

**PAKISTAN'S STATE STRUCTURE AND EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN
DISPARITY: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

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Abstract

Based on the Lahore Resolution of 1940, India was divided and Pakistan was established in 1947. At the time of establishment, Pakistan was composed of five provinces. East Pakistan is one of the most important provinces among the five provinces. The Lahore Resolution was announced to ensure autonomy for the provinces of Pakistan. The poor Muslim population of East Pakistan joined the Pakistan state with the goal of establishing their own rights through autonomy. But the government of Pakistan failed to provide autonomy to East Pakistan and eventually a huge disparity was created between the two parts of Pakistan. The present study highlights the disparity between East and West Pakistan in economic, political, military, educational, agricultural, health and industrial sectors.

Keyword: Agriculture, Economic, Education, Government, Independent, Muslim, Politics.

Introduction

Today's independent Bangladesh was a province of East Pakistan called Akhand Pakistan. On 14 August 1947 the British government granted us independence. Leaders created Pakistan with high hopes. Despite the distance of 1000 miles between East and West Pakistan, a strong unity developed which encouraged them to stay together. We briefly discussed in the second chapter that the people of this region have been victims of exploitation and deprivation for many years. Since 1704, when Murshid Quli Khan moved the capital of Bengal to Murshidabad (formerly known as Maqsdabad), Dhaka's glory began to fade. After Nawab Sirajuddaula's defeat at the Battle of Palashi in 1757, Governor General Lord Clive shifted the capital from Murshidabad to Calcutta. Since then, Calcutta's success has grown rapidly. Calcutta became the home of Raja-zamindars and caste Hindus. For this reason, the British government was also more cautious about the development in that direction. At this time, a new province was created through the division of Bengal with the efforts of a few dignitaries including Sir Salimullah. The capital of the new province was established at Dhaka. Dhaka began to regain its glory. But it was canceled again in 1911 due to the violence of Calcutta-centric leaders. Calcutta again became the capital and Dhaka lost its historical glory. When Pakistan gained independence in 1947, East Bengal became a province which became East Pakistan in 1956. The region is free after the great sacrifice of its leaders. The capital of Pakistan was first established in Karachi, the home of Quaid-e-Azam. Dhaka is the capital of East Pakistan. Karachi's development continued at a rapid pace. Karachi has been built at the cost of thousands of rupees. From 1947 to 1958 only 10 State Structure and Inequality in Pakistan in 1971, various deviations and disasters occurred in the politics of Pakistan. After Muhammad Ali Jinnah's death in 1948, there was a succession of changes in power. Eventually President Iskandar Mirza and the Commander-in-Chief imposed martial law in the country. A novel system of governance was enacted in the name of basic democracy. Ayub Khan replaces Iskandar Mirza as Pakistan captain. After he became president, he again started the process of shifting the capital. Accordingly, a part of Rawalpindi was named 'Islamabad' and work on the capital continued there. Thousands of crores were spent on rebuilding the capital and in the meantime the people of East Pakistan had to pay the price. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman strongly opposed this work of the government. He protested that the then father of Pakistan was buried in Karachi. His soul will suffer if he goes to the capital. Despite various arguments, he could not stop the work. Another development begins.

Unity through diversity was called collapse in 1948 in a speech by Pakistan's first Governor General, Muhammad Ali, Father of the Nation Jinnah. He came to the convocation ceremony of Dhaka University and announced that Urdu will be the national language of Pakistan. Students of Dhaka University protested in front of Quaid Azam saying 'no no'. It was a big mistake of the great leader, because Bengali is the spoken language of the majority of the people of Pakistan. 56% of the total population lives in East Pakistan. Urdu was not the mother tongue of the people of any region of Pakistan. Urdu was the spoken language of more than a third century in Pakistan (Maudud Ahmed, 2010). A review of the linguistic position of different regions shows that Urdu

