem but a political issue.

However, as long as this issue is unresolved its citizens should not be subjected to state-backed institutional victimization. Indian government should pay attention to the Kashmir situation and allow peaceful non-violent political struggle by the dissent groups which is not a political concession but a citizens' basic right which is ensured in the United Nations charter and even in the Indian constitution.

Here is an excerpt from the report:

The structures of violence in Jammu and Kashmir are a complex interplay of army camps, intelligence agencies and numerous other armed groups. While there is ample evidence of the violence suffered by citizens of Jammu and Kashmir in the last three decades. We believe it is necessary now to understand such violence not as sporadic and occasional but as the consequence of an infrastructure. Whether as part of counterinsurgency [COIN] or otherwise, the violence is deliberate, consistent and a consequence of a system that is in place. (See at page.10)

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DOCUMENTS

Document 1

JOINT STATEMENT BY EU HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FEDERICA MOGHERINI AND IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JAVAD ZARIF

Vienna, 14 July 2015

Today is an historic day.

It is a great honour for us to announce that we have reached an agreement on the Iranian nuclear issue.

With courage, political will, mutual respect and leadership, we delivered on what the world was hoping for: a shared commitment to peace and to join hands in order to make our world safer. This is an historic day also because we are creating the conditions for building trust and opening a new chapter in our relationship.

This achievement is the result of a collective effort. No one ever thought it would be easy. Historic decisions never are. But despite all twists and turns of the talks, and the number of extensions, hope and determination enabled us to overcome all the difficult moments. We have always been aware we had a responsibility to our generation and the future ones.

Thanks to the constructive engagement of all parties, and the dedication and ability of our teams, we have successfully concluded negotiations and resolved a dispute that lasted more than 10 years.

Many people brought these difficult negotiations forward during the last decade and we would like to thank all of them — as we would like to thank the International Atomic Energy Agency for its critical contribution and close cooperation as well as the Austrian government for the support and hospitality.

We, the EU High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy and the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, together with the Foreign Ministers of the People's Republic of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States of America met here in Vienna, following several months of intensive work, at various levels and in different formats, to negotiate the text of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), based on the key parameters agreed in Lausanne on 2 April.

We have today agreed on the final text of this Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action.

The E3/EU+3 and the Islamic Republic of Iran welcome this historic Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), which will ensure that Iran's nuclear program will be exclusively peaceful, and mark a

fundamental shift in their approach to this issue. They anticipate that full implementation of this Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action will positively contribute to regional and international peace and security. Iran reaffirms that under no circumstances will Iran ever seek, develop or acquire any nuclear weapons.

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action includes Iran's own long-term plan with agreed limitations on Iran's nuclear program, and will produce the comprehensive lifting of all UN Security Council sanctions as well as multilateral and national sanctions related to Iran's nuclear program, including steps on access in areas of trade, technology, finance, and energy.

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action comprises of a main text, and five technical annexes — on nuclear, sanctions, civil nuclear energy cooperation, a joint commission, and implementation. These documents are detailed and specific: that is important because all sides wanted clarity so as to ensure the full and effective implementation of the agreement.

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is a balanced deal that respects the interests of all sides. It is also complex, detailed and technical: we cannot fully summarise the agreement now. But the full main text and all its annexes will be made public still today and will be presented within the next few days by the E3+3 to the Security Council for endorsement.

We know that this agreement will be subject to intense scrutiny. But what we are announcing today is not only a deal but a good deal. And a good deal for all sides – and the wider international community.

This agreement opens new possibilities and a way forward to end a crisis that has lasted for more than 10 years. We are committed to make sure this Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action is fully implemented, counting also on the contribution of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

We call on the world community to support the implementation of this historic effort.

This is the conclusion of our negotiations, but this is not the end of our common work. We will keep doing this important task together.

Source: <http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150714_01_en.htm>

Document 2**STATEMENT BY THE US PRESIDENT ON IRAN**

July 14, 2015

Today, after two years of negotiations, the United States, together with our international partners, has achieved something that decades of animosity has not — a comprehensive, long-term deal with Iran that will prevent it from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

This deal demonstrates that American diplomacy can bring about real and meaningful change — change that makes our country, and the world, safer and more secure. This deal is also in line with a tradition of American leadership. It's now more than 50 years since President Kennedy stood before the American people and said, "Let us never negotiate out of fear, but let us never fear to negotiate." He was speaking then about the need for discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union, which led to efforts to restrict the spread of nuclear weapons.

In those days, the risk was a catastrophic nuclear war between two superpowers. In our time, the risk is that nuclear weapons will spread to more and more countries, particularly in the Middle East, the most volatile region in our world.

Today, because America negotiated from a position of strength and principle, we have stopped the spread of nuclear weapons in this region. Because of this deal, the international community will be able to verify that the Islamic Republic of Iran will not develop a nuclear weapon.

This deal meets every single one of the bottom lines that we established when we achieved a framework earlier this spring. Every pathway to a nuclear weapon is cut off. And the inspection and transparency regime necessary to verify that objective will be put in place. Because of this deal, Iran will not produce the highly enriched uranium and weapons-grade plutonium that form the raw materials necessary for a nuclear bomb.

Because of this deal, Iran will remove two-thirds of its installed centrifuges — the machines necessary to produce highly enriched uranium for a bomb — and store them under constant international supervision. Iran will not use its advanced centrifuges to produce enriched uranium for the next decade. Iran will also get rid of 98 percent of its stockpile of enriched uranium.

To put that in perspective, Iran currently has a stockpile that could produce up to 10 nuclear weapons. Because of this deal, that stockpile will be reduced to a fraction of what would be required for a single weapon. This stockpile limitation will last for 15 years.

