

Fall Of Dacca

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The Majority Population Separates From Minority Population

In 1947 Bengali Were 63% Of Total
Population Of Pakistan

What Were The Reasons Of Separation?

Three Major Aspects

1. Political
2. Economic
3. Cultural

Bengalis Had A
Different Political
Approach Than The
People In West Pakistan

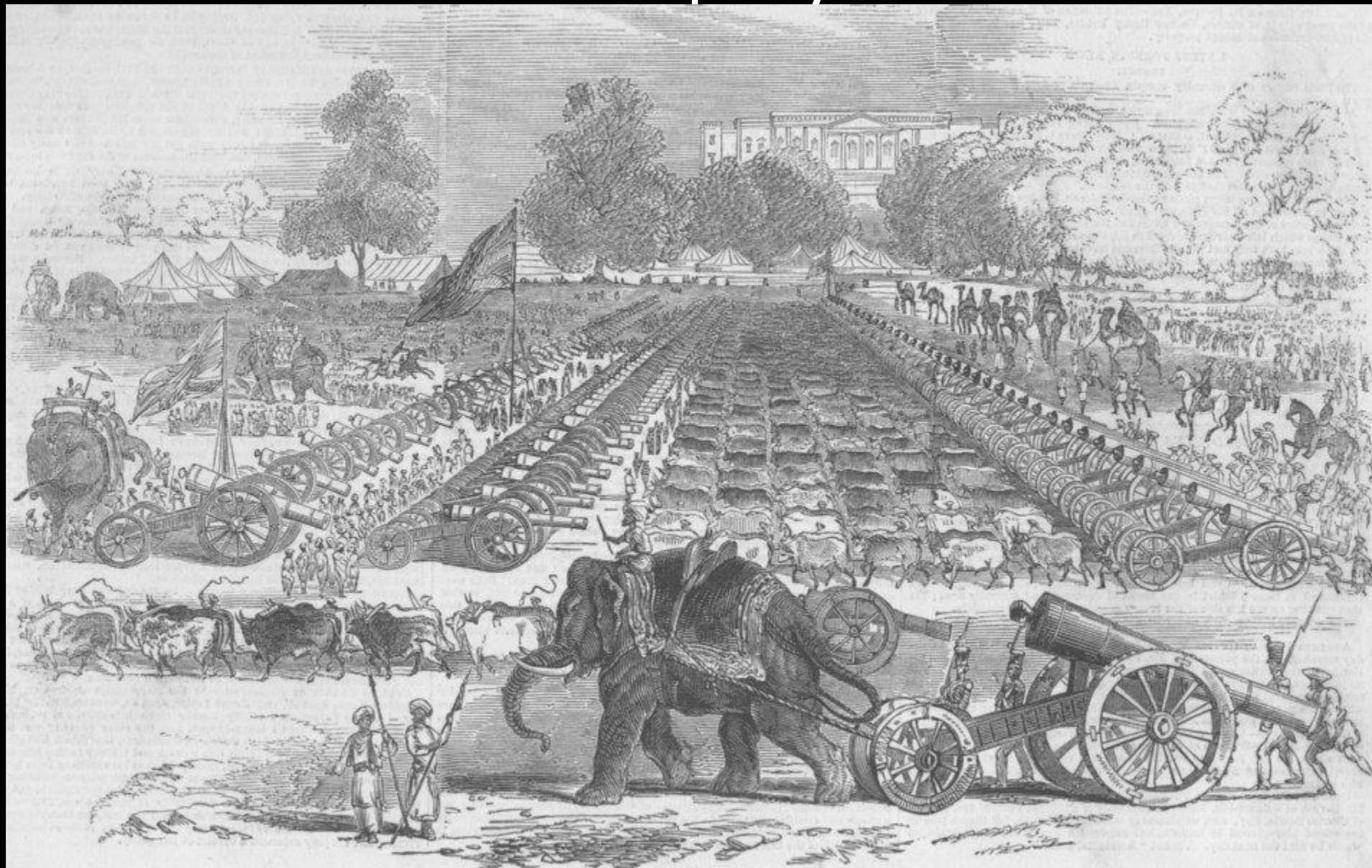
Battle Of Plessey 1757



Battle Of Miani 1843, Sindh Captured By East India Company



Punjab Annexed In 1846 By East India Company



The Western Side Of Sub-continent Came Under The British Control Very Late, Thereby The English Had Less Influence On This Side Compared To The Bengal

Battle Of Buxar 1764



EIC Got The Right To Collect Tax From Peasants On Behalf Of Mughals After Winning Battles in 1764



Massive Loot From The Bengali Peasants After Gaining The Rights To Collect Tax



Peasants Became Poor & Got Caught Into A Deep Agricultural Crisis





Massive Exploitation Led To Great Bengal Famine in 1770



EIC Exported Wheat But Didn't Help Bengalis, 10 Million Died

East India Company Did The Worse With Bengalis Than Any Other Nation In The Sub-Continent

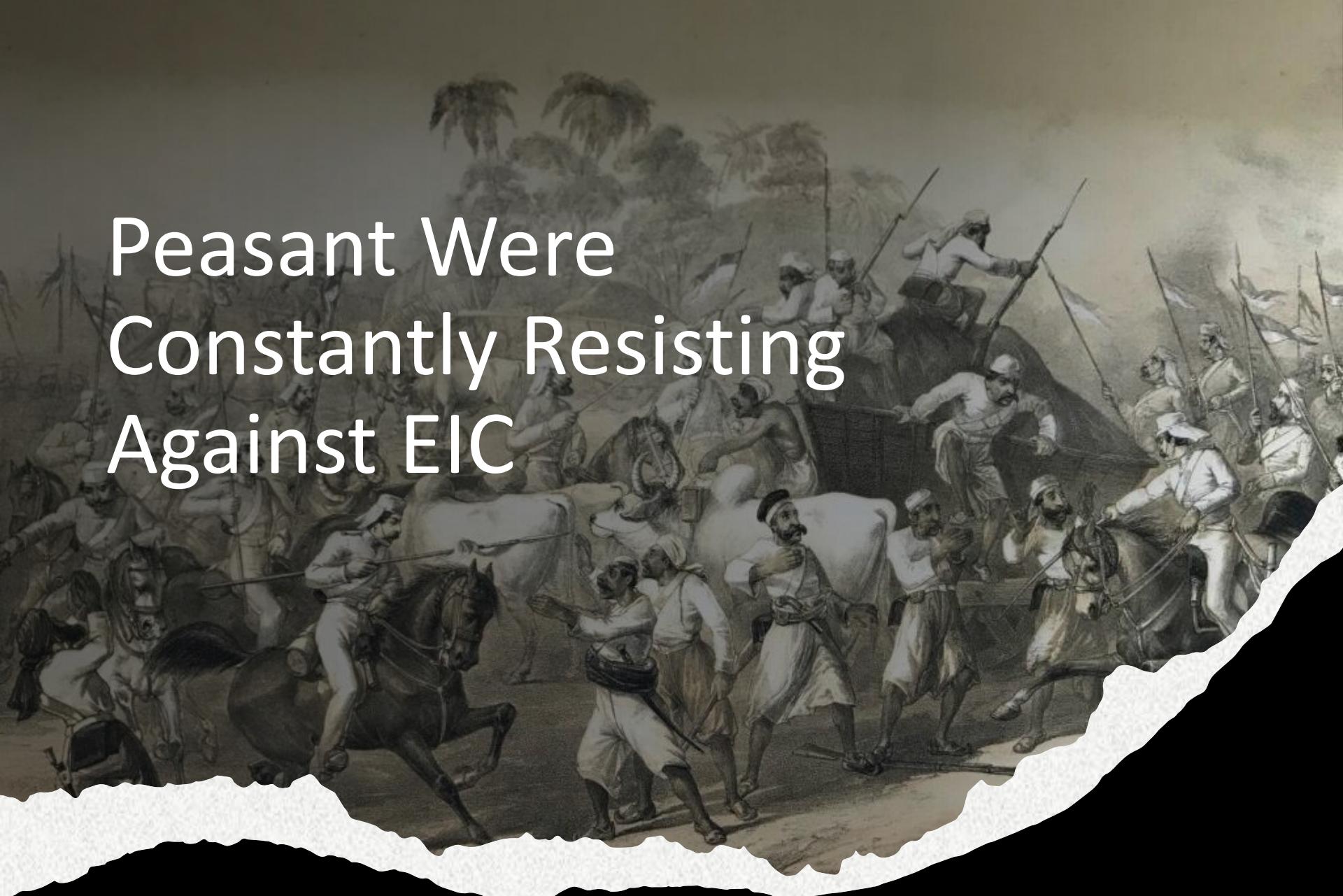
Facing These Brutalities And Oppressive Rule Of British Imperialism, The Social, Economical & Cultural Transformation Took Place In The Bengali Nation

Bengalis Also
Learned A Lot From
The British
Imperialism



The Capital Of British Colony Remained Calcutta Therefore The State Power & Administration Remained In Calcutta. Civil Services, Press, Royal Asiatic Society Etc.

Peasant Were
Constantly Resisting
Against EIC



Vast Political Experience

The Peasant Movements Gave A Lot Of Awareness To The Common People Of Bengal, Hence, They Learned How To Start A Modern Political Movement.