can never be made the state language of Pakistan. So, it can be seen that very few people speak Urdu in the whole of Pakistan and the attempt to make Urdu a state language is the name of dictatorial decision there. But 56 percent people started plotting to stop the language. Attempts were made to impose Urdu on everyone, but the people of East Pakistan made all sorts of sacrifices to claim the right to their language. Since then, the unity began to crack. After the partition of India and Pakistan, India got more resources and benefits than Pakistan due to the manipulation of Indian leaders and the favoritism of Governor General Mountbatten. In all cases they are given more opportunities. The distribution of resources that Pakistan was supposed to get at that time was not finally given. One reason behind Gandhi's hunger strike was to give Pakistan its due. The main cause of his death pushed this claim but was never found. East Pakistan is also the father of the nation of Pakistan State structure and inequality in Pakistan. He didn't seem to have a very good eye. Because he donated all his wealth before his death. Delhi and Karachi universities get their share, while Dhaka University has not been given a single rupee. Due to political unrest, the country became independent in 1947 but was able to draft its first constitution in 1956. A lot of refugee problems arise in this. Due to the partition of Punjab and Bengal, the refugee problem took a huge shape. The new government has to solve these too. So, it can be said that Pakistan has been plagued with problems since birth. Then the exploitative attitude of the West Pakistanis poisoned the East Pakistanis. The hope with which the leaders of the region contributed to the independence of Pakistan began to dissipate within a short time. For the convenience of understanding about this, a little light is given to the following differences:

Literature review

If you review the books written in Pakistan, it will be seen that most of the books discuss politics, economy, education, employment, history and social issues. The books do not discuss the long-standing differences between East and West Pakistan. Therefore, in the following books, I try to explore the disparity that exists between East and West Pakistan:

1. The book "Bangladesh Politics Government and Regime Development 1757-2000" by Dr. Haroon-Or-Rashid has total 36 chapters. The research shows that the book has discussed in detail the political relations of Bangladesh from the establishment of British rule in India to today. The fourth chapter of the book only discusses the uneven development of the Hindu-Muslim community, the rise of communalism and the British policy of partition in a scattered and vague manner. I think the communalism that arose out of the unequal relationship between the Hindu-Muslim community during the British rule needs to be presented more clearly (Rashid, 2001).
2. The book "History of Bangladesh 1947-1971" written by Dr. Md. Mahbubur Rahman is discussed in 10 chapters. The book covers in detail the history of Pakistan from its establishment to its independence in 1947, the provincial government of East Bengal 1947-1958, the military rule of Pakistan 1958-1962, the politics of Pakistan 1962, the Bangladesh independence movement 1966-1969, Pakistan's first general election in 1970 and the liberation war of 1971. Research shows that the book does not highlight the differences between the two parts of East and West Pakistan in terms of politics, economy, education.

3. "The History of the Emergence of Bangladesh" edited by AKM Shahnewaz is discussed in 10 chapters. Chapter I, Description of the country and its people, Chapter 2 The proposal of undivided sovereign Bengal and the partition of the subcontinent, 1947, Chapter iii Pakistan: state structure and inequality, Chapter IV Language movement and the search for Bengali identity, Chapter V Military rule, Chapter VI The rise of nationalism and self-determination Movement, Chapter VI deals with the mass uprising of 1969 and the 11-point movement, Chapter VII with the elections of 1970, Chapter 9 with the Liberation War of 1971 and Chapter X with the Bangabandhu regime. Although the book discusses various movements and struggles aimed at achieving the independence of Bangladesh, it does not discuss any discrimination between the two parts of Pakistan.

4. The book of "Freedom Movement of Bangladesh" written by Rafiqul Islam is written in 20 chapters. The book is discussed from the British period to the independence struggle of Bangladesh. The book discusses the politics, movement and struggle of the Pakistan period, but the disparity between the two parts of Pakistan is not mentioned.

5. Dr. Muhammad Abdur Rahim, Dr. Abdul Momin Chowdhury, Dr. A.B.M. Mahmud & Dr. Sirajul Islam edited the book "History of Bangladesh" divided into three parts and discussed. The first part deals with the ancient period, the second part with the Muslim rule in Bangladesh and the third part with the rise of East India Company's dominance in Bengal to the struggle for independence of Bangladesh. Although the political struggle of Pakistan is explained here, the disparity between East and West Pakistan is not discussed. Here only the history of liberation war is given priority.

6. "The History of the Emergence of Bangladesh" by Dr. Abu Md. Delwar Hossain is divided into ten chapters. Scope and role of history in the development of independent Bangladesh, attempts to create a single independent Bengal state and partition of the subcontinent in 1947, Pakistan: state structure and inequality, military rule, development of nationalism and independence movement, 1969 mass takeover, 1970 national elections, 1971 liberation war and Bangabandhu's rule and his murders are discussed in detail. Only the third chapter of the book barely discusses the disparity between East and West Pakistan.

