



ULISA: Uluslararası Çalışmalar Dergisi Journal of International Studies

Cilt 7, Sayı 2 - Volume 7, Number 2

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From Ethno-Linguistic Identities To Economic Disparities: Disintegration Of Pakistan And Creation Of Bangladesh

Ethno-linguistic differences and economic grievances created a rift between the distanced wings. After independence, the decision to make Urdu the state language was resented by the Bengalis. They launched a movement that reached its climax in February 1952, taking several lives. Above it, the domination of West Pakistanis in state affairs was seen as a colonial legacy, having its imprint even after independence. The feelings of deprivation had the worst effect on the state's integrity, leading to a nationalist struggle, which resulted in the secession of East Pakistan. The study has hypothesized that inept policies and structural inequalities worsen the situation, providing a space to separatist elements. The study has concluded that diverse culture and economic disparity led to secession.

Keywords: Bengali, Urdu, Economic Resources, Autonomy, Controversy.

Etno-Dilsel Kimliklerden Ekonomik Eşitsizliklere: Pakistan'ın Parçalanması Ve Bangladeş'in Oluşumu

Etno-dilsel farklılıklar ve ekonomik şikayetler, birbirinden uzak kutuplar arasında bir problem yarattı. Bağımsızlıktan sonra Urduca'yı devlet dili yapma kararı Bengaller tarafından reddedildi. Şubat 1952'de doruk noktasına ulaşan ve çok sayıda can alan bir hareket başlatıldı. Bunun da ötesinde, Batı Pakistanlıların devlet işlerindeki hakimiyeti, bağımsızlıktan sonra bile etkisini sürdüren bir sömürge mirası olarak görülüyordu. Yoksunluk hissi, devletin bütünlüğü üzerinde en kötü etkiyi yaratmış ve Doğu Pakistan'ın ayrılmasıyla sonuçlanan milliyetçi bir mücadeleye yol açmıştır. Bu çalışma, etkin olmayan politikaların ve yapısal eşitsizliklerin durumu daha da kötüleştirerek ayrılıkçı unsurlara alan açtığını varsaymaktadır. Ayrıca, çalışmada farklı kültürlerin ve ekonomik eşitsizliğin parçalanmaya yol açtığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bengalce, Urduca, Ekonomik Kaynaklar, Özerklik, İhtilaf.

Araştırma Makalesi | Original Article

Atıf: *Ulisa: Uluslararası Çalışmalar Dergisi*, Cilt 7, Sayı 2 (2023), ss. 123-134.

Citation: *Ulisa: Journal of International Studies*, Vol 7, No 2 (2023), pp. 123-134.

Başvuru 24.03.2023 Received | Kabul 29.12.2023 Accepted

Ulisa: Uluslararası Çalışmalar Dergisi, Uluslararası İlişkiler ve Stratejik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü (ULISA) tarafından yayınlanmaktadır.
Ulisa: Journal of International Studies is published by the Institute for International Relations and Strategic Research (ULISA).

E-ISSN:2602-3245 | <https://aybu.edu.tr/yulisa>

From Ethno-Linguistic Identities To Economic Disparities: Disintegration Of Pakistan And Creation Of Bangladesh

Mussarat Jabeen

1. Introduction

The subcontinent was a heterogeneous society with different races, colours, religions and languages. After independence, the rebel forces and dissident elements moved to India and Pakistan. The nascent state of Pakistan was dominated by a civil-military bureaucracy and the continuation of this rule gave rise to rebellious aspirations. Islam was the only binding force for Indian Muslims that brought Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Pashtuns, Baluchis and many smaller ethnic groups to a common platform for a new Muslim state. Its aim was to secure the cultural identity and economic rights of Muslims as interpreted by the events of those days. The fledgling state was rich in linguistic diversity with six major and about 60 minor languages (Rahman, 1996). This multiculturalism was a source of strength, but the federation, forgetting its sovereign status, traced national unity through religious doctrine, while harmony rather than supremacy was required for dealing the federating units. Jalal wrote, "Pakistani nation is linguistically diverse and culturally diffused nation (and) in East Pakistan, nationalism was deeply rooted in Bengali language as compared to West Pakistan, which accepted religious-based nationalism" (Jalal, 1995, p. 278).

The ethno-linguistic factor was not easy to overcome and even affected the unity and national cohesion of the state. The first controversy arose over the suppression of linguistic identity. The Bengalis opposed the decision to make Urdu as the state language. The unification of Bengal was rooted in history, common ancestry, shared economic interests and geographical proximity. The language movement (Bhasha Andolan) was not out of threat to Islam, but to 'restore and replenish the lost cultural glory' (Baxter, 1984; Muhith, 1992).

