

South Asian States and National Movements (A Case Study of Sri-Lanka)

Dr. Khawaja Muhammad Khan

Ph.D. Political Science
Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan

Syeda Sania Zaidi

Lecturer
Department of Communication Studies
Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan
zaidisania@hotmail.com (CA)

Abstract

Separation from states under limitation can be permitted but it depends upon state policy and linked with issue based politics of nationalism. The concept of nationalism has changed owing political awareness in 19th century and end of cold war that why intra-state conflicts were replaced by inter-state conflicts. Most of the scholars emphasized Nationalism is often linked with Ethnicity and these two concepts had reciprocal relationship. This is a fact that under-development and un-democratic states are more prone to ethnic conflicts nationalism and ethnicity. State relations with require research can be studied separately. This study can be divided first describes the nationalism and seconds deals with ethnicity. South Asian states and nationalist movements will our research back-ground of the study. Special focus will be Sri Lanka, which is our topic of research also relates with such demand of movement in Sri Lanka.

Keywords; National, Ethnicity, South Asia, Sri-Lankan civil war, international community, Ethnic group, LTTE

Nationalism

In political science nationalism has plurality meanings but confusion and ambiguity about its limitations has not yet been cleared. Generally nationalism can be acknowledged and John Hall defines “as the historical record is diverse so too must be

our concepts”¹. In the opinion, Tom Nairn “Nationalism is the pathology of modern developmental history, as inescapable as neurosis in the individual, with much the same essential ambiguity, attaching to it, a similar built-in-capacity for decent in to dementia, rooted in the dilemmas of helplessness thrust upon most of the world and largely incurable”².

Nationalism has been a universal fact, with clear concept which can be described in different methods by all researchers of political science, Carlton Hayes, a famous historian, in the study of nationalism claims that nationalism is “a condition of mind in which loyalty to the ideal or to the fact of one’s national state is superior to all other loyalties and of which pride in one’s nationality and belief in its intrinsic excellence and its ‘mission’ are integral parts”³. According to Hans Kohn, “Nationalism is the first and foremost a state of mind, an act of consciousness”⁴.

According to Wikipedia, “Nationalism as an ideology holds that a nation is the fundamental unit for human social life, and takes precedence over any other social and political principle. Nationalism typically makes certain political claims based upon this belief: above all, the claim that the nation is the only fully legitimate basis for a state, that each nation is entitled to its own state, and that the borders of the state should be congruent with the borders of the nation.

Anthony D. Smith defines nationalism as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a group deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation”⁵. To clear the concept of nationalism with the view to overcome its challenges to the emerging proletarian internationalism envisioned by its founder⁶ i.e. far Marx, nationalism is related primarily to the economic bases⁷.

Marxists claim, ‘national difference would disappear and national and antagonism would vanish owing to the development of the bourgeoisie’⁸. All this was performed by Lenin and Stalin; they developed a theoretical framework to overcome the complexities of national movement. Lenin admitted the

importance of nationalism but he had similar views that throughout the world, the period of final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked with national movements. Allama Iqbal was the leading Muslim figure that got attracted towards the concept of nationalism issue to a serious consideration and it became a subject of his poetry and thought to divide the sub-continent into separate two states for Hindus and Muslims. Iqbal was of the belief that Muslim of all over the world belong to one Millat and within Millat a room is for geographical unit to flourish. But at a later stage they have to be merged in the supra-geographical Millat⁹.

Ethnicity:

As defined by most scholars, ethnicity, is “That part of a person’s identity which is drawn from one or more markers like race, religion, shared history, region, social symbols or language”¹⁰. Oxford English Dictionary defines, “Ethnicity seems to be a new term and its first appearance is in 1972.¹¹ and in 20th century Lloyed Warner used ethnicity term in 1941 and David Riesman in 1953 and ethnicity term used in Oxford English dictionary is late as the 1970s¹². The major thirty seven conflicts in the world in 1991 were internal in nature and most of them, from Sri Lanka to Northern Ireland could possibly be described as ethnic conflicts¹³.