Research gaps

From the above discussion it can be seen that there is no research analysis in the published books and articles on the disparity that developed between East and West Pakistan in various fields. In other words, most of the books and articles published on Pakistan's politics, economy, education, agriculture, industry discuss some aspect of discrimination from a general perspective. Although most of the books briefly discuss Pakistan's politics, economy, education-culture, history, religion, etc., there is no space to discuss the origin, spread and consequences of the wide disparity between the two parts of Pakistan successively after the establishment of Pakistan. So, I became interested in doing this research after realizing the need for important research on the disparity that developed between East and West Pakistan in various fields.

Research methods and data collection

Research data has been generally collected from primary and secondary sources. Various books, journals and periodicals commonly published on the governance of Pakistan are important components of my research. I have studied several research papers published in the period 1947-1971. I have studied various newspapers published during this period. From 1947 I studied various official documents of the origin of the government of Pakistan. Besides, I have seen daily and weekly periodicals. I have collected information from central libraries of various universities in Bangladesh, national archive radio, political interviews, speeches broadcast on BTV and BBC. Apart from this I have studied the meeting documents of various political organizations.

Economic Inequality

The extent to which West Pakistanis neglect East Pakistan is evident from the data. During this period, the annual budget of Pakistan was about 600 crore rupees. 60% of this is spent on defense. Out of 60% of the defense sector, 50% was spent on West Pakistan and 10% on East Pakistan. Civil sector expenditure is 40% of this allocation. 25% is spent in West and only 15% in East Pakistan. In simple terms the total allocation was 25% and 75% for East Pakistan. For West Pakistan. East Pakistan earns 60% of its export revenue but can import 30% of its total revenue from abroad. While earning 40% of foreign exchange during the same period, West Pakistan was allowed to import 70% of the total foreign exchange earned. Because of this, in the 14 years from 1947-48 to 1960-61, West Pakistan embezzled Tk 473.7 crore from East Pakistan's available foreign exchange. During the period 1947-60, the total amount of foreign financial assistance received in the commodity sector was 900 million dollars. Of this, \$288 million was allocated to East Pakistan and \$612 million to West Pakistan. 1158 million dollars were allocated to the project and technical sector during this period. Out of this, East Pakistan gets only 254 million dollars and West Pakistan 904 million dollars (A.K. Chowdhury, 1984). Not only in foreign trade, but also in trade, the signs of discrimination became evident. Two different economies developed in the same country and two regions of West Pakistan State structure and inequality in Pakistan. The product is sold at a higher price in East Pakistan. According to Bangabandhu, inflation is increasing day by day. Because of this, the common people of Bengal are suffering the most. The price of daily necessities in East Pakistan is 50 to 100 percent higher than that of West Pakistan. Total price of rice in Bengal is 45-50 rupees per maund, in West Pakistan its price is only 30-35 rupees. Here the price of wheat is 30-35 taka per maund whereas in that Pakistan its price is 15 to 20 taka. Mustard oil in Bengal is 5 taka per seer and it is only 2.50 taka in West Pakistan. Gold price in Karachi is 135-140 taka per tola, in Dhaka 160 to 164 taka (Sadrudin, 1983). Even the import of gold from West Pakistan to Bengal was stopped by imposing duties. Almost all had to rely on imports, and with 56% of the population living in East Pakistan, the allocation was very small—notably so. This disparity has been seen since the creation of Pakistan. A review of the annual allocations from 1947 to 1958 is very clear.

Table 1: The annual allocations from 1947 to 1958

Fiscal year	East Pakistan (Million Taka)	West Pakistan (Million Taka)
1947-1948	40	318

1948-1949	282	1177
1949-1950	385	912
1950-1951	453	1167
1951-1952	763	1474
1952-1953	366	1017
1953-1954	294	824
1954-1955	320	783
1955-1956	361	964
1956-1957	818	1516
1957-1958	735	1314

A review of this data reveals what a stark disparity there was between the two Pakistans. East Pakistan was not accorded the status of a province. Almost every year the allocation was relatively low. So, it is natural to get angry. But another statistic shows that East Pakistan had more export earnings than West Pakistan but did not get the allocation for development accordingly. The following table shows the foreign exchange earnings of both Pakistan from exports from 1947-48 to 1957-58:

