

CORRELATION BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

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***Abstract:** This research paper aims at to study the correlation between nationalism and political development in Pakistan since its time to General Pervez Musharraf's era. The research paper uses secondary data to examine the subject under study. After WWII, modern states emerged on the basis of nationalism. It acts like a cement to hold the people together under one organization termed as "Nation-State". Nationalism has bared the follow characteristic: race, territory, religion, language, culture. In developing states, like Pakistan, there are small communities who supposed to be a part of nation rather revolt and pretend to be a separate nation. Political stability, strong institution, fair distribution of resources between provinces, and effective government policies bring political development in the state and vice-versa. It is to be noted that local identities cannot be abolished but can only be living side by side to the national identity. The research findings indicate that there is a close link between nationalist feelings and political development which lead towards national integration. Though, Pakistan lacks leadership of national stature that can stimulate positive and vigorous changes in political, economic and social spheres. It is also inferred that indorsing nationalism and enable nation-building and development in Pakistan is a long way to go.*

Keywords: Nationalism, Political Development, National Integration, Ethnicity, Political Stability

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“Nations are born in the hearts of poets; they prosper and die in the hands of politicians”.¹

Introduction

After 2nd World War, the whole world was adopting civic model and new nation-states emerged with ethnocentric biases. There were also movements for eradication of inequalities and for social justice. Hence the new wave covered the globe namely, Nationalism. It is a feeling of oneness. People share common identity. However, the pattern of identity may vary from state to state.² Nationalism is a result of grass-root movement which shows the effect of efficient modernization on the people and their environment. Those states where nationalism emerged a certain level of development has been attained, for example, South Korea and Taiwan. In more democratic states nationalism merges with other processes and development slow. Hence, without grass root movements desired results could not attained.³

In 1930, the Presidential Address of Allama Muhammad Iqbal at Allahabad,

“Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam.”

He considered nationalism as the product of religion in Indo-Pak subcontinent. Iqbal holds the view that nationalism emerged only when people are sufficiently enlightened and organized enough to take their destiny in their own hands and this

¹ Javid Iqbal, *“Stray Reflections”*, a note book of Allama Iqbal, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications), 125

² Raja Qaiser, “Nationalism and Political Identity, The Rise and Role of Indigenous Identities”, *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 35, 2, (Summer-Fall 2015): 105-116, Published by Johns Hopkins University Press, DOI: 10.1353/sais.2015.0027

³ Emerson, Rupert, "Nationalism and Political Development", *The Journal of Politics* 22, no. 1 (1960): 3-28. Accessed July 14, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/2126586.

enlightenment can only be brought by establishing the Allamah, called cultural institutes.⁴

After the establishment of Pakistan, its history is plagued with failed political development. Unfortunately, Pakistan's short political development is entrenched in the choices made by its politicians, who made fateful decisions during unfavorable circumstances. They resolved enigmas on the suggestions of bureaucracy. Since 1947, Pakistan faced four military coups with regular oscillation of civilian and military governments. The country has had three constitutions. From 1947-2008 there was no civilian government who actually served its full term in office. Social demographically, Pakistan has ethnic and linguistic orientations. As political parties were busy in pursuing their own interests, the ethnic nationalism started to prevail. But there was no sincere authority to transform local loyalties into national identity.⁵“The idea of nationality is certainly a healthy factor in the growth of communities. But it is apt to be exaggerated, and when exaggerated it has a tendency to kill the broad human elements in art and literature”⁶

Literature Review

Nationalism is measured by the weight and specificity given to national identity over the other levels of identity. It is a very complex phenomenon. People may have local or regional identity on the basis of tribe, religion, language and culture. But after this they move towards supranational identity, for example EU, UAE (United Arab Emirates) etc. In some states, nationalism also means, identification with the state. But a conflict-prone identifier is the ethnic group. If a nation has strong identification with the state but also has various strong ethnic identities, it can be considered as weak nationalism.⁷

⁴ Latif Ahmad Sherwani, “*Speeches, Writings And Statements Of Iqbal*”, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, All-India Muslim League, Allahabad Session, 29th December 1930, Presidential Address, Lahore, n.d. (Ed.)

