

Q1: How does the Conflict between Sindhi and Muhajirs in the perspective of migration to marginalization become an issue of national integration in Pakistan? Critically analyze the Statement.

Introduction

The essence of effective governance could be achieved if a state is protected against the insurgency of foreign invaders as well as secured from the internal crisis. A country could fight with other nations for liberation however, it is not easy for that state to contest with unrest caused from the clashes of indigenous population. The major challenge faced by Pakistan since her inception is that of domestic clashes including the enigma of the ethnic conflicts, in between its scattered societal structure. Ethnicity refers to a combination of racially, culturally or historically alike features. These distinctions divide the society into groups or communities. The social fabric of our state was heterogeneous even before partition. Every province had its own socio-cultural norms and distinct ways of administrative procedures. After the division of the Sub-continent in 1947, various dissimilar fractions or parts were merged with either of the two independent states. Many Muslims in Hindu majority areas remained in India and various Hindus along with other minorities came to Pakistan willingly and unwillingly. Precisely, a heterogeneous society was homogenized in the name of a single ideology of Islam. The debacle of East wing of Pakistan in 1971 due to socio-political deprivation by the west Pakistan was a tremendous loss for the nation, when a segment of our country disintegrated and formed independent state of Bangladesh. The Centralization and strong federation had strengthened the rising of ethnic groups (Sindhi-Muhajir, Bloch-Pashtun) and Separatist movements at various junctures. Today there is a race and competition for the attainment of resources among various groups. Ethnic groups in present times hence, serve the role of interest group to claim the governmental sources. This communal prism tends to achieve desires of a group within culturally plural societies. The problems of these marginalized groups remain intact. Primarily because, most of the time the educated class of one side (ethnicity) if feels alienated or side lined due to the dominance of the other group then the elites use the masses as exploitative tools to achieve their goals. The socio-political dilemmas of these alienated groups in our country have minimized comparatively but didn't end. The ethnic tensions have severe implications on the political system, adversely affecting the political development and prosperity. Usually the ethnic movements when

organized and at the verge of aggression, transform into nationalist movements and separatist movements (Baloch separatist movements and Pashtunistan movement). These have a negative connotation on the national integration and unity among the units of Pakistan.

Sindhi-Muhajirs Conflict (migration to marginalization; a Socio-political Dilemma)

The sharp disproportions of demography, socio-economic opportunities, topography and mutual distrust has been negatively impacting the development of federation of our motherland. The diversity within the co-existing societal structure has brought about alarming consequences in the history and till now. Let's take the example of internal clashes within Sind. The sense of Muslim motion's patriotism led the division of the sub-continent based on the Two-nation theory. Under British Raj the prominent Muslims leaders heading the Muslim League (sole political representation of the Muslims in United India) demanded the safeguard of their socio-political rights after the Colonial powers leave India. The congress however, had strong intentions of a united India. The dream became a reality in 1947, when the Muslim majority areas were inculcated into a separate Independent nation. However, communal riots and extreme violence occurred after the partition among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs across the borders. Muslims inhabitants in Bihar, Delhi, Bombay, UP and at the states of UP uprooted and headed towards the newly formed state of Pakistan to make sure their security. Most of these fled to Karachi, as it was the Capital of the state by then. Many people also moved to Bengal and Punjab however, they didn't experience a huge culture and lingual transformation. The people in contrary who fled to Sind and Karachi had a paradigm shift in the socio-cultural norms than the natives. This sense of distinction didn't create a sense of deprivation and marginalization among them back then. Primarily because, the sense of Islamic Ideology and nation was at the apex of the priorities of Pakistani people. They welcome the guests who were now going to live with them forever, with open arms. The migration however, now is viewed as a tool of marginalization. The political and administrative structure of the province along with the industrialized and metropolitan city of the state was almost dominated by the Muhajirs. They formed Muhajirs Qaumi Movement to secure their political rights while ensuring the representation in the political affairs of Sind and state in general. This minimized the allocation of the assets to the locals in socio-economic and political grounds. The natives faced the worse sense of deprivation and

remained prone to joblessness and poverty. This was not meant to be this way. The Sindhi hence, started to safeguard their language, political representation and eminence of their ancestral through the formation of a separate fraction. This has created a sense of Competition among both the groups for political dominance which has adversely affected the political growth of the state at various times. They were entitled the muhajirs because, they were known because they migrated from India due to the Hindus' atrocities (as the Muslims of Makkah fled to Madina to overcome the brutality of pagans). In contrast, this brotherly feeling is no more prominent today. Rightly expressed that the national integration or oneness of the nation of Pakistan emerges only in the times of any natural disaster, foreign threats or dilemma of the nation. Once the state deals with it, the internal antagonism and complications reappear on the phase.