According to the 1951 census, 56% of the total population lived in the eastern wing (Jabeen et al., 2010). Urdu was not the mother tongue of any region of Pakistan and was spoken by only seven percent population of Pakistan. No language was accepted in all parts of the country. Bengali was not spoken or known in West Pakistan, but Urdu was known to a small elite group in Bengal. Additionally, different script's styles added to the difficulty of learning a second language. Neglecting Bengali as the national language was the first blow to national unity, which sowed the seeds of secession. A dispute arose over the question of one or two state languages (Ayres, 2003, p. 52). This conflict ended in extreme form of disintegration. To look at all these aspects the study is divided into different sections. Following the theoretical framework, there has been discussion of making Urdu the language of Pakistan. Next is impact of ethno-linguistic dispute on provincial elections of 1954. Ayub's military regime and Bengali culture have been discussed along with role of civil and military bureaucracy. The next part explains economic disparities and demand of autonomy with conclusion of the study.

2. Theoretical Framework

Different types of inter-state and intra-state conflicts include border wars, class wars and liberation wars. Azar's theory of protracted social conflicts (PSCs) describes the hostile interactions and conflicting situations, which occur sporadically over long periods of time. In these conflicts, the various ethnic groups have violent struggle for acceptance of fundamental rights such as security, effective participation, recognition of identity and access to political institutions. Azar (1990) explains that four groups of variables are prerequisite for PSCs. These include human needs, communal content, state's role and international linkages. In response to ethno-cultural,

racial, religious and ethnic lines, the ethnic groups pass through deep-seated cleavages, which are characterized by permanent antagonisms. There is possibility of involvement of several groups within a state or neighboring states in a conflicting situation. The roots of PSCs can be traced to ethnic rivalries, which are exacerbated by the unequal distribution of power and resources (Azar, 1986).

PSCs can be distinguished from other types of conflict because of their focus on group or national identity as the rights and privileges are connected with them. This type is common in third world countries due to ethnic and cultural cleavages. Racism is a major cause of rift and reason of conflict in these societies. Economics and politics are intertwined, especially in conflicting situations. Economic management is concerned with development and productivity, while political structure is seen with respect to access to competitive power among social groups (Azar & Farah, 1981). Mostly, in conflict studies, social conflicts are attributed to the existence or perception of social inequalities (Gurr, 1970). Several studies look at conflicts in consequence of a competition for control of physical resources and assets as is explained in PSC literature. These include competition for territory, resources and physical security.

It is observed that social inequalities vary with the structure of social organization or production system. These inequalities are not the product of the structure of the system, but the result of certain policies of resources' distribution among the groups within the system as was the case of United Pakistan. Tensions over any perceived component can lead to violent conflict as actors feel deprived of their rights and denied access to opportunities, while the other side benefits at their expense as Azar (1990) explained that "Structural victimization is perceived to affect some groups disproportionately or to benefit other groups. It is at this juncture of actual physical and psychological deprivation that structural victimization bursts into hostile and violent actions and interactions."

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It is noted that systemic social, economic, or political distortion invites PSCs in one way or other. These conflicts give rise to inequality, hostility or external interference and violent behaviour. Hierarchy and asymmetric social grouping do not sufficiently explain structural inequality for scarce resources, but asymmetry is a symptom, not the cause of structural inequality. Relations between groups are a result of unequal distributions of power in the realm of economic production. Economic power is identified with political position. Varying degrees of economic power necessarily lead to social inequalities, but structural inequalities are linked with complex relationship and articulation of relative economic and political power positions of different groups (Azar & Farah, 1981).

Keeping in view this theory, this study examines the economic and political differences in the early years of Pakistan. To explain the relationship between ethnic identities and material concerns, the study traces its roots through economic development and political culture that bind different ethnic groups together in a conflict. Group identity is not the only factor in civil strife, but economic inequality fuels violent uprisings. A review of these years shows how identity shaped political behaviour. The discriminatory policies were expressed through economic and political decisions, which led to feelings of deprivation among the Bengalis. This position was attributed to the colonial legacy, which gave one group a dominant position over other groups and created

tension in the nascent state. This situation had dire consequences for the integrity of the state. Significantly, the cultural and economic marginalization ignited a nationalist struggle that led to civil war and ultimately secession.

