

(PRODA) "debarring from public life for a sufficient period persons judicially found guilty of misconduct in any public office or representative capacity or in any matter relating thereto".<sup>11</sup> The aim of PRODA was thus to control provincial politicians, particularly of East Pakistan. The vagueness of the charges - 'nepotism', 'wilful maladministration' - meant that few ministers could be certain that they would emerge unscathed from an inquiry. The Act empowered the Governor-General or Governor to refer to courts or to special judicial tribunal charges of misconduct in public office. Alternatively the Governor-General or the Governor could act at his discretion i.e. he was not required to act upon the advice of his ministers. This later power was used as a weapon to coerce a recalcitrant officeholder. During the five years PRODA was in force disqualification was imposed on four provincial ex-ministers of Pakistan including Hamidul Huq Chowdhury from East Bengal.<sup>12</sup> PRODA was repealed on September 1954.

e) Since the governors were appointed by the central government and had close party link they invariably protected the interest of the centre and were used by the centre as agents or mechanism of centralisation. Moreover there was a popular feeling that Nazimuddin and Muhammad Ali Bogra were not the genuine representatives of East Pakistan. Lack of due share in the power structure of Pakistan was therefore a major cause of dissatisfaction in East Pakistan. The struggle for autonomy gained ground with every passing day and it became a make or break issue which ultimately led to the birth of Bangladesh in 1971.

## II. Economic Disparity

### Economic condition of Pakistan during 1947-1970 an overview

In order to get a clear picture of the economic disparity that was inflicted on East by West Pakistan and to put it in perspective it is necessary to get an overall picture of the economic condition that prevailed in Pakistan in 1947 and the situation that developed by 1970 regarding per capita income, savings, trade and industrial growth.

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11 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 101-105.

A comparison of the per capita income of East and West Pakistan reveals the striking disparity that developed between the two wings of Pakistan between 1947-48 and 1969-70. In 1947-48 though the per capita income of East Pakistan was slightly lower than that in West Pakistan, this gap steadily increased owing to the exploitative policies of the central government and by 1970 the difference almost doubled. In 1949-50 the per capita income in East Pakistan was Rs.305 and that in West Pakistan Rs.330<sup>13</sup> The per capita income in East Pakistan was therefore slightly lower than West Pakistan at the onset. By 1969-70 however according to the Pakistan Planning Commission report the gap had widened alarmingly. While in 1959-60 West Pakistan's per capita income was about 30 per cent higher than that of East Pakistan, by 1969-70 it was about 62 per cent higher. A study by a group of scholars in Vienna found that while West Pakistan's per capita income rose from Rs 373 in 1960 to Rs.498 in 1970 that of East Pakistan during that period registered a very insignificant rise from Rs 288 to Rs.308.<sup>14</sup>

The following table shows this disparity:

#### *Per capita income*

Period	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
1949-50	Rs 305	Rs 330
1954-55	Rs 298	Rs 356
1959-60	Rs 288	Rs 373
1969-70	Rs 308	Rs 498 <sup>15a</sup>

In spite of the low per capita income, the percentage of saving in East Pakistan was higher than in West Pakistan. The following table shows the savings rate of the two regions.

<sup>13</sup> *Economic Survey of East Pakistan 1969-70 Planning Department, Government of East Pakistan*, Dhaka, 1970, p.102-103, Muhith, op.cit., p.101.

<sup>14</sup> Mohammad Ayoob and K. Subrahmangan, *The Liberation War*, p.41 See for various studies made showing marginal differences in actual figures.

<sup>15a</sup> Compilation from R. Jahan op.cit., p.31 and Muhith op.cit.p101

Period	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
1950-55	6%	1.7%
1955-60	7.6%	4%
1960-65	4.3%	0.9% <sup>15b</sup>

In the matter of exports and imports East Pakistan exported more in 1948-49 and 1949-50 than West Pakistan. During the same period imports of East Pakistan was less than West Pakistan. The following table makes this clear.