All ethnic movements, there are also many important non-violent ethnic movements such as Quebec Movement in Canada¹⁴. So it is clear that ethnic conflict is a worldwide phenomenon¹⁵. Horowitz describes “Ethnicity is, of course a recurrent phenomenon and its shifting contexts make it sometime more and some timeless prominent”¹⁶. According to Max Weber,” A group is an ethnic group when the members have common belief and there are certain physical similarities or they with common belief of customs or both. Weber describes that due to memories of colonization they think they are one. He adds significantly that it does not matter whether an objective blood relationship exists among them or not¹⁷ so according to him, ethnicity is an imagined rather to be an actual bond.

In the view of above mentioned discussion and definitions concept of ethnicity is voluminous. This situation leads path for Crawford Young to identify two schools of thoughts; one is the Primordia list and the other the Instrumentalist¹⁸. The Primordia list like Geertz called “the cultural givens assumed blood ties, race, language, region, religion and custom as the heart of the ethnic matter”¹⁹. Nationalism with limitations can be allowed into demonstrate against their rights deprivation and ethnicity with-in state can claim their basic rights. For individuals ethnic attachments are among several that appear ‘natural’ being rooted in the non-rational foundations of personality²⁰. It depends upon competition and interaction, their stress is on the situational and circumstantial nature of ethnic solidarity²¹. They consider ethnicity as a weapon in the pursuit of collective advantages²². Such weapons provide base to ethnic segments to start armed struggle against states nationalism with its roots can performed.

South Asian states

South Asia in the world map is known as southern part of Asian states. South Asia comprises the Sub- Himalayan countries, India, Pakistan, Sir Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal and the Maldives and may also include Afghanistan. According to US department of state booklet publication in 1959, South Asia includes India, Pakistan (includes East Pakistan now Bangladesh) Afghanistan, Nepal, Cyclone (Sri Lanka) as part of the “Sub-Continent of South Asia”²³.

Southern Himalayan range is famous fertile rain-fall territorial area where cultivation is called Brainy. The concept of a region as international affair is inherently ambiguous. South Asia is one of the world’s dynamic regions. It is astonishing that South Asia is the home of Geographic features of the Indian Ocean Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal. South Asia is the home of Geographic astounding features like glaciers, deserts, rainforest valleys, and grassy lands that are typical of much larger continents. Interestingly the area to area varies considerably from South with moon soon in climate of this vast region. The verity is infused seasonal inspect of moon soon by aptitude as proximity factor to the sea. The north mountainous is colder and receives

snow-falls with altitudes higher ranges of Himalaya. Moon Soon region is called most favorable climates for cultivation, Jute, tea are rice, and various vegetables in this region. The region that gets humid during summer and dry in winters.

In Asia, more than one billion people are living in South Asia. Despite the fact the region has increasingly solidarity threats due to ethnic and national movements within the states. South Asia is a fact that region which had never been geographically coherent but it has a distinct geographical identities²⁴. Historical back ground of these states indicates to the reader about national movement in South Asia and results of such movements is in shape of countries or newly states namely India, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh .All these countries basically are the parts of great Hindustan, comprising Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri-Lanka, Maldives and British Indian state Jammu, Kashmir administrated by Great Britain. These countries together comprise 23 percent of world population. South Asia comprises one of the regions, a peninsula in south-central Asia, which is delineated by the Himalayas on north, west site Hindu Kush that extends south ward Arakanese east the Indian Ocean with the Arabian Sea to the southwest and the Bay of Bengal to the southeast²⁵. Civilization of the Indus Valley from 3300c to 1300 BC, spread and flourished in the northwestern part of the Indian Subcontinent. In present-day Pakistan and northwest India were the first major civilizations in South Asia²⁶. Indus valley civilization is the culmination of South Asia, of the civilization Mohenjo-Daro, rise and fall of regional kingdoms, the precursors, medieval empires who became the rulers, traders came from Europe. The politics of violence and separatist ion that travels in South Asia can be linked and is the result of arising of ethnic national polices. In each national movement there is deprivation of rights of a nation and their religious group. The ethnic movements are threat for sovereignty of sates. The heavy funding of arms and narcotics under world smugglers and international factors play vital role in such movements. South Asian societies are fragmented along-with cast and community, linguistic, regional and cultural differences. That is why these states are facing Security crises across the border. The world community requires south Asian

states to perform a responsive role to settle the Ethnic and National Extremism. Mostly states play blame game with each other and interfere into their national sovereignty. These states are facing threats like ethnic extension and nationalists activities. The politics of extremism and separatists trends in South Asian countries destabilized the Government of these states. These movements create political as well economic harmony in the region where one fifth of the world population lives. Mostly, south Asian states cannot focus upon the war against extremism due to limited resources. The ethnic movements are security threats to these states, owing to internal, intervention and involvement of regional as well international elements. These factors create crises in the region, where societies are already suffering in the name of caste, community, linguistic, regional and cultural differences.