Articulating National Integration-Enigma of ethnic Conflicts in Sind

National integration refers to the feeling of oneness and unity within a democratically pluralist society. It is not a naturally constructed phenomenon rather attainable with the endurance of social and economic justice. Pakistan is also a multi-ethnic and lingual state. Every ethnic group is striving to make sure its hegemony over the rest. The political stability, economic development and social equilibrium within a state leads towards the national integration and the nationally integrated or unified states have shown better survival in present and in future. However, the national integration of Pakistan is adversely affected due to the ethnic polarization all over the nation and particularly the Sindhi-Muhajirs Conflicts in Province of Sind. The insecure groups create a sense patronization with their sect, culture or area which strengthens their unity contrary to the affiliation with the state. If deprived in any premises the agitation among those conflicting groups arise, decelerating the political development within state. The ethnic conflicts within Sind have the following consequences on the National integration of Pakistan;

Aggression due to Punjabization- an issue to the National integration of Pakistan

The major challenge for Pakistan has been its symmetry and the dispersed regions with diversity of ethnicities. The domination of few metropolitan cities has aggravated its cultural and political hegemony over the state. The dominance of few regions and groups (such as a deep-rooted sense of Punjabization) has aggravated the aggressions of the other ethnic groups who have been

struggling to safeguard their identity. These conflicts see no boundaries. The clashes within a territory soon becomes a national issue, also an implication in the national integration which leads states towards the political development.

Lingual tools in Sind; a threat to the National incorporation

The significance and contribution of language can't be denied within a multi-lingual state. Pakistan is also a hub and melting pot of diversity. Urdu, before partition was a pivotal tool to integrate the people of India. The Hindi-Urdu controversy was among many of the reasons of emergence of the Muslim nation's separatism in India. Even after partition there was tussle between the eastern and western wing of Pakistan over the national language. Urdu was the language of the minority and Bengali was the language of the Majority however, the former was declared as the national language, which was in fact a biased decision of the bureaucratic and political elites of the west Pakistan. Language has created serious threats to the national unification of our state since the Bengali language controversy. Likewise, the official language issue of Sind prevails in the province. The Sindhi are struggling to wage the supremacy of their language while the Muhajirs claim Urdu as a medium of instructions and information change within administration. The truth is that the ethnic identities use the language as a manipulative tool to assert their power and launch the various separatist movements. Language if on one hand is a unifying force to awaken and sustain a communal sense could also foster bitterness of differences and marginalization sense, on the other hand. The Sindhi language is a significant aspect of the Sindhi identity in the Urdu speaking Muhajirs' presence. The ethno-nationalist of Sind considers their language as a primary source of their cultural heritage. The language riots which broke in Sind in 1970's was a major consequence of the domination of the Urdu by Urdu speaking Muhajirs. Political tenure of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was significant in this matter. When a bill was passed from the assembly declaring Sindhi as official Language of Sind, the ferocious opposition from the Muhajirs was witnessed. The Muhajirs had enjoyed countless privileges soon after the migration to Pakistan. The national language, Curriculum and most of the administrative offices used Urdu as medium of instruction. Due to which the Sindhi locals were left behind in the race of development.

Sindhi-Muhajir' s Win-loss Strategy- adversely affecting the Unification of the State

There is an enigmatic struggle of power and dynastic politics within Sind. It is stated that initially when the Muhajir had migrated from India, they were treated with great affection and compassion by their hosts. As time changed, they had been adjusted within administrative and industrial sector to empower the newly fled immigrants. Even if they would say they had a degree which burnt during the violent protests in India, they were accommodated without any certified fact about their qualifications. With the passage of time, Muhajir's monopoly over the important institution of the province was felt. The natives experienced a sense of alienation in socio-political grounds. There had no any win-win approach and concept of power sharing or peaceful co-existence. This resulted in massive loss of resources, land and lives of the natives, ultimately affecting the lives of the people badly. For attainment of power one ethnic group uses threat and the answer is use of force by the other group. This has minimized the sense of unification among them.