Secular Political Education

Bengalis Saw British Imperialism As
The Sole Enemy, Therefore They
Gathered Support Across The Society
By Uniting Muslims And Hindus
Against British

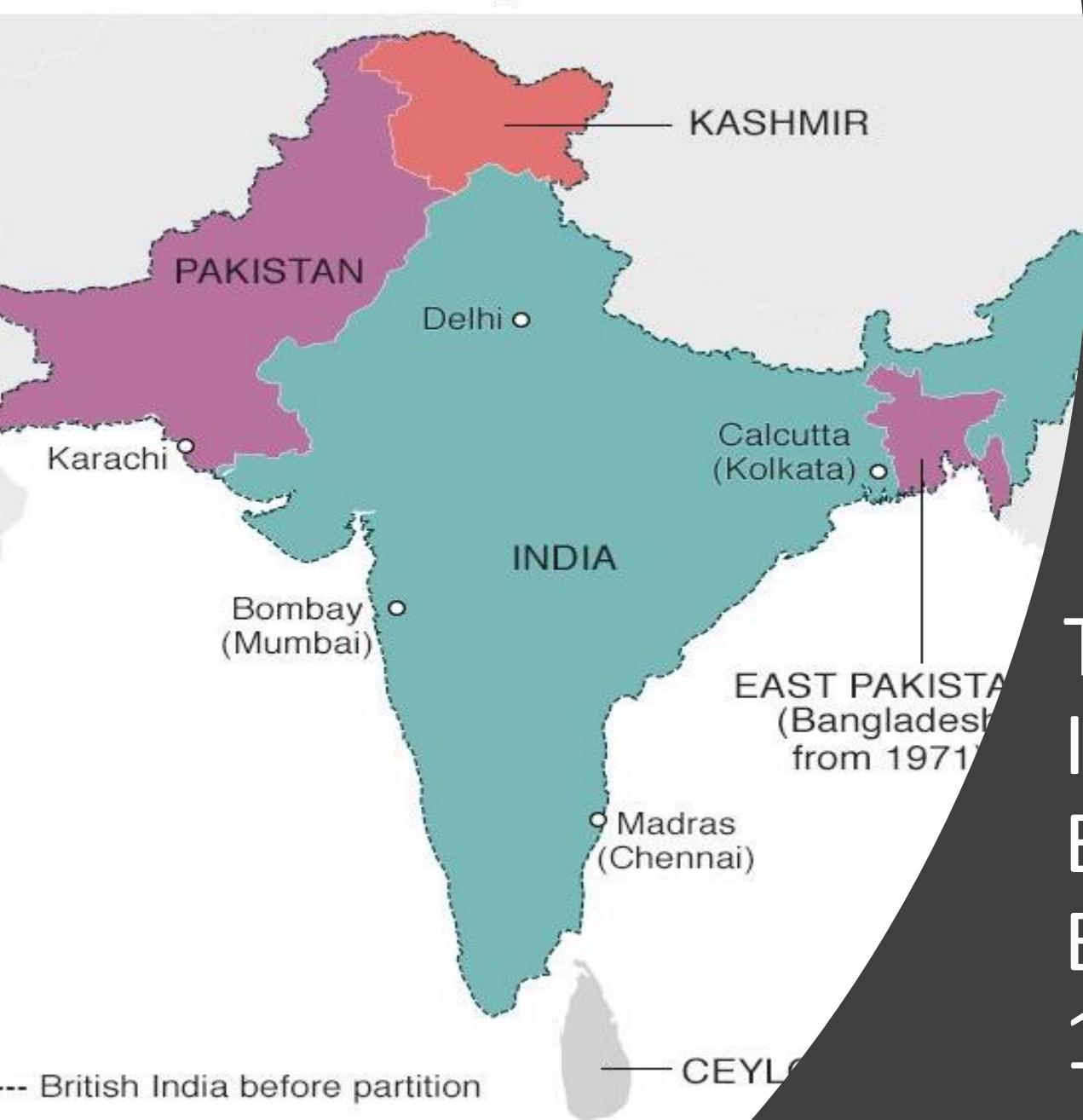
Democratic Culture

To Gather Support And Mobilize Masses Of All Shades Against The British, Led Bengalis Into Developing A Democratic Tolerant Culture. They Never Liked Any Military Dictatorship

Socialism In Bengal

The Intellectuals Of Bengal Were
More Inclined Towards Socialism,
To Give Maximum Benefits To
People They Thought This Is The
Best Political Theory

Partition of India in August 1947



The Distance
Is 1000 Miles
Between
Both Wings in
1947

Difficulty In United Pakistan

Not Only The Distance Was 1000
Miles But There Were Ideological
Differences Also

How Were The Diverse People Got United ?

Lahore Resolution 1940

During The 1937 Elections Muslim League Was Not A Famous Party In Punjab, Sindh & Bengal

1585 provincial seats contested



Leader	Jawaharlal Nehru Party president	Muhammad Ali Jinnah	Sikandar Hayat Khan
Party	INC	AIML	Unionist Party
Seats won	707	109	101

Lahore Resolution

The Areas In Which The Muslims Are Numerically In A Majority As In The North Western And Eastern Zones of (British) India Should Be Grouped To Constitute ‘Independent States’ In Which The Constituent Units Should Be Autonomous And Sovereign



Cabinet Mission Plan 1946

Jinnah Accepted The Plan
Where Within United India,
Muslim Regions Would Be
Given Maximum Autonomy. In
Fact, Indian National Congress
Rejected It

The Leadership Of Partition Movement Had No Concrete Plan Or Research

No Policy Framework Was Presented Where Language Policy, Distant Zones & Power Sharing Arrangement, Constitution Etc

Failure In Constitution Making For 25 Years

OXFORD
PAKISTAN
PAPERBACKS

CONSTITUTIONAL
AND POLITICAL
HISTORY
OF PAKISTAN

Second Edition

HAMID KHAN

Why Pakistan Couldn't Formulate A Democratic Constitution?

The Power Sharing Formula Was Not Present
Before The Partition Nor It Was Discussed
To Find A Solution After Partition, Which
Had To Been Discussed Before Partition

The First Decade Saw 7 Different Prime Ministers

Three Of Them Were Bengalis; Khawaja
Nizam Ud Din, Mohammad Ali Bogra &
Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy

Martial Race Theory

Bengalis Were Not Recruited In Army, Only 5% Even Though They Were 63% Of The Country. Most Of The Recruitment Was Done From The Punjab



Two Nation Theory Played
A Crucial Role For The
Creation Of Pakistan

Pakistan Was Criticized Internationally And Within Sub-continent That This State Is Formed On The Basis Of Religion, But Nations Are Recognized By Their Languages Rather Than Religion

European Nationalism
Was Based On
Languages Rather Than
Religion

Hence, The Leadership At The Time Of Partition Were In Search Of New Identity Other Than Religion, For That Urdu Language Was Considered As A Lingua Franca That Could Be National Language Of Pakistan And A Cultural Identity Of The New State

Two Nation Theory

After Partition, The Leadership Tried
To Glue Diverse Nations Into One By
Proposing Urdu As A Common
Language But Bengalis Were The
Majority Population Where Urdu Was
Not Spoken Let Alone Punjab, Sindh,
NWFP & Baluchistan

The Students At Dacca University, Demanded For Bengali Language To Be Accepted As National Language

Mr. Jinnah Did Three Speeches In 1948 & Proposed Only Urdu As National Language



What Should Be The National Language Of Pakistan?

After 1948 The Debate For National Language Started In Pakistan, Various Commissions Were Made. But, In January 1952, Governor General Khawaja Nizam ud Din Also Emphasized On Urdu To Be The Only National Language, Besides, English Remained The Official Language



Students At Dacca University Staged A Protest Soon After Governor's Speech In Feb 1952
Police Was Called & The Students Were Dispersed, Some Students Marched To East Pakistan Assembly, Where They Tried To Convince The Politicians



While Protesting At The Assembly, Students Tried To Enter Inside The Assembly, Prompting The Police To Open Fire, Some Students Died At Spot, East Pakistan Got Into A Full Week Of Riots



The Students Erected A Memorial In The Memory Of Fellows Who Were Killed By Police Firing, Again Police Intervenes To Stop Students, Which Gave Rise To A Larger Movement Joined By Politicians & Civil Society

The Bengali People's
Reaction Towards The
New State Started To
Sour

1956 Constitution
Accepted The Bengali
Language As The
National Language Of
Pakistan

In 1999, UNESCO Decided To Celebrate 21 February As Mother Tongue Day. This Was The Day Students Were Killed By Police For Their Mother Language Demand



INTERNATIONAL MOTHER LANGUAGE DAY

21 FEBRUARY

Even Though, In 1956
Constitution The Demand Of
Bengali Language Was Accepted,
But The Damage Has Been Done.
Bengalis Had Generated A
Feeling Of Second-Class Citizen,
Not Equal To Others

If Pakistan Had
Accepted Bengali
Language As A National
Language, Wouldn't It
Had Resulted In Stability
For Coming Years?

Economic Aspect

Fall Of Dacca

Whenever We Talk
About The
Dismemberment Of
East Pakistan, Some
Myths Revolve Around
It

Blame Game





EAST IS LEFT





How Did Sheikh Mujeeb Rehman And Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Gathered Millions Of Supporters?