National Movements

Framework of movement against any state is the reaction of deprivation of rights of masses. In South Asia, national movements have long historical back-ground. South Asian states have been facing many intra state protests for their masses rights, living condition, status, and freedom of religious rights. Political protest in the form of violence under Indian leadership against British imperialism is named Revolt 1857 phrase. Both Hindus and Muslims strongly protested for their independence in South Asia. As a result the states of Pakistan, India; Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Nepal, emerged on the world map. Congress party and Muslim League were the leading political forces in the sub-continent that succeeded to achieve their goals. On the above pattern of struggle of political forces, Sri Lanka and Malaysia got their independence as separate states from Crown and Moldier British colonies.

New states in South Asia created a new form of nationalism with their own ideology and political theory. The basis of their new nationalism in newly states gave new thoughts to their multinational ethnic segments. Most of the newly emerged states are facing, ethnic or national movements namely Tamil Tigers

in Sri Lanka, Baloch Movement in Pakistan, Nexialite & Khalistan in India, Maoist in Nepal, Jummas in Bangladesh and Islamic Jihad in Jammu Kashmir in South Asian region.

Movements in these countries are based upon the issues of languages, religion and security. Mostly ethnic extremists blackmail the states, on the issue of language. The ethnic national movements have linked with the phenomena of ethnic terrorism in South Asian States and it is threat to the security of the region. Majority gain the benefits and minorities face exploitation and are unable to deal with these issues. State actors fail to overcome the ethnic conflicts raised as a result of manipulation by different groups for their own interests.

Decolonization of sub-continent with murdered history of South Asia, meaningful framework for conceiving the history with centralism, regionalism, and Nationalism awareness encourage the center, region, nation and community. These essences of movements provide the oxygen to struggle of separation movement in the name of nation, region and community. Different part of South Asian state generated reformulation on the base of community, culture, language, nation and religion. In the early twentieth century religious division, between Hindu, Muslim and the state invention communally define the historically dynamic, or political categories dialectic between religions and linguistic identities.

The political history of South Asian states gives rise to Buddhism, Hinduism, and Muslims. With the arrival of Muslims in sub-continent, the teaching of Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism are for the welfare of the human being, and have their tradition not to overcome each other's. Movements for community rights called rebellion are not succeeded or suppress by for above reasons. South Asian states with multi movements are due to nation, ethnic, and self-determination that lead to other identifies their separation demands. The diversity in south Asian countries existed in different ways. South Asia region has a complex society due to large multi-cultural population that resulted Hindu Muslim and others religious & ethnic conflicts. India largest democracy of the world in South Asian states is

facing multi-dimensional movements and inter-state low intensity war. Indian Society is facing inequalities, uneven development division and internal terrorism within its geographical. Ethnic movements are internal dimension in South Asian states with threading the internally discrimination and suppression of basic human as well political rights, religion and ethnicity in politics has led to the increase in violence. Unsolved internal issues create a fertile ground for separation movements and external interference provides oxygen to the separatists, network. This phenomenon is traceable in all states in South Asia. Ethnicity and religion played an important role in legitimizing struggle and consequently a new state.

Deprivation among the masses, poverty and unending in equality, encourage regional based demands of south Asian ethnic and religious movements demanding for independence like separation example of India, Pakistan. Moreover ethnic differences in Bangladesh and it's geographically distances from power center of country (capital) gave birth to a separatists movement that resulted successful creation of Bangladesh. Bengali linguistic extremism nationalism is given rise to political decision for gaining momentum. In all South Asian State, discrimination in these countries on majority basis has created serious issues created separation movements and terrorist incidents²⁷.