3. Research Methodology

The current study is based on qualitative method, which is more appropriate for non-numerical data to understand the concepts, opinions or experiences. It is helpful to get in-depth insights into the problem to get an accurate picture for new research. This method is helpful in examining the collected data to derive conclusion as its methods are descriptive, and inferences from the obtained data can be drawn easily. Qualitative research provides assistance for exposing the behavior and perception of a target audience (Bengali people). Qualitative research methods have different types like focus groups, in-depth interviews, ethnographic research, case study and content analysis. The case study method is considered for in-depth, comprehensive and intensive inquiries for explaining an organization, entity, communities, groups and events. This study has applied case study to understand the underlying reasons, causes, motivations and opinions of the involved parties.

Both primary and secondary sources have been employed by the study. Primary sources are based on official documents like reports, diaries, interviews and other artifacts from the period being studied. These sources are helpful for firsthand knowledge of events and getting a more accurate picture of the past. For secondary data, books, dissertations, journals, research reports, and newspapers have been studied.

4. Lingua Franca and Demand of East Pakistan

After partition in 1947, the two wings remained united for a quarter of a century. This period is characterized by structural inequality, embedded in the social organization, production sources and the relative political power of different socio-economic groups as explained by Azar and Farah (1981). Bengali intellectuals termed this period as the period of social and economic exploitation or the second colonial rule after British departure. East Pakistan did not get equal share in the development that took place in Pakistan, but was perceived at its cost. Faaland and Parkinson (1976) commented that the life (in East Pakistan) was still at the same level as was a century or two ago. In comparison to West Pakistan, Bengal became British colony in 1757, a hundred years earlier than West Pakistan.

The first rift arose in November 1947 when it was announced at an educational conference in Karachi that government stationery would be printed in Urdu and English. This unilateral official use of Urdu was without formal status (Zaheer, 1994, p. 21). Rehman (1995, p. 3) argued, "A state-sponsored language policy (or act) is one which is supported, and even imposed, by the apparatus of the state. The ruling elite, or at least the members of it, who administer state institutions, do, of course, appear to identify with it." The language decision disrupted the enthusiasm of the Bengali people just three months after independence.

In the first session of the Constituent Assembly on 23 February 1948, the proposal to speak Urdu or English was opposed by Direndra Nath Dutta, a Bengali Hindu member. He moved an amendment resolution to include Bengali, but Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, and Khawaja Nazimuddin, the Chief Minister of East Pakistan, opposed it. Dutta was admonished by the leaders and their Bengali stooges, taking it an attempt to create tension between the two wings. Other Bengali members sat silently in the constituent assembly and case of Bengali was urged by the Hindu members. Liaquat Ali had to clarify that Pakistan was created for hundred million Urdu speaking Muslims. The behavior of the leadership was seen to relegate Bengali (Rafiqul-Islam, 1986; Sisson & Rose, 1990, p. 9). The Bengalis called it arrogance of the

ruling elite, while the government justified its use by comparing it to the Indian government's decision to make Hindi, the state language. Despite this situation, provincial assembly passed a unanimous resolution in 1948 for making Bengali as the official language (Jabeen et al., 2010).

Regarding the membership of the Constituent Assembly, a former prime minister, Huseyan Shaheed Suhrawardy (1987) wrote in his Memoirs that the members of the first Constituent Assembly were chosen from different provinces in proportion to their number. Many non-Bengalis belonged to the minority provinces of India, having no chance of being elected by their provincial legislatures, while Muslim majority provinces of Sindh, Punjab, and Frontier Province refused to elect them and preferred their own people. Liaquat Ali, Khan, Abdul Qayyum Khan and I. H. Ouraishi were elected from East Pakistan, which had 44 seats against West Pakistan's 28 seats. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the founder of Bangladesh, questioned this "generosity" in his speech on January 3, 1971, saying, "from the quota of East Bengal, six seats were given to West Pakistani leadership, but what did we get in return?" (Ahmed, 2004).

The language problem intensified the cultural and political clashes, giving impression of the exploitation of one ethnic group over the other. The government paid a little attention to the language issue as its severity was not gauged immediately after independence. The geographical separation was ignored, which ignited the differences. The people of West Pakistan used to speak different languages, but took Urdu as their common heritage. Contrary to it, Bengali was single language in East Pakistan with important non-Muslim Hindu minority. Such differences were exploited by disgruntled politicians in both wings, who encouraged provincialism and damaged feelings of unity.