Urban-Rural disputes negating the essence of Oneness within the State

Sind is the second most populous province of Pakistan. Its diversity in terms of socio-cultural and economic terms has been connoted with tremendous Urban-Rural disputes, asymmetrical distribution of wealth, dynastic politics and a race of ethnic hegemony. The national famous party which is referred as the Pakistan People's Party has been active actor in this struggle for power and dominance since ages. History is evident, the contribution of Bhutto for the natives of Sind in 1970's was ended up with various conflicts among them and Muhajirs. There have been protests, firing, violence and cruelty from both side which adversely affected the political development Sind and Pakistan in general. More than billions have been wasted in the tensions between the two groups along with more than thousands of lost lives. However, this antagonism has benefitted none of them. In fact, this division in the rural and urban Sind has decelerated the process of economic and political prosperity. Also, the resources of the state have been brutally wasted in hands of both the groups. Either group holds the state institutions responsible for not maintaining law and order within the province. However, it is there prime obligation to uphold the rule of law. The aggression of the groups involved in the skirmishes compels the state to solve these issues. These clashes hence have broadened the communication gap between the center and the federating units. Thus, national integration is negatively impacted. The huge developmental gaps between the two poles within Sind are because the rural Sindhi had been

oriented towards agriculture however, the Muhajir immigrants took control of industries in the Urban centers. Their business proliferated and hence their domination created a sense of fear among the native Sindhi.

Marginalized Dissatisfied groups and External influence-limiting National Unity

Apart from the above discussed issues, Sind is also prone to the conflicts of religiously marginalized groups including Hindus and Christians. Sind is the most populous when it comes to the religious minorities. The dissatisfied minorities have often raised their voices because of the disparity they've been experiencing. Not only this, a Separatist movement in the Southern part had been launched at various juncture which is claimed to be supported by the Indian Administration. The insurgency of RAW or Indian administration in the domestic politics of Pakistan is not new. The ancestral antagonism has always added fuel to any escalation. The equipment of Bangladesh with Indian Forces as the tensions raised between both the wings during 1971, was a clear depiction of how interested India is to provide support for the dismemberment of Pakistan. The influence of such external forces along with the internal issues leads to poor governance, corruption and political instability. A need to address these complications shall be the fundamental responsibility of the state. A country could not achieve the essence of good governance without the notion of national integration and this evolves as the inhabitants are treated with justice and equality. The gist of Quaid-e-Azam's speech was the same. He focused on establishment of a land where everyone was to be treated equally being the citizen of Pakistan. This needs to be done to gain National Integration.

Acts of Terrorism by the Muhajirs

Muhajirs formed MQM, a political association as their sole representative. The purpose of its formation was to ensure the fair treatment within the new homeland. However, it has deviated from its true spirit on various junctures. It has become more or a less a militant organization monopolizing most of the territories within Karachi. People didn't dare to speak against its atrocities because, this party is notorious for the usage of weapons which is considered an act of terrorism while considering the supreme law. Killing of the people of opposition is new normal within its premises. This has agitated a scenario of unrest within the province of Sind and Karachi though it has been deemed now. Terrorizing and compulsive acts of this party were known to everyone. This has disturbed the stability of the region as well as the integration of the

people with the state. For, they consider it either state repression or failure to protect the citizens. As, a result the gap increases between the center and the generating units.

Conclusory Assessment

There must be a check and balance over the provincial administrative structure by the central government. Dynastic politics and struggle for power in Sind is agitating various anti-state sentiments. The dismemberment of East Pakistan is an icon of not addressing socio-political distresses of regions. Hence, before contributing towards the national cohesion, the authorities shall hunt the domestic issues within the plural societal fabric. National cohesion is an outcome of the satisfaction of the inhabitants.

Q2: Political Isolation and economic deprivation articulated ethnic Conflicts and Separatism in Baluchistan. Keeping in mind this statement critically evaluate it.

Introduction

Political governance has been adversely affected by the ethnic violence as the dimensions of the governance in our homeland that uphold the Parameters of democratic norms have fallen weak because of the dynastic politics, politics of patronage and personalized governments. The differences among groups have been used as exploitative and manipulative tools by the political elites, to gain influence in the public domain. The constitutional dilemmas and the economic crisis are secondary to the aggravated ethnic tensions within various parts, like that of Baluchistan. Minor issues have been politicized and implicate the process of national growth. Federalism and dynastic politics has emerged in there as the various ethnic parties have manipulated the masses for their personal gain, leaving them underprivileged and aggressive. Some genuine issues exist within the societal structure of Pakistan. A country could prudently take care of the external enemies but it mainly becomes helpless when it comes to the internal clashes. To address the social unrest within the territorial boundaries is difficult to deal because, ethnic affiliations are used as a tool to get self-interests of individuals and not the whole region or group. Most of the time, patriotism and unity is equated with religious Fanaticism and extremism as in case of Baluchistan. It is not entirely state neither the sufferers who are accountable for the sense of marginalization. Sometimes political elites, feudal lords and even foreign powers are involved in agitating the distresses of a region to create political unrest. Let's draw a theoretical framework of the causes of emergence of the Separatist movements in Baluchistan. The suffering of this region is self-evident from the socio-political deprivation of the area. The discussion will be followed by a precise historical background and then the reasons of the emergence of the Secessionist movements in Baluchistan considering the Socio-political factors.