Period In million Rs.	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
1948-49 Export	1254	526
1949-50	597	518
1948-49 Imports	231	648
1949-50	214	632 <sup>16</sup>

In 1947 in the sphere of industries, both East and West Pakistan had a balanced share of medium and large scale manufacturing industries. Pakistan's textile, match, sugar and tea industries were located in East Pakistan. In cement production West Pakistan had larger capacity but she had a nominal chemical industry and a small petroleum refining capacity i.e. 11 million gallons per annum. West Pakistan had cotton ginning capacity for 600,000 bales and wheat grinding capacity for 390,000 tons. East Pakistan on the other hand had jute baling capacity of 1.1 million bales and rice milling capacity for 1.7 million tons. Leather and engineering industries were evenly distributed between the two regions. In the cottage industry sector East Pakistan was in a little better position.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately immediately after the birth of Pakistan the economic growth of East Pakistan came to a standstill and soon after steadily declined owing to the one economy theory that was evolved and pursued by the Government of Pakistan.

<sup>15b</sup> Muhith .op.cit p 114.

16. Table compiled from *Constituent Assembly (Legislature) Debates*, Vol. I, No. March 25, 1951, p.311-12.

<sup>17</sup> Muhith, op.cit, p.74-75.

The following table shows the economy of Pakistan by 1949-50 and as it developed by 1969-70.

Gross Domestic Product of Pakistan  
(at constant factor cost of 1959-60 in million rupees)

	1949-50 Total	East+	West+	1969-70 Total	East	West
Agriculture	14669	850+	5890+	24593	12344	12249
Mining	27			158	10	148
Manufacturing	1433	120+	180+	6540	1993	4547
Construction	238			2728	1354	1374
Transportation	1239			3595	1300	1295
Trade	2856			6705	2508	4197
Service	1513			3521	1133	2388
Public Admin. & Defence	1063			3310	503	2807
Dwellings	1387			2296	1172	1124
Banking & Insurance	77			830	66	764
Total	24502	13130+	11830+		22383	31883 <sup>18</sup>

## The One Economy Theory

Economic disparity between East Pakistan and West Pakistan resulted from a policy of economic exploitation pursued by the Government of Pakistan. From a very early stage the government adopted a policy of centralisation as recommended by Sir Archibald Rowlands, who was called in by Jinnah to advise the new state on economic issues.<sup>19</sup> To promote national integration and to give the concept of nationhood its economic content, one of the cardinal principles, usually followed by a federal form of government is that

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<sup>19</sup> Muhith, op.cit., p.101.  
Hasan Zaheer, op.cit., p.49.

transfer of resources should take place from a more developed or richer region to the less developed or more disadvantaged region. In Pakistan this principle was not followed. In fact just the opposite took place. To transfer resources from East Pakistan to West Pakistan one economy theory was enforced. According to this theory, economy of Pakistan was regarded as an integral whole. This policy went completely against the interest of East Pakistan as West Pakistan and East Pakistan were separated by one thousand miles. While this geographical separation did not prevent the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan, it prevented the East Pakistanis from reaping a share of the economic opportunities created from the investment of resources from East Pakistan in West Pakistan. Moreover geographical separation prevented the mobility of labour from East to West Pakistan<sup>20</sup> and thereby denied East Pakistanis the benefits from the development works undertaken in the Western part. According to a report of the Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, the net transfer of resources from East Pakistan to West Pakistan, during the period 1948-49 to 1968-69 amounted to approximately 2.6 billion dollars.<sup>21</sup>

## Major economic deprivations suffered by East Pakistan

The broad aspects of the major economic deprivations of East Pakistan by the central government of Pakistan can be examined under the following headings:

1. Sharing of revenues between the centre and the provinces.
2. Development planning and expenditure.
3. Disparity in trade policy between the two wings of Pakistan.
4. Agricultural policy.

### 1. Sharing of revenue between the centre and the provinces

Distribution of resources between the centre and the provinces were not straight forward. The central government not only did not give the provinces their due share but also adopted dubious methods to

<sup>20</sup> To be discussed later on in the chapter.