Case Study of Sri Lanka

“Sri Lanka formally known as Ceylon “one of the largest island with Southern tip of Indian Sub-continent”. Historically, land without Sorrow, Sri-Lanka is now facing ethnic movement among its own citizens namely Tamil Tiger Eelam movement. Form historical study early it revealed that up to sixteen century very little information's were about this Island. Buddha and Adam Peaks are religions historic symbols of this Island but this is not confirmed by any modern reliable history. Sri Lanka has a multi ethnic society. Buddhists with majority Sinhalese speak Sinhala language that originate from Indo- Aryan tongues of north India .The minority Hindu Tamils are divided into two

groups (Sri Lankan & Indian Tamils) with Tamil speaking language come recent immigrants (who came to Sri Lanka to work on Plantations) and their descendants both are predominantly Hindu. There are groups like Moors (Muslim), Malay and others (Christians). The introduction of Buddhism to the Island influenced and molded every aspect of people's life in Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese rulers established Anuradhapura as Capital and Tamil Kingdom was established in Jaffna the north of the Island.

The Kandy Kingdom maintained independence till 1815 during the colonial period of British occupation in Sri-Lanka. British rulers allowed migration of Indian Tamils for work on tea plantation and now settled in the Sri Lankan island in large numbers. The formation of the Ceylon national congress in 1919 was evidence for the rights of the native Island people. As a first step, initiatives were taken in 1920 to stop further migration of the Indian Tamil on the demand of nationalist. While Trade Union tried to protect the rights of the workers. As a result in 1931, constitutional reforms were introduced and Sri Lanka was the first of the United Kingdom's Asian Colonies to secure this right.

The final phase in the transfer of power began through constitutional order under the leadership of Stephan Senanayake, the country's first prime Minister. Agitation against British Government in Sri Lanka started in 1944. Soulbury Commission was constituted to examine the island constitutional problems and on the recommendation of the commission Sri Lanka was granted Independence on February 4, 1948.

Tamils Diaspora has created pressure on the international community for understanding the diversities and intricacies within Tamil communities .But, like the Sinhalese and the Tamils, and internal divisions, there being at least four regional Muslim groups based in Colombo, the East, Kandy and Manner and Moors. The division between Moors and Malays is 3 percent and 97 percent respectively. Peace Missions inherently uneven discriminatory politics, British colonial policies contributed to new forms of ethno-religious competition and stratification.

The historical 'traditional Tamil "homeland" being demanded was the continuation of Tamils majority provinces which were carved out by British, the Kandyan Kingdom in North and East of Island claimed to have existed from the 'beginning of history'. Accordingly, Vellala Tamils who were in Jaffna were treated as a loyal community with privileged access to employment not only in Sri Lanka, but, also in other British colonies, specifically Malaya and Singapore. These Vellala Tamils without any identity and citizenship rights now are Diaspora in different countries. As Sri Lankan Tamil scholars themselves have observed, privilege arising out of loyalty to the colonial master was the essential psyche of the educated Tamil. Social structural approaches which explore how historical changes shape 'the form and content of ethnicity.

Dutch colonizers wrote legal codes for ethnic population of Ceylon like Islamic personal and sawalami customary laws for Jaffna to residents outside the Northern Province contributing to the solidification of differences among local groups. Major task of the ethnic framework of modern Sri Lankan politics by supporting the Tamil elites' demand for a special seat in the Western Province against the Sinhala leaders of the CNC. The new constitution of Ceylon abrogated the preceding colonial Soulbury Constitution which derived authority from the British Crown and parliament. The country's colonial name, Ceylon, was replaced with Lanka; a term used in ancient Indian used Sinhala, the pre-colonial name which claimed the island as the land of the Sinhala people. The name reflected the need to incorporate ethnic and linguistic minorities. Notwithstanding the choice of an inclusive name, the nationalism espoused in the new constitution of Ceylon was distinctly Sinhala Buddhist. The Sri Lanka Republic provides most place in constitution to Buddhism accordingly, the duty of state to protect while assuring that every citizen shall have the right to freedom of thought.

Hare Soulbury Commission objected to the 'fifty-fifty' stating that any attempt by artificial mean to convert a majority into a minority is not only inequitable but doomed to failure. The Ceylon Tamil Congress split over the right of citizenship for

Indian Tamils. In fact Chelvanayakam was convinced 'that the Tamils would never be safe in Sri Lanka from the threat of domination resulting deprivation by Sinhalese majority while the two communities existed together in a unitary state subject to control by the majority.