Table 2: The foreign exchange earnings of both Pakistan from exports from 1947-48 to 1957-58

Fiscal year	East Pakistan (Million Taka)	West Pakistan (Million Taka)
1947-1948	272	444
1948-1949	1328	542
1950-1951	683	535
1951-1952	1211	1342
1952-1953	1087	922
1953-1954	642	867
1954-1955	645	641
1955-1956	732	491
1956-1957	1041	742
1957-1958	909	698
	988	434

So, it can be seen that East Pakistan's export earnings are not less than West Pakistan but in fact higher. However, very little has been allocated for development. East Pakistan also suffered deprivation under internal trade. Exports from East to West were very small. Compared to that, the amount of import from the western part to the east was much higher. Here is 10 years statistics presented.

Table 3: 10 years statistics of exports and imports

Fiscal Year	Exports from East Pakistan to West Pakistan (Million Taka)	From West Pakistan Imports to East Pakistan (Million Taka)
1947-1948	19	140
1948-1949	50	235
1949-1950	62	272
1950-1951	-	-
1951-1952	141	218
1952-1953	151	387
1953-1954	198	305
1954-1955	238	334
1955-1956	244	532
1956-1957	269	701
1957-1958	289	686

Most of the financial aid that came from abroad was allocated to West Pakistan. East Pakistan had little luck. How foreign aid was channeled during the Pakistan period (1947-70) is given below. (In millions of dollars)-

Table 4: Foreign aid during the Pakistan period (1947-70)

Sector	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	The center	Total
Project Loans	417	608	108	1133
Non-project loans	408	673	53	1134
P.L. 480 Food	445	791	5	1241
Guaranteed loan	352	623	11	986
Project grants and technical assistance	56	140	200	396
Merchandise donation	263	575	15	793
Indus Basin	00	756	00	756
Total funds	1941	4166	392	6439

Here it is evident that the allocation for East Pakistan was much less than that for the West. Moreover, some bulk allocation was also kept in the hands of the central government. That was also spent for the development of West Pakistan.

The annual expenditure allocated by the central government was also very low for East Pakistan. An analysis of the grants-in-aid paid by the Central Government to the Provincial Governments from 1955-56 to 1966-67 shows that the total allocation in 1955-56 was Rs.21.4 million and all was given to West Pakistan and East Pakistan. Pakistan did not get its share of the lost money. The total allocation in 1958-59 was Rs.60.1 million, of which the West received 49.0 million and the East received Rs.11.1 million (18.47%). In 1961-62, out of 242.2, West got 241.2% and East was given 1.0 (0.412%).

Similarly, out of 205.8 million rupees in 1966-67, West Pakistan got 161.3% and East got 44.5% (21.62%) (Mohammad Abul Kashem). So, think about the inhumane discrimination the people of this region are subjected to. Similarly, the people of East Pakistan received a small share of the revenue that was spent in Pakistan. The Five-Year Plan shows that East Pakistan receives 19.19, 22.05, 25.26 and 22.57 percent of the revenue spent in Pakistan.

That Whereas in 1959-60 the average per capita income of West Pakistan was 32% higher than that of East Pakistan, after 10 years it increased to 61% in 1969-70. The people of this region have been deprived in various ways for all time due to the bad policies and morals of the central government. Although 56% of Pakistan's population State structure and inequality in Pakistan. Lived in East Pakistan but the central government expenditure allocation was only 20% from 1950-51 to 1954-55 and a maximum of 36% from 1965-1966 to 1969-70.

Another illustration of disparity is that out of a total of 6,000 million rupees, 40% is spent on the civil sector, of which West Pakistan gets 25% and East Pakistan only 15%. For 22 years, East Pakistan received only 1/5 of the revenue expenditure of the government (Abul Kashem Fazlul Haque, 1995). Out of 6000 crores, 1500 crores are spent in East Pakistan. East Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves are diverted to West Pakistan, more than 80 percent of foreign loans are invested in West Pakistan. As a result, West Pakistan was able to import goods worth Tk 3,109 crore, even though the export income of the last 20 years was only Tk 1,337 crore. On the other hand, East Pakistan was able to import only 1210 crores of goods despite the export income of Tk.1650 crores during that period. It can be seen that extreme injustice has been done to the people of this region (Khaleida Edib Chowdhury, 1991).