<sup>21</sup> Government of Pakistan, Planning Commission, Reports of the Advisory Panels for Fourth Five Year Plan 1970-75, Vol. I, Appendix 3, July 1970.

encroach on provincial revenues and arrogate to itself the lion's share of that revenue. Firstly, since the inception of Pakistan, the statutory share of the provinces in the proceeds of income-tax was withheld without changing the law. Secondly, the central government unilaterally amended the constitutional provision regarding East Pakistan's share in the jute export duty.<sup>22</sup> Thirdly customs duty and duty on agricultural land became a central source of revenue. In addition 50 per cent of sales tax was also taken by the centre. All the provinces were affected by those measures but East Pakistan was hit hard the most, as control of the central government by the West Pakistani personnel gave the other West Pakistani provinces some relief. Savings, as already noted was higher in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan.) These savings from East Pakistan were invested in West Pakistan which benefited West Pakistan. Moreover, West Pakistan gained from the revenue earnings of the central government as the earnings were primarily used to meet the current expenditure of the central government. East Pakistan also did not receive its due share from the central revenue expenditure. Practically all defence installations were located in West Pakistan. Almost all the defence personnel's were recruited from West Pakistan. This allowed the total concentration of all defence expenditure in that region. Only a token force was maintained in East Pakistan. From 1950-51 to 1968-69 out of a central revenue expenditure of Rs. 3796 crore, Rs 2132 crore or more than 56 per cent, was spent on defence. Bulk of the expenditure on civil administration was also concentrated in West Pakistan including the federal capital.<sup>23</sup> In defence of its policy the central government maintained that the central government needed more resources to rehabilitate the refugees and to strengthen the defence forces which were in the interest of both regions. Moreover West Pakistan usually maintained that East Pakistan did not contribute much to the revenue earnings of Pakistan and hence could not grudge heavy current expenditure in West Pakistan.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Zaheer, op.cit p. 49.

<sup>23</sup> Ayoob, op. cit. p 45,cites Pakistan Economic Survey 1968-69 Statistical Section p.43

<sup>24</sup> Muhith, op. cit p 78-80

In February 1951 during a budget session in the East Pakistan Assembly members accused the Bengali representatives in the centre and in the provincial government of being "diffident in putting forward our legitimate claims to the central government and getting our dues. They appear to be afraid of the centre."<sup>25</sup> This forced Nurul Amin, the Chief Minister to take a stand and refute the Finance Minister Ghulam Muhammad's statement that East Pakistan was not earning enough. In support of this he gave the figures of East Pakistan's export and import during the years 1948-49 and 1949-50 (figures shown earlier in the chapter) Nurul Amin pointed out that, "what was earned in East Pakistan was spent here in West Pakistan," and blamed the centre's policies of import licensing and foreign exchange allocation for the deficit in the East Pakistan government.<sup>26</sup> Earlier on, Nurul Amin had demanded that population should be the basis of distribution of the surplus earnings by the central government (East Pakistan was allotted 25 million rupees out of 80 million rupees). In this he was supported by all the Bengali members. The Finance Minister however rejected the population principle for distribution of grants to the provinces.<sup>27</sup> The central government ultimately had to bring in Sir Jeremy Raisman, a British expert to examine the existing allocation of revenues between the centre and the provinces. The recommendations of Sir Jeremy were submitted in December 1952. For the time being it was accepted by the East Pakistanis as it felt that, some, though not full, justice has been done to the case of East Bengal.<sup>28</sup> Though the recommendations gave temporary relief to the pressure created by East Pakistan, the unscrupulous drainage of resources from East Pakistan continued unabated. This glaring deprivation eventually resulted in serious embitterment of the relationship between East Pakistan and the Centre and eroded the political foundation of Pakistan.

<sup>25</sup> *East Pakistan Legislative Assembly Proceedings*, Vol, V, No. 1, February 26, 1951, p. 382.

<sup>26</sup> Zaheen, op. cit, p. 51.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50, Constituent Assembly (Legislature) Debates Vol I No. 2 (March 21, 1951), p. 53

<sup>28</sup> *East Bengal Legislative Assembly Proceedings*, Vol. VII February 20, 1952, p. 16-17.

## 2. Development planning and expenditure

[Economic disparity between East and West Pakistan was evident in the allotment of funds for planned development work and non-development or non-plan expenditure. In the first three Five Years Plans, highly disproportionately low allocations of funds were made for development of East Pakistan. In addition, even this low allocation was not allowed to be duly utilised in East Pakistan through the mechanism of allocation and slow release of funds for projects. Releases of funds were delayed, projects were not approved on time and if approved execution of projects were to be held up and funds were allowed to lapse. Thus, steps were taken by the centre to ensure that development programmes were practically denied to East Pakistan. Fiscal policies of the central government were blatantly manipulated to throttle the economic growth of East Pakistan and to spur the economic development of West Pakistan.