Deeper Question



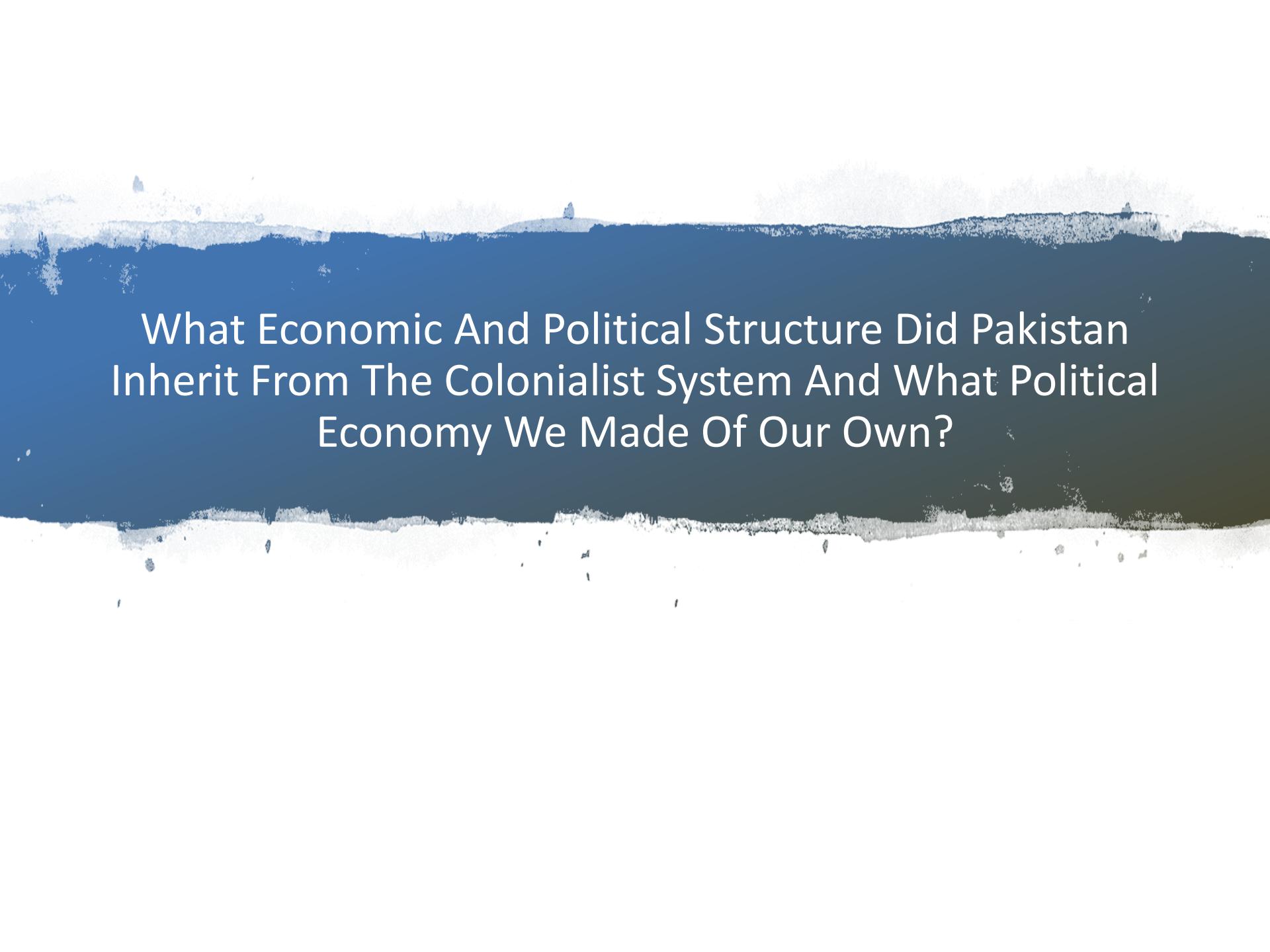
Awaami League Formed In 1949

Pakistan
People's
Party
Formed In
1967



People In East & West
Pakistan Wanted A
Revolutionary Change;
Anyone Had To Fill This Void

How The Stage Was Set For A Change? What
Were The Historical Questions That Were Left
Unanswered?



What Economic And Political Structure Did Pakistan Inherit From The Colonialist System And What Political Economy We Made Of Our Own?

Economic Factors
Behind The Formation
Of Bengali
Nationalism And
Peoples Party's Left-
Wing Populism

Historical Events

The Permanent Settlement
Act 1793 Was An Agreement
Between The East India
Company And Bengali
Landlords To Fix Revenues To
Be Raised From Land

This Act Instituted Private
Property For The First Into
The History Of Agrarian
Political Economy Of India. In
Other Words, It Introduced
Capitalism To India

Prior To This, Sub-Continent
Had A Mughal Jagirdaari
Economic System

Feudalism & Capitalism Joins Hand

The Market Economy Is A “Winner-Take-All”
System. Monopoly Of Wealth

Winner-Take-All System

In This System If Anyone Moves A Bit Ahead, It Is Most Probable It Can Lead Towards Creating A Monopoly

The Game Monopoly Shows That Even Where Every Player Begins With Equal Money Rewards Are Randomly Distributed, Eventually One Person Emerge As A Monopolist.



Capitalism Generates Wealth But Also Creates Class And Regional Inequality

Pakistan Adopted The Capitalist Model From The Colonial Rule, Which Led to Class And Regional Inequality.

Since 1947 To 1971, What
Were The Policies Of
Government Of Pakistan To
Reduce Or Reverse
Inequalities And Equally
Distribute Wealth?

Surprisingly, The
Government Favored
Monopoly System, Where
Wealth Will Trickle Down
To Lowest Strata, And
People With The Wealth
Will Set Up Factories.

These Policy Lessons Were Given To Pakistan By International Economists

To Increase Rate Of Savings And
Reinvestment Was Made Favorable For
The Capitalist Class, This Increased
Inequality

East & West Pakistan Economic Relation

East Pakistan
Claimed That West
Pakistan Is Looting
And Exploiting Them

**REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN FROM
AND IN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN (IN 000 RUPEES), 1947-54**

Year	West Pakistan			East Pakistan		
	Revenue	Expenditure	Balance	Revenue	Expenditure	Balance
1947-48	145,772	240,263	- 94,491	57,165	47,589	+ 9,576
1948-49	498,717	846,457	- 347,740	162,311	31,949	+ 130,362
1949-50	633,026	1,416,583	- 783,557	220,793	17,634	+ 203,159
1950-51	999,874	1,278,851	- 278,977	258,503	45,195	+ 13,308
1951-52	1,035,432	1,649,675	- 614,243	350,972	1,509	+ 349,463
1952-53	912,967	1,319,720	- 406,753	254,293	249,091	+ 5,202
1953-54	1,040,720	979,502	+ 61,218	211,551	4,835	+ 206,716

Source: Adapted from Sadeque (1957), Table 3, p. 39.

Year	Spending on West Pakistan (in crore rupees)	Amount spent on West as percentage of total	Spending on East Pakistan (in crore rupees)	Amount spent on East as percentage of total
% of total population		36.23		63.77
1950–55	1,129	68.31	524	31.69
1955–60	1,655	75.95	524	24.05
1960–65	3,355	70.5	1,404	29.5
1965–70	5,195	70.82	2,141	29.18
Total	11,334	71.16	4,593	28.84

Source: Reports of the Advisory Panels for the Fourth Five Year Plan 1970–75,

Vol. I, published by the planning commission of Pakistan (quick reference: crore =

EP GOT LESS THAN HALF OF WP

Year	Spending on West Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Spending on East Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Amount spent on East as percentage of West
1950–55	11,290	5,240	46.4
1955–60	16,550	5,240	31.7
1960–65	33,550	14,040	41.8
1965–70	51,950	21,410	41.2
Total	113,340	45,930	40.5

Source: Reports of the Advisory Panels for the Fourth Five Year Plan 1970–75, Vol. I,

Balance of Payments of East and West Pakistan Period-wise

(Rupees Million)

Period	Balance of Visible Foreign Trade		Balance of Invisible Foreign Trade		Balance of Visible and Invisible Foreign Trade		Balance of Interwing Trade		Net Balance of Payments	
	East	West	East	West	East	West	East	West	East	West
1948-49 to 1949-50	Nominal Price + 1123 Scarcity Price	- 806	- 195	- 412	+ 928	- 1218	- 306	-	+ 622	- 912
1950-51 to 1954-55	Nominal Price + 2122 Scarcity Price	- 1002	- 587	- 1399	+ 1535	- 2401	- 809	-	+ 726	- 1592
1955-56 to 1960-61	Nominal Price + 2019 Scarcity Price	- 5175	- 907	- 2304	+ 1112	- 7479	- 1868	-	- 756	- 5612
1948-49 to 1960-61	Nominal Price Scarcity Price				+ 2113	- 14554			+ 246	- 12686
1961-62 to 1968-69	Nominal Price + 69 (Including Indus)	- 14645	- 2829	- 4300	- 2760	- 18946	- 3766	-	- 6526	- 15180
	Scarcity Price				- 5620	- 37841		-	- 9386	- 34075

PER CAPITA INCOME IN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN (1959-60 PRICES, IN RUPEES)

	1949-50	1959-60	1969-70
Pakistan	311	318	424
West Pakistan	338	366	537
East Pakistan	287	278	331
East-West gap	51	88	206

Source: *Third Five Year Plan of Pakistan*, p. 11, and *Report of the Panel of Economists on the Fourth Year Plan (1970-75)*, p. 132.

Inequality Was On A Constant Increase Between East & West Pakistan

The Government Of East Pakistan Had To Face Immense Economic Pressure, Poverty Was Increasing, Health & Education Was Declining, And Development Stopped, Whereas These Developments Were Happening In West Pakistan

In 1947, An Education Conference Was Held In Pakistan For Universal Basic Education

The Mission Was To Give Universal Primary Education To All Citizens. New & Plenty Of Schools Were To Opened, With A lot Of Hard work Needed.

In East Pakistan, The Number
Of Schools Started To Decline
Drastically, Not Only Schools
Per Student But Also In
Absolute Terms

The Third World Was Rising Education But In
Bengal Situation Was Getting Worse

**ITEMISED BREAKDOWN OF EDUCATIONAL COST PER PUPIL IN
PAKISTAN (IN RUPEES), 1952-53**

	Teacher salary	Furniture & equipment	Buildings & repairs	Contingencies	Total cost per pupil (in Rupees)
<i>East Pakistan</i>	6.70 (95.4)	0.12 (1.8)	0.08 (1.1)	0.10 (1.6)	7 (100.0)
<i>West Pakistan</i>					
Sind	36.10 (88.0)	1.61 (4.0)	---	3.30 (8.0)	41 (100.0)
Khairpur	41.30 (84.3)	1.90 (3.9)	4.80 (9.8)	1.00 (2.0)	49 (100.0)

Note: Percentages are in parentheses. The table is adapted from Huq (1954), p. 67.