Looking at the economic disparity, we find that during the Pakistan regime, out of the total revenue expenditure of Rs 5000 crore was spent on West Pakistan and only Rs 1500 crore was spent on East Pakistan. One-third of the total expenditure in Bangladesh has been spent on the country's total development expenditure. West Pakistan has imported 1300 crores of foreign currency in twenty years. West Pakistan imported three times more foreign goods than East Pakistan. West Pakistan has been able to import foreign goods worth Tk 2000 crore more than its own foreign exchange earnings. The main reason for this is that the foreign exchange of 500 crore rupees earned by East Pakistan has been stolen by West Pakistan. On top of that, 80 percent of all foreign aid has been spent in West Pakistan (K. B. Sayeed, 1967). The picture of discrimination is clear in the five-year plan during the Pakistan period. The First Five Year Plan (1955-59) showed that only 37% of the project plan was achieved in East Pakistan and it was 100% in West Pakistan. At that time the per capita investment in East Pakistan was only 80 rupees and in West Pakistan 205 rupees and this growth continued for West Pakistan. For example, inequality increased in the Second Fifth Plan. As a result of continuous agitations and protests, 27 thousand million rupees were allocated for East Pakistan and 25 thousand million rupees for West Pakistan in the Third Five Year Plan. Despite the increase on paper, in reality West Pakistan spends more on various pretexts (Abul Kashem Fazlul Haque, 1979).

Political discrimination

The demand for one session of the Constituent Assembly in East Pakistan was rejected and no session was held in Dhaka. The number of members of the Constituent Assembly was 69 people. 44 of them are from East Pakistan and 25 from West Pakistan. But first 7 non-Bengalis are the representatives of East Bengal. They are Liaquat Ali Khan, Golam Mohammad, Shabbir Ahmed Osmani, Dr. I.H. Qureshi, Dr. Mahmud Hossain, Mirza Ahmad Hasan Ispahani and Begum Shaista Ekramullah. Within a few days, 10 more Constituent Assembly members were appointed for West Pakistan. Because of that, the Constituent Assembly no longer had a majority of members from East Pakistan. 42 West Pakistanis against 37 Bengalis. Extreme inequality was observed in Pakistan's first cabinet. Out of 14 ministers only 4 are from East Pakistan. 1 out of 3 State Ministers and 3 Deputy Ministers were from East Pakistan (M. M. A. Muhit, 2009). Those politicians who spoke about the interests of East Pakistan were verbally abused and harassed in various ways. Leaders like Suhrawardy and Bhasani were also called Indian agents. Shere bangla Fazlul Haque was not underestimated either. The ruling group did not want the people of this region to have full rights. Some brokers of this region also spoke in support of their words for their personal interests. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman clearly highlighted the rights of Bengalis without any fear. They looked down on the people of this country. Political wisdom was considered to be low. The people of Bengal were kept away from the circle of power by adopting strategies. Some came to power but were kept as 'Thuto Jagannath'. Many times, some became 'G-Hujur' of the West to stay in power. 1947 There was only one Governor General from East Pakistan until 1970. Father of the Nation Muhammad Ali Jinnah became the first Governor General when the country became independent in 1947. After the death of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1948, Liaquat Ali of West Pakistan took over the post. He was the Prime Minister during Jinnah. That is, the first Governor General and Prime Minister of Pakistan were both West Pakistanis. When Liaquat Ali Khan was killed, Khwaja Nazimuddin became the Prime Minister of East Pakistan. He was a man of calm nature, but he could not work beyond the word of the West Pakistanis. He became Governor General after Jinnah's death. He was appointed to both posts but the power was exercised by another. After Muhammad Ali of Bogra became the prime minister, there was little benefit in introducing the numerical equality policy. Suhrawardy also managed to do some work. All these three became Prime Ministers from East Pakistan but military, civilian from West West Pakistan due to the biased behavior of the bureaucrats and politicians, they could not achieve any significant development. Their period of power was also not that long. If the politicians of East Pakistan spoke the truth, repression and torture were carried out. Their right to do politics was taken away by various laws.