In March 1948, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, founder and first governor-general of Pakistan, attempted to address the matter during his week-long visit to Dhaka. He declared, "Let me make it very clear to you that state language is going to be Urdu and no other language..." (Chowdhury, 1963, p. 596). He emphatically rejected the request for Bengali and Urdu to be on par in another address, he gave in Dhaka, labelling it a danger to Pakistan and Muslim unity (Oldenburg, 1985). Quaid's fame as a leader momentarily restrained the movement, but unsolved issues sparked violent clashes. One analyst observed, "In spite of Quaid's assertion in March 1948 that Bengali would be made provincial language, the supremacy of Urdu over other languages remained an ardent belief amongst the political and administrative circles of power in Pakistan" (Abbasi, 2010, p. 31). These groups did not pay attention to peaceful solutions of disputed matters.

The majority of the ruling elite were Punjabis and Mohajirs (settlers). These officers were not familiar with Bengali and used Urdu. The Mohajirs justified their position that Pakistan was equally important for them and attainable for all those Muslims, who migrated to Pakistan or remained in India. In their view, this demand was not true in the new state (Beachler, 2007, p. 481). Urdu was spoken by a group of Bengali landlords and Calcutta-based urban classes, and they supported it. However, factionalism and parochial forces gave rise to regional-based Bengali counter-elite (Jahan, 1972, p. 3). Instead of moving to harmony, these groups widen the rift between two rival narratives.

The constituent assembly took a considerable time to draft the constitution. In the pre-independence era, no specific economic and social objectives were designed as the focus was on an independence and separate homeland. The proposals for a bicameral legislature and Urdu as the national language were presented by The Basic Principles Committee, established for future government. These suggestions created several repercussions and infuriated the Bengalis. They perceived its two main points to be the repression of their cultural identity and the loss of their majority despite numerical dominance. They objected and charged that that these ideas were intended to cripple the province (Ahmed, 2004, p. 133). However, committee's report was withdrawn, providing parity for two wings (Nair, 1990). The rift between the two wings was tried to settle.

Different events sparked off the second wave of language. On January 2, 1952, Nazimuddin's speech in Dhaka irritated the Bengalis when he pleaded Urdu as the state language (Rehman, 1996, p. 90). There was an impression that the rulers had misgiving about the loyalty of the Bengalis towards Pakistan due to cultural affinity with the Hindus. The students of Dhaka University held processions and protested on January 30, 1952, declaring to launch Bhasha Andolon (language movement), while politicians and intellectuals were also desperate without assessing its negative impact.

Consequently, the Awami League was at the forefront to escalate the situation, and a national strike was to be called on 21st February to pressurize the provincial assembly, which was scheduled to hold its budget session that day (Bhuiyan, 1982, p. 72). To apprehend the ensuing threats, Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code was enacted, prohibiting any assembly/procession in Dhaka for two weeks (Sisson & Rose, 1990, p. 9). Dhaka was rocked by demonstrations, strikes and eventually tear gas and police firing on 21 February 1952 as Dhaka University's students violated section 144. The ensuing riots took five lives, including three students due to police firing (Maniruzzaman, 1980). Realizing the gravity of the situation, the following day, the assembly passed a resolution urging the constituent assembly to make Bengali as one of the state language (Nair, 1990). The short-sighted official policies led to violent situation and took many other lives during the funeral prayers (Zaheer, 1994, p. 30). However, in April 1952, Noor Ahmed (Muslim League from East Bengal) presented a motion in provincial legislature, arguing for adoption of Bengali as an official language, whereas Chief Minister also introduced such motion, urging the centre to adopt Bengali. The Bengali members sat silently in the constituent assembly and did not argue for Bengali.

About this violence, Jahan shared her opinion, "This episode created myth, symbols and slogans and gave (Bengali) not only a popular common cause, but also their first martyrs" (Jahan, 1997, p. 14). Since 1952, 21st February (Ekushey) has been commemorated as the martyrs of the language movement. It also became an important symbol and political manifestation of Bengali nationalism. The spoken language of masses served as the ultimate force to restrain the autocratic rulers (Hashanat, 2012). The day also discerned the difference between democracy and autocracy as well as autonomy from neo-colonialism, presenting resolutions to end disparity and inequality. In 1999, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) declared February 21 as 'World Mother Language Day.' It is a clear recognition of the power of culture, conveying the message that all ethnic groups of the world have the right to use their mother language. Moreover, this spirit promotes the multilingual world and linguistic diversity securing the right to speak one's mother tongue (Sisson & Rose, 1990). Both Urdu and Bengali were recognized as national languages in the 1956 constitution. Nevertheless, there were complaints that the Bengali language was not fully enforced and not treated at par with Urdu (Rehman, 1996, p. 96; Ayres, 2003, p. 62). The seeds of the birth of Bangladesh were sown in the minds of young Bengalis on that day.

