



PAK. AFFAIRS (NATIONAL INTEGRATION)
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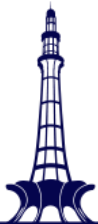
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Pak Quest for **National Integration**



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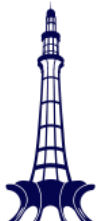


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National Integration

NATION (Ethno-Cultural)

- A nation is a group of people who share a common heritage, language, culture, or history. It is a **psychological and cultural bond**.
- Members of any group of people are **generally different** from each other in many respects and at the same time, they have certain **things in common**. But for one reason or the other, they are **inclined to forget their difference** and strengthen their **bonds for unity**. **Pakistan as a "Nation" (Civic/Political)**
- Pakistan is a **Nation-State**. It is a "Nation" because it is a collection of people who have agreed to live under one flag, one constitution, and one overarching identity.
- **The Glue:** The "Pakistani Nation" is held together by a shared religion (Islam), a national language (Urdu), and a shared political destiny.
- **A nation doesn't necessarily need a physical border or a government to exist.** For example, the **Kurds** are a nation of people with a shared culture and language, even though they do not have a single independent country of their own.
- **Key Driver**
- Shared language, common ancestry, shared myths/history, and a collective "will" to belong together.
- **Nature:** It is subjective and emotional.



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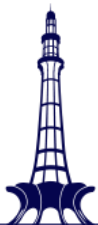
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National Integration

- **What is Nationality?**
- Nationality is your **legal relationship** with a specific state (country). It is a formal status granted by a government that gives you certain rights (like a passport or the right to vote) and certain duties (like paying taxes or military service).
- Nationality is usually acquired by **birth** (*jus soli*), through your parents (*jus sanguinis*), or through a legal process called **naturalization**.
- **Key Drivers:** Legal codes, birth certificates, and international law.
- **Nature:** It is objective and administrative
- The concept of "Nationality" was first defined in distinct terms by the Muslim historiographer and sociologist "**Ibn-e-Khaldun**". He gave nationality in the name of "**Asabia**" (**Social Cohesion,** "**Group Solidarity,**" or "**Collective Consciousness.**" He said that it was the **sentiment of nationhood** that forms the **basis of civil life.** The **rise and fall of human groups** generally **depend on this sentiment.**
- **Harold Laski** feeling of nationhood "**marks off those who share** in it from rest of mankind



Definition

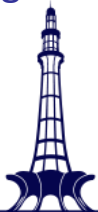
Awareness of a common identity amongst the citizens of a country

- **Determination** of people aimed at **living together, sharing traditions, ideals**, culture, history, religion, language and customs
- **State institutions & intellectuals efforts** - use ppl determination to build integrated nation
- Feeling which combines all irrespective of colour, caste, region and religion
- To **combine and bring together ppl** is known as **national integration**
- **Myron Weiner** (1965, book) - “a process that **unites culturally & socially discrete groups** into a **territorial unit**. In this way, **established national identity** is **helpful to overcome problems** between **central authority and subordinate** political groups.
- In addition to that it **links the government with governed**”
- It is necessary to elaborate proper definition of these 2 terms: i)- **Nation** ii)- **Integration** “**Nation**” is a **stable historically evolved** community of a territory, **common economic life** and a **common psychological make-up** either **independent or struggling to be independent**



National Integration

- National integration occurs when the **binding or cementing forces** in a group of people are **more power full than disintegrating forces**
- There are **two types of forces** involved in the make-up of a nation
 - **Centripetal forces**
 - These are the forces that **attract the scattered part towards one center** and **create a sense of unity** among the members of a group are called centripetal forces. The centripetal forces are **like a magnetic bar, put amid common pins**
 - **Centrifugal forces**
 - The **points of differences or clashes** in a nation are called centrifugal forces.
 - These are **dividing and disintegrating** forces
 - The centrifugal force is **present in every society**
 - However, **can be integrated by some binding force**, by **some centripetal power**
 - When **centripetal forces will be more active** than the centrifugal ones, **only then** the target of national integration can be achieved.



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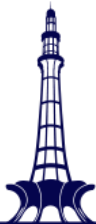


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National Integration

Feature	Nation	Nationality
Definition	A cultural/ethnic group.	A legal/political membership.
Basis	Shared culture, history, or language.	Legal ties to a specific State.
Boundaries	Can exist across many borders.	Defined by the borders of a State.
Flexibility	Hard to change (it's your heritage).	Can be changed (naturalization/dual citizenship).
Example	Pashtun nation	Being a citizen of Pakistan.



National solidarity



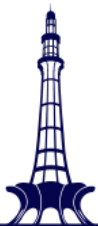
Feeling of nationhood, love and precession towards one's nation

- The people in this part of the region have their origins in Urdu, Bengali, Sindhi, Balochi, Punjabi, Pashto and many other cultures. Islam is a binding force between these people
- This factor, This factor, this centripetal force is so powerful so paramount that it has overcome all other centrifugal forces like race, colour, language, culture, geography, caste etc. Their vow is eternal religiously and irrevocable politically
- To strengthen their national solidarity, the people of Pakistan must forget their social, linguistic and geographical differences and stand united based on Islamic fraternity. They should know that they are Muslims and Pakistanis first and all other identities are secondary. Pakistan is like a big picture and all the centrifugal forces here are its colours. Removing any colour from the picture would mar the beauty of the picture as well as of the colour itself. So each colour should remain steadfast to its position as colour and shouldn't try to take the place of the picture. Rather, it should enhance the beauty of the picture.
- **Federalism**-- system of govt in which same territory is controlled by two levels of govt.
- Generally, an overarching national government is responsible for broader governance of larger territorial areas, while the smaller subdivisions, states, and cities govern the issues of local concern



National solidarity

- Wider national interests are safeguarded
- National integration is a process of nation building
- **National identity** becomes more important rather than ethnic
- In USA ethnically diverse groups, with diff back grounds merged in American identity and are sharing equally the democratic rights
- However in **developing societies “ethnicity” posed serious threat** to nat integration
- In South Asia & Africa ethnic issues challenged national integration
- **Role of Political Parties**
- Fragmented societies - parties failed to motivate followers to **associate them with state**



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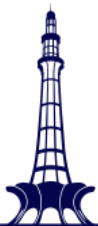
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Nat. Integration in Post independence Asia & Africa

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. Developed/under-developed states are suffering with it