Because of this deal, Iran will modify the core of its reactor in Arak so that it will not produce weapons-grade plutonium. And it has agreed to ship the spent fuel from the reactor out of the country for the lifetime of the reactor. For at least the next 15 years, Iran will not build any new heavy-water reactors.

Because of this deal, we will, for the first time, be in a position to verify all of these commitments. That means this deal is not built on trust; it is built on verification. Inspectors will have 24/7 access to Iran's key nuclear facilities.

Iran [Inspectors] will have access to Iran's entire nuclear supply chain — its uranium mines and mills, its conversion facility, and its centrifuge manufacturing and storage facilities. This ensures that Iran will not be able to divert materials from known facilities to covert ones. Some of these transparency measures will be in place for 25 years.

Because of this deal, inspectors will also be able to access any suspicious location. Put simply, the organization responsible for the inspections, the IAEA, will have access where necessary, when necessary. That arrangement is permanent. And the IAEA has also reached an agreement with Iran to get access that it needs to complete its investigation into the possible military dimensions of Iran's past nuclear research.

Finally, Iran is permanently prohibited from pursuing a nuclear weapon under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which provided the basis for the international community's efforts to apply pressure on Iran.

As Iran takes steps to implement this deal, it will receive relief from the sanctions that we put in place because of Iran's nuclear program — both America's own sanctions and sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council. This relief will be phased in. Iran must complete key nuclear steps before it begins to receive new sanctions relief. And over the course of the next decade, Iran must abide by the deal before additional sanctions are lifted, including five years for restrictions related to arms, and eight years for restrictions related to ballistic missiles.

All of this will be memorialized and endorsed in a new United Nations Security Council resolution. And if Iran violates the deal, all of these sanctions will snap back into place. So there's a very clear incentive for Iran to follow through, and there are very real consequences for a violation.

That's the deal. It has the full backing of the international community. Congress will now have an opportunity to review the details, and my administration stands ready to provide extensive briefings on how this will move forward.

As the American people and Congress review the deal, it will be important to consider the alternative. Consider what happens in a world without this deal. Without this deal, there is no scenario where the world joins us in sanctioning Iran until it completely dismantles its nuclear

program. Nothing we know about the Iranian government suggests that it would simply capitulate under that kind of pressure. And the world would not support an effort to permanently sanction Iran into submission. We put sanctions in place to get a diplomatic resolution and that is what we have done.

Without this deal, there would be no agreed-upon limitations for the Iranian nuclear program. Iran could produce, operate and test more and more centrifuges. Iran could fuel a reactor capable of producing plutonium for a bomb. And we would not have any of the inspections that allow us to detect a covert nuclear weapons program. In other words, no deal means no lasting constraints on Iran's nuclear program.

Such a scenario would make it more likely that other countries in the region would feel compelled to pursue their own nuclear programs, threatening a nuclear arms race in the most volatile region of the world. It would also present the United States with fewer and less effective options to prevent Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon.

I've been President and Commander-in-Chief for over six years now. Time and again, I have faced decisions about whether or not to use military force. It's the gravest decision that any President has to make. Many times, in multiple countries, I have decided to use force. And I will never hesitate to do so when it is in our national security interest. I strongly believe that our national security interest now depends upon preventing Iran from obtaining a nuclear weapon — which means that without a diplomatic resolution, either I or a future U.S. President would face a decision about whether or not to allow Iran to obtain a nuclear weapon or whether to use our military to stop it.

Put simply, no deal means a greater chance of more war in the Middle East. Moreover, we give nothing up by testing whether or not this problem can be solved peacefully. If, in a worst-case scenario, Iran violates the deal, the same options that are available to me today will be available to any U.S. President in the future. And I have no doubt that 10 or 15 years from now, the person who holds this office will be in a far stronger position with Iran further away from a weapon and with the inspections and transparency that allow us to monitor the Iranian program.

For this reason, I believe it would be irresponsible to walk away from this deal. But on such a tough issue, it is important that the American people and their representatives in Congress get a full opportunity to review the deal. After all, the details matter. And we've had some of the finest nuclear scientists in the world working through those details. And we're dealing with a country — Iran — that has been a sworn adversary of the United States for over 35 years. So I welcome a robust debate in Congress on this issue, and I welcome scrutiny of the details of this agreement.

But I will remind Congress that you don't make deals like this with your friends. We negotiated arms control agreements with the Soviet

Union when that nation was committed to our destruction. And those agreements ultimately made us safer.

I am confident that this deal will meet the national security interest of the United States and our allies. So I will veto any legislation that prevents the successful implementation of this deal.

We do not have to accept an inevitable spiral into conflict. And we certainly shouldn't seek it. And precisely because the stakes are so high, this is not the time for politics or posturing. Tough talk from Washington does not solve problems. Hard-nosed diplomacy, leadership that has united the world's major powers offers a more effective way to verify that Iran is not pursuing a nuclear weapon.

Now, that doesn't mean that this deal will resolve all of our differences with Iran. We share the concerns expressed by many of our friends in the Middle East, including Israel and the Gulf States, about Iran's support for terrorism and its use of proxies to destabilize the region. But that is precisely why we are taking this step — because an Iran armed with a nuclear weapon would be far more destabilizing and far more dangerous to our friends and to the world.

Meanwhile, we will maintain our own sanctions related to Iran's support for terrorism, its ballistic missile program, and its human rights violations. We will continue our unprecedented efforts to strengthen Israel's security — efforts that go beyond what any American administration has done before. And we will continue the work we began at Camp David to elevate our partnership with the Gulf States to strengthen their capabilities to counter threats from Iran or terrorist groups like ISIL.