STARTING SALARIES OF TEACHERS WAS 3 TIMES HIGHER IN WP

AVERAGE SALARY WAS TWICE AS HIGH

TABLE XII

NUMBER OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS, SCHOOL SIZE, STR AND UNIT COST (IN RUPEES) IN VARIOUS PROVINCES OF WEST PAKISTAN, 1963-64

Provinces	Total number of primary schools	School size	STR	Unit cost
Peshwar	2,162	77.59	41.04	25.47
Rawalpindi	5,993	84.55	36.66	35.71
Lahore	8,383	70.03	31.83	49.33
Hyderabad	6,832	60.89	30.96	44.37
Quetta	703	48.56	24.94	60.69
Khairpur	857	228.06	53.15	28.20
West Pakistan	24,930	76.50	34.78	40.57

Source: Education Statistics for West Pakistan 1963-64, GoP (1966a).

About 4 To 5% Of East-Pakistan Income Was Diverted To West Pakistan Annually

Transfer Of Income To One Province From Another Led To Decline In The Rate Of Savings Of East Pakistan, Which Resulted In Low Development For East Pakistan

Between 1947-68, Only 55% Of The Foreign Aid That East-Pakistan Was Entitled To Was Actually Spent In The East

This Was The Time When Pakistan Has Signed Defense Agreements With The USA.

SEATO 1954

CENTO 1955

In The 1960s, West-Pakistan Had
Approximately 70% More Foreign
Inflows Than East-Pakistan

During This Period Foreign Aid Was
Flowing Into Pakistan, Major Chunk
Was Spent On The Western Side

West-Pakistan Exported To East Pakistan Under A Protective Trade Regime At A Higher Than International Price

A Law Was Made Where East Pakistan Was Not Allowed To Trade Internationally Itself Nor Can Ask For International Aid. Due To This Inter-Provincial Trade, East Pakistan's Income Started To Flow Back In West Pakistan

According To Some
Estimates, 2.6 Billion
Dollars Were Transferred
From East Pakistan To
West Pakistan In 20 Years
Of Trade

Although 1962 Constitution Made Binding To Remove Inter And Intra-Provincial Disparity. However, Only Sales Tax Was Returned To The Provinces

The Politicians & Civil Society Agitated Against The Unequal Treatment. EP Government Had No Control Over Taxes And Expenditures.

Hence, The Wealth
Transfer From East
Pakistan To West
Pakistan Was A Policy
Set By The Government

Conclusion

- Due To The Capitalist System, Any One Province Had To Move Ahead Than Others, Same As Any Class Had To Move Ahead, Leaving Others Behind
- Rather Than Stopping This Tendency, The Government Made It More Intense
- East Pakistanis Were Angered, Agitated & Opposed Against West Pakistan's Government, Especially The Military Dictatorship (1958-1971) Due To The Economic Policies Directed Against Them

East Pakistanis
Realized That
West Pakistan Is
Looting Them

To Stop This Economic
Exploitation And Loot, The
People Of East Pakistan Were
In A Search Of A Leader Who
Could Break This Exploitative
Economic Relation

If In A Country X, There Exist Provincial Inequality, One Province Moves Ahead Leaving Others Behind, And Specially If One Province Starts Exploiting Other Province, Than Would It Result Stability In Country X Or Result In Chaos, Uncertainty & Breakup?

Political Aspect

Fall Of Dacca

Blame Game

Mostly, It Has Been A Culture
Of Blaming Someone For The
Debacle Of East Pakistan





Rather Than Blaming Any
One, We Need To Dig
Deeper And Understand
The Context, Condition
And Connection That
Shaped Politics

Personality Oriented Focus Leads To A Moralistic Analysis

This Is A Insufficient Analysis; By Focusing On Some People, It Disregards Those Millions Of People Who Struggle For Independent States

What Were The
Administrative Structure &
Institutional Arrangement
That Effected The
Politicians Of East Pakistan
And West Pakistan?

The Real Question Is, Why
Millions Of People Were
Oppressed To The Level
That They Wanted
Separation From West
Pakistan?

Administrative Affairs In United Pakistan

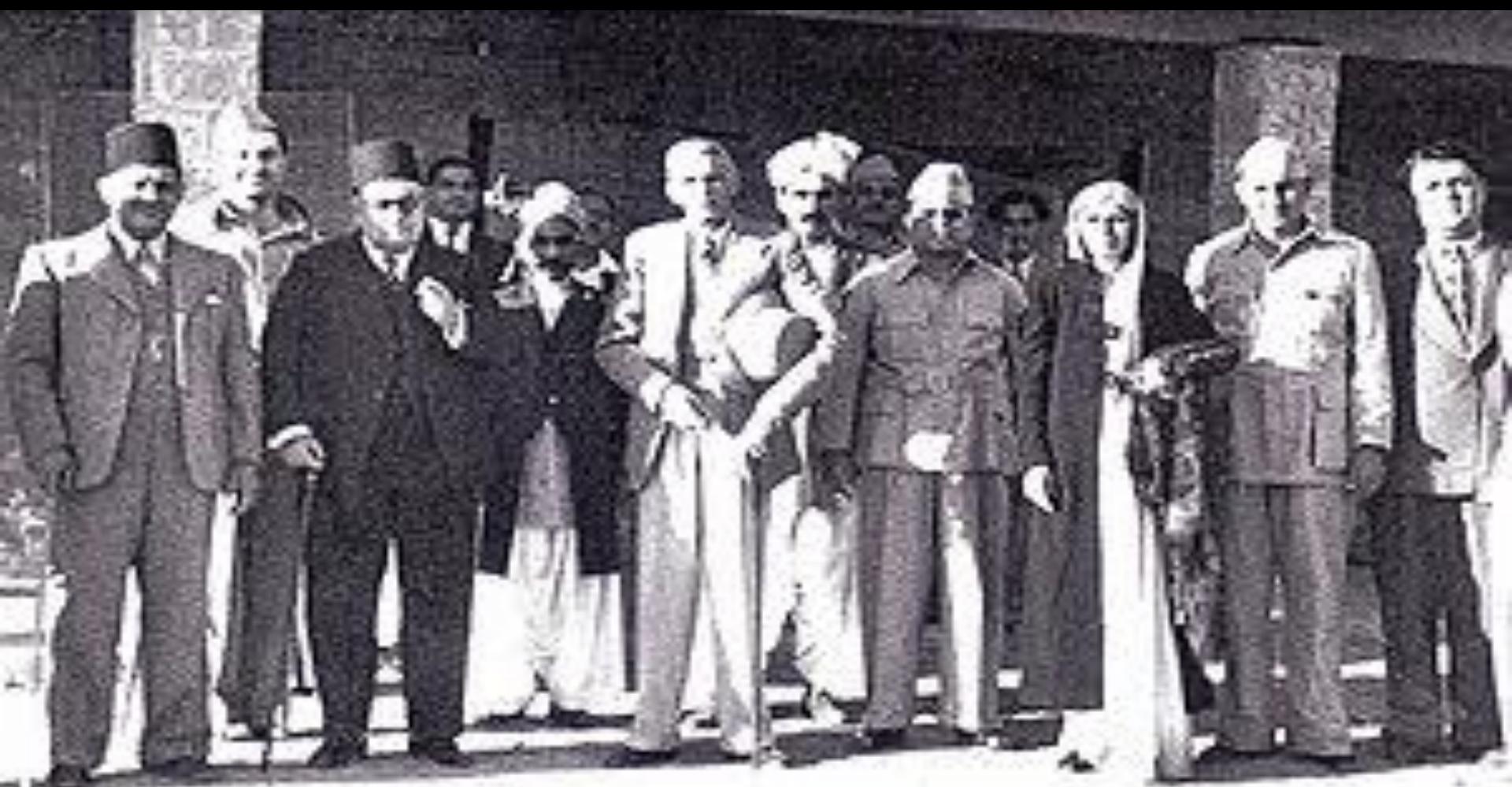


East & West Pakistan Historically Have Never Been 'One' In Terms Of Politics, Culture & Economics

All India Muslim League , 1906



Struggle Against Congress & British Colonialism Gave Birth To The Unity Of Muslims In British India



But, Muslim League Had
No Plan For The New
Independent Country

There Was No Plan For Power
Sharing, Administrative Structure,
Constitutional Map, Institutional
Arrangements Etc

1000 Miles Distance & India In Between Was A Delicate Issue, This Made Pakistan A Unique Country

There Was A Need Of Delicate Care & Time
To Make A Joint Constitution Or Policy For
United Pakistan. This Was A Sensitive
Question.

The First Decade Gave Rise To Instability, 7 Prime Ministers In A Short Period Of Time

Dismissal Of Prime Ministers & Dissolving Assemblies; These Are Still Prevalent

Term	Name	Time	Tenure	Party
1	Liaquat Ali Khan	14 August-16 October 1951	4 Years, 2 Months, 2 Days	Muslim League
2	Sir Khawaja Nazimuddin	17 Oct 1951-17 April 1953	1 Year, 6 Months	Muslim League
3	Mohammad Ali Bogra	17 April 1953-12 August 1955	2 Years, 3 Months, 26 Days	Muslim League
4	Chaudhry Mohammad Ali	12 August 1955-12 September 1956	1 Year, 1 Month	Muslim League
5	Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy	12 September 1956-17 October 1957	1 Year, 1 Month, 5 Days	Awami League
6	Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar	17 October 1957-16 December 1957	1 Month, 29 Days	Muslim League
7	Sir Feroze Khan Noon	16 December 1957-7 October 1958	9 Months, 21 Days	Republican Party

Constitution Making Tendencies In Pakistan

1. Centrifugal & Centripetal
2. Secular & Theocratic

Centrifugal & Centripetal Federation VS Centralization

- The Nationalists Wanted Maximum Provincial Autonomy
- They Wanted To Give Federation With Defense, Currency & Foreign Policy
- For Them Unity Can Be Achieved By Provincial Autonomy
- Early Constitution Makers Wanted The Federation To Be Strong With Weak Provinces
- Islamic Parties Like Jamat e Islami Also Favored Centralization
- For Them Unity & National Security In A Diverse Country Can Be Achieved By Centralization