- **Developed states adopt such strategies** with a planned administrative structure, which is in favor of their nation and concept of national integration has been achieved
- **Under-developed countries** didn't adopt such plans
- **Lack of planned policies accepted by all** ethnical, lingual, sectarian/racial groups
- Ultimately, the idea of achievement of national integration has been failed
- A group of people/community in a country who disagree the policies and strategies of Govt initiate rebellion activities against state



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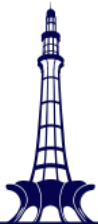
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Nat. Integration in Post independence Asia & Africa

- It has been a practice, in which various divisions of Society, with the same prospects, took pleasure different facilities with no such type of favoritism or biasness, having chance to grow particular social individuality. To make a sense of national integration in a state, it becomes imp to generate a proper plan on state level that will make sure to all the ethnic, social or other groups etc. for their self identity. One thing is also necessary to elaborate about this phenomenon that people must provide the chances to take part in state Pol System, then they considered themselves as a main and powerful part of state.
- “A consensus on ends, values and myths among participating groups is necessary for establishment of a lasting organization aiming at eventual formation of a national community” (Rai & Malick, 1989).
- **Consensus on Ends:** Agreement on the ultimate goals or future of the group. Everyone must want to move in the same direction, such as seeking shared prosperity or security.
- **Consensus on Values:** Shared agreement on what is "right" or important (e.g., justice, democracy, or specific religious ethics). These act as the "social glue" that guides behavior and maintains order.
- **Consensus on Myths:** Agreement on the "imagined" or symbolic stories of the nation, such as shared ancestry, historical struggles, or heroic origins. These myths help different groups feel like they belong to one "national community" rather than just a collection of individuals



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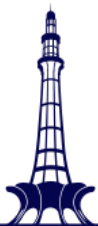
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National Integration in Other Countries

- Nat integration become gigantic issue for the researchers of this era and this matter sketched out many findings. They conclude that to maintain nat integration in region there is need to grow or develop a system/hierarchy that people will follow.
- To achieve results, there must be a smooth and **peaceful maintenance of division of resources, planned policies, regional integrity** and **equal distribution of sources among all federating units**
- **Soviet Union** under **communist ideology** tried to form a **Soviet man and woman** keeping in mind diverse ethnic and lingual contradictions in that country. But, that **policy failed** because it was based on **top-bottom approach** and imposed on people in a **superficial manner**
- **United States**, which has numerous lingual and ethnic variations has to a large extent **succeeded in creating American man and woman** because of a **policy** pursued at the **grassroots' level** in a **democratic set-up** particularly its **uniform educational system**
- **India**, the neighbour of Pakistan has **hundreds of languages, several cultures** and **religions** but has been able to prevent disintegration because of its **democratic political system** as neither **the military nor any ethnic group is allowed** to dominate a **multi-cultural and multi-religious society.**



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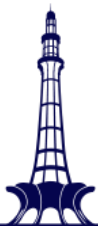
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Pak Profile



- Pakistan is a **multiethnic, multicultural, multilingual and multi-religious** society, where people of all ethnic, cultures, languages, religious groups and belonging to different provinces are living together
- There are **97 percent Muslims of different sects** and the remaining three percent belong to other religions, like Christians, Hindus, Sikhs and others
- Thallenge of national integration **was not taken seriously by the leadership** in the **nascent state of Pakistan** and **feelings of ethnic nationalism permeated** particularly in the then **East Pakistan**
- **Sense of deprivation deepened in East Pakistan** and in **smaller provinces** of West Pakistan and **issues which triggered disintegration** of Pakistan were **not resolved**



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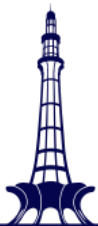
National Integration - Jinnah



“We are now all Pakistanis — not Balochis, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, Punjabis and so on — and as Pakistanis we must feel, behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else’.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said in a reply to Civic Address presented by **Quetta Municipality on June 15, 1948**

Quaid’s warning that the people of Pakistan should be **alert and cognizant** from those forces who wanted to plant the **seeds of ethnic nationalism** and **secession** made sense.



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Bengal



Reaction of Bengalis in Muslim League's convention held in Delhi about dropping the word 'states' as mentioned in **Lahore Resolution with 'state'** is stated as:

- "The resolution that was taken there altered Lahore Resolution in some ways.
- Only Mr. Hashim and **few others objected** when the word 'states' of previous resolution was replaced with 'State' but they **were overruled** and **emendation was adopted**.
- Scholars can perhaps decide **whether this convention had the right to alter** the terms of resolution adopted in Lahore in 1940."
- **The 1940 Lahore Resolution:** The original text demanded that "geographically contiguous units" in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India be grouped to constitute "**independent states**". This wording suggested that the North-Western (Punjab, Sindh, etc.) and Eastern (Bengal, Assam) zones might be separate, independent sovereign entities.
- **The 1946 Delhi Convention:** By 1946, Jinnah and the League leadership felt that the political climate and the upcoming Cabinet Mission negotiations required a single, united state to be more viable. The resolution passed at this convention dropped the plural "states" and used the singular "**State**".
- It is another story how things unfolded when **Pakistan came into existence without Assam, united Punjab and Bengal -- Ethnic issues** were provoked by **authoritarian rules**



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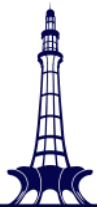
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Bengal

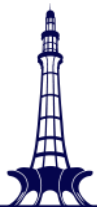
- The extreme **structural, political, and military underrepresentation of Bengalis** in the government of Pakistan during the mid-1950s, despite Bengalis comprising the majority of the total population (roughly 56% according to the 1951 census)
- East Pakistani population (Bengalis) was largely excluded from top-level decision-making and the military.
- **CIVIL Service Disparity**
- **Among 19 CSP secretaries no Bengali**: The Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) was the elite bureaucracy. In 1955, there were **19 Secretary-level positions**, and zero were filled by Bengalese military
- Among **Joint Secretaries (JS)**, a high-ranking bureaucratic role, only 3 out of 38 were from East Pakistan.
- The administrative machinery, which made crucial policy decisions, was entirely controlled by West Pakistanis
- **Military Disparity – little stake in the national military apparatus**
- **Army (1.5% - 5%)**: Despite being the majority population, Bengalis were underrepresented in the army, often deemed "non-martial" by the ruling elite.
- **Navy (1.2%)**: Almost non-existent representation in the naval forces.
- **Air Force (8.6%)**: Slightly higher, but still minimal representation.