5. Impact of Ethno-linguistic Grievances on Provincial Elections of 1954

From 1947 to 1954, the language issue was used to inflame public sentiments to achieve other political ends, particularly the growth of Bengali nationalism. These trends were visible in the first provincial elections of East Pakistan held in March 1954. During the language movement, Awami League consolidated its position and succeeded in forming the United Front (Jukto Front), an alliance of political parties for contesting the elections. Krishak Sramik Party, Nizami-Islam and Ganatantari Dal joined it (Molla, 2004, p. 217). In reality, Front was founded in opposition to the Muslim League. The alliance mostly adopted the Awami League's manifesto, giving it the chance to exert significant influence during this period's political development. Front presented its ideas in a 21-point agenda. The first point was the demand for making Bengali as national language, while the 19 points focused on provincial autonomy in some way (Pavkovic, 2008). It was claimed that provincial autonomy was in lines with Lahore Resolution of 1940, which suggested that

defence, currency and foreign policy would be joint subjects with the federal government. It included the proposal of making army headquarter in West Pakistan and naval headquarter in East Pakistan. The ordnance factories were also suggested to install in eastern wing (Ahmed, 2004; Nair, 1990).

These demands were for gaining provincial autonomy, but the central government considered them unfair and unacceptable. The elections resulted in a landslide victory for the Front over the Muslim League, winning 223 of the 236 seats held by Muslims, having 97.5 percent of the vote overall (Molla, 2004; Pavkovic, 2008). Awami League became the champion by winning 143 seats due to Bengali nationalism. It effectively articulated the grievances against Muslim League, exaggerated official repression during the language movement, and stoked public discontent with other inequities during the elections (Nair, 1990). The masses were also disappointed from the Muslim League's performance, which had the control of central and provincial governments after independence. It became unresponsive and ineffective towards their demands. Maulana Akram Khan, the chief organizer of East Pakistan Muslim League (EPML), was a traditional person and in his view, "the role of Muslim League was over regarding its accountability to the people for running the administration of the country after the establishment of Pakistan" (Ahmed, 2004). He even closed the doors of the party membership.

The Muslim League only won 10 seats and even lost Dhaka, where it was founded in 1906. A student leader defeated Nurul Amin (Chief Minister). The elections' results shook the very foundations of Pakistan. Front insisted for the League's resignation from the central government and dissolution of the constituent assembly, but Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra rejected these demands (Khan, 1994, p. 81). The calls of the newly elected members, who were constantly asking to respect public opinion and the will of the people, were shamefully ignored. The main reason for the victory was the sympathy and support of the aggrieved rural class towards the policies of the government. The peasants were not active in the language phase, but they manifested their support during the elections.

On April 13, 1954, Front formed its cabinet under the leadership of Fazalul-Huq, who declared determined intention to end the Bengalis' ongoing suffering. He accused the government of being scared of the Front's popularity. Huq also insisted for the return of the share of sales tax, income tax and other federal taxes and duties, which had been taken away from the provinces by a special ordinance in 1948. The provinces were compelled to rely on agricultural taxes and land revenue in the absence of this amount for their development programmes. Instead of conceding to any demand, the Center dismissed the Front government in May 1954, six weeks after its formation (Ayres, 2003; Pavkovic, 2008).

Two incidents led to the suspension of the Front government. The first was Fazalul-Huq's emotional speeches about Bengali unity during his visit to Calcutta, which had a separatist slant. In his speeches, he rejected the two Bengals and proposed a Greater Bengal. Such statements were taken as a violation of state unity and a conspiracy against Pakistan (Sisson & Rose, 1990). He was also alleged of delivering traitorous remarks in the assembly. He denied making these statements, however, Challaghan, an American press reporter, testified against Huq's version and confirmed his anti-state chanting (Ahmed, 2004).

The second reason was the clash between Bengali and non-Bengali workers of the Karnaphuli Paper Mill in Chittagong on 23 March 1954, which resulted in the deaths of three mill executives and 13 workers. This tension spilled over to Adamjee Jute Mills in Narainganj, where Bengali workers were pitted against non-Bengali management. The riots claimed the lives of 500 employees and injured another 1000. The riots were quelled with the help of armed force, and Ghulam Muhammad sacked the Haq Ministry. Later, Haq announced his retirement from politics due to what Haq announced his retirement from politics as he felt the government's decision to persecute him (Kazimi, 2009). The people of East Pakistan, eager to enjoy the hard-earned fruits of democratic elections, were once again disappointed by the civil-military bureaucracy. Iskandar Mirza was appointed as the Governor of East Pakistan.