Secular VS Theocratic



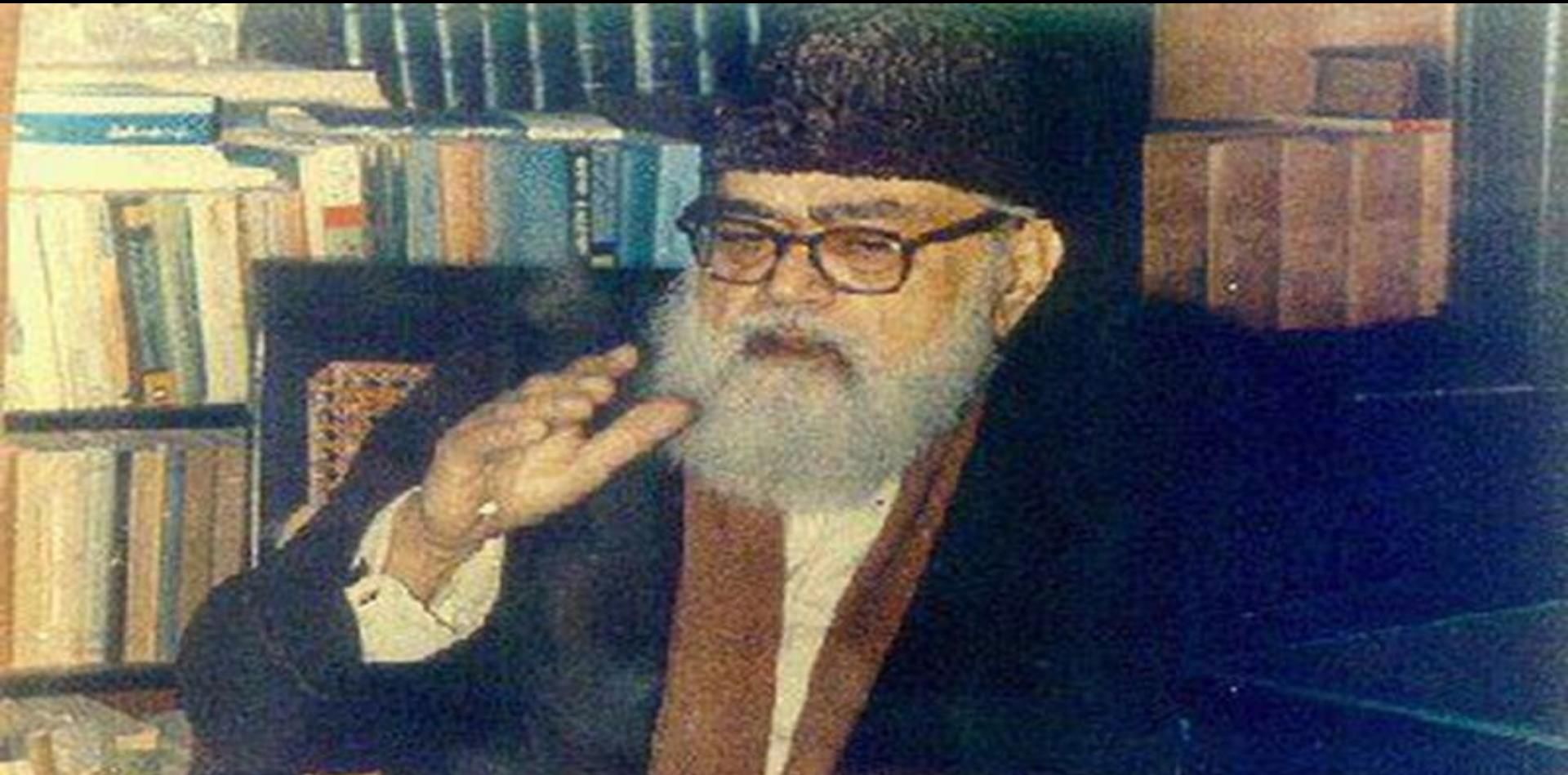
QUAID E AZAM
MUHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

“ You are free; you are free to go to your temples. You are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or creed - that has nothing to do with the business of the State. ”

Presidential Address to
the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on
11th August, 1947

**“To Accept The Democratic Ideology... Is
Tantamount To Deviating From The Creed
Of Monotheism”**

Maududi



Initially, The United
Pakistan Had A Reasonable
Minority Religion
Population Of About 20%
In Both Wings, Which Later
Migrated To India

To Balance The Centrifugal &
Centripetal,
Secular & Theocratic Forces,
Liaqaut Ali Khan Introduced The
Preamble To The Constitution

The Objectives Resolution 1949

The Objectives Resolution 1949

- Sovereignty Over The Entire Universe Belongs To Allah Almighty Alone And The Authority Which He Has Delegated To The State Of Pakistan, Through Its People For Being Exercised Within The Limits Prescribed By Him Is A Sacred Trust
- The Principles Of Democracy, Freedom, Equality, Tolerance And Social Justice, As Enunciated By Islam, Shall Be Fully Observed

The Objectives Resolution 1949

- The Muslims Shall Be Enabled To Order Their Lives In The Individual And Collective Spheres In Accordance With The Teachings And Requirements Of Islam As Set Out In The Holy Quran And Sunnah
- Adequate Provision Shall Be Made For The Minorities To Freely Progress And Practice Their Religions And Develop Their Cultures

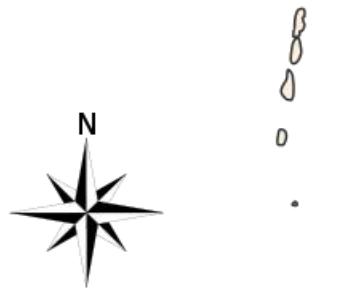
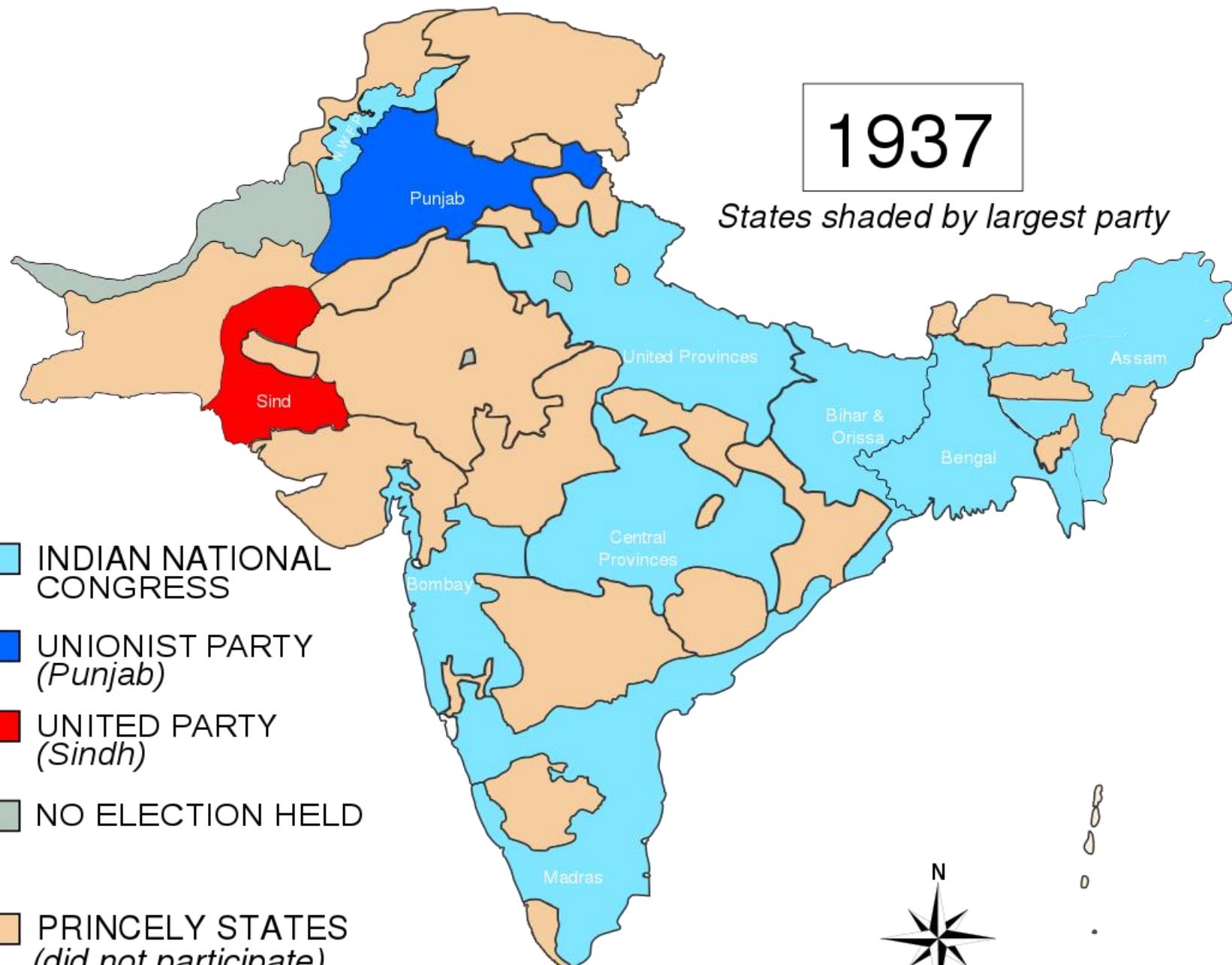
The Objectives Resolution 1949

- Fundamental Rights Shall Be Guaranteed. They Include Equality Of Status, Of Opportunity And Before Law, Social, Economic And Political Justice, And Freedom Of Thought, Expression, Belief, Faith, Worship And Association, Subject To (the) Law And Public Morality