[During 1950-51 to 1954-55 East Pakistan's share of central government's development expenditure was as low as 20 per cent.<sup>29</sup> During the Second Five Year Plan period of 1960-65 its share was 31 per cent and in the Third Five Year Plan of 1965-70 East Pakistan received 36 per cent. During the Second and Third Five Year Plan, West Pakistan's share was 69 and 64 per cent respectively.<sup>30</sup> While in the Third Five Year Plan East Pakistan was, technically speaking allotted a bigger share of development funds, in actual practice it turned out to be much less than the funds made available for implementation of the Plan in East Pakistan. There was eventually a shortfall of approximately Rs 110 crore.] The target in the case of West Pakistan however was fulfilled. Thus, though the revised Third Five Year Plan provided for total development outlay of Rs.2700 crore for East Pakistan - i.e. for public sector Rs. 1600 crore and Rs. 1100 crore in private sector, the actual development expenditure during the Third Plan in the public sector was tentatively estimated at Rs. 1131 crore or about 71 per cent of the Plan allocation.

<sup>29</sup>

Ayoob., p.44.

Pakistan in

An Outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan, 1970-75, p.25.

While in the private sector only about 48 per cent of the Plan target i.e. Rs. 525 crore was spent.<sup>31</sup>

The outlay on non-plan development expenditure did not benefit East Pakistan at all. The concentration of central non-development expenditures in West Pakistan was four times larger than in East Pakistan. This placed East Pakistan in a seriously disadvantageous position. The concentration of central non-development expenditure in West Pakistan gave the West clear advantages as it led to (a) higher income and employment generation and consequently expansion of market demand (b) expansion of physical infrastructure such as roads, transportation and communication facilities (c) rapid urbanisation and development of cantonment towns, defence related industries and services and finally (d) since the central government was located in West Pakistan it gave undue advantage to West. The licensing and regulatory institutions of the central government that stimulated and facilitated the location of private sector activities as well as a substantial flow of capital brought in by the refugees from India all went in favour of West Pakistan.<sup>32</sup> Development of Karachi city as the federal capital later on the transfer of capital to Islamabad and colossal investment in the development of Islamabad as the new capital of Pakistan, all these were outside the economic development plans. East Pakistan was never compensated for those enormous investments in the development of two major cities in West Pakistan on the excuse of developing the Federal capital. East Pakistan did not practically get any economic benefit from those large investments and very few Bengalis found employment opportunities while those cities in the West were developed with the money of tax payers in East Pakistan.

<sup>31</sup> Economic Survey of East Pakistan 1969-70: quoted in Pakistan Observer (Dhaka) July 1, 1970. Ayoob p.44

<sup>32</sup> Nurul Islam, *Making of a Nation Bangladesh An Economists Tale.* p.64.

Indus Basin project costing more than Rs. 1000 crore<sup>33</sup> was kept outside the Five Year development plan. That was yet another stealthy way of allocating major amount of financial resources of the central government, to West Pakistan depriving East Pakistan a fair share of capital outlay for economic developments and job creation.

All the major financial institutions both in public sector as well as in private sector were totally controlled by the West Pakistanis. The State Bank of Pakistan and the National Bank of Pakistan both had head offices in the West and were manned at the policy level mostly by West Pakistanis. The United Bank of Pakistan and Habib Bank -- two largest private sector banks were owned by West Pakistanis. These private banks owed their growth and monopoly to the patronage and support of the central government policy makers in West Pakistan. Similarly insurance companies belonging to West Pakistanis were specially patronised and supported by the Pakistani rulers. Institutional credits and other incentives were likewise designed to promote investment by West Pakistanis in East Pakistan. It was evident that monetary policies and monetary institutions of West Pakistan were totally focused to stimulate economic growth of the West wing at the cost of East Pakistan.