Bhasani, Fazlul Haque, Suhrawardy etc. whenever the Bengali Suppression and torture were carried out on them when they spoke about their interests. They are called brokers of India. Suhrawardy was once called 'India's pet dog'. The religion of the people of this region has also been mocked. The imam of the Lahore Mosque said in a prayer, "May Allah make our brothers in East Pakistan true Muslims." But the people of East Pakistan are more religious than them. From the book called 'Bhutto Sheikh Mujib Bangladesh', it is known that Bhutto drank alcohol during

the fasting month and Mujib was fasting at that time. Feroze Khan Noon said that Bengalis do not perform khatna. Zahoor Ahmad replied that he must have heard this from his wife. "Bengali Muslims are half Muslims," he said in 1952 when he was governor of East Pakistan. In response, Maulana Bhasani said using strong language, "We will have to raise our lungis and show whether we are Muslims or not?" Punjabi army officers always thought that the Bengalis of the region were not pure Muslims. They were called infidels and Hindus. Instead of answering this question, we will quote the words of the famous journalist Mascarenhas - "It seems to me that Bengali Muslims are the most religious." Liquor sales are strictly 'regulated' in East Pakistan. Liquor shops in Pakistan's capital Islamabad, however, were open on Fridays—something that never happened in East Pakistan. In Karachi and Lahore, nude pictures were shown, but in Dhaka and Chittagong, they were immediately met with violent protests from the public."

"All Muslims observe a strict fast during the month of Ramadan—which is not the case in West Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman fasted every day even during the difficult election campaign of 1970. I know this from my personal experience. I had quite a different experience meeting other leaders in Rawalpindi and Karachi. I ate with one of them and shared a drink with one. Despite this, Mujib and his people are called 'infidels'. Problems have been created by unnecessarily stigmatizing the Muslims of East Bengal. Consequently, the painful humiliation of sensitive Bengalis will be one of the inevitable reasons for their separatism (G. W. Chowdhury, 1998)." It is said that the Muslims of East Pakistan became Muslims from lower caste Hindus. So, they are not true Muslims. In response to this, Ataur Rahman Khan said, "The leaders think that we a caste of subjugated subjects and they are a caste of the conquering king." Ayub Khan also comments that East Pakistanis have low caste weaknesses. Hence, they have not been able to adjust to the demands of newfound freedom. But he praises West Pakistanis. (For Millions of Lives, p. 15). Ataur Rahman Khan again said that, "Twenty-two years I have been telling the proud Muslims of West Pakistan that Bengalis are pure Muslims. Such Muslims are not seen anywhere else. They are unwilling to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Islam. He believes in the Prophet. He sees Islam as a worldly ritual to the West but what a joke they make fun of the Bengali Muslims" (Ataur Rahman Khan, Blocked Nine Months, p. 58). West Pakistani army officers used to taunt the Bengali Muslims but they an account of the disposition can be found in the writings of Major Naseeruddin. There, the author says that senior army officers were drenched in alcohol and women at events. He was appalled at the condition of the defenders of the Islamic State (Nasir Uddin, 1997).

Military Discrimination

We don't think Pakistan was ever democratic from 1947 to 1969. Since birth, the army has dominated the administration. The people of Bengal did not have much share in the army service either. Colonel Osmani is a senior officer in this area of the army. He provided a Gazette notification of the Government to the members of the Legislature sent from East Pakistan. The picture that emerges is a matter of judgment. Honorable Member of Parliament Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury said that, "Then he (Osmani) was serving in the army. He used to provide us with information about the discrimination that existed in the armed forces. One day I received a copy

of the Armed Forces Gazette in my letter box at Parliament. Gazette dated April 26, 1956. Signature Lt. J. Abdul Hamid Khan. The gazette specified that East Pakistan's share of recruitment in the armed forces was two-and-a-half to five percent (Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury, 2001).” 12 Even if we look at the actual share, we see such a stark disparity. However, it is a tragic matter that the official share of East Pakistanis was determined through the gazette. As of 1955, East Pakistan had 14 officers (1.5) in the army, 894 in West Pakistan, 7 (1.2) in the navy and 593 in the West and 60 (4.6) in the air force people and there are 640 people in West Pakistan (Rounaq Jahan, 1972). The matter can be expressed through a table-

Table 5: Military Discrimination

Occupation	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	Total loss in East Pakistan
Army	14	894	1.5
Naval	7	593	1.2
Airplane	60	640	4.6

Total revenue and military expenditure in the first decade after the establishment of Pakistan amount-