However, I believe that we must continue to test whether or not this region, which has known so much suffering, so much bloodshed, can move in a different direction.

Time and again, I have made clear to the Iranian people that we will always be open to engagement on the basis of mutual interests and mutual respect. Our differences are real and the difficult history between our nations cannot be ignored. But it is possible to change. The path of violence and rigid ideology, a foreign policy based on threats to attack your neighbors or eradicate Israel — that's a dead end. A different path, one of tolerance and peaceful resolution of conflict, leads to more integration into the global economy, more engagement with the international community, and the ability of the Iranian people to prosper and thrive.

This deal offers an opportunity to move in a new direction. We should seize it.

We have come a long way to reach this point — decades of an Iranian nuclear program, many years of sanctions, and many months of intense negotiation. Today, I want to thank the members of Congress from

both parties who helped us put in place the sanctions that have proven so effective, as well as the other countries who joined us in that effort.

I want to thank our negotiating partners — the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, China, as well as the European Union — for our unity in this effort, which showed that the world can do remarkable things when we share a vision of peacefully addressing conflicts. We showed what we can do when we do not split apart.

And finally, I want to thank the American negotiating team. We had a team of experts working for several weeks straight on this, including our Secretary of Energy, Ernie Moniz. And I want to particularly thank John Kerry, our Secretary of State, who began his service to this country more than four decades ago when he put on our uniform and went off to war. He's now making this country safer through his commitment to strong, principled American diplomacy.

History shows that America must lead not just with our might, but with our principles. It shows we are stronger not when we are alone, but when we bring the world together. Today's announcement marks one more chapter in this pursuit of a safer and more helpful and more hopeful world.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

Source: <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2015/07/14/statement-president-iran>>

Document 3**SPEECH BY H.E. XI JINPING PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AT THE PARLIAMENT OF PAKISTAN, 'BUILDING A CHINA-PAKISTAN COMMUNITY OF SHARED DESTINY TO PURSUE CLOSER WIN-WIN COOPERATION'****Islamabad, April 21, 2015.**

Your Excellency Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif,
Your Excellency Senate Chairman Mr. Raza Rabbani,
Your Excellency Speaker of the National Assembly Mr. Sardar Ayaz Sadiq,
Ministers,
Members of Parliament,
Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

I am very pleased to come to the Parliament of Pakistan today to address you, members of the Parliament of Pakistan. The Parliament of Pakistan's invitation to me to address you today fully testifies to the profound friendship you cherish towards the Chinese people. Thank you very much for your kind invitation.

First of all, I wish to convey, on behalf of the 1.3 billion and more Chinese people, our warmest greetings and best wishes to the brotherly people of Pakistan. I also take this opportunity to pay deep respect to all the Pakistani friends in various fields of endeavor who have over the years worked to promote friendship and cooperation between Pakistan and China.

Pakistan is the first foreign country I visit this year. Although this is my first visit to your country, Pakistan is not at all unfamiliar to me. As an old Chinese saying goes, "Meeting a good friend for the first time is like having a reunion with an old friend." This is exactly how I feel during my visit to Pakistan. When I was young, I heard a lot from the elder generation about life and scenery in Pakistan and the moving stories of friendship between China and Pakistan. So I have long been fascinated by Pakistan. The moment we arrived in your beautiful country, my colleagues and I have been overwhelmed by your warm hospitality. It is just like coming to the home of dear brothers.

Friendship between China and Pakistan is based on trust and mutual support, and we have been devoted friends through both good and hard times. Our friendship is a pacesetter for amicable relations between countries. The Pakistani people say that China-Pakistan friendship is higher than the mountain, deeper than the sea and sweeter than honey. And we Chinese fondly refer to the Pakistani people as our good friends, good neighbors, good partners, and good brothers.

During my current visit, President Hussain, Prime Minister Sharif and I agreed to elevate China-Pakistan relations to an all-weather strategic cooperative partnership. By all-weather, we mean that our two countries will always move ahead together rain or shine. This description of China-Pakistan partnership is a most appropriate one, as it aptly defines the all-weather friendship and all-round cooperation between China and Pakistan.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

Pakistan is a great country, both ancient and young. It is home to a splendid ancient civilization. In modern times, Pakistan fought unremittingly to win independence and pursue national development. The Pakistanis are a kind, brave, dignified and confident people with an indomitable national character. Over the past 60 years and more since the founding of the country, the Pakistani government and people have, in the face of intricate domestic and international developments, risen up to various challenges and made remarkable achievements in upholding sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity as well as in national and economic development. In the new century, Pakistan has stood at the frontline of international fight against terrorism. It has made tremendous efforts, endured enormous sacrifice and made outstanding contribution to upholding peace and stability of our region and the world. We in China have great admiration for the people of Pakistan.

The founding father of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah said that "We are not afraid of the deep sea or the fire, because we believe in the sun and the future." The future is something that you either expect or shape. Today, Pakistan has a historic development opportunity. Prime Minister Sharif has crafted the vision of the "Asian Tiger Dream", outlining a great blueprint for Pakistan. The Chinese people are confident that the Pakistani people, united as one in making unremitting efforts, will surely make even greater progress in pursuing national development. The Chinese people will always stand together with the Pakistani people in your great endeavor.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

Over 2,000 years ago, the Silk Road became a bridge of friendship linking our two ancient civilizations. Zhang Qian, China's emissary in the Han Dynasty, Faxian, the master monk in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, and Xuan Zang, the great monk in the Tang Dynasty visited Pakistan. Our two countries share similar cultural traditions and values. The Pakistanis believe that good faith is more precious than wealth. And we Chinese believe that a person cannot do without credibility. In recent history, both China and Pakistan suffered from imperialist and colonialist aggression and oppression and we extended mutual sympathy and support to each other. Back in the 1930s, the great Pakistani poet Muhammad Iqbal wrote that the Chinese people are waking up from their sleep and the spring of Mount Himalaya is bursting. Those lines saluted and voiced support to the

Chinese people in their struggle for independence and fight against foreign aggression. Similar historical sufferings and the common struggle have brought our hearts and minds together.