21 Out Of 69 Members
Voted For The
Resolution

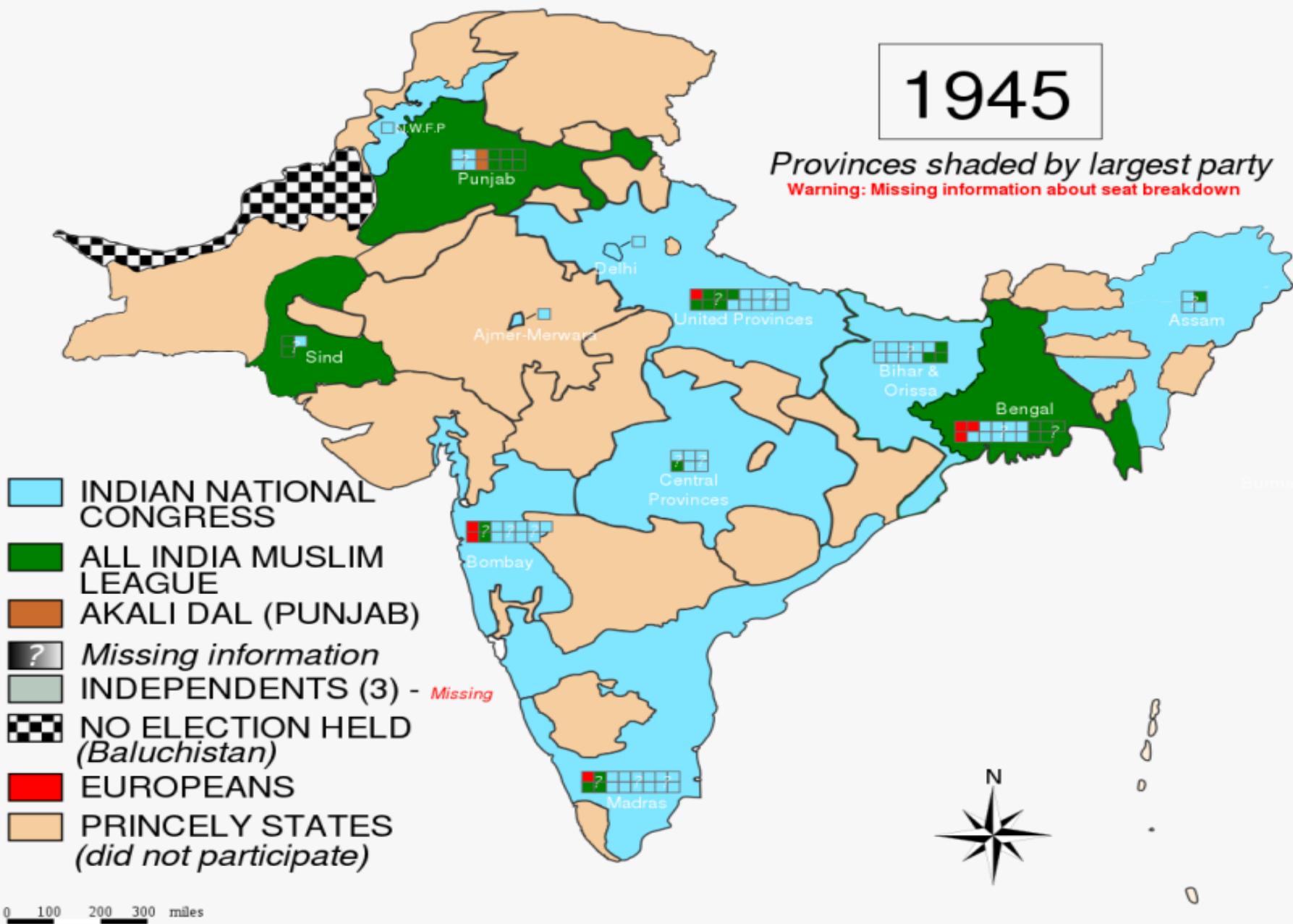
1937

States shaded by largest party



1945

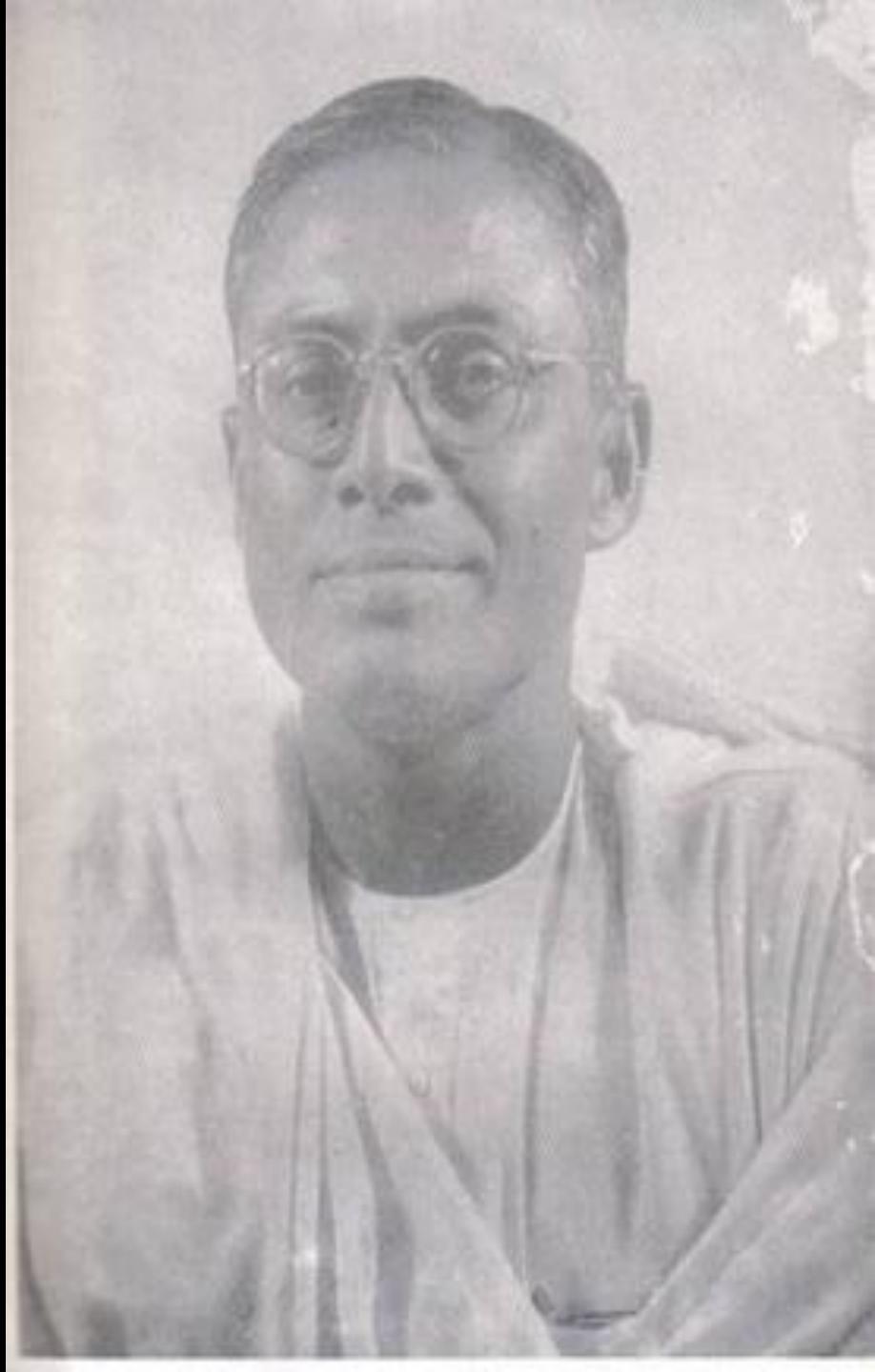
Provinces shaded by largest party
Warning: Missing information about seat breakdown



Indian National
Congress Was Made
Pakistan National
Congress In Pakistan
Pakistan National Congress Had A Major
Vote Bank, Especially The Minorities
Supported It, Hence, It Was The Member
Of Constituent Assembly

Muhammad Ali Jinnah Had
“Unequivocally Said That
Pakistan Will Be A Secular
State...Were This Resolution To
Come Before This House
Within The Life-Time Of...The
Quaid-i-Azam, It Would Not
Have Come In Its Present
Shape.”

**Bhupendra Kumar
Datta
(National Congress)**



East Pakistan Muslim Also Supported The PNC, This Led To A Split Into East & West Muslim League On Minority Issue

The Split In The Party Created Mistrust, The Western Side Blamed The Eastern Side That They Are Engulfed Into Hindu Influence

East Pakistan Muslim League Wanted
A Secular Constitution With
Provincial Autonomy

While The West Pakistan Muslim League Wanted
A Theocratic Constitution With A Centralized
State, Urdu As National Language & Islam As
State Religion

The First Constituent
Assembly Made A
Basic Principles
Committee To Resolve
The Constitutional
Issues

Basic Committees Report 1950

- Two Houses With Equal Powers; House Of Units (Senate) & House Of People
- Equal Representation Of Provinces In House Of Units
- Head Of State And Budget To Be Passed By Joint Sessions
- Urdu To Be The State Language

Politicians Of East Pakistan Rejected The Report Of BCR 1950 And Agitated Against It

Pakistan Consisted Of Five Provinces, East Pakistan Was One Province And West Pakistan Had Four Provinces, Which Could Give WP More Representation In The Senate. Hence, The Joint Session Will Have More WP Votes

Basic Committees Reports 1952

- Party Principle Applied
- House Of The People Will Have 400 Seats: 200 From EP & 200 From WP
- House Of Units Will Have 120 Seats: 60 From EP & 60 From WP
- House Of Units Can Only Recommend Revision

Politicians & Press Of West Pakistan Rejected The Report Of BCR 1952 And Agitated Against It

The WP Politicians Rejected It, Firstly, They Considered Creating Two Houses Identical Were Useless, Secondly, There Is A Possibility Of Deadlock Due To Equal Seats And There Is No Way Out Of It