The Bengalis blamed Bogra and described him as a sheer stooge of West Pakistan when he said, "Disruptive forces and enemy agents actively at work in East Pakistan to undermine the integrity of Pakistan" (Ahmed, 2004). Bogra also called Fazlul-Huq a 'self-traitor,' and kept him under house arrest. During the governor-rule, Iskander Mirza was not satisfied with the situation and called the 1954 elections "foolish act of the illiterates." He also argued that controlled democracy was suitable for the Bengalis (McGraw, 1998, 135). In the first week of his rule, 659 activists of United Front were arrested, including 13 members of the dissolved provincial assembly. Mujib was also arrested from his official residence, which he occupied as a minister. Governor's rule was abolished in June 1955, and control was transferred to the army (Jahan, 1972, p. 30). The Assembly was not convened until 1956. Bengali got the status of national language, but people lost their political voice and inequality prevailed (Molla, 2004, p. 217).

The One Unit was the target of a campaign that began in 1957, but Suhrawardy was forced to back the central bureaucracy's decision to preserve it. He allocated a sizable portion of the \$10 million aid for the establishment of a national shipping corporation in East Pakistan. This decision was opposed by Karachi-based business groups, who lobbied against Suhrawardy and President Mirza forced him to resign from premiership. Mirza also turned down his request for a vote of confidence from the National Assembly under parliamentary tradition. On October 10, 1957, he was forced to resign from his position. He passed away in exile in 1963 (Pavkovic, 2008).

6. Domination of Civil-Military Bureaucracy

From the early years of Pakistan, the political leadership remained passive observer, while the civil and military bureaucracy was quite active in politics with control of the country. The inherited state infrastructure and established practices supported the bureaucratic dominance with a parliamentary face of politics. The military stepped in on numerous times to resolve crises like the Ahmedia riots in Lahore in 1953, the industrial crisis in Chittagong in 1954, and the massive smuggling in East Pakistan in 1957, among others. In 1958, the military seized power in a coup d'état and General Ayub Khan became the President of Pakistan and later he introduced the 1962 Constitution. Maddison wrote that "the political and administrative system that was instituted in Pakistan was very much similar to that which functioned in colonial India, a highly centralized and unitary in nature" (Maddison, 1971, p. 136).

The bureaucracy was in charge of policy-making, and the most of them belonged to West Pakistan. The Bengalis had little representation in key positions, and there was a clear regional imbalance. The Bengalis continued to have misgivings about the two-language policy and access to higher-ranking and administrative posts required one's command of English and Urdu not Bengali (Ayres, 2003).

Naturally, these circumstances, which also put the Bengalis in an economic backwards position, incensed the Bengalis' grievances. The migration of Muslims from northwestern India to West Pakistan was also one reason of economic disparity as they were well-developed economically and educationally. Even during the British Raj, Punjab had a significant bureaucratic participation, and the addition of the migrating officers further strengthened the position. Only two Bengalis were among the 95 Muslim ICS-IPS (Indian Civil Service-Indian Police Service) officers that chose Pakistan in 1947 (Chowdhury, 1963). The majority of newly recruited officials in Bengal were either Punjabi or emigrants from India, having cultural and linguistic affinity with West Pakistan. They occupied key posts like chief-secretary, secretaries of Planning and Development, Works and Housing, Food and Agriculture, etc. (Khan, 1994). Despite the policy of officers' posting in their respective wings, discrepancies were there.

Ayub Khan tried to increase East Pakistan's participation by instituting a quota system, which led to an increase in Bengali officers in the late 1950s and 1960s. A few jobs in the upper civil service, such as the chief-controller of imports and exports, were also reserved for East Pakistanis. Despite this favour, prevalent thinking was to give key posts to officers loyal to central

government, while those who could not please the authorities, were transferred to 'penal' positions or remained on special duty. A large number of Bengali civil servants were employed as deputy secretaries or section officers, and they frequently complained about being posted to lower echelons or less important positions. This initial lag could not be covered. The representation of CSP is shown in the following table from 1948-1968

Table 1: CSP Officers In Two Wings Of Pakistan From 1948 To 1968

Year	Total	East Pakistan	Percentage	West Pakistan	Percentage
1948	18	2	11.1	16	88.9
1950	11	4	36.4	7	63.6
1952	13	3	23.0	10	77.0
1954	17	5	29.4	12	70.6
1956	20	7	35.0	13	65.0
1958	25	12	48.0	13	52.0
1960	28	11	39.2	17	60.8
1962	28	13	46.5	15	53.5
1964	33	14	42.2	17	57.8
1966	30	14	46.7	16	53.3
1968	20	11	55	9	45.0

Source: Establishment Division, civil list of the class I officers serving under the Govt. of Pakistan 1948 to 1969, cited in Khan, 1994.