Administration dilemma (Post and Pre-Partition)

Baluchistan is the largest province of Pakistan yet is known for its least development and resources alienation. But it has been kept away from the mainstream politics of the state. It is the largest province with the least demographically occupied and under developed federating unit of Pakistan. The rising of the national movements ultimately leading towards separatist and secessionist movements. These are a real challenge for the political development and stability of the state. Hence, the agitating movements have been calmed down due to the insurgency of the armed forces to control them. However, the aggression is still on. Baluchi's have thought provoking grievances which over time have been severe threat to the federation of our state. The alienation of the natives of Baluchistan in terms of socio-political affairs has been a key factor of the emergence of separatist movements in there. Religious Fanaticism, extremism, poor governance, nepotism, economic marginalization, internally displayed persons and extra judicial killings of the activists and nationalist within the province is alarming.

During the pre-partition era, the colonials power used the tribal leadership to control the state of Baluchistan. They would either change the authorities or give them several incentives to ensure national cohesion. Even after partition the tribal rule, being a part of colonial policies has prevailed over the territory. The attempts for an independent state has been thwarted tactfully by the leaders of Pakistan. The political one unit strategy in the past was a matter of serious concern for the nationalist of Baluchistan. This is because, the Balochi culture is confined to a small region. They feared the loss of their identity if not duly protected. Moreover, the military dictatorial reign in Pakistan adversely affected the growth and political stability of the region. The numeric strength of Punjabi and Pashtuns in the military is also added fuel to the sense of marginalization of Baluchistan. Due to these alienation there have been times when the nationalist waged a movement to throw away the people of other provinces who have been working within Baluchistan. Many professors, teachers, businessmen and doctors were threatened and forced to flee the region. The consequences of which were displaced people searching for asylum in other territories and accretion of a hub of population. The underprivileged people within Baluchistan remained so and the anti-nationalist sense hence became stronger by then. This restriction on the influx of people from other provinces is hinders the incoming investment and talent. Apart from it, the

administrative disability is paving the way towards ethnic centralization and obsession which could be a triggering force against the state narratives of national integration and Supremacy of the Constitution. The alienated and aggressive youth of Baluchistan is involved in terror acts making the lives of the minorities unbearable in there.

Political Alienation-a key factor in emergence of the Separatist movements within Baluchistan

There has been a tug of war between the Nationalists of Baluchistan and the federal government. The dissatisfaction and aggression of Nationalists is justifiable as their province has been marginalized on political grounds. The result is political unrest and military insurgency within Baluchistan. Thousands of people have lost their life. Millions are craving for a peaceful environment. Social activists have been kidnapped and most of them have been brutally killed. These all events have been encouraging the Secession games within the territory. For this very reason the Baloch Liberation Army was formed during 2000. It bombed various governmental installation at various parts of the region. This army calls itself the nationalist army and trying bits level best to form a separate state of Baluchistan. Apart from providing the natural resources, Baluchistan serves as the site where Pakistan has performed its nuclear tests in 1998. The main factor behind the resentment of the people of Baluchistan is that they have the lowest per capita income, though the region has been an enormous supplier of various resources. There is a dire need to involve the natives of this region in the mainstream politics of Pakistan. Otherwise, the situation of the province could deteriorate further. The extra judicial killings within the region have never been justified. Pragmatic steps haven't been taken into account in the region. PPP and Musharraf tried to bring various reforms within the region however, those policies were never implemented completely. The political instability has caused several professionals to flee the region leaving behind loopholes. The anxious societal structure has further became frustrated and insecure. Most of the officials don't want to serve there because of the security concerns. Due to these complications the province has set back administratively. The political set back as a result of the above events is obvious. The issue of Religious extremism isn't addressed yet. The contribution of Baluchistan during the fight against the Soviet-union troops was significant. The jihadist used this territory to enter Afghanistan. However, these events have accelerated militancy, extremism and sectarianism within the province. The genocide of the Hazara community, a Shia minority group, goes unnoticed. Political administration has alienated Baluchistan in various situation. Hence, the sense of secession and separatism is the consequence. The deteriorating law and order situation has never been addressed. The political alienation was felt mostly in Musharraf's era when Nawab Akbar Bhugti was killed within a cave by the security forces. This created severe tensions among the state's institutions and Baluchistan. The grievances of the natives had increased towards the central government for the extra judicial killings of the nationalists since then. Not only this, the deployment of military troops within the region is not welcomed by the natives as there is already an anti-military sentiment prevailing within the minds of the people there.