### 3. Disparity in trade policy between the two wings of Pakistan.

East Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings were diverted to West Pakistan by a craftily managed trade policy. The Government of Pakistan controlled the export trade by either imposing duties or by providing special incentives. The import trade was controlled through the licensing system. Up to 1960 East Pakistan earned almost 60 per cent of Pakistan's export income. From 1966-67 West Pakistan earned as much or a little

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<sup>33</sup> "The total estimated cost of the Indus Basin Project, as revised in 1968, stood at Rs 1076.21 crore. Against this, an expenditure of Rs 771.06 crore had been incurred up to December 1970". Pakistan Economic Survey 1970-71 Economic Adviser's Wing Ministry of Finance, p.177. Quoted in Ayoob, p.44-45.

more.<sup>34</sup> Through a system of bonuses and excise rebate, export of manufactured goods from West Pakistan was actively promoted. The main export of East Pakistan was jute.<sup>35</sup> By the end of 1950, jute contributed 45 per cent of the total export earnings of Pakistan, the bulk of which went to India. In 1949 following devaluation of the sterling by the United Kingdom, India devalued its rupees. Pakistan refused to devalue. This policy of Pakistan, effected the jute economy of East Pakistan badly and was a serious factor in creating tension between the two wings. It was argued by the central government that devaluation would fuel inflation and retard industrial development by making consumer and capital goods more expensive. East Pakistan pointed out that all those arguments were for the benefit of West Pakistan at the cost of East Pakistan.<sup>36</sup> The devaluation of the rupees in 1955 helped to cool things down. Nevertheless, "through a surplus in international trade and a deficit in inter-wing trade a sizeable amount of East Pakistan's foreign exchange earning was diverted to west wing".<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> *Muhith*, op.cit., p.86.

<sup>35</sup> *Muhith*, p.86-87.

<sup>36</sup> *Zahoor*, op.cit., p.52,

<sup>37</sup> R. Jahan, *Pakistan failure in national* ...

## Trade balance for East and West Pakistan 1948-58

(Rupees in crores)

	Foreign Balance		Inter-wing Balance		Overall Balance	
	East	West	East (-)	West (+)	East	West
1948-49	14.68	-64.83		12.05	2.63	-52.78
1949-50	24.41	-34.70		18.51	5.90	-16.19
1950-51	75.82	+17.54		20.85	74.97	+38.39
1951-52	32.31	-55.20		18.77	13.54	-36.43
1952-53	27.61	-14.99		6.92	20.69	-8.07
1953-54	35.19	-18.33		23.50	11.69	+5.17
1954-55	41.14	-29.16		10.68	30.46	-18.48
1955-56	68.06	-22.21		9.55	58.51	-12.66
1956-57	9.09	-81.78		19.77	-10.68	-52.01
1957-58	25.25	-88.07		43.29	-18.04	-44.78 <sup>38</sup>

Inter-wing trade was designed to the serious disadvantage of East Pakistan. As noted East Pakistan exported more to the outside world than West Pakistan. But with the passage of time it was found that while East Pakistan's export trade with the rest of the world was more than its imports, the picture was different in the inter-wing trade. West Pakistan exported more to East Pakistan than East Pakistan did to West Pakistan. Thus during the period 1964-69 exports from West Pakistan to East Pakistan amounted to Rs. 5,292 million as against Rs. 3,174 million exported by East Pakistan to West Pakistan. It was estimated that 40 per cent of all West Pakistan exports were sold to East Pakistan. In 1968-69 West Pakistan sold 50 per cent more to East than it bought from it.<sup>39</sup> East Pakistan had consistently an unfavourable balance of trade with West Pakistan. As a result, "the drain of East Bengal's [East Pakistan]

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Muhammad Anisur Rahman, *East and West Pakistan: A Problem in the Political Economy of Regional Planning* (Cambridge: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1968), p.12. R. Jahan, op.cit., p.36.

Ayoob, op.cit., p.43.

resources was dual. While its surplus foreign export earnings were utilized to finance the industrial development of West Pakistan, it was further used as a protected market where West Pakistan's manufactured products could be sold at artificially inflated prices".<sup>40</sup>

#### 4. Discriminatory policy regarding agriculture and education.

The central government of Pakistan followed a discriminatory policy regarding development and growth of agriculture and education in Pakistan which greatly benefited West Pakistan.