In this list, 14 military officers of West Pakistan who joined the civil service were not included. The table highlights that the majority of active officers engaged in policy-making were West Pakistani. There was an impression of exercising their authority in support of this wing.

Table 2: Key Posts In The Central Secretariat Of Pakistan (1956)

Sr. No.	Rank	Number	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
1	Secretary	19	Nil	19
2	Joint Secretary	41	3	38
3	Deputy Secretary	133	10	123
4	Under Secretary	548	38	510
Total		741	51	690

Source: Constituent. Assembly of Pakistan, Debates; January 1, 1956, Vol. 1, No. 52, pp. 1843-44.

Table-2 indicates that eastern wing had a very small number of officers despite passing 15 years of independence. Later, acting secretary of the Planning Department and secretary of National Assembly Secretariat were appointed. In 1966, a minor change occurred with appointment of a few Bengali officers. The same inequality was visible in high ranking positions of armed forces as number of Bengali officers had been very low since independence, as Table-3 shows:

Table 3: Military Officers In Two Wings Of Pakistan In January 1956

Ranks	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	Total
General		1	
Lieutenant-General	0	3	3
Major-General	1	20	21
Brigadier	1	35	35
Colonel	0	50	50
Lieutenant-Colonel	2	198	200
Major	10	590	600
Total	14	897	911

Source: Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates. January 17, 1956.

Table-3 indicates that majority of the top-ranking military officers belonged to West Pakistan. In 1956, Pakistan Army had only 14 Bengali officers. In naval forces, only seven officers were Bengali out of 600 officers of all ranks. However, a slight difference was found in air forces

and out of 700 officers, 60 were from East Pakistan (Jahan, 1972). By 1965, Bengali participation improved to some extent, but still far away from the desirous numbers. The 1965 war realized the East Pakistanis about their military inferiority, when India blocked normal transportation between the two wings, exposing vulnerability against Indian aggression and security threats in wartime.

7. Economic Disparities and Demand of Autonomy

Feelings of economic exploitation led to demand of autonomy. Cultural identity was never the cause of physical segregation, but economic disparity led to secession. It was not easy to suppress the complaints of economic manipulation with constant mobility of capital and resources (Sayeed, 1980, 68). In 1947, the economic situation in both wings was almost identical, with West Pakistan having somewhat better position. Both parts were underdeveloped in industrial areas due to British policy, which was to amass the agricultural raw material from these regions. Punjab was growing cotton, whereas Bengal was generating a vast amount of jute. In later years, East Pakistan's economy became comparatively weaker and the vacuum created during this period, could not be filled and continued to grow significantly till the last days of the united Pakistan (Kazimi, 2009).

These economic disparities contributed to widespread PCS and drove to popular resentment in the decade of sixties. The job distribution among the offices of the central government also revealed disparity (Khan, 1994). The 1962 constitution made a binding on the regime to remove all types of disparities as a means of pacifying the situation. For the first time, the Finance Commission was established with representatives of both parts to decrease the difference in their per capita income. The commission, however, was only able to return the sales tax to the provinces; the majority of income and corporate taxes remained under the center's control, and export-import levies were already under its jurisdiction. It also had control over the foreign funding and foreign exchange (Asadullah, 2010).

The statistics indicate the difference in growth rate of Gross Regional Product (GRP). In East Pakistan, it was Rs. 12.360 million in 1949-50, which increased to 14,945 million in 1959-60. In West Pakistan, GRP increased from 12,106 million of 1949-50 to 16,494 million in 1959-60. In the years of 1969-70, GRP in eastern wing was Rs. 23,119 million and western wing had Rs. 31,157 million.

There was also a significant difference between East and West Pakistan's average annual growth rates, which were 2.0 and 5.4 percent in the first and second decades respectively, whereas West Pakistan had 3.6 and 7.8 percent in the first and second decades respectively. This showed that the degree of inter-regional differences rose with time, from a difference of 32% in 1959-1960 to a difference of 61% in 1969-1970. This level of disparity indicates that both wings have unequal development. From 1950-1960 to 1966-1969, East Pakistan's average cost of living was seven percent higher than that of West Pakistan. The actual wages in urban and rural areas of East Pakistan were lower than West Pakistan (Khan, 1994). The complaints of transferring economic resources from east to west wing were not addressed by the government.