3 angles to understand dilemma

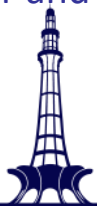


- **First**
- Pakistan came into being as a **result of an accord** reached between the **Muslim majority regions** of North West and North East of the Indian subcontinent.
- Accord was the **result of a demand** which was made through **Lahore Resolution of March 23, 1940**, and reiterated in **ML convention** in Delhi held in **April 1946**
- **Two-nation theory** was the **essence of the creation of Pakistan** as the founder of the country and his colleagues in the **Muslim League realised** that in an undivided India with a **Hindu majority**, the Muslim minority will **not be able to live as equal citizens**
- Unfortunately, after the creation of Pakistan, **religion which was the bond** trying to integrate the nascent state **became weak** as **economic and political exploitation** of the majority province of East Pakistan and the smaller provinces of West Pakistan **under the system of one-unit** and **parity unleashed** the **process of ethnic and lingual nationalism**



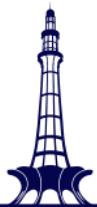
3 angles to understand dilemma

- **Second**, **democracy, rule of law, justice system and good governance** which should have been the essence of the new state of Pakistan went into oblivion.
- **Democracy became the first casualty** because of **military-bureaucratic nexus** to seize power through unconstitutional means. Back to back **imposition of martial law** and **military takeover** **diminished hopes to transform Pakistan** as a **viable nation state**
- Ironically, **feelings of Pakistani nation** only surfaced at the time of an **external threat** or **natural disaster**. Be it **1965 war** or the **10th May war**, surge of nationalistic feelings among the people of Pak helped to **unitedly deal** with issues **threatening survival** of a country
- **Earthquake of October 2005** and the terrorist attack on **Army Public School, Peshawar** on December 16, 2014, also united the people of Pakistan. **But**, once such threats receded,
- **Pakistan's internal contradictions** in the form of **political polarisation** and **ethnic/lingual discords** **reappeared**. It is yet to be seen what will be the **duration** of **current spell of national harmony** and unity in the wake of Indian threat or once the threat fades, will the country **revert back to political schism**, inter and **intra-provincial disharmony?**



3 Angles to Understand Dilemma

- **Third**, national harmony and integration requires ownership of the land, resources, good and bad things of a country
- Except **few exceptions**, **history** of Pak is full of episodes which **reflect lack of ownership**
- **Nations are not created by mere slogans** but through **sheer hard work**, **integrity**, **brilliance**, **planning** and **statesmanship** of the **leadership**
- Unfortunately **menace of corruption, nepotism and bad governance** tends to reflect **lack of ownership** of the country as majority of the people, including those **representing various state institutions** are **interested in protecting their personal, community, clan or group interests than the interests of the country as a whole**
- Tendency to **find faults within country** and **not doing anything to remove** things which **cause soc, economic, pol and governance** crises means **lack of ownership**



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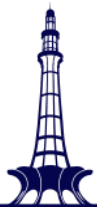
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Language



- In case of Pakistan, the situation is perplexed and rather challenging because it was created as a state like Israel on religious grounds. While Jews from all over the world reached their new homeland along with different cultures and became a majority in a land which was earlier called as Palestine
- In case of Pak, those migrated from India with a common language Urdu were a minority as local people living in a new state already had their established languages and cultures
- Therefore, **for national integration**, whether in case of US or India, **language was not a major issue** as English & Hindi, were the languages of dominant groups in the 2 countries were adopted
- In case of Pakistan, **Urdu** was declared as a national language despite the fact that it was not the mother tongue of the majority and was considered only as a lingua franca.
- As a result, **conflict over national language** emerged in the formative phase of Pakistan when Urdu was rather **imposed** on the then East Pakistan.





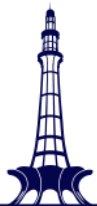
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Language



- Although, in **1956**, **Bengali was given the status of a national language** along with Urdu, the **damage was done** and **Bengali nationalism became a major force** culminating into the disintegration of Pak in December 1971
- **post-1971 Pakistan failed to learn lessons** from trauma of separation as **language riots in Sindh** broke out when **Sindhi** was declared as **language of province by Sindh Assembly** in July 1972
- Urdu is a **mode of communication** and is the language of the provinces of Balochistan, KPK and Punjab yet, it is **not the mother tongue of 90 per cent** of the people of Pakistan



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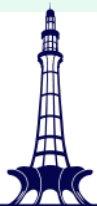
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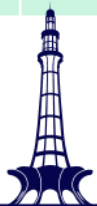
Federal interventions in provinces

Year	Description
1947	Congress ministry in NWFP had 'the support of 33 members out of 50.' But it was replaced by a Muslim League ministry.
1947	<u>Sindh assembly opposed the decision of central government to take Karachi out of control of Sindh and passed a resolution unanimously .</u> The Chief Minister of Sindh Ayub Khurro had to pay for this resolution and he was dismissed soon. (Pir Ilahi Baksh)
1948	Inclusion of Kallat state (91909 sq km) into Pakistan. Ahmed Yar Khan (Independence of 227 Days ...option for 535 princely states)
1955	One-unit scheme (amalgamation of provinces and states into the province of West Pakistan.)
1962-69	Ayub's Presidential period (Federal system operated like British vice regal system of 1930s.)
1970-71	Military action in East Pakistan and its separation.



Federal interventions in provinces

Year	Description
1972-73	dissolution of Baluchistan government. NWFP government resigned as protest. (JUI & NAP 13/7) Ayat ullah Mengal control over policing
1977-88	Constitutional amendments by military regime undermined the parliamentary and Federal nature of the constitution.
1988-93	<u>Dissolution of provincial assemblies</u> (1988,90,93)
1994	<u>Governor rule in NWFP</u> and installation of favorable government by PPP
1995	<u>Governor rule in Punjab</u> and installation of new government.
1999	<u>Removal of Nawaz Sharif</u> government along provincial government.
2002	17th Amendment has undermined the federal character of the state. (weakened power sharing balance) subordinate units not equal partners





Some considerable Ethno-lingual-Nationalist movements :Nature of Conflicts

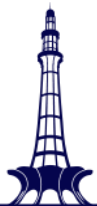
Period	Nature of conflict
1973-1977 2002-2005 Baloch Baluchistan	major reasons of revived movement are denial of adequate representation in the government. issue of royalty of natural resources, Target killing. Afghan refugees
1973 74-77 2009-2010 Pashtun Hindko KPK	Counteraction to dismissal of elected government and against intervention in provincial matters. Hazara province movement on the basis of Hindko dialect.