The local Sardars use this anti-State sentiment to remain in power and claim their interests mainly by deterring the central government. The local poor Baloch people are unaware of the bluff politics of these elites and hold state responsible for all actions. However this isn't the case. Minor state negligence has been proliferated by the interest groups in order to ensure their dominance over the masses. The poverty isn't solely because of the Punjabi dwellers and government rather the non-questioned-asked tribesmen. The local authorities never showed well wishes and interest for the sack of regional prosperity and to work with the state authorities. This political involvement could awake the masses against the draconian authority of the tribal leaders. Hence, the middle men never wants to get rid of his political authority over the region by creating a gap between the supreme rulers and being ruled.

Economic Deprivation Fostering the secessionist movements

The richest province in minerals and natural resources is deprived of its own finances. Baluchistan is major provider of Sui gas, platinum, gold, copper, coal and natural gas to the rest of the provinces. Large proportion of the energy requirements are in this way being fulfilled. Moreover, the future transit area for the gas pipelines between India, Iran and rest central Asia would be provided by Baluchistan. As stated, the needs of oil and gas is mostly covered via the provision of pipelines from Baluchistan. However, the natives are deprived of those resources themselves. That is why the BLA (Baluchistan Liberation Army) has blew many pipelines granting oil and gas to other provinces. The people are striving so that there fundamental needs shall be the foremost responsibility of the state. Not only this, Baluchistan is significant strategically as well. It connects Pakistan with rest of the South Asian countries. The largest port of Pakistan, Gwadar port, is the most awaited and huge project in the history of Pakistan and it is in Baluchistan. With the help of China, Gwadar would contribute enormously to the economic prosperity of the region via commercial shipping facilities and warehouses. Thousands of job opportunities would be provided via this project. The bilateral relations of the country would improve through the establishment of trade routes on this port. This port will not just bossy the per capita income but also proliferate the development within the province. These all Theoretical assumptions appeal to the heart. The politics behind this project is totally different. There is least involvement of the native baloch in this Project. People from all over the country have been hired and are getting involve in this mega project. These economic deprivations aggravate the ethnic separatism within the region. It is not the state which is responsible for these economic deprivations. After the introduction of the 18th amendment to the Pakistani constitution of 1973, provincial autonomy has been granted to the federating units. In many affairs they have been empowered. The National Finance Committee award has also been increased to the region during the tenure of Asif Ali Zardari.

Apart from the above stated causes, there are various other irritants in the uprising of the separatist movements within the region. Nearly 58% of the population lives in rural areas of Baluchistan. Women are least empowered in the region. Not only this, religious extremism is praised and the advertisement of education is not effective. These are the major factors due to which the people easily get manipulated against the state. People in the name of patriotism are funded by the foreign powers who in return agitate the secession movements within Baluchistan. If there are extra Judicial killings and encounters there is a history behind it.

Recommendations to Restrict secession within Baluchistan

National prosperity is as a result of the satisfaction of all the dissatisfied groups within a state. A country couldn't achieve political stability and development without solving the internal clashes of various ethnic groups. The enhancement of economic opportunities and dialogues between the natives of Baluchistan could minimize the tensions to a greater level. The involvement of the tribal leadership and people in decision making could also lessen the gap between the province and the central government. In addition, accountability regarding the encounters and extra judicial killings, for which the intelligence service is held responsible, must be provided by the government to the province. Coercion and violence within a territory with enormous cases of militancy, religious Fanaticism and nationalist rebelliousness is of no Use. Hence, taking into account the administrative dilemmas, youth engagement in fruitful activities is of prime importance. The provision of educational institutes must be ensured and women's participation in socio-political affairs shall be encouraged. The political unrest within aggressive provinces must be addressed through dialogues not weapons.