Bogra Proposal

- Equal Powers To Both Houses
- Upper House: 50 Seats (10 For Each Provinces).
- Lower House: 300 Seats (165 For EP & 135 For WP)
- Hence, In Joint Session East & West Pakistan Would have 175 Seats Each
- No Bill Could Be Passed If The Majority Supporting It Did Not Include At Least 30% From Each Zone (EP & WP)

Bogra Formulae Also
Failed As Both The
Wings Had
Reservations With It

Two Examples Of World Constitutions

- American Constitution
- The Role Of Federal Government Is Defined And All Other Affairs Are Given To The States
- Canadian Constitution
- The Role Of Federating Units Is Defined While All Other Affairs Are Given To The Federal Government

Government Of India Act 1935

- Congress Wanted Centralization, While Muslim League Wanted Provincial Autonomy
- British Created Three Lists:
 1. Federal
 2. Provincial
 3. Concurrent (Simultaneous)
- Residual Powers With Governor-General

Basic Principles Committee Final Draft

1954

- Equality Of Urdu & Bengali
- Federal (72 Items): Defense, Foreign Affairs, Currency And Banking, Communications, Foreign Commerce
- Provincial (41 Items): Law And Order, Public Health, Education, Agriculture, Trade And Commerce
- Concurrent: Refugees, Broadcasting And Television, Criminal Law, Civil Procedure, Newspaper, Labor
- Residual Powers With Governor General (Decreased These Powers Substantially)

Growing Alienation Of East Pakistan In Early 1950s

1. Language Movement
2. Economic Imbalance
3. Secularism Vs Theocracy
4. Federalism Vs Centralism

Muslim League In EP, Changed Its Name Into Awaami Muslim League, Ultimately, Awaami League

United Front 1954 (Alliance)

- Awaami League, KPP, GD & Nizam-e-Islami
- Lead By A.K Fazlul Huq, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy And Maulana Bhashani

United Front Sweeps 1954 Election In East Pakistan

- Landslide Victory In East Bengal: 223 Out Of 309 Seats
- Fazlul Haq Became The CM Of East Bengal

Party	Votes	%	Seats
Muslim seats			
Awami League			143
Krishak Sramik Party			48
Nizam-e-Islam Party			19
Ganatantri Dal			13
Muslim League			9
Khilafat-e-Robbani Party			1
Independents			4
Total	5,760,179	100	237

The Election Results Is
Prove Of Change In East
Pakistan

The Assembly Couldn't
Last For Long In East
Bengal

West Pakistan Was In A Political Turmoil

1953 Anti-Ahmadi Riots In Lahore, The Punjab's Provincial Government Of Mumtaz Daultana Was Dismissed By The Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin

Political Instability In West Pakistan

- Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad Dismissed Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin
- He Made Muhammad Ali Bogra The Prime Minister
- Simultaneously, He Alleged CM Of East Bengal A.K Fazlul Haq As Traitor And Dissolves The East Bengal Assembly
- He Dismissed The Constituent Arguing It Took Long To Formulate A Working Constitution

Political Instability In West Pakistan

- Maulvi Tamiz Uddin Moves To SHC Against The Decisions Of Malik Muhammad, SHC Accepted The Violations Of Governor General
- The Issue Moved To Supreme Court, Justice Muhammad Munir Gave The Decision For Re-Election And Agreed Upon The Dismissal Of Assemblies
- Higher Judiciary Stood Against The Assembly, This Became A Precedent, Hence The Democratic Institution Became More Weak Over The Time

One Unit Scheme 1955

- Four People Started To Dominate Pakistan's Government; Malik Ghulam Muhammad-GG, Iskander Mirza-President, Ayub Khan-Army Chief, & Chaudry Muhammad Ali-PM
- One Unit Scheme Proposed By Malik Ghulam Muhammad, To Make WP Into One Unit By Dissolving The Provinces
- Bogra & Mirza Were Ambitious About It

One Unit Scheme 1955

- The One Unit Scheme Was Resent A lot By The Local Politicians
- National Awami Party 1957; Formed As A Merger Of Nationalist And Left Parties Opposed To The One-Unit.
- Bashani Faction Awaami League
- Azad Pakistan Party
- Sindh Mahaaz
- Sindh Hari Committee
- Wrore Pakistan
- Awaam Jamaat
- Khudai Khidmatgar
- Ganatantri Dal

The First Constitution Of Pakistan In Early 1956

- East-Bengal Became East Pakistan
- Federal Court Renamed Supreme Court
- Constituent Assembly Became National Assembly

DAWN

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CONSTITUTION ABROGATED



PRESIDENT BHUTTO

ALL GOVERNMENT
OFFERS REJECTED

1,500 more to join

Martial Law all over the country

POLITICAL PARTIES ABOLISHED

Parliament, legislatures and cabinets dismissed



GEN. AYUB

Martial Law Administrator's proclamation

By Dawn Staff Correspondent

The following proclamation of Martial Law was issued by General Muhammad

DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS ORDERED

President's directive to meet food shortage

By Dawn Staff Correspondent
President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has directed the Government of West Pakistan to complete the distribution of all lands for which irrigation is available within a period of three months from the receipt of these directions.

The directions were given to prevent the great distress in the agriculture due to Pakistan caused by the increased storage of backlog.

The President has also ordered the Government of West Pakistan to strive for the maximum cultivation for this season, and efforts must be made for the following irrigation seasons.

The Dir, Mr. Ghulam Mohamed Sharif, the Director Services, the State, Quetta, the Anarkali, Qasai and the Bhawani Agency.

The order has been issued under Article 104 of the Constitution.

It says: "The following directions are to be observed in regard to the executive functions of the Government of West Pakistan in the

First priority to agriculture

RECOMMENDATION OF NEC

By Dawn Staff Correspondent
The National Economic Council has decided to assist every recommendation made by the agricultural department, provided it goes in the direction of the welfare of the people, making it both just and effective.

Martial Law 1958

1. Growing Opposition To One Unit
2. Opposition To Pro-Western Foreign Policy
(1955/6- Suez Canal Crisis-Pakistan Supported
Enemies Of Egypt-SEATO & CENTO)
3. Calls For National Election
4. Labor Unrest
5. Feroze Khan Noon And Suharwardy Formed A
Four Party Alliance Threatened Iskander Mirza's
Presidency
6. Deputy Speaker Shahid Ali Patwary's Death
From A Scuffle In The East Pakistan Assembly

Iskander Mirza Imposed Martial Law And Made Ayub Khan CMLA

Ayub Khan Later Removed Iskander Mirza
And Himself Becomes The President Of
Pakistan

This Was The Political
Context From
Independence To First
Martial Law

Now, From First Martial Law To Fall
Of Dacca

Martial Law, Politics, Institutions & Constitution 1958-1971

So Far We Discussed

1. Language Question
2. Economic Aspects
3. Constitutional Issues



After Removing Iskander Mirza, General Ayub Khan Not Only Becomes The President Of Pakistan But Also, He Promoted Himself As Field Martial-5 Star General

“Do You Have
Confidence In President
Field-Marshal
Muhammad Ayub Khan,
Hilal-i-Jurat?”

A Referendum Was Called In 1960 By Ayub Khan. This Was Not A Normal Referendum Where Common People Could Vote, But, Only Union Council Members Could Vote In The Referendum. 80,000 Union Councilors Represented Pakistan, This System Was Called As Basic Democrats

Muslim Family Law, Bill Passed In 1961

- For Second Marriage, It Was Mandatory For The Husband To Have Written Consent From Her First Wife
- The Divorce Would Be Written Under The Court Order Rather Than Verbal
- These Above Changes Made Maulana Muadudi & Jamat-i-Islami Against Ayub Khan

Language Question

“It Is Quite Clear To Me That With Two National Languages We Cannot Become A ‘One-Nation State’; We Shall Continue To Remain A Multi-Nation State.”

Ayub Khan

Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO), 1959

- The Political Parties Or Individuals Who Opposed Martial Law Were Put Under Trail According To The Law Made By Ayub Khan
- National Awaami Party & Awaami League Was Mostly Targeted, These Parties Were In Both Wings But Mostly Dominated The Eastern Wing
- Mujeeb Ur Rehman, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy & Maulana Bhashani Were Put Under EBDO

All Politicians Are Corrupt

To Control The Politicians Of Opposition,
The Pro Ayub Khan Press Started To
Write That Politicians Are Corrupt,
Indecisive, Incompetent Etc. A
Propaganda Started.

7000 Civilians Were
EBDO'd

Special Tribunal Courts Were Set
Up To Persecute Politicians. Those
Who Withdrawn From Politics Were
Spared

Constitution Of 1962

- **Written Constitution** The Constitution of 1962 was a written document. It consisted of three schedules and 250 articles.
- **Rigid Constitution** . A rigid constitution can only be amended through a particular process. If an amendment to the constitution is passed by at least two-third majority of the parliament then it becomes a part of law after authentication by the President.
- **Federal System** A federal system was introduced in the country. It consisted of a central government and two provincial government comprising East and West Pakistan.
- **Presidential form of Government** President was the head Executive of the nation. He was empowered to nominate the ministers of his cabinet.
- **Unicameral Legislature**

Constitution Of 1962

- **Indirect Method of Election** The President was elected by an Electoral College comprising 80,000 Basic Democrats, equally distributed between the two provinces.
- **Provincial Governments** There were two provincial governments. Each of them was headed by a governor. He enjoyed powers in the province which the President enjoyed in the center. The Governor was empowered to appoint provincial ministers with the sanction of the President of Pakistan.
- **Provincial Legislature** Each province was provided with a legislature. It originally consisted of 150 members. However, later on this number was increased to 218.
- **Powers of President** According to the 1962 Constitution the President should be a Muslim with the term of 5 years. He was eligible to promulgate Ordinances and veto against legislated laws only override-able by two/thirds of the National Assembly. However, the President was not empowered to dissolve the Assembly except the cost of his office also.