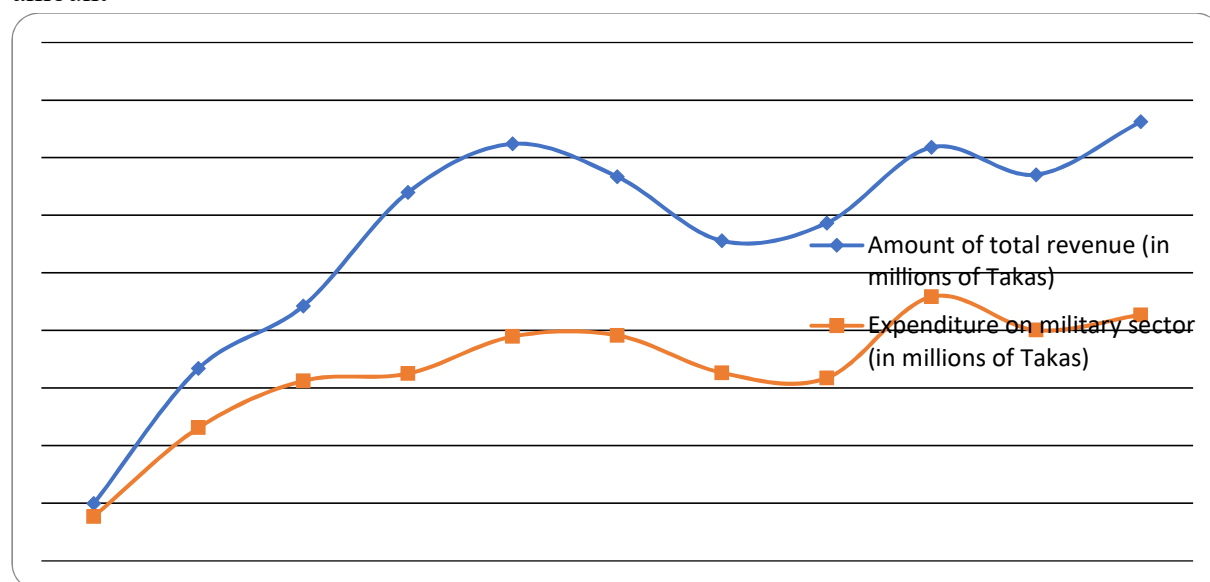


Chart 1: Total revenue and military expenditure in the first decade after the establishment of Pakistan amount

A perusal of the figure shows that about 70-80 percent of the total income was spent on the military sector. As almost all of the army was based in West Pakistan, they continued to receive these benefits and were loyal to the government.

The defense spending from 1958 to 1968 was also noteworthy. (In millions of Taka)

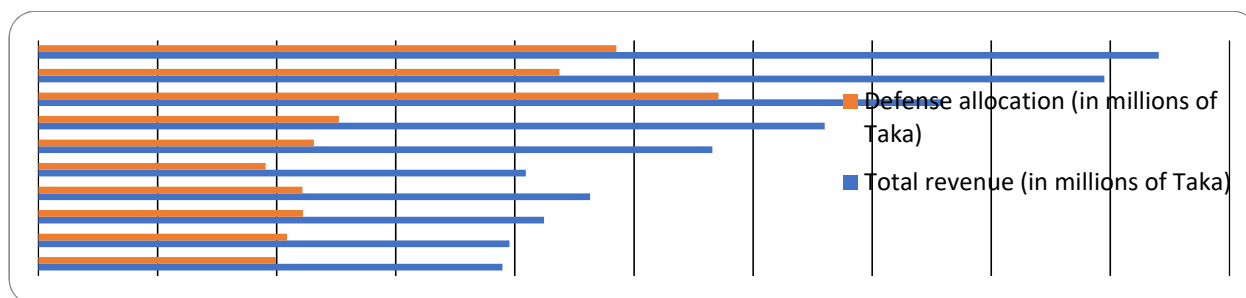


Chart 2: The defense spending from 1958 to 1968 was also noteworthy. (In millions of Taka)

This figure shows that defense expenditure was more than half of the expenditure for the whole country and that money was spent in West Pakistan. Because their share in the defense department was very high. The riverine country East Pakistan and the demand to set up the naval headquarters there was also rejected.

12 infantry divisions and approximately 2 full tank divisions with several independent brigades were deployed to defend 44 percent of West Pakistan. In contrast, the people of East Pakistan (56 percent) were allocated only 1 infantry division consisting of 3 infantry brigades. 95 percent of the air force is in West Pakistan. There were only 10 Saber F-86 fighter jets as a sign of military presence in East Pakistan. The Navy was all in West Pakistan. There were three old-fashioned gunboats in the waters of East Pakistan (Nasir Uddin, 1997).