⁵ Raja Qaiser, “*Nationalism and Political Identity, The Rise and Role of Indigenous Identities*”, *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 35, 2, (Summer-Fall 2015): 105-116, Published by Johns Hopkins University Press, DOI: 10.1353/sais.2015.0027

⁶ Dr. Javid Iqbal, “*Stray Reflections*”, a note book of Allama Iqbal, (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications), 95

⁷ Florian Bieber, “*Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends*”, *Ethnopolitics*, 17:5, (2018): 519- 540, DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2018.1532633

Rupert Emerson wrote in his work “Nationalism and Political Development” that the strongest force to bring political development in developing countries had been remained nationalism.⁸

Thus, Prasenjit Daura wrote in his article “Nationalism and Development” that Nationalism as the underlying principle for development is used by governments to achieve high levels of growth, but also engenders exclusivism and resentments often in order to incorporate a political basis.⁹ There are 3 types of theories explaining relation between nationalism by political development.

The state of revolutionary theory: This theory is about radicalizing the middle class. Many factors are involved in this process. States use overwhelming power swiftly and effectively. This violence leads to overthrow the government. It can also disintegrate the society and destroy revolutionary goals. In Asian societies, there was a high level of violence which was easily mobilized. There is a need to understand the inherent political dynamics of the development process, the political implications of the selection of development goals, the means to achieve them and the social and moral dilemmas, they face. It is clear that the development proceeds is on almost every trajectory.

Democratic theory of structural transformation: Political Development theory of early 19th century was that economic development led to the development of the middle class and thus to the democratization of developing countries. Each political system has certain limits to resolve its disputes and to manage its capacities. It is important to identify these limits. This theory is also based on the assumption that human freedom is judged by the way it balances conflicting needs of change, stability and justice. Necessary adjustment must be made in the political capacity of the system to get moderate process of structural change. All this can be enhanced collectively.

Development Theory: Development theory has given little bearing on institutional, structural, historical and cultural factors. Only political development theory has realized the problems of power in developing countries, their generation of payments, their maintenance and their use. It is also evident that power is not always versatile.

⁸ Rupert Emeson, Nationalism and Political Development ,in, Political Development and Social Change by Jason Finkle and Richard Gable, New York: John Wiley & sons 1966, 157

⁹ <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780198844938.001.0001/oso-9780198844938-chapter-14>

Certain types of power, for example, due to the way they are produced, their creations, their styles, are very capable of building unity, while other types of power are more suitable for other types of development.¹⁰

Characteristics of Political Development

Though there are various definitions for explaining political development. Different definitions present different views. But there are some characteristics that are universally accepted for political development. These characteristics are organized in four sets:

1. Rationalization- A movement from particularism to universalism
2. Nationalism and National Integration- A central aspect of Political Development
3. Democratization- Pluralism, balance of power and competitiveness
4. Political Modernization-Political Participation

All definitions are equally arbitrary and equally legitimate. Probably one of the main purposes of the concepts of political development is to facilitate the understanding of political processes in current societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America.¹¹

Nationalism determines the course of Political Development in Developing Countries: In the modern world, the nation-state, as the term describes, is based on a community of men, or it is an intimate and long-connected institutional personification. The state does not come into existence by the random particles that haphazardly unite for political cooperation. Rather it is based on the feeling of 'We'. Political institutions are established when their demographic and geographical boundaries are defined. Where empires span more than one country, they already have to undergo a surgeon's knife, as has happened in Europe and Asia and now Africa in the recent past.¹² During the last 50 years, there are certain events in developing states that have traumatized the poise of social scientists to provide systematic information and precise analysis of the social reality in the developing states. These events include the

¹⁰ Soedjatmokot, "*Political Systems and Development in the Third World: New Directions for Social Science Research in Asia: Alternatives*", 8, 4, (1983): 483-499. doi: [10.1177/030437548300800402](https://doi.org/10.1177/030437548300800402).

¹¹ Kabashima, Ikuo, And Lynn T. White, "*Political System and Change: A World Politics Reader*", New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1986: doi:10.2307/j.ctt7ztn7s.