Since the establishment of diplomatic ties, thanks to the commitment of successive Chinese and Pakistani leaders and the concerted efforts of our two peoples, our two countries have forged an all-weather friendship and pursued all-round cooperation. Despite changes in the domestic and international environment, we have always extended sympathy to and supported each other on issues crucial to our respective core interests. Such friendship is truly unique.

As a Chinese saying goes, "Strong wind reveals the strength of grass, and genuine gold stands the test of fire." We will never forget that Pakistan was one of the first countries to recognize New China and the first Islamic country to enter into diplomatic relations with China. At the critical times when New China endeavored to break the blockade, resume its lawful seat at the United Nations and explore ways to carry out reform and opening-up, Pakistan always came forward with selfless and valuable assistance. When China was hit by natural disasters or faced difficulties, Pakistan always extended a helping hand. In 2008, when the devastating earthquake struck Wenchuan, China, Pakistan responded immediately and sent all its transport aircraft to ship its entire reserve of tents to China. The Pakistani medical team on the transport plane had to remove all seats to make room for the tents and sat on the floor all the way to China. Today, thousands of Pakistanis are working side by side with Chinese engineers and workers on projects undertaken by China in Pakistan, and there are many moving stories about their cooperation.

Similarly, whenever Pakistan is in need, China has come to its help. China firmly supports Pakistan's efforts to uphold sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. When Pakistan was hit by a severe flood in 2010, China provided immediate relief assistance via air and land routes. We dispatched the largest ever medical team and sent a big convoy of vehicles and helicopters to carry out rescue operations, the first time that such an operation was undertaken in the history of China's rescue assistance. Following the terrorist attack in Peshawar at the end of 2014, China invited the students who had been injured in the attack and their family to spend some time in China for recuperation, so the trauma those kids had experienced could be healed with care and love of the Chinese people.

In the most recent evacuation mission in Yemen, the Chinese navy evacuated 176 Pakistanis from the Port of Aden, and the Pakistani navy evacuated eight Chinese students from Mukalla Port. The Pakistani commander gave the order that the ship would not leave until all the Chinese students were on board. His stirring words again show that China-Pakistan friendship is indeed deeper than the sea.

Former Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan, Geng Biao, whom I once worked for, said that the traditional friendship between China and Pakistan will spread far and wide, just like the Karakoram Highway. His forecast has proved true by the thriving China-Pakistan relationship we see today. Having gone through weal and woe together, we couldn't feel more gratified to have each other as great neighbor and friend.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

Today, China and Pakistan both shoulder the historic mission of achieving national renewal and realizing the great dream of building a strong country and delivering a better life for our peoples. More than ever, we need to work together to strengthen the traditional friendship, fully leverage on geographic proximity and economic complementarity to share opportunities, meet challenges head on, pursue common development and substantiate the China-Pakistan community of shared destiny. This will enable us to create greater benefits to the Chinese and Pakistani peoples, contribute to stability and prosperity of our region and lead the way in building a community of common destiny in Asia.

First, we should strengthen mutual assistance and deepen strategic cooperation. Both being developing countries, we pursue an independent path of development at home and a foreign policy of peace. A defining feature of our relations is deep political trust, which means we always put ourselves in each other's position in addressing related issues. We should keep the good tradition of frequent high-level visits and meetings. As leaders, we should meet often just as family members, and work together on major strategic issues to grow China-Pakistan relationship. We should support each other on issues involving our respective core interests and major concerns, firmly uphold sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity, and be each other's most dependable partner.

Second, we should advance our shared interests and achieve common development. The Chinese culture believes that to achieve success, one should let others succeed as well. China champions a right approach to principles and interests. We believe that to help Pakistan is to help ourselves. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a focal point of our joint efforts to achieve common development, and we should use this economic corridor to drive our practical cooperation with focus on Gwadar Port, energy, infrastructure development and industrial cooperation. The planning and layout of the Economic Corridor should cover other parts of Pakistan as well so that the fruits of its development will reach both all the people in Pakistan and the people of other countries in our region.

Yesterday, several dozen cooperation agreements were signed between the two sides. I am convinced that these agreements will boost our practical cooperation, and lead to substantive progress in the

development of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. To support economic development and improve people's wellbeing in Pakistan, China will provide free assistance to Pakistan for reconstruction in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and for undertaking projects for the improvement of people's livelihood that are important to Pakistan.

Third, we should enhance close exchanges to build lasting friendship. It is the people who advance progress of nations and history. The support of our peoples is the inexhaustible source of force fostering China-Pakistan all-weather friendship and all-round cooperation. This year is the Year of China-Pakistan Friendly Exchanges. We should use the platforms of sister cities, cultural centers and media organizations to conduct diverse and colorful events of celebration. We should continue to send 100-member youth groups to visit each other's country and encourage more contacts and exchanges between young Chinese and Pakistanis. In the next five years, China will provide 2,000 training opportunities for Pakistan and train 1,000 Chinese language teachers for Pakistan. We welcome Pakistan's participation in the program of people-to-people and cultural exchanges between China and South Asia to strengthen popular support for China-Pakistan friendship.