8. Presidential Elections of 1965

The 1965 presidential elections were intended to prolong Ayub's reign, they unintentionally bolstered the Awami League and enabled it to make steady progress towards power. The Awami League joined the electoral coalition of Fatima Jinnah, who was sister of Jinnah. The alliance was aimed to contest the presidential race, challenging Ayub Khan. Fatima Jinnah

criticized Ayub, branding him the cause of disparity between the two wings. This provided an opportunity to Mujib to revitalize his party in East Pakistan. It also led him to heighten the magnitude of disparity, fixing dimension for his party during this period (Molla, 2004, p. 219).

Mujib proposed the Six-Point Formula for autonomy after sensing the suffering of the populace. The government branded him a separatist due to this formula and rejected it. He was labelled "petty bourgeois" by the province's socialist politicians. Jahan commented, "The six-point demand not only split the Awami League, but also made it difficult for the Eastern wing to form an alliance with any other West Pakistan-based party" (Jahan, 1972, pp. 139-140). Bhuiyan (1982) observed, "Ayub regime's policy towards the six-point demand of the Awami League was one of total suppression. Once again, the regime failed to respond to the political demand." However, the formula got a center place in the politics of those days. Ayub himself commented in 1967, "East Bengalis ... still are under considerable Hindu culture and influence" (Oldenburg, 1985, p. 712).

These circumstances facilitated the growth of Bengali nationalism. The Awami League's roots were essentially linguistic, but as times changed, it tied itself with land. It expressed its cultural nationalism as a source of pride. A state of mind rooted in language and embellished by history did not surrender to demands for conformity. For the Bengalis, Urdu and Persian literature was never substituted to Bengali prose and poetry. It was ridiculous for the Bengali Muslims to memorize Iqbal, the national poet of Pakistan, ignoring their beloved poets like Rabindranath Tagore. At that time, the emotional devotion to culture, customs and linguistic heritage overshadowed the two wings' Islamic unity (Ziring, 1995).

Finally, economic disparity along with suppression of cultural identity strengthened the feelings of deprivation and turned the people to Bengali nationalism. It added a new dimension to the politics of Pakistan, leaving a deep impression on the minds of young Bengalis and permeated the spirit of Bengali nationalism (Hashanat, 2012). Rafiqul-Islam (1986) wrote, "The passion of Bengali nationalism, which was aroused by the language movement, kindle in the hearts of the Bengalis forever...Perhaps very few people realized then that with the bloodshed in 1952, the newborn state of Pakistan had in fact started to bleed to death," and final nail in coffin was the day of December 16, 1971, when Pakistan was dismembered.

Conclusion

It is observed in PSCs that socio-economic inequalities are product of system's structure and specific distributional policies as was the case of united Pakistan. The exacerbation about any disparity brings a violent conflict, because the groups continue to believe that their rights are being violated. The demand about language was not merely a cultural issue, but poor management of the situation generated realization about other inequalities, creating social, economic, political and administrative issues, affecting the Bengalis disproportionately. It sparked political activism and feelings of economic marginalization, which led to demand of full autonomy. All this happened due to negligence of the central leadership that ignored the alarming signals coming from federating units for provincial autonomy under constitution. The movement that was initiated in name of language took the extreme course of action. Unfortunately, mistrust and misunderstanding were further aggravated by the geographical separation of the two wings.

A common complaint of resources' mobility remained in the entire period. It was alleged that direct or indirect policies were damaging eastern economy due to judicious allocation of revenue budgets on those development projects that mostly benefited West Pakistan and slowed down the economic growth in East Pakistan. Above it, expenditures on administration and defence services provided benefit to West Pakistanis. The initial marginal imbalance widened the income gap, which intensified by the passing years. Within a short period, the dissenting elements showed their resentment through the elections' results of 1954. From the beginning to the secession of East Pakistan, the absence of a democratic setup was also a big flaw and the state was mainly ruled by civil-military-bureaucracy. National integration was falsely traced through the lingual and

cultural uniformity, ignoring the diversity in unity. The regime's inability to provide equal share to the Bengalis, led to extreme form. Disintegration of Pakistan gave birth to Bangladesh in 1971. The secession is a lesson to address the ethnic issues amicably. The armed resistance in Balochistan, ethnic upsurge in Sindh, movement of Saraiki province, and such other issues are the warrants for the ruling class against their aggressive policies. There is need change the federal structure to accommodate the federating units, awarding them maximum autonomy and making them part of mainstream. Settlement of unsolved problems through harmonious and long-lasting decisions of political leadership can calm the masses, ensuring justice without discrimination of race, religion, and ethnicity.

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