Disenfranchisement of the Indian Tamil in 1948 and the delimitation of constituencies in Sri Lanka made the Sinhalese rural voter 'the arbiter of the country's politics. Despite the introduction of 'free education' or compulsory secondary education in the vernacular language in the 1940s, the call to make both Sinhala and Tamil official languages shifted to make Sinhala the sole official language. The reality of replacing English by vernacular language in the early 1950s was discrimination as it was feared that Sinhala would face grave disadvantages because of a lack of educational materials in Sinhala. On the other hand Tamil students had access to educational materials from South India where there were around 30 million Tamil speakers then.

In mid 1950s, Tamil nationalists began to criticize peasant Tea plantation settlements in the Dry Zone, especially in the Eastern Province, as a form of state-sponsored encroachment of 'Tamil areas' by the Sinhalese. The passage of the Official Language legislation in July 1956 first, strengthened the separatist demand for an exclusive Tamil region, and Landless persons in Tamil majority districts, secondly, to Tamil speakers of East and North provinces and lastly for other citizens with preference given to Tamil citizens in the rest of the island. "Only Sinhala" pact too had conceded to the 'traditional Tamil homelands' as threat concept like the earlier Bandaranaike Chelvanayakam pact. However, given formidable Sinhala as well as Muslim opposition, even the watered down District Council Bill of 1968 to devolve power to district units was abrogated before a draft bill could be issued.

The Sri Lanka entered a new phase of armed militant violence and the separatist struggle. The easy access across Tamil Nadu border was a major factor in entering of both smugglers and terrorists gave birth to the armed Sri Lanka Tamil separatist

movement. M.C. Sansoni, Retired Chief Justices a Burgher Christian; who headed the Presidential Commission of Inquiry on the disturbances of 1977, later noted that the TUF started and carried on a prolonged campaign of civil disobedience' with the support of the youth movements in the north since 1972. During hartals and days of mourning, the TUF flag was raised and the Sri Lankan lion flag was lowered; schools and shops were shut down. Moving beyond the civil disobedience campaign of the TUF, youth militants attacked and burnt buses, railway carriages, Buddhist temples and murdered police officers.

The language-based standardization policy of Sri Lanka in education having failed the political government turned to geographically and districts based policy for university admission system. Western and Northern provinces, which had facilities for science and English medium education was abolished. Tamils were relatively in strong position in the professional occupations, such as medicine, engineering and accountancy, maintained up to the 1960s, if not later. In fact the factors – Sinhala language policy, increased competition from rural Sinhalese, political patronage favoring the Sinhalese, and demographic change- caused the overall percentages of Tamils in the administrative services to drop. Due to seniority held by those recruited in earlier years, there were still proportionally more Tamil in the higher position' in the early 1980s.

The most famous intra- state war Tamil Tigers librarian for own home-land become furious civil war in Sri Lanka. Ethnic movements with militants groups or freedom fighters last for 28 years a long war history in Sri Lanka made challenges to international community. Ethnic groups that migrated to other country created problem of separation for the host state due to deprivation of their right for vote and citizenship and Indian Tamils migrated to Sri Lanka are the best example of this regard. Sri Lanka has been dominated by Sinhalese nationalists and Tamil Separatist movement under LTTE, which was tried suppressed. Indian interference was in favor of movement in Sri Lanka by empowering them cross the border and achieve it political goals. India adequately militarily protected Tamil Hindu minority of Sri Lanka. Indian Government enforces peace

agreement between Indian Army troops and Sri Lanka Government to safeguard the peace in Jaffna. As perceived by Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Al-Qaeda was a role model for all terrorist organizations and they followed the similar techniques of terrorism as done by Al-Qaeda in Iraq and same pattern was adopted by the LTTE. Though Al-Qaeda was a notorious terrorist organization but the LTTE invented new approaches of terrorism like the use of motivated suicide bombers; first introduced women for suicide attacks and prepared transferable suicide jacket. Using new techniques, the LTTE was able to kill two very important leaders of the region; the Indian ex-premier, Rajiv Gandhi and in chair Sri Lankan President Premadasa. Moreover LTTE was the only terrorist organization that has the capacity to maintain air power like of a sovereign state. The LTTE attack on World Trade Centre of Sri Lanka was the most terrible attack in the world history prior to the alleged Al-Qaeda attacks on World Trade Centre in USA on 11 September 2001. Sri Lanka is the one of the world's most famous for long history of civil war in the South Asian states. The armed struggle, between liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) also known as the Tamil Tigers, and the Sri Lankan government has turned Sri Lanka into one of the most dangerous places on earth.