¹² Emerson, Rupert. "*Nationalism and Political Development*", *The Journal of Politics* 22, no. 1 (1960): 3-28, www.jstor.org/stable/2126586.

independence of Bangladesh, Iranian Revolution and the use of oil as a political weapon, self-reliant development to modernization in China, collapse of Kampuchea, and many other states. These incidents illustrate how nationalism determines the course of political development.¹³

Nationalism is like a cement that holds the members of the state together. Nationalism in its full swing, puts deep and lasting changes among the relationship between people, rulers and state.¹⁴ In the emerging states nationalism is carrying out those functions that are largely ended in the West. It forces the people to live in larger communities because nationalism itself is a reaction to such pressure. Small communities oppose this total absorption and pretend to be a nation. The ample evidences are; demand for language communities in India, revolt in various parts of Indonesia, Bengal's claim in Pakistan and insurgency in the tribes and regions of Nigeria.¹⁵

Nationalism and Political Identities in Pakistan

In Pakistan, most of the time ethnic identities hindered in the political development. Pakistan does not represent a monolithic national identity. The feeling of oneness is diminishing day by day. Even there is no political party who claims to be a national political party. Yet some leaders use religious card to instigate national unity, feeling of oneness but still disagreements are prevailing and ethnic groups are more instigated than ever before. The catalyst for this political marginalization is the concerns of less populated province of Pakistan, unequal distribution of national resources and unfavorable policies of military regimes towards them. Consequently, increment of the peripheral layers of the population and indigenous identities are eminent.

- ***Punjabi Elitism***
- ***Ethnic Fractionalization in Sindh***
- ***Pashtun Nationalism***
- ***Baloch Secessionism***

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Emerson, Rupert. "Nationalism and Political Development", *The Journal of Politics* 22, no. 1 (1960): 3-28, www.jstor.org/stable/2126586.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Punjabi Elitism: Punjab's ethnic and cultural identities are different and dominating the federation of Pakistan. There is a perception that Punjab uses unfair strategies and policies against other provinces. Thus it is termed as 'Punjabi elitism'. The narrative of 'Us' and 'Them' is visible in this province. The uneven structural advancements, disparate allocation of capital, canal system, health and education systems, roads and railway networks all lead toward 'Punjab versus the rest of Pakistan'. The Punjab's infrastructures are better funded than other provinces and its service qualities are also very high.

Ethnic Fractionalization in Sindh: The prominent issue in Sindh is of linguistics, Urdu versus Sindhi. Mohajirs (migrated from India after partition) though had less population yet held disparate digits in public jobs. Actually, the Punjabis and Mohajirs are more familiar with Urdu, thus they get advantage over other communities. Mohajirs even get jobs on quota basis which further aggravates the ethnic tensions in Sindh. Karachi is the economic hub of Pakistan. Consequently, people from far flung areas come here for jobs and economic opportunities. Hence, local competition increased in political and economic spheres. This competition is framed in ethnic context and thereby fueled local ethnic enmities.¹⁶

Pashtun Nationalism: The second largest ethnic based group in Pakistan is Pashtun that have an idiosyncratic cultural identity. Pashtun's have commitment to Pashtunwali and have distinctive traditional lifestyle. During the independence period, the north-west region of Pakistan, identified as Pashtun, exhibited manic opposition against the partition of subcontinent. After the independence of Pakistan, Jinnah dismissed the Chief Minister of this province (NWFP), Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan. For Pashtuns it was a traumatic event. They saw this political move as a mark of federal hostility. Pashtun's grievances further intensified during 1970s when water resources were unequally distributed and they had less share in provincial assets. These issues invigorated regional identity politics. However the 18th amendment eliminated the Concurrent List from the constitution and gave Provincial Autonomy. This amendment

¹⁶ Yunas Samad, "*Nationalism without a Nation*", London: Christopher Jaffrelot, 2002, 63.

also changed its name from NWFP to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to recognize the political demands of Pashtuns.¹⁷