Some considerable Ethno-lingual-Nationalist movements: Nature of Conflicts

Period	Nature of conflict
1980-1985 2003 Mohajir (Urban Sindh)	Against the central authorities lack of representation in bureaucracy and Army against <u>quota system</u> , loss of <u>identity</u> , killings in Karachi.
1960-70 1988-2009 To date Saraiki (Southern Punjab)	To gain language rights against Punjabi <u>dominance and creation of separate province, Siraikistan</u> . Timeline : 1960s (Cultural Roots, marginalised) 1970s (Political Shift, absorbed by central Punjab) 1988 (Re-emergence – Pak Saraiki party) Till Date (Ongoing Struggle) -recognition of Saraiki as a major language .



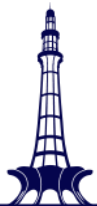
Exclusionary Policy

- To minimize contacts with minorities
- Process to eliminate ethnic minorities
- Policy of segregation
- Physical genocide
- Rwanda -1990-1994
- 800000 killed
- In USA policy of segregation against Negroes



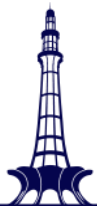
Pluralist policy

- **Diverse interest groups** are accommodated by the state
- **federal form of govt** are widely accepted to resolve the ethnic problems
- 2 or more ethnic groups develop consensus ,recognize rights of each other & form a govt
- High degree of autonomy for each segment



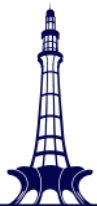
Federalism-ethnicity in Pakistan

- Accommodates diversity
- To regulate ethnic divide (power sharing system)
- Defines relationship between center & provinces
- Objectives resolution (promising provincial autonomy while aiming to harmonize ethnic diversity through Islamic identity.
- Constitutions
- Ethnicity overpowered the religious fever
- Instrumentalist approach
 - I. Elite /state uses ethnicity to get power
- Ethnicity proved a divisive factor
- Religion & language important attributes to nationhood
- struggles to balance central authority with regional autonomy, using religion (Islam) and language as primary, often conflicting, tools to define national unity and manage ethnic diversity.
- After independence declaration of “Urdu “ as national language threatened other regional languages
- Transformation of loyalty to state to regional or social identities
- Centralized system is seen as promoting Punjab dominance



Federalism ethnicity in Pak

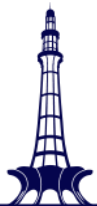
- Muslim nationalism lost significance
- Multi-lingual-ethnic composition
- Emergence of Bengali ethnic politics
- Bengali nationalism
- Based on secular connotation
- Focused on cultural identity & language
- East Pak considered itself as a periphery, colonized by West Pakistan
- One Unit plan



Language Movement

A movement launched for the advocacy of Bengali language to be recognized as official language

- In 1948 the Government declared Urdu as sole official language, sparked violent protests
- 21 Feb 1952 students of Dhaka University were killed by Police firing (**International Mother Language Day -21 Feb (Shaheed Dibosh (Martyrs' Day)**
- Language movement was a base for **6 Point Formula & Bengali nationalism**
- The six points of the formula were:
 - 1) a form of federal govt, a parliamentary system directly elected via one-person-one-vote
 - 2) two separate reserve banks and currencies for the two wings of Pakistan
 - 3) Other than defence and foreign policy all issues will be dealt by the federal provinces, 4) a paramilitary force for East Pakistan
 - 5) fiscal affairs, such as taxation and resources allocation, will be state responsibility
 - 6) monetary and trade policies, such as foreign reserve maintenance and establishing trade links, will be handled separately by the two wings
- Out of 69 million 44 million were Bengali
- Economic imbalance
- Mukti Bahni



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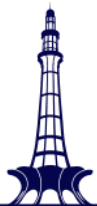
1973 constitution

- Federal system
- Division of power
- Bicameral legislature
- Conflict resolution apparatus
- (institutions within this framework include the Council of Common Interest (CCI), National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, and National Economic Council (NEC), designed to resolve disputes over shared interests and resources.
- Senate had no authority over finance & budget (excluded from budgetary decisions)
- 17th amendment- money bills now presented to the Senate



National Economic Council (NEC) Article # 156

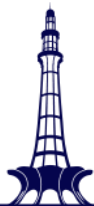
- Headed by PM, all 4 CMs and representation from all provinces
- Shall at least meet twice
- Body to promote economic development
- **Reassessment of economic conditions & devise policies for economic development**



1973 constitution

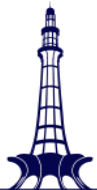


- **Council of Common Interest (CCI) (Article 153-154)**
- A permanent body consisting of the PM and Chief Ministers (or nominees) to formulate and regulate policies regarding subjects in the Federal Legislative List (Part II), such as railways, electricity, and water. It resolves disputes between the center and provinces.
- **National Finance Commission (NFC) Award (Article 160):**
- A constitutional mechanism (mandatory every 5 years) that distributes tax revenues collected by the federal government between the federal government (vertical) and the provinces (horizontal). It ensures financial equity for provincial development.
- **National Economic Council (NEC) (Article 156):**
- Headed by the Prime Minister, it is the highest body responsible for reviewing the overall economic condition of the country, advising the federal and provincial governments, and approving economic plans to ensure balanced regional development.
- The "last NFC award" in Pakistan refers to the 7th National Finance Commission (NFC) Award, signed in 2009 and effective from 2010, which governs the distribution of tax revenue between the federal government and provinces. It was intended to last five years but has been continuously extended for over a decade.



The Formula – 7th NFC Award

- It was a landmark agreement that shifted from a single-criterion (population) system to a multi-indicator formula for horizontal resource sharing.
- **Weights:** The formula allocated resources based on:
 - **Population:** 82%
 - **Poverty/Backwardness:** 10.3%
 - **Revenue Collection/Generation:** 5%
 - **Inverse Population Density:** 2.7%(**3-percentage-point mechanism designed to provide more financial resources to provinces with large, sparse, or difficult-to-administer terrains.**)
- **Vertical Share:** It increased the provincial share of the "divisible pool" (total taxes) from roughly 47.5% to 57.5 %
- **Deadlock:** Although the Constitution requires a new award every five years (meaning a new one was due in 2015), the 7th NFC Award has been extended annually due to a lack of consensus among the provinces and federal govt.
- **18th Amendment Factor:** Post Amendment, provinces are hesitant to renegotiate, fearing a reduction in share, while the federal govt faces fiscal constraints and desires a higher share



National finance Commission(NFC): Article 160

PM+ federal & Provincial Finance ministers and other members to advise on distribution of revenues between centre & units