Fourth, we should stick together in face of difficulty and jointly meet security challenges. Our two countries share a common stake in security. Over the years, Pakistan has overcome all difficulties and contributed greatly to the security and stability of China's western border areas, and this is something we will never forget. China will assist Pakistan in strengthening its capacity for fighting terrorism and ensuring security, and work with Pakistan to tackle rising non-traditional security threats so as to provide a reliable security guarantee for bilateral economic cooperation and common development.

Fifth, we should fulfil our due responsibilities and increase coordination on international issues. China-Pakistan relations have gone well beyond the bilateral context. We should maintain strategic communication on regional and international developments and increase coordination and collaboration on major regional and global issues. China supports Pakistan in playing a constructive role on the Afghan issue and will work with Pakistan to advance the reconciliation process and smooth transition in Afghanistan. This year marks the 70th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations and the victory of the world's anti-fascist war. We should reaffirm our abiding commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and work together to build a new type of international relations of win-win cooperation.

No matter how the international landscape may change, China will always approach its relations with Pakistan from a strategic and long-term perspective and give Pakistan high priority on its diplomatic agenda. There is a saying in Pakistan that the wind does not always blow in the direction which the sailor wishes. Yes, that is true. But as long as we are

guided by the aspirations of our people and strive to meet such aspirations, we will be able to surmount all the obstacles on the way, and China-Pakistan all-weather strategic cooperative partnership will be further strengthened and enriched.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

China has reached the crucial stage of building a society of initial prosperity in all respects. As China and its interests are increasingly integrated with the world, we will enhance cooperation with Pakistan and all other development partners to contribute more to the economic growth in both our region and the world.

The Chinese nation loves peace. Over 2,000 years ago, the Chinese already knew that a belligerent country, however big it may be, is doomed. "Do not do onto others what you do not want others to do onto you." This is a principle that we Chinese adhere to, and we do not subscribe to the belief that a country is bound to seek hegemony when it becomes powerful. Peaceful development is in China's interests, and also in the interests of Asia and the world. Nothing can shake our resolve to pursue peaceful development. China is committed to the principle of non-interference in other's internal affairs; it will never impose its own will onto others; and China will never seek hegemony however strong it may become.

China will continue to pursue win-win cooperation and enhance friendship and cooperation with other countries. It will stay committed to the policy of affinity, sincerity, mutual-benefit and inclusiveness. It will deepen win-win cooperation with its neighbors so as to deliver more benefits to them through its own development. China will remain a reliable friend and sincere partner of other developing countries. China will continue to pursue a win-win strategy for opening-up, and advance all-round opening-up to build an open economy. This will create new development opportunities and space to both Asia and the world.

The initiative of building a Silk Road Economic Belt and a 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (the Belt and Road Initiative) that China has launched is a significant move to fully open up itself under the new conditions. This initiative also reflects China's commitment to sharing development opportunities and outcomes with more countries. We will strengthen cooperation with countries along the land and maritime Silk Roads and realize the connectivity of roads, trade, finance, policies and our peoples, so as to jointly build an open platform for cooperation and create new impetus to achieve sustainable development in the related regions.

South Asia is where the land and maritime Silk Roads meet. It is therefore a focal area and important cooperation partner for advancing the Belt and Road Initiative. Good progress has been made in building the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor which are closely connected with the land

and maritime Silk Roads. The building of these two economic corridors will give a strong boost to the economic growth of the related countries and provide a strong new force for deepening regional cooperation in South Asia.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

Peace, development and cooperation are the theme of our great times. The vast and richly endowed South Asia has boundless potential for development. The hard-working and talented people of South Asia are making vigorous efforts to speed up development in the region and turn it into a new pole of growth for the world economy.

China is the biggest neighbor of South Asia. A peaceful and stable South Asia that enjoys development and prosperity serves China's interests. China is ready to pursue its development strategy with that of the South Asian countries in mind to realize mutually beneficial development and common prosperity. During my visit to three South Asian countries last year, I put forward a number of initiatives to strengthen China's cooperation with the South Asian countries, which are being implemented. China respects the unique culture and historical traditions of the South Asian region. We are a sincere partner of South Asian countries. We will treat each other with respect and as equals, and accommodate each other's comfort level to ensure long-term and sound growth of our relations.

Only with win-win cooperation can we enlarge the pie of common interests and realize common prosperity. South Asia occupies a priority on China's westward opening-up agenda, and we will share more development practices with the South Asian countries to complement each other's development endeavors. China is ready to do more to provide assistance and support to South Asian countries within the framework of South-South cooperation.

Both China and the South Asian countries have a time-honored history, and we both value benevolence, friendship, inclusiveness, mutual learning, harmony and co-existence. China is ready to strengthen inter-civilization dialogue with South Asian countries, an important part of such dialogue across Asia, so as to jointly promote the wisdom of the East and Asian values.

It is thanks to openness, inclusiveness, unity and self-reliance that the Asian countries have succeeded in promoting development, prosperity and national renewal. We must continue to be guided by such visions to achieve even greater development in the future. China will strengthen cooperation with the South Asian countries to jointly advance regional cooperation in South Asia and Asia as a whole. China will upgrade its cooperation with the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, and step up international coordination with the South Asian countries

under multilateral frameworks to jointly uphold the interests of developing countries.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends,

To build a China-Pakistan community of shared destiny is a strategic decision made by our two governments and peoples. It meets the fundamental interests of our two countries. Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, once observed that only through united efforts can we turn our ideals into reality. Let us work together to create an even brighter future for China and Pakistan.