[In the field of agriculture undue advantage was given to Punjab while East Pakistan's agriculture was allowed to stagnate. As far as the wheat-growing areas of West Pakistan particularly Punjab, were concerned, policy decision regarding agricultural inputs, in terms of tractors, seeds, fertilizer, insecticide, tube wells and other agricultural related products were taken and implemented with remarkable speed.] One study revealed that the "green revolution" in Punjab was a result of this agricultural policy. 95 per cent of the tube wells were placed and 80 per cent of the tractors were given to Punjab. As a consequence by 1971, Punjab accounted for 80 per cent of the wheat, 70 per cent of cotton and sugar and 50 per cent of rice output in West Pakistan. Its per capita income became 2<sup>1/2</sup> times more than that of the other provinces of West Pakistan. This 'green revolution' bypassed East Pakistan.<sup>41</sup> East Pakistan did not receive the same agricultural benefits from the central government as West Pakistan did. The result was stagnation in the production of rice. To add to this the price of jute fell in the world market. East Pakistan an agricultural based region was hit hard. It was estimated that the average rural per capita income in East Pakistan which was Rs.305 during the period 1949-50 to 1953-54, went down to

<sup>40</sup> Ayoob, op.cit., p.43.

<sup>41</sup> Richard Nations, "The Economic Structure of Pakistan: Class and Colony", *New Left Review (London)*, No. 68, July-August 1971, p. 18-19.

Rs. 288 for the period 1964-65 to 1967-68.<sup>42</sup> No tangible effort on the part of the central government to help East Pakistan was made. The result was a massive polarisation of wealth between Punjab and the rest of the provinces in the West as well as between West and East Pakistan. With the fall in the per capita income the people in East Pakistan found it difficult to send their children to schools, colleges and universities. As a result though education was a provincial subject the agricultural policy pursued by the central government indirectly affected the progress of education in East Pakistan. Thus though East Pakistan had a higher literary rate than West Pakistan in 1947 this picture changed by 1968-1969.

### ~~✓~~ Education in Pakistan (Progress in 20 years)

Area	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Primary School	1947-48 8,413 Number increase 4½ times	1947-48 29,663 Number decreased in spite of increased children
Secondary Schools	1947-48 2,598 176% increase	1947-48 3,481 14% increase
Colleges-various types	1947-48 40 675% increase	1947-48 50 320% increase
Medical/Engineering/ Agricultural colleges	4 425% increase	3 9 300% increase
Universities	2 (654 scholars) (18,708 scholars)	1 4 (1620 scholars) (8,831 scholars)
Increase in scholars	30 times	5 times <sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Ayoob., p.47.

<sup>43</sup> Ayoob., op. cit, p.35.

From the table it is clear that while in West Pakistan by 1968-1969 all educational institutions registered a marked increase in East Pakistan it was not so. In West Pakistan the number of primary schools increased 4.5 times in East Pakistan the number actually decreased. In West Pakistan the number of secondary schools increased by 176 per cent while it was only 14 per cent in East Pakistan. The increase in the number of colleges and universities was much more in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan. During the period 1947-48 to 1968-69 the increase in the number of scholars in West Pakistan was 30 times. During the same period the increase in East Pakistan was only five times. There were various reasons behind this slow growth in East Pakistan and fast growth in West Pakistan. At the time of partition in 1947 most of the teachers in the University of Dhaka were Hindus. After partition they left for India leaving a serious shortage of teachers in the University. The demand for appointment of new teachers was not met. It was also demanded that in order to retain as well as to get good teachers the salary of the teachers as well as their retirement age be raised to 60 years, as it was in other universities.<sup>44</sup> However nothing was done. The same was true regarding secondary school teachers. It is therefore not an accident in history that East Pakistan lagged behind West Pakistan in education. Regarding scholarship for higher education and training, East Pakistan was given practically none. Almost all went to West Pakistan. Doctors, engineers, teachers and others did not get passport and scholarship to go abroad for higher educations. It is therefore not surprising that the policies pursued by the ruling junta, particularly the agricultural policy checked the growth of the middle class in East Pakistan and that in turn, their participation, to a certain extent, in the administration of the country.

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<sup>44</sup> *The Daily Azad*, July 1, 1948