- Distribution on basis of population Provinces which is **highly contentious**
- The previous NFC Award, signed in 2009, expired on June 30, 2015 and has continued to **remain effective through presidential extension**
- At present, the Centre transfers 57.5pc of the divisible pool to the provinces after deducting collection charges and retains 42.5pc. Of the provincial share, **82pc is distributed on the basis of population, 10.3pc on the basis of poverty, 5pc for revenue collection and 2.7pc inverse population density (area)**

(Source DailyDawn 29th Novemebrr 2016)

Council of Common Interests(CCI): Article # 153

- CMs, equal number of federal ministers
- empowered to look into the complaints regarding oil, gas, water supply



Senate

- Equal Voting rights of the provinces (irrespective of the population)
- Representation of all shades of political opinion
- **Protector of the rights of federating units**
- Guards encroachment on the part of center
- Encourages participatory federalism
- Joint ownership of natural resources
- Senate struggled for the role in Public Accounts Committee
- **18th amendment** obligates Auditor General to present annual report in both houses
- Inclusion of Senators in Public Accounts Committee (After July 2016)



Reasons of the failure of national integration of Pak



CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

- After the death of Quaid-e-Azam there was hardly any leader upon whom the nation could be united. Every leader **prefers his personal interest rather than national interest.** They built up **economic assets on illegal means.** Thus they **exploited the national purse** on the cast of national interest and promoted personal interests. Therefore national integration remained weak and fragile

ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

- There is a **big gap** between rich and poor. The **system** of Pakistan has been **structured** such that the **gulf** between poor and rich **become widen** with the every passing day. Rich become richer and the poor become poorer and poorer. It strengthens the upper and privileged class of society. It **never cares of the lower class** of the society. Thus the economic inequalities led towards the weakness of the national integration.

- **imbalanced provision of resources, uneven infrastructural and industrial developments** and the lack of employment opportunities; all of this resulted in **disparity of economic well-being** of the public. It is mainly because, **wealth in the hands of the few** paves the way for their **constant power and ensures the continuity of this gap.** Thus, economic inequalities led towards the weakness of national integration.



Reasons of the failure of national integration of Pak



■ PROVINCIAL BIASES AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE

■ Beside the **lack of social justice and provincial biases** are posing a threat to the basic existence of the country. It leads towards the **destabilization of the state** and shaking basis of national integration of country. **Smaller provinces have developed the sense of deprivation.**

■ They think that they have been **deprived of their just share in the national exchequer** and of their **just royalty**. It has developed **the age-old animosities** among the provinces. Social justice is the only solution of national integration in Pak. The **water dispute** existed among the provinces. It has posed a major threat to national integration. Provinces have objections on **construction of Kala Bagh dam** which has **detracted confidence and unity** of the country

■ Likewise the **dispute over NFC** (National Finance Commission) award also posing serious threats to national integration. The **provinces don't agree on the formula** in which the **resources are to be divided** on the **basis of population**. This creates great hurdles in the way of national integration of Pakistan



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Reasons of the failure of national integration of Pak



- The **sense of regionalism** has been fueled by the lack of socio economic justice in the country. Regionalism has divided the whole nation into small and **miserable classes**.
- It has created fractions, groups, sects working for their **vested interests**. **Jeye Sindh, Baluch Liberation Front and Baluch liberation army** are struggling for the **secession** from federation. So the question of national integration remain unaddressed and at low priority
- There is a **trend of promoting personal interest, class interest, group interest** and faction and regional interest instead national interests. Almost **all parties** are talking about **Sindhies, Baluchies, Pukhtoons, and Punjabies and other small groups**. There is no talk about Pakistan. This politics of regionalism has widened the **gulf between different sections** of the society. It has shaken the basis of national integration of Pakistan



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Reasons of the failure of national integration of Pak



■ MILITARY INTERVENTION

■ Military intervention has weakened the basis of national integration. During military rule the **small provinces** has been deprived of their just share. **East Pakistan split** during military rule. The military regime **failed to promote the sense of ones** in the two wings of Pakistan. **Baluchistan issue** also emerged during military rule

■ POLITICAL INSTABILITY

■ Political stability is the most important prerequisite for strengthening the national integration. Unfortunately Pakistan is **lacking this requirement since very long**. The political instability has **widened the gulf between the ruling class and the ruled class**. It has distorted the **picture of Pakistan** and made it **retrogressive in all spheres**. Political instability has posed a big threat to national unity and integrity.

■ Lack of unity and integration has **pushed behind the objectives** for which Pakistan was created. It has not **rhythm of national progress**. As a result the **nation has become hollow** from within in terms of national integration.



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Reasons of the failure of national integration of Pak



■ LANGUAGE PROBLEM

■ Pakistani is a plural society. There are living many linguistic groups which is problem. Some time it poses serious **threats for the geographical integrity** of the state. Pakistan lost its eastern wing owing to many problem of which the language problem was one of the important problem.

■ In today's Pakistan the difference of language is still a problem in the way of national integration of state. It is very much important for Pakistan to have a language policy which is helpful for the promotion of all languages equally.

■ The current policy has created a **sense among the small linguistic groups** that the government is only promoting Urdu **at the cast of regional** languages. All the **provinces** have been divided into more than one linguistic group which contributing to the instability of country.

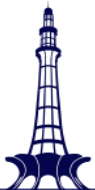


Reasons of the failure of national integration of Pak

■ MEDIA

Media is a source of information and education. It is the most effective mean of change and information. Media is expected to play a positive role in image building of the state. It is the responsibility of media to promote national interest and national integration

- In a democratic society the role of media is to be of a watchdog. It is the need of the time that our media should strive for building of soft and positive image of the state.
- Media is the link between the people of a country which propagate the news throughout the country and world by means of electronic devices known as electronic media i.e. radio, TV, net etc and by the means of print media i.e. newspapers, journals, and magazines etc
- Media educate the people and moulds their opinion, making and toppling the governments makes a hero a villain and a villain a hero. It changes the life style, thinking, culture and tradition of a society
- Power of media can be judged through its role as a source of information, education and entertainment. It has changed the world into a global village

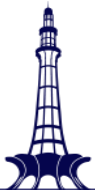


Reasons of the failure of national integration of Pak



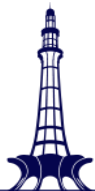
■ ROLE OF MEDIA IN NATIONAL INTEGRATION

- Pak media is playing very **irresponsible role**. Talk shows and political **debates don't consider themselves subject to limits**. In debates participants using **abusive language** against each other
- The **anchor persons are fueling** the arguments and counter arguments. They don't care for the fact that what **type of image** they are going to develop
- What the people will think about them. This trend is conveying a very **negative message** inside and **outside of the country**. Media as opinion maker **models the opinion** of the people. These **talk shows are creating prejudice among the workers** of different political parties. And in some cases they get violent against each other
- In the name of **freedom of press media, some time crossing the limits**. There is a race among the different channels for breaking news which led to a fierce situation. They are using negative tools for increasing the number of viewership