Baloch Secessionism: Balochistan has abundance of natural resources. It has strategic access to the Gawadar seaport. But unfortunately there is very strong ethnic identity. Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of area. It is not very populated as compared to Punjab but has cultural diversity. It has low literacy rate than other provinces. It has weak infrastructure and negligible development projects due to its political instability. This province has ability to attract Foreign Direct Investment for the country but Balochistan blames federal government for depriving this province regarding economic benefits. The federal government has also failed to satisfy Baloch's demands and help them to develop and advance their circumstances. Consequently, Baloch display little adherence to national identity.¹⁸

Pakistan has four provinces and unluckily all have strong ethnic identities. The political development demands nationalism to ensure resultantly economic advancement. But in Pakistan ethnicity hindered in political development and federal government remains unsuccessful to satisfy their demands. Either it is lack of political will or lack of leadership that Pakistan is suffering from political instability from the very first day till now, hence the political decay.

Nationalism and Political Development in Pakistan

The Nationalism that led to the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 was accepted as theoretically sound or practically feasible only by the large number of Indian Muslims themselves and their very few foreign supporters. Pakistan's nationalism is neither based on territory nor language. Pakistan's nationality is based on religion. This unique nationalism, has not only suffered the normal agonies of nation-building but has now been torn asunder, with the majority province seceding from the minority province.

¹⁷ Raja Qaiser Ahmed, "*Democracy in Pakistan: From Rhetoric to Reality*", Islamabad: Narratives Books, 2015

¹⁸ Raja Qaiser, "Nationalism and Political Identity, The Rise and Role of Indigenous Identities", *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 35, 2, (Summer-Fall 2015): 105-116, Published by Johns Hopkins University Press, DOI: 10.1353/sais.2015.0027

It is very difficult to define term ‘Nationalism’. For a politician it is a tool that can be used for political purposes. As the purposes can change so does the definition. However, most academics agree to define nationalism as a preference for competitive interests. In the world of social mobility and economic competition, the in-group and its members give or are given preference over the out-siders that are dominating with power, wealth and prestige. The goals behind this preference is to get personal security and group identification along with attainment of these values.¹⁹

With the emergence of Pakistan, the Muslim League, being the creator excluded all other organizations and dominated the political life of this new state. The leaders of Muslim League failed to recognize them as a national party as they could never discard their pre-partition mentality. For them the unity of all Muslims under the League banner was as important now as it had been before partition.

In 1954, the provincial elections outcast the Muslim League and brought new elites. The H. S. Suhrawardy and A. K. Fazlul Huq United Front effectively damaged the Muslim League in East Pakistan. Awami League was born from its ashes. Then the martial law of Ayub Khan in 1958 nullified the political developments as well as possibility to build nationalism in Pakistan by transferring the political state to national state. Ayub Khan abrogated the constitution of 1956 that was made after the efforts of nine years and continuous attempts of national consensus. Ayub Khan not only abrogate the constitution but also abolished all political parties and liquidated all the attempts of national goals. In spite of all the shortcomings, the constitution of 1956 was the embodiment of consensus of the political elites of both wings. The abrogation of constitution and postponement of first general elections appear to be the main destroyers of the fledgling Pakistani nationalism.

In the 1962 Constitution, Ayub blamed the federal government for not settling the economic disparity between the two wings. Ayub even established the Pakistan Council of National Integration and the National Textbook Board to develop a common outlook

¹⁹ K. Deutsch, “The Growth of Nations: Some Recurrent Patterns of Political and Social Integration”, *World Politics*, 5, 2, (1953): 168-195. doi:10.2307/2008980

and a national bond. But his reliance on the bureaucratic institutions could not provide the necessary political balm and turned his initiatives into failures.²⁰

The role of education in the development of nationalist attitudes and outlook has been generally recognized. In the case of Pakistan it is no overstatement to say that Pakistan acquired a very highly politicized educational community, yet neither education as a medium nor the educational community were really used for the development of Pakistani nationalism. Theoretically the importance of education was recognized by most Pakistani leaders. Educational institutions multiplied but education as such did not receive the necessary attention and funds. Education in Pakistan, by and large, failed to serve either the utilitarian purposes of students or the ideological purpose of national integration.²¹

For Pakistan, the concept of nationalism remain meaningless. Like other nationalisms of former colonies, a leader, a living tangible symbol is require whom the masses could see, hear, revere and thus identify with. Reconsidering the political developments of the last quarter of a century, it would appear that the very concept of nationalism has been dealt a mortal blow.