Constitution Of 1962

- **Restrictions to the President** The President was not allowed to hold any office of profit in the service of Pakistan but was not prevented from holding a managing private property.
- **Islamic Law** No Law would be passed against the teaching of Quran and Sunnah and the existing laws would be made Islamic in character.
- **Fundamental Rights** The constitution of 1962 laid down fundamental rights of speech and expression, freedom to choose profession and freedom to profess religion. With Regards to civil rights, familiar right such as the rights of life, livery and property were granted.
- **Role of Judiciary** The Judiciary was responsible for the interpretation of laws and executive orders in the light of the principles embodied in a written constitution.
- **Supreme Judicial Council** A supreme judicial council consisting of two judges of supreme court chief justice of supreme court and two judges of high courts was to be established.

Amendments to 1962 Constitution

- 1st: March 1963 - Concerned the fundamental rights and Islamic aspects of the constitution.**
- 2nd: July 1964 - Term of the president and order of the elections for the national and provincial assemblies.**
- 3rd: June 1965 - number of offices and appointments were mentioned which did not disqualify a person from national or provincial assemblies.**
- 4th: Aug 1965 - Gov could retire any person below 55 years.**
- 5th: Nov 1965 - During Emergency President could suspend fundamental rights.**
- 6th: March 1966 - Retirement age fixed at 55.**
- 7th: Dec 1966 - Gave president more ordinance making powers**
- 8th: Dec 1967 - Expanded the electoral college**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2muWwmq9c>

Habib Jalib Writes His Famous Poem
On Response To Ayyub's Constitution

Indo-China War 1962, Changed The Geo Politics Of South Asia



1963 China-Pakistan
Came Very Close

Sino-Soviet Split 1962



斯大林、毛澤東引導着我們勝利前進！

1960 to 1970 Pakistan Got
Rapid Industrialization But
this Led To Development
Of Only WP And In WP
Only 22 Families Got Very
Rich

Ayub Khan Was
Elected In 1960 For 5
Years, Hence Elections
Were Called In 1965

In Opposition There
Were Many Parties,
How Did They Jointly
Fight Against Ayub
Khan

Elections Of 1965

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fvmA1UKcMV4>

Only Basic Democrats Can
Vote; 120,000 Basic
Democrats Can Vote Only

Only One Month Was
Given For Election

Indus Water Treaty Was
Criticized By Fatimah
Jinnah, Fatwa Was
Given Against Women
Candidate

120,000 Basic
Democrats Voted For
Ayub Khan

Conventional Muslim Won

1965 War Started

War Started In Runn Of Kutch Near Sindh

Pakistan Army Fought
Very Well, It Exposed
Weak Indian Army

Some Amendments In Indian Constitution
Led To Change In The Status Of Kashmir

The Pakistani Government
Thought This Is the Right
Time To Liberate Kashmir

Operation Gibraltar Launched By Pakistan Army

The Indian Response Was
Heavy Handed Where
Indian Army Respond In
Crossing The International
Boundary In Sialkot,
Lahore And Rajasthan

Navy And Air Force
Were Not Taken
Into Confidence
While Launching
Operation Gibraltar

America Was Not Happy
With Use Of Its Arm &
Ammunition Against
India, Which Were
Given Against
Communism

In 3 Weeks, Heavy Ammunition Of Pakistan Army Depleted

It Became Evident That We Cannot Fight A Long
War Against India

To Secure East Pakistan,
China Communicated With
India That If East Pakistan
Is Attacked Than China Will
Respond

Soviet Union Pursued India And
Pakistan To Have Agreement In
Tashkent 1966

Both Countries Will Retract From The
International Boundary

Tashkent Agreement Gave
A Blow To Ayyub's
Government

It Was A War Lost On Table

Z A Bhutto Resigns From Ayyub's Government

PPP Was Founded In 1967, Bhutto Critiqued
Ayyub And Gathered Public Support

Mujib Announced Six Points In Lahore On 5 Feb 1966

This Agenda Became So Famous That It Took
All East Pakistan In One

1. The Constitution Should Provide For A Federation OF Pakistan In its True Sense Based On The Lahore Resolution, And The Parliamentary Form Of Government With Supremacy Of A Legislature Directly Elected On The Basis Of Universal Adult Franchise.

2. The Federal Government Should Deal With Only Subjects: Defense And Foreign Affairs, And All Other Residual Subjects Should Be Vested In The Federating States

3. Two Separate, But Freely Convertible Currencies For Two Wings Should Be Introduced; Or If This Is Not Feasible, There Should Be One Currency For The Whole Country, But Effective Constitutional Provisions Should Be Introduced To Stop The Flight Of Capital From East To West Pakistan.

Furthermore, A Separate Banning Reserve Should Be Established And Separate Fiscal And Monetary Policy Be Adopted Foe East Pakistan

4. The Power Of taxation And Revenue Collection Should Be Vested In The Federating Units And The Federal Centre Would Have No Such Power. The Federation Would Be Entitled To A Share In The State Taxes To Meet Its Expenditure

5. There Should Be Two Separate Accounts For The Foreign Exchange Earnings Of The two Wings; The Foreign Exchange Requirements Of The Federal Government Should Be Met By The Two Wings Equally Or In A Ratio To Be Fixed; Indigenous Products Should Move Free Of Duty Between The Two Wings, And The Constitution Should Empower The Units To Establish Trade Links With Foreign Countries

6. East Pakistan Should Have
A Separate Military Or
Paramilitary Force, And Navy
Headquarters Should Be In
East Pakistan

Critique

The Exclusion Of Foreign Trade
And Aid From The Purview Of
The Central Government Would
Deprive It Of Real Control Over
Foreign Policy

Critique

Inability To Levy Taxes Directly
Would Subject Its Defense
Programme To A Veto By The
Provinces

Awaami League After The Six Points Became A Very Popular And Powerful Party

In 1968, Ayub's Government Not Only Arrested Mujib Rehman But Also 30 Other Leader Of Awaami League

AGARTALA CONSPIRACY CASE

26th Feb Round Table
Conference Rawalpindi
1969

Mujib Presented His Six Point, Only
Election And Autonomy Was
Accepted By Ayub

Ayub Khan Resigned Due To
increasing Pressure, He
Feared That The Six Points
Can Be Accepted by Other
Nationalities , Thus
Creating A Huge Disaster

26 March 1969,
Yahya Khan Takes
Over Pakistan

The 1970 Bhola Cyclone Was A Devastating Tropical Cyclone That Struck East Pakistan And India's West Bengal On November 11, 1970. It Remains The Deadliest Tropical Cyclone Ever Recorded And One Of The World's Deadliest Natural Disasters

About 500,000 Bengalis
Died, The World Gave Aid
But This Couldn't Reach
The Needy. This Angered
The East Pakistanis

1970 General
Elections Were
Called By Yahya
Khan

Awaami League Sweeps East Pakistan

Party	Votes	%	Seats
Awami League	12,937,162	39.2	160
Pakistan Peoples Party	6,148,923	18.6	81
Jamaat-e-Islami	1,989,461	6.0	4
Council Muslim League	1,965,689	6.0	7
Muslim League (Qayyum)	1,473,749	4.5	9
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam	1,315,071	4.0	7
Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan	1,299,858	3.9	7
Convention Muslim League	1,102,815	3.3	2
National Awami Party (W)	801,355	2.4	6
Pakistan Democratic Party	737,958	2.2	1
Other parties	387,919	1.2	0
Independents	2,322,341	7.0	16
Total	33,004,065	100	300
Registered voters / turnout	56,941,500		—
Nohlen et al. [15]			

January 14 Yahya
Publicly Described
Mujib As The
“Future PM Of The
Country”

Feb 13: Yahya Announced
That The National
Assembly Was To Meet At
Dacca On March 3

Feb 15: Bhutto Said PPP
Would Not Attend The
Constituent Assembly
Session

21 Feb: Mujib States,
“Our Stand Is Absolutely
Clear. The Constitution
Will Be Framed On The
Basis Of The Six Points.”

Feb 15: Military Build-up Of West Pakistan Forces In East Pakistan Continued

Feb 19: The Army Moved Out Of Their Cantonment At Dacca And Began To Set Up Check Points And Machine Gun Posts About The Town.

Feb 21: Yahya Dismissed His Civilian Cabinet And Recalls All Provencal Governors. The Army Takes Full Control

Feb 26, 27, 28: Awaami
League Conference In
Dacca Drafts A
Constitution For
Submission To The
Constituent Assembly

Feb 28: Bhutto Demanded That
The 120-Day Limit For The
Constituent Assembly Should Be
Removed. If Assembly Was Called
On March 3, PPP Would Organize
General Strike

Feb 29: Yahya
Postponed The
Assembly Indefinitely

March 2nd: Mujib Calls
For Non-Cooperation
With State Of Pakistan

Bengali And Bihari

Riots Started In EP.

200-300 People Died In

It. Awaami League

Gave A Call For Non

Violence

March 3: Army Ordered
To Return To Their
Cantonments. No Units
Were Flown Into Pakistan
Between 4 And 25 March

March 3: Yahya Invites 12
Leaders To Meet At Dacca
On 10 March. Mujib
Rejected The Invitation And
Continues Non Cooperation

March 3: Awaami
League Calls Massive
Rally On March 7th

March 6th: Yahya
Announced That The
National Assembly
Would Meet On 25
March

7th March Rally Was The Hugest Ever Rally In EP. His Demands Were;

1. Lifting Of Martial Law
2. Withdrawal Of All Military Personal
3. Inquiry Into The Loss Of Life
4. Transfer Of Power To The Elected Representative Of The People

March 25th: Yahya
Imprisoned Mujib
And Operation
Searchlight Is
Launched

Speech At Un

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rLSR9rWiBiU>

We Lost Our Eastern
Wing On 16 December

1971

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ydy06sCSUs>

Further Reference

- <https://www.dawn.com/news/1359141>