Reasons of failure of nat integration of Pak

- Media has to play a positive and productive role in society. Education is one of the imp factors in promoting nat integration. On the same lines media has a very affective role in educating society. Use of media especially of **internet has a lot of contribution in educating society**. It is responsibility of media to unveil true picture of society
- But unfortunately **most of the press is prejudice**. They are **propagating** the distorted picture of reality as they want. Media should show responsibility. They should show love and affection instead of hate. They should **play a constructive role** in providing education to the people and show them the **real picture of the world as it is**.
- They **should not sensitize the issues**. **Honest coverage is the spirit of journalism**. The media can **lead the society towards betterment** if they start **factual reporting**. These are some of the major flaws in media if these could be addressed justly they can play an active role in national integration. Ibid media persons and press should be devoted and self reliable. They should show great social responsibilities that would



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Prejudices & Intolerance



- It is not only language which matters as far as national integration is concerned but **tolerance and acceptance of each other regardless of variation** in culture, class and religion also matters
- **Biases** on ethnic, cultural, lingual, religious or sectarian grounds **can never lead to political or economic stability**
- Pakistan's predicament is **prejudices and intolerance on the basis of language, place of origin and sect still persists**
- For instance, in a TV **interview**, prominent nuclear scientist and father of Pak atomic bomb **Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan** bluntly talked of the **alleged prejudices** he had faced
- When **people start identifying themselves with their language, culture, religion** and sect and not with the country, one cannot expect national integration to take place. When **lingual and ethnic consideration undermines merit in appointments and promotions**, that country can never emerge as a unified nation
- **Insecure state will patronise a particular class or an ethnic group** in **order to sustain its hold over power** but **will not be mindful** to the damage done to the country by pursuing such a policy



Minority issues

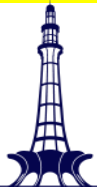


- Common identity of the Pakistani citizens is that they are Pakistanis
- Minority issues are also paving the way for disunity in the country. Pakistan is a safe haven for minorities and they have been living in their motherland for decades, undoubtedly.
- But the **problem lies in extremist mindsets** against them. They (especially Hindus) are often linked with India and its fascist Modi government's illicit and brutal acts to its Muslim minority.
- What we have to understand here is that the whole country, including both the minority and majority, is standing against the fascist Modi regime and its brutal acts against Indian and Kashmiri Muslims.
- **Hindutva and Hinduism** (Sanatan dharma) are **both different in nature** in every aspect. The **lack of trust in minorities** by **not giving them top slots** or in other words, **not giving them the opportunity** to do something for their motherland is also an issue.
- Additionally, **biased selection of parliamentarians from minorities** by political parties is another facet, as they are unable to even speak in Parliament or resolve the issues of minorities



Factors that forge National Integration

- National integration cannot be artificially created but it evolves as a result of a **process of social and economic justice** along with democratic political pluralism
- **Cultural, lingual and religious variations** exist in many countries of the world but it is the wise and prudent leadership which provides a sense of participation, opportunities for progress and development
- **Religion alone cannot be a binding force** to integrate dissimilar people of a country as a nation.
- There are other essential requirements to unite people as a nation like **economic progress, human and social development, justice system, rule of law, political pluralism, non-discriminatory policy** of state by providing equal opportunities regardless of religion, caste, race, language, gender and place of origin
- The **absence** of such requirements cannot transform people of a country as a nation but can cause ethnic, racial, lingual, religious and sectarian polarisation



Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?

Following edu and opinion-forming measure can be adopted to promote nat integration

- **The revival of the National Spirit Based on Two Nation Theory**
- Two Nation theories were centripetal for the Muslims of South Asia. Even today the revival of the national spirit based on Two-Nation theory can promote National integrity.
- **Promotion of Islamic Culture and Tradition**
- Islam is a binding force for inhabitants of Pakistan. It guides people in a single direction. If we inculcate Islamic culture and tradition in our society, then the local customs, traditions, social, parochial and cast differences will automatically be eliminated
- **Application of Media for Nation Building**
- We should make proper use of media for national integration
- **Promotion of Urdu**
- Linguistic differences are major cause of national disintegration. To eliminate linguistic differences, we must promote Urdu in Pakistan for the sake of nat integration. Urdu is 'lingua franca'. It can serve as medium of communication between all parts of country. It can eliminate existing linguistic differences and can serve as major source of integration
- No mode of comm can effectively promote integration as railways because ppl belonging to diff provinces and regions travel together, share language, culture and way of life



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Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?

- The following administrative and political measures can be adopted to promote national integration in Pakistan
- **Administration with Responsible and Patriotic outlook**
- The **federal administration is a national institution**; under federal civil services officers belonging to one province are **posted in other provinces**. If these officers perform their duties with a **real sense of service** and consider themselves to be the **servants of the people** and **not their masters or rulers**, there will be no reason for the people of any province to **complain** that they were being subjected to **alien rule**
- **Restricting the provinces**
- Our country comprises of four provinces. These provinces have somewhat, **different cultural-linguistic and ethnic characteristics**. Such **differences are common in all countries** of the world; (for example **India**, our closest neighbour is a hundred times more **heterogeneous** than we are).



Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?



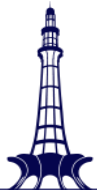
Bi-Cameral Legislature/ Powerful Upper House

- A bicameral legislature was established for the first time under the 1973 constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The **upper house** was named Senate. **Lower house** or the National Assembly is the **popularly elected house** and represents the people of Pakistan. The **upper house**, Senate, is the **house of Provinces**. This is a step of utmost important necessary to **dismiss the sense of deprivation** that our **small provinces** have
- **Separation of Powers**
- In **federal form**, **powers are divided** between federal and provincial govt. For **strong federal system**, **separation of power** between central govt & federating units is an **essential** requirement - required is **implementation of constitutional clauses in true spirit**
- **Democratic System of Government**
- It creates a **sense of responsibility and participation** in the people. They start to love their country and live for it. **Dictatorship**, creates a **sense of deprivation** and they get **alienated from the national affairs**. They develop enmity towards province or class to which rulers belong. In this way, national integration is jeopardized



Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?