Thank you!

Source:<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1257158.shtml>

Document 4**STATEMENT BY FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN IN UFA, RUSSIA.****July 10, 2015**

The Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India met today on the sidelines of the SCO Summit in Ufa. The meeting was held in a cordial atmosphere. The two leaders exchanged views on issues of bilateral and regional interest.

They agreed that India and Pakistan have a collective responsibility to ensure peace and promote development. To do so, they are prepared to discuss all outstanding issues.

Both leaders condemned terrorism in all its forms and agreed to cooperate with each other to eliminate this menace from South Asia.

They also agreed on the following steps to be taken by the two sides:

1. A meeting in New Delhi between the two NSAs to discuss all issues connected to terrorism.
2. Early meetings of DG BSF and DG Pakistan Rangers followed by that of DGMOs.
3. Decision for release of fishermen in each other's custody, along with their boats, within a period of 15 days.
4. Mechanism for facilitating religious tourism.
5. Both sides agreed to discuss ways and means to expedite the Mumbai case trial, including additional information like providing voice samples.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif reiterated his invitation to Prime Minister Modi to visit Pakistan for the SAARC Summit in 2016. Prime Minister Modi accepted the invitation.

Ufa, Russia**July 10, 2015**

Source: <http://www.mea.gov.in/media-briefings.htm?dtl/25452/Statement_read_out_by_Foreign_Secretaries_of_India_and_Pakistan_in_Ufa_Russia_July_10_2015>.

Document 5

Islamic Declaration on Global Climate Change

In the name of Allah, Most Merciful, Most Compassionate

PREAMBLE

- God – Whom we know as Allah – has created the universe in all its diversity, richness and vitality: the stars, the sun and moon, the earth and all its communities of living beings. All these reflect and manifest the boundless glory and mercy of their Creator. All created beings by nature serve and glorify their Maker, all bow to their Lord's will. We human beings are created to serve the Lord of all beings, to work the greatest good we can for all the species, individuals, and generations of God's creatures.
- Our planet has existed for billions of years and climate change in itself is not new. The earth's climate has gone through phases wet and dry, cold and warm, in response to many natural factors. Most of these changes have been gradual, so that the forms and communities of life have adjusted accordingly. There have been catastrophic climate changes that brought about mass extinctions, but over time, life adjusted even to these impacts, flowering anew in the emergence of balanced ecosystems such as those we treasure today. Climate change in the past was also instrumental in laying down immense stores of fossil fuels from which we derive benefits today. Ironically, our unwise and short-sighted use of these resources is now resulting in the destruction of the very conditions that have made our life on earth possible.
- The pace of Global climate change today is of a different order of magnitude from the gradual changes that previously occurred throughout the most recent era, the Cenozoic. Moreover, it is human-induced: we have now become a force dominating nature. The epoch in which we live has increasingly been described in geological terms as the Anthropocene, or "Age of Humans". Our species, though selected to be a caretaker or steward (*khalifah*) on the earth, has been the cause of such corruption and devastation on it that we are in danger ending life as we know it on our planet. This current rate of climate change cannot be sustained, and the earth's fine equilibrium (*mīzān*) may soon be lost. As we humans are woven into the fabric of the natural world, its gifts are for us to savour. But the same fossil fuels that helped us achieve most of the

prosperity we see today are the main cause of climate change. Excessive pollution from fossil fuels threatens to destroy the gifts bestowed on us by God — whom we know as Allah — gifts such as a functioning climate, healthy air to breathe, regular seasons, and living oceans. But our attitude to these gifts has been short-sighted, and we have abused them. What will future generations say of us, who leave them a degraded planet as our legacy? How will we face our Lord and Creator?

- We note that the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (UNEP, 2005) and backed by over 1300 scientists from 95 countries, found that “overall, people have made greater changes to ecosystems in the last half of the 20th century than at any time in human history... these changes have enhanced human well-being, but have been accompanied by ever increasing degradation (of our environment).”

“Human activity is putting such a strain on *the natural* functions of the earth that the ability of the planet’s ecosystems to sustain future generations can no longer be taken for granted.”

- Nearly ten years later, and in spite of the numerous conferences that have taken place to *try to* agree on a successor to the Kyoto Protocol, the overall state of the Earth has steadily deteriorated. A study by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) comprising representatives from over 100 nations published in March 2014 gave five reasons for concern. In summary, they are:
- Ecosystems and human cultures are already at risk from climate change;
- Risks resulting from climate change caused by extreme events such as heat waves, extreme precipitation and coastal flooding are on the rise;
- These risks are unevenly distributed, and are generally greater for the poor and disadvantaged communities of every country, at all levels of development;
- Foreseeable impacts will affect adversely Earth’s biodiversity, the goods and services provided by our ecosystems, and our overall global economy;
- The Earth’s core physical systems themselves are at risk of abrupt and irreversible changes.

We are driven to conclude from these warnings that there are serious flaws in the way we have used natural resources – the sources of life on Earth. An urgent and radical reappraisal is called for. Humankind cannot afford the slow progress we have seen in all the COP (Conference of

Parties – climate change negotiations) processes since the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment was published in 2005, or the present deadlock.