President Bhutto once said, "*Sindh for Sindhis*," which had been smoldering for a long time²², eventually erupted in the shape of Urdu-Sindi language riots between the "old" and "new" Sindis."²³In Balochistan and the N.W.F.P. the situation was so tense that the conflagration which the N.A.P. had threatened, was avoided by President Bhutto only by conceding to the demands of Khan Abdul Wali Khan. The frustration of the National Awami Party leaders, it seems, went so far that one of them, Akbar Bugti, is reported to have declared in London that Pakistan should turn over her foreign and defence relations to India and enter in a federation with her. The only refuge of Pakistani nationalism seems to be the Punjab.²⁴

²⁰ Saleem M. M. Qureshi, "*Party Politics in the Second Republic of Pakistan*", Middle East Journal, 20, 4, (1966): 456-72, www.jstor.org/stable/4324059.

²¹ Maron, Stanley, "*The Problem of East Pakistan*", Pacific Affairs, 28, 2, (1955): 132-44. DOI: 10.2307/3035377.

²² Dawn, See Bhutto's accusation that India was trying to create discord in Sindh", February 12, 1970

²⁴ Reported in Neue Zfircher Zeizung, May 2, 1972.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto endorsed Islam in Pakistani nationhood by a constitutional reform in the 1973 constitution. The article claimed “the Islamic ideology will be the main factor cementing the country’s national unity.”²⁵ Later on, Zia ul Haq tried to gather all Pakistanis under the umbrella of Islam to bring nationalism in the society. He gave Islamization programme. Zia continued the policies of Ayub and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto of controlling religious institutions. His Islamization reordered the Pakistani state and put it on religious lines. As Islam is the centre of its political culture, he raised the slogan of ‘Nifaz-e-Sharia’. But unfortunately, in spite of raising nationalism, these policies strengthened ethnic and regional alliances.²⁶

After 9/11, Musharraf’s decision to facilitate US operations in Afghanistan, further leads the state to the political decay. In 2007, US air strikes in Pakistan’s tribal areas, gave major rise to militant activities within Pakistan. Some anti-Pakistani Islamist groups like Tehreek-e-Nifaz Shariat-e-Muhammadi and Tehreek-e-Taliban-e-Pakistan, formed in the Pashtun areas to challenge the state order.²⁷

Political development is directly linked with nationalism. Weak infrastructures, unfair distribution of resources, and ineffective government policies preserve the ethnicity and sectarianism and lead to political decay.

Conclusion

In the nutshell we can say that nationalism determines the course of political development otherwise the result would be political decay. The combination of nationalism and political processes can only curb ethnic groups in power politics relations. Ethnic identities are vital elements of society. They cannot be erased but can only be minimized. It is in human nature to affiliate himself with his social norms. Hence their allegiances cannot be detached from their ethnic affiliations and religious views but can be subjugated to national identity.

²⁵ Pakistan Times , “*Islam and the Paths of Pakistan’s Political Development*,” Lahore, April 13, 1972, as cited in Peter Topychkanov, Carnegie Moscow Center’s Briefing 11, no. 2 (2009): 5

²⁶ Husain Haqqani, “*Pakistan between Mosque and Military*”, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 2005, 131–158

²⁷ Meirav Mishali-Ram, “*When Identity and Politics Meet in Strife-Torn Pakistan*, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics”, 21:3, (2015): 313-334, DOI: 10.1080/13537113.2015.1063913

The above facts demonstrate that in Pakistan, political behavior is based on tight relationship between ethnic identities and structural features of the institutions. The unfair allocation of natural resources and economic and political struggles will give clear picture of ethnic, religious and cultural riots. Hence only strong interaction and collaboration between state and sub state actors can hold a strife-torn Pakistan together and lead to political development.