- Many countries face the challenge of national integration but in some cases their **leadership** is able to **integrate diverse people by ensuring social justice, tolerance, rule of law, good governance** and democratic pluralism
- Pakistan's quest for national integration would remain elusive unless the **bottom-top approach** is adopted where a **sense of belonging** to the country evolves at the grassroots' level.
- **Care for the resources** of the country and pursuing a **tolerant approach** vis-à-vis those who are different in race, language, class, religion and sect will go a long way **in promoting** what is called as "**Pakistaniat.**"
- Promoting the **culture of merit** instead of **favouritism and nepotism** is also the essence to achieve the goal of national integration.



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Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?

- Free and cheaper education facilities should be expanded in all areas of Pakistan by the governments and the private sector to maximize education in Pakistan
- This will help people to contribute more towards socioeconomic development, it will also enable them to shed away their biases on ethnic, cultural, lingual, religious or sectarian grounds, will help in achieving better national cohesion. Also, our politicians, bureaucracy and educationists, especially the heads of all government and private departments and institutions should work to end corruption and nepotism in the society
- Incoming governments in Pakistan should focus on CPEC based economic development of all areas, especially backward areas, to address poverty and socioeconomic disparity and bring prosperity
- This will bring out the Pakistani youth from confusion to hope and progress.



Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?

- Emphasis should also be laid on achieving **interprovincial harmony** among **Baluchistan, Rural Sindh, South Punjab, and PATA**
- This should be done through **promotion of education, exchange of students** in each other's educational institutions, enhancing **mutual trade, promoting interprovincial sports, cultural events, tourism** and **interprovincial marriages**
- Whereas we should take pride in our ethnicity, culture, language and provinces at local and provincial levels, we should **take pride in being Muslims and Pakistanis**, which should be kept above everything, as **our survival lies in this thing**
- Same time being Muslims, we should **respect rights of our religious minorities** and look after **their economic welfare** to make them **happy members of our society**



Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?

- At the same time, **dissident elements and non-violent actors** like PTM, and activists in GB, AJK, **Liberals and Leftists** should be integrated by bringing them into **mainstream politics and social life**. It is expected that all these measures will greatly help in achieving national integration in a better way
- While working to achieve national integration, the successive Pakistani governments and Pakistan's people **must remember what Quaid-I-Azam had said** in this context
- On **June 15, 1948**, in a reply to Civic Address presented by Quetta Municipality, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah said, **“We are now all Pakistanis, not Balochis, Pathans, Sindhis, Bengalis, Punjabis and so on, and as Pakistanis we must feel, behave and act, and we should be proud to be known as Pakistanis and nothing else”**.



Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?

As national integration demonstrates a crucial part in the development of a country, it becomes important to **develop the feeling of national integrity** among its citizens. Therefore, **focus on all the sections of society** and **making them financially dependent** will promote national integration.

- This will help to **promote economic integrity**. This is one of the most important factors in promoting national integration. **Tolerance and respect for other caste or religion** also support to promote national integrity. **Education, social and cultural unity, equality** among people also helps to teach the feeling of national integration.
- National integration plays a very important role in the **political, economic, cultural and social dimensions of a country**. It helps the country in the following ways



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How to Promote National Integration?

Significance of National Integration in Modern Era

- National integration plays a more significant role in modern times. Hence it has **challenges like communalism, regionalism, separatism, linguism**, etc.
- **Global terrorism** is also one of the **major threats to national integration**. While few people with **radical thoughts** convince the population and **brainwash** them. They provoke them **against their motherland**.
- In the **era of technological advancements** and the accessibility of social media. It is very **easy to get deceived**. National integration helps to ignore these situations. It makes people **intellectually mature and tolerant**.
- **Provincial autonomy and social justice** at the **constitutional and political levels**
- The **political culture is binding force** for the **stability of a nation**



Approaches to Nat Integration & State Strategies- Assimilation policy

- **Based on social integration**
- Different cultures are to be incorporated with national culture
- It is helpful to eradicate hostility & unifying the society
- France successfully tried it
- After French revolution govts assimilated the minorities
- Cultural assimilation is the process by which a person or a group's language and/or culture come to resemble those of another group
- Centralized cultural & educational policies
- In Turkey (urban) areas Kurdish minorities accepted assimilated policy however in certain parts they did demand recognition of Kurdish language & culture.
- It seems alluring
- Some minorities accept it voluntarily but when imposed they tend to react
- In 1948 when one national language was imposed it led to dismemberment in 1971





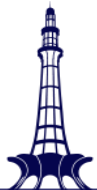
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Baluchistan – Case Study



- National Integration includes a confidence in nation's future, a **continuous rise in the standard of living, development** of feeling of values and duties, at good and impartial administrative system and mutual understanding”.
- Pakistan is a country facing the dilemma of national integration since its independence as many leading factors were existing. This study will focus or highlight the causes which are obstacle in smooth keeping of national integration in Pakistan. Balochistan is a region where this issue is arising.
- **Balochistan carries significant position coz of its precious and priceless natural resources or in addition with minerals.** Geographically, Balochistan is located at **South-West of Pak** having boarder with neighboring states, i.e. Iran and Afghanistan, then its weightage become more boosts up after Gawadar Port, who gets extreme value for Pakistan among other states of the world. Earlier, **British Government** takes great benefit of this constituency after using Balochistan while calling it as **“Buffer Zone”**. British Government controls this region with the help of Sardars in Balochistan. Furthermore, the **same method has been repeated up till 1947**, however, certain uprisings occurred to create sovereign Balochistan.



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Baluchistan



- As far as Pakistan is concerned, **feudal and sardari system, uprisings, political struggle**, raise this issue.
- Pakistan is **trying to establish national integration through** social, political, economic, ethnic, lingual policies.
- To establish these policies, there is **need to give more powers, resources to the regions/provinces** for national integration
- The Balochi's intends to save these reservoirs and do not want any interference of Govt. in this matter, so this cause the issue of National Integration. Moreover, they want to equal distribution and equal rights like other providences. **Marginalization Balochies have a few participations in construction of the "Gawadar Port" which is a mega project of the federal govt**



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Baluchistan



- The advantage of this port has been directly linked with the people of Balochistan but there is a lack of development in this regard due to non cooperation of the Balochies.
- It also connects with Karachi but none of the attempt has been made by the people of Balochistan. Furthermore, there is no professional institute just because of the selfishness of Balochies.
- The main factor of this is also lack of **trust of Balochies on govt.** if Baloch people show some trust, the employment issue may be erased very quickly, which is also a main reason of national integration in Pakistan.