- In the brief period since the Industrial Revolution, humans have consumed much of the non-renewable resources which have taken the earth 250 million years to produce – all in the name of economic development and human progress. We note with alarm the combined impacts of rising per capita consumption combined with the rising human population. We also note with alarm the multi-national scramble now taking place for more fossil fuel deposits under the dissolving ice caps in the arctic regions. We are accelerating our own destruction through these processes.
- Leading climate scientists now believe that a rise of two degrees centigrade in global temperature, which is considered to be the “tipping point”, is now very unlikely to be avoided if we continue with business-as-usual; other leading climate scientists consider 1.5 degrees centigrade to be a more likely “tipping point”. This is the point considered to be the threshold for catastrophic climate change, which will expose yet more millions of people and countless other creatures to drought, hunger and flooding. The brunt of this will continue to be borne by the poor, as the Earth experiences a drastic increase in levels of carbon in the atmosphere brought on in the period since the onset of the industrial revolution.

1.8 It is alarming that in spite of all the warnings and predictions, the successor to the Kyoto Protocol which should have been in place by 2012, has been delayed. It is essential that all countries, especially the more developed nations, increase their efforts and adopt the pro-active approach needed to halt and hopefully eventually reverse the damage being wrought.

WE AFFIRM

- We affirm that Allah is the Lord and Sustainer (*Rabb*) of all beings

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

Praise be to Allah, Lord and Sustainer of all beings

Qur'an 1: 1

He is the One Creator – He is *al-Khāliq*

هُوَ اللَّهُ الْخَالِقُ الْبَارِئُ الْمُصَوِّرُ

He is Allah – the Creator, the Maker, the Giver of Form
Qur'an 59: 24

الَّذِي أَحْسَنَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ خَلَقَهُ

He Who has perfected every thing He has created
Qur'an 32: 7

Nothing that He creates is without value: each thing is created *bi 'l-haqq*, in truth and for right.

وَمَا خَلَقْنَا السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَمَا بَيْنَهُمَا لَاعِبِينَ مَا خَلَقْنَاهُمَا إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ

And We did not create the heavens and earth and that between them in play. We have not created them but in truth
Qur'an 44: 38

We affirm that He encompasses all of His creation – He is *al-Muhīt*

وَلِلَّهِ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ مُّحِيطًا

All that is in the heavens and the earth belongs to Allah.
Allah encompasses all things
Qur'an 4: 125

- We affirm that –
- God created the Earth in perfect equilibrium (*mīzān*);
- By His immense mercy we have been given fertile land, fresh air, clean water and all the good things on Earth that makes our lives here viable and delightful;
- The Earth functions in natural seasonal rhythms and cycles: a climate in which living beings – including humans – thrive;
- The present climate change catastrophe is a result of the human disruption of this balance –

وَالسَّمَاءَ رَفَعَهَا وَوَضَعَ الْمِيزَانَ
 أَلَّا تَطْغَوْا فِي الْمِيزَانِ
 وَأَقِيمُوا الْوَزْنَ بِالْقِسْطِ وَلَا تُخْسِرُوا الْمِيزَانَ
 وَالْأَرْضَ وَضَعَهَا لِلْأَنَامِ

He raised the heaven and established the balance
 So that you would not transgress the balance.
 Give just weight – do not skim in the balance.
 He laid out the earth for all living creatures.

Qur'an 55: 7-10

- We affirm the natural state (*fitrah*) of God's creation –

فَأَقِمْ وَجْهَكَ لِلدِّينِ حَنِيفًا فِطْرَةَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي فَطَرَ النَّاسَ عَلَيْهَا
 لَا تَبْدِيلَ لِخَلْقِ اللَّهِ ذَلِكَ الدِّينُ الْقَيِّمُ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

So set your face firmly towards the (natural) Way
 As a pure, natural believer
 Allah's natural pattern on which He made mankind
 There is no changing Allah's creation.
 That is the true (natural) Way
 But most people do not know it.
 Quran 30: 30

2.5 We recognize the corruption (*fasād*) that humans have caused on the Earth due to our relentless pursuit of economic growth and consumption. Its consequences have been –

- Global climate change, which is our present concern, in addition to:
- Contamination and befoulment of the atmosphere, land, inland water systems, and seas;
- Soil erosion, deforestation and desertification;
- Damage to human health, including a host of modern-day diseases.

ظَهَرَ الْفَسَادُ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ بِمَا كَسَبَتْ أَيْدِي النَّاسِ لِيُذِيقَهُمْ بَعْضَ الَّذِي عَمِلُوا لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ

Corruption has appeared on land and sea
 Because of what people's own hands have wrought,
 So that they may taste something of what they have done;
 So that hopefully they will turn back.
 Qur'an 30: 41

- We recognize that we are but a miniscule part of the divine order, yet within that order, we are exceptionally powerful beings, and have the responsibility to establish good and avert evil in every way we can. We also recognize that –
- We are but one of the multitude of living beings with whom we share the Earth;
- We have no right to oppress the rest of creation or cause it harm;
- Intelligence and conscience behoove us, as our faith commands, to treat all things with care and awe (*taqwa*) of their Creator, compassion (*rahmah*) and utmost good (*ihsan*).

وَمَا مِنْ دَابَّةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا طَائِرٍ يَطِيرُ بِجَنَاحَيْهِ إِلَّا أُمَمٌ أَمْثَالُكُمْ

There is no animal on the earth, or any bird that wings its flight, but is a community like you.

Qur'an 6: 38

لَخَلْقُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ أَكْبَرُ مِنْ خَلْقِ النَّاسِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ

The creation of the heavens and the earth
Is far greater than the creation of mankind,
But most of mankind do not know it

Qur'an 40: 57

- We recognize that we are accountable for all our actions –

فَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ خَيْرًا يَرَهُ

وَمَنْ يَعْمَلْ مِثْقَالَ ذَرَّةٍ شَرًّا يَرَهُ

Then he who has done an atom's weight of good, shall see it;
and he who has done an atom's weight of evil, shall see it.