Conclusion

National movement in South Asia and results of such movements is in shape of countries or newly states namely India, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka, Nepal, and Bangladesh .All these countries basically are the parts of great Hindustan, comprising Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri-Lanka, Maldives and British Indian state Jammu, Kashmir administrated by Great Britain. After the partition of these states and within state newly countries like Bangladesh was the mobilization to all nationalism segments for separation in other words freedom. Decolonization of sub-continent with murdered history of South Asia, meaningful framework for conceiving the history with centralism, regionalism, and Nationalism awareness encourage the center, region, nation and community. Nationalism must be encouraged with its limitations.

Sri Lanka's government had been fighting to protect the island's territorial integrity and sovereignty against the armed conflict separation struggle. The LTTE charges of human rights violations have been brought against the Sri Lanka government. Most of the newspapers and lot of print Media writings exist on the Sri Lanka conflict but these are conceptually limited. Ethnicity had the assumption that 9/11 attacks led to conflicts against proliferating, versus polarizations across the world. In studying the topic of ethnicity and nationalism are shaped by political and economic forces are urgently needed to demystify ethnicity as well as religious identity and to improve both the analysis and processes of conflict resolution in future anywhere in the world.

References

1. John Hall, "Nationalism; Classified and Explained", *Daedalus*, 122 (3), 1993, p.1
2. Tom Nairin, "The Breakup of Britain", London: New left Books, 1977, p.3
3. Carlton J. Hayes, "Essays on Nationalism", New York: Macmillan, 1928, p.6
4. Hans Kohn, "The Idea of Nationalism; A study in its Origins and Background", New York: Macmillan, 1951, p.8
5. A.D. Smith, "The Antiquity of Nations", Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004, p.243
6. Tahir Amin, "Nationalism and Internationalism in Liberalism, Marxism, and Islam", Islamabad: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1991, P.41
7. Joseph Stalin, "Marxism and the Nationalist Question", Moscow: F.L.P.H, 1947, p.15
8. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto", New York: Penguin Books, 1967, p.84
9. Mohammad Iqbal, "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam", Lahore: S.M. Ashraf & Sons, 1944, p.169
10. Leah Greenfiad, "Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity", Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992, P.4
11. Esman.J.Milton, "An Introduction to Ethnic Conflict", Cambridge: policy, 2004. P.27
12. Jonathan Hearn, "Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction", New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p.8
13. Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality," *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 1, no. 1, March 2003, p.86
14. Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Groups in Conflict", California: University of California Press, 1983, P.3
15. Max Weber, "Economy and Society", (2nd ed.), New York: Bed Minister Press 1986, p.389
16. Joseph Rothschild, "Ethno Politics; A conceptual Frame Work", New York: Columbia University Press, 1981, p.20
17. Andrew Greely, *The Rediscovery of Diversity*, New York 1971, p.187
18. G. Greetz, "The Integrative Revolution; Primordial Sentiments and civic politics", in C.E. Welch Jr. (ed.), *Political Modernization*, Belmont: Wordsworth Publishing Company, 1967, pp.167-188
19. Ibid.
20. Tahir Amin, "Ethno National Movements of Pakistan; Domestic and International", Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, 2nd 1993, p.27
21. Haggett, Peter, "Encyclopedia of World Geography (Vol. 1)", Marshall Cavendish, 2001, P. 2710
22. <http://defenceforumindia.com/forum/subcontinent-central-asia/35903-called-indian-subcontinent-not-subcontinent.html>
23. Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, 1989

24. Lucian W. Pye & Mary W. Pye, "Asian Power and Politics", New York: Harvard University Press, 1985, P. 133
25. Buttuta, Ibn-nay, "Battuta's Travels: Delhi, Capital of Muslim India", <http://ibnbattuta.berkeley.edu/7delhi.html>
26. http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/Statement1.htm
27. "The Economist", 7 February 2008, online, available at: www.economist.com accessed 6 May 2008