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Autonomy

- Regional integrity, power, autonomy or independence has been the main types of sovereignty/autonomy. Requirement for absolute freedom, integration with authority is the right to any province.



- But unfortunately the main issue of national integration in Balochistan is non-provision of sovereignty to balochi govt. When Balochies insist for voting and request for provision the rights to local level but the central govt. always neglect the demand and requirement of this issue.



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Distribution of Natural Resources

- Distribution of natural resources among the provinces is a **dilemma** of the national integration. Balochistan is **province having natural gas, gold, copper, oil, and chromites**. Although having the natural resources, the Balochies experience the uneven distribution due to lack of interest in province. **No provision of Govt. post and technical education**, deprivation in every walk of life, **none contribution in Govt. strategies** etc.
- Although, the **central body always stated** that the **fiscal and administrative issues** has been resolved in Balochistan, in form of “**Aghaz-e-Haqooq-e- Balochistan, 18th amendment and National Finance Commission (NFC) Award**”, this have been unproductive or not in favor of Balochistan
- Presently, progressive question about the structured of “**Gawdar Port**” being key transport centre for CPEC. The **Balochies completely neglected from this plan**. Having natural resources, **Balochistan is Centre** of “Pakistan, Iran and India Gas Pipeline”,



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Ethnicity



- Balochies never fulfilled their demand for participation in pol affairs of state, along with army.
- Often, it happens that the Balochi council did not fulfill their period due to the selfishness of central government policies.
- Then this factor push the ethnicity in the region and the Balochies wants their right of representation in central government, too. In 1999, armed force action by General Pervaiz Mushraf, **raised the feeling of hostility** in Baloch.
- Shortage of participation of Balochies in military and supremacy of Punjab is the major issue of ethnicity in Balochistan and increase of **hatred feelings** with Punjabis
- Though move change in command to army to civil govt of Zardari reduces the tension somehow or the other, in 2009-2010, intervention makes worse aggression Punjab govt. always blames Balochistan as an issue.





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Lingual Issue



- Insistence to protect and promote the balochi **language and norms** against Urdu become an issue to national integration. Negligence the demands of Balochies for their language, promotion of the balochi culture traditions made great disputes. **“Cultural symbols serve as instruments of forging group cohesion and legitimating group demands”**.
- **Islamic Radicalism or Terrorist Associations**
- Variety of radical factions i.e. “Al-Qaida, Tahreek-e-Taliban, have been energetic in Balochista. The movements of the **terrorist factions** are too suspected and create problematic situation. The **geographical position of Balochistan** or **deficiency of operative fiscal matters** exist in Balochistan and **create lawless situation** having **sign of religion**. **“Hazarra Shia” migrate en-route of Afghanistan** become martyr of sect based aggression. Around 8-10 million Hazarra communities occupied in Afghanistan and many of them migrate to Balochistan for their life security but they are attacked many time in Balochistan **on the basis of radicalism or Islam**.



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National Integration - challenges



- Challenge is as old as the history of this country
- Formed on an ideological ground with the religion of Islam as its prime source of identity, Pakistan began to face numerous issues of language and ethnicity in its formative phase
- Ethnic nationalism began to be in conflict with religion particularly in the then East Pakistan where language movement emerged as a cogent force
- Pakistan became a unique state with a geographical distance of more than 1,000 miles between its eastern and western wings with hostile India in the middle. No country in modern history was created by states as in case of Pakistan
- In case of Pakistan, after the assassination of the country's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, the West Pakistan dominated military-bureaucratic elite along with feudal class and clergy began to propagate the notion of strong centre and used religion to artificially integrate the diverse provinces of the country



Suggestions - How to Promote National Integration?



- **Increases Economic Growth**

- It is a well-known fact that the country has **less internal matters and problems**. They will **always prosper and develop**. The country **which is united will always have fewer problems** as compared to the country which is socially unstable

- **Promotes Social Harmony**

- National integration makes the people of a country be present in harmony. This works only by **strengthening the social bond between them**. It indorses **brotherhood, peace, and tolerance** among them

- **Promotes Loyalty for the Nation**

- National integration indorses loyalty of the citizen for the country. It aids to make people join hands and stand for the advancement of the country forgetting their petty issues.



Punjab Factor - Provincialism

Due to various **disparities in economic development and opportunities of employment**, there is **dissatisfaction among some provinces** and their people that the majority province Punjab is **usurping their rights**, especially the **Sind and Balochistan** provinces have such grievances

- There are some **nationalist movements** to get their rights like **MQM** and **PTM**. Also, citing **governments' failure to ignore the development of their areas** some Baloch dissidents, **mised and sponsored by India** and other powers ask for independence of Balochistan
- At this rate, **income inequalities, social injustice, political blow** and other evils raised their heads. All of these made national integration weak and fragile
- There is **lack of consensus on important national issues** in Pakistan. For that reason the provinces hate each other
- **National Integration in Federalism Model**
- In Pak, national integration is **sought within framework of Federalism Model**, which **appreciates diversity within federal structure** of the state and federating units
- The governments of **federating units and the central government** are acknowledged as **legitimate and supreme establishments** within **respective jurisdictions**. The common **pronouncement of federalism is unity with diversity**



National Integration in Federalism Model



- The federating units of the national government of Pakistan would have all the autonomy, but **certain vital powers will remain vested** in the **Central Government**. There should be a system of **competing political parties** working within the Constitution and democratic framework of Pakistan
- The **bureaucrats should do their duty as servants** of the people and they should not be **concerned with this or that political party**. **Education** is necessary for the socio-economic development of the country and as the **basic condition for the success of democracy**, as a sound basis for political culture, political socialization and recruitment of the political system of the country
- **An independent Judiciary** was the basic need of time as it alone could **protect and enforce all the rights**. We must present the world an **economic system**, based on the true Islamic **concept of equality and social justice**. Pakistan should have **foreign policy** to have good relations with all the **neighbours and other countries** and respect **UN Charter**. Pakistan should be strong in **defence to deter any aggression**. You as a nation cannot rise to the **height of glory unless your women are side-by-side with you**. You will have to make up for the smallness of your size by your courage and selfless devotion to duty.



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Polices to create unity

National Language Policy	To promote Urdu as national language –to promote unity	Not accepted- birth to Bengali nationalism
One Unit Plan	Centralisation- integrate 2 wings	Alienated Bengalis- little share in power
Federal Capital		Sense of deprivation in East Pakistan
Powerful civil-military bureaucracy	Little representation of Bengalis	Dissatisfaction
Elections	PPP + AL did not accept results	Dismemberment



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