Qur'an 99:6-8

2.8 In view of these considerations we affirm that our responsibility as Muslims is to act according to the example of the Prophet Muhammad (God's peace and blessings be upon him) who –

- Declared and protected the rights of all living beings, outlawed the custom of burying infant girls alive, prohibited killing living beings for sport, guided his companions to conserve water even in washing for prayer, forbade the felling of trees in the desert, ordered a man

who had taken some nestlings from their nest to return them to their mother, and when he came upon a man who had lit a fire on an anthill, commanded, "Put it out, put it out!";

- Established inviolable zones (*harams*) around Makkah and Al-Madinah, within which native plants may not be felled or cut and wild animals may not be hunted or disturbed;
- Established protected areas (*himas*) for the conservation and sustainable use of rangelands, plant cover and wildlife.
- Lived a frugal life, free of excess, waste, and ostentation;
- Renewed and recycled his meagre possessions by repairing or giving them away;
- Ate simple, healthy food, which only occasionally included meat;
- Took delight in the created world; and
- Was, in the words of the Qur'an, "a mercy to all beings."

WE CALL

3.1 We call upon the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the Meeting of the Parties (MOP) to the Kyoto Protocol taking place in Paris this December, 2015 to bring their discussions to an equitable and binding conclusion, bearing in mind –

- The scientific consensus on climate change, which is to stabilize greenhouse gas concentration in the atmosphere at a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate systems;
- The need to set clear targets and monitoring systems;
- The dire consequences to planet earth if we do not do so;
- The enormous responsibility the COP shoulders on behalf of the rest of humanity, including leading the rest of us to a new way of relating to God's Earth.

3.2 We particularly call on the well-off nations and oil-producing states to –

- Lead the way in phasing out their greenhouse gas emissions as early as possible and no later than the middle of the century;
- Provide generous financial and technical support to the less well-off to achieve a phase-out of greenhouse gases as early as possible;

- Recognize the moral obligation to reduce consumption so that the poor may benefit from what is left of the earth's non-renewable resources;
- Stay within the '2 degree' limit, or, preferably, within the '1.5 degree' limit, bearing in mind that two-thirds of the earth's proven fossil fuel reserves remain in the ground;
- Re-focus their concerns from unethical profit from the environment, to that of preserving it and elevating the condition of the world's poor.
- Invest in the creation of a green economy.

3.3 We call on the people of all nations and their leaders to –

- Aim to phase out greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible in order to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere;
- Commit themselves to 100 % renewable energy and/or a zero emissions strategy as early as possible, to mitigate the environmental impact of their activities;
- Invest in decentralized renewable energy, which is the best way to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development;
- Realize that to chase after unlimited economic growth in a planet that is finite and already overloaded is not viable. Growth must be pursued wisely and in moderation; placing a priority on increasing the resilience of all, and especially the most vulnerable, to the climate change impacts already underway and expected to continue for many years to come.
- Set in motion a fresh model of wellbeing, based on an alternative to the current financial model which depletes resources, degrades the environment, and deepens inequality.
- Prioritise adaptation efforts with appropriate support to the vulnerable countries with the least capacity to adapt. And to vulnerable groups, including indigenous peoples, women and children.

3.4 We call upon corporations, finance, and the business sector to –

- Shoulder the consequences of their profit-making activities, and take a visibly more active role in reducing their carbon footprint and other forms of impact upon the natural environment;

- In order to mitigate the environmental impact of their activities, commit themselves to 100 % renewable energy and/or a zero emissions strategy as early as possible and shift investments into renewable energy;
- Change from the current business model which is based on an unsustainable escalating economy, and to adopt a circular economy that is wholly sustainable;
- Pay more heed to social and ecological responsibilities, particularly to the extent that they extract and utilize scarce resources;
- Assist in the divestment from the fossil fuel driven economy and the scaling up of renewable energy and other ecological alternatives.

3.5 We call on all groups to join us in collaboration, co-operation and friendly competition in this endeavour and we welcome the significant contributions taken by other faiths, as we can all be winners in this race

وَلَكِنْ لِّيَبْلُوَكُمْ فِي مَا آتَاكُمْ فَأَسْتَبِقُوا الْخَيْرَاتِ

He (God) wanted to test you regarding what has come to you. So compete with each other in doing good deeds.

Qur'an 5: 48

If we each offer the best of our respective traditions, we may yet see a way through our difficulties.

3.6 Finally, we call on all Muslims wherever they may be –

Heads of state

Political leaders

Business community

UNFCCC delegates

Religious leaders and scholars

Mosque congregations

Islamic endowments (awqaf)

Educators and educational institutions

Community leaders

Civil society activists

Non-governmental organisations

Communications and media

وَلَا تَمْشِ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَرَحًا إِنَّكَ لَن تَخْرِقَ الْأَرْضَ وَلَن تَبْلُغَ الْجِبَالَ طُولًا

Do not strut arrogantly on the earth.
You will never split the earth apart
nor will you ever rival the mountains' stature.
Qur'an 17: 37

We bear in mind the words of our Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him):

The world is sweet and verdant, and verily Allah has made you stewards in it, and He sees how you acquit yourselves.

Hadīth related by Muslim from Abu Sa'Id Al-Khudrī)

Source: <<http://islamicclimatedeclaration.org/islamic-declaration-on-global-climate-change/>>

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3. Abbreviations should be written in brackets after writing within bracket after spelling the acronym in full at first use, e.g., the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Subsequently only SAARC should be used without bracket.
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