We have indicated the data of 1955 but even after almost 10 years the context has not changed much. In 1964, out of 108 candidates, 13 officers from East Pakistan and the remaining from West Pakistan were selected for admission to the Military Academy (Golam Hossain, 1991). 15 The provincial position of military officers in 1964 was 5 per cent in the East Pakistan Army, 16 per cent in the Air Force and 10 per cent in the Navy. So, there was no change in their attitude towards the East Pakistanis. An expert team from Vienna has shown that 60% of the 6000 million rupees is spent on the defense sector. Out of this, East Pakistan's share was only 10% (Abul Kashem Fazlul Haque, 1995). The 1964 documentary is mentioned here.

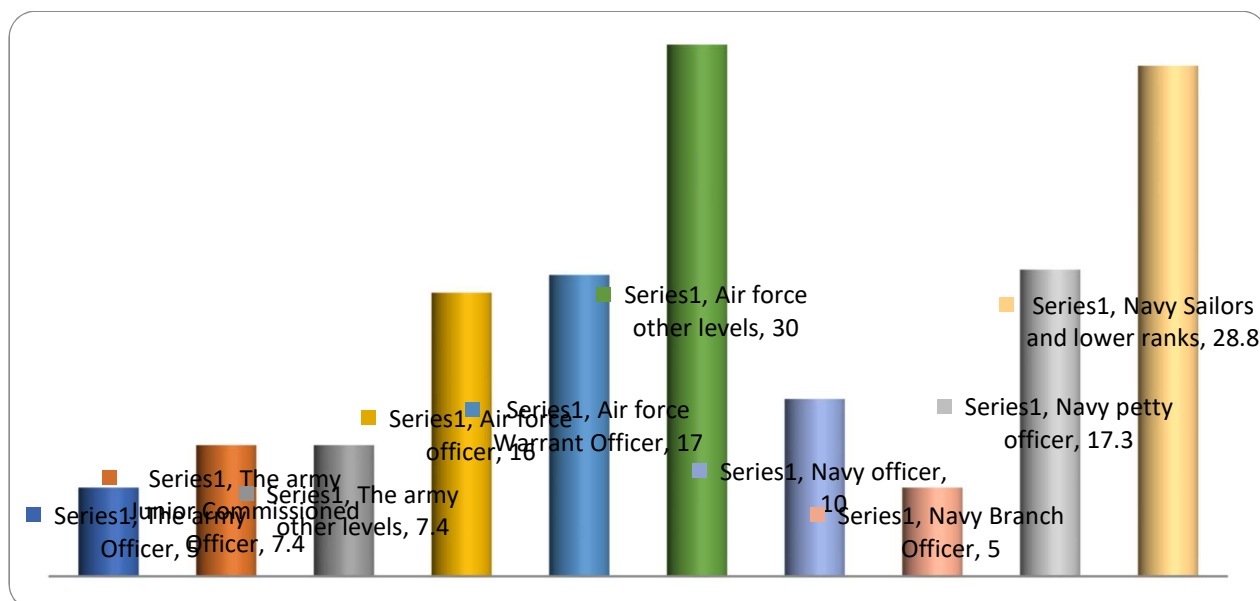


Chart 3: Defense Forces

In this way, East Pakistan was hit by discrimination. It can be said that Pakistan never had a civil administration in the proper sense. The country has always been ruled by the army. Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Azgar Khan, Tikka Khan, Azam Khan, Yakub Khan, all army generals established autocracy with pride. Since they were West Pakistanis, their main objective was to appease the army officers by exploiting the people of East Pakistan and ruled like that till 1970.

Civilian Bureaucrats

Whatever the nature of government, there is no way without relying on bureaucrats. The real decision makers are bureaucrats. We observe the influence of this class in the politics and state system of Pakistan. At the time of the partition of the country, Jhanu Amla hardly fell into the share of East Pakistan. A picture of the top bureaucrats is given below-Senior Government Officer, 1955

Table 6: Civilian Bureaucrats

Post Name	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	Percentage rate
The secretary	-	19	-
Joint Secretary	3	38	7.3
Deputy Secretary	10	123	7.5
Assistant Secretary	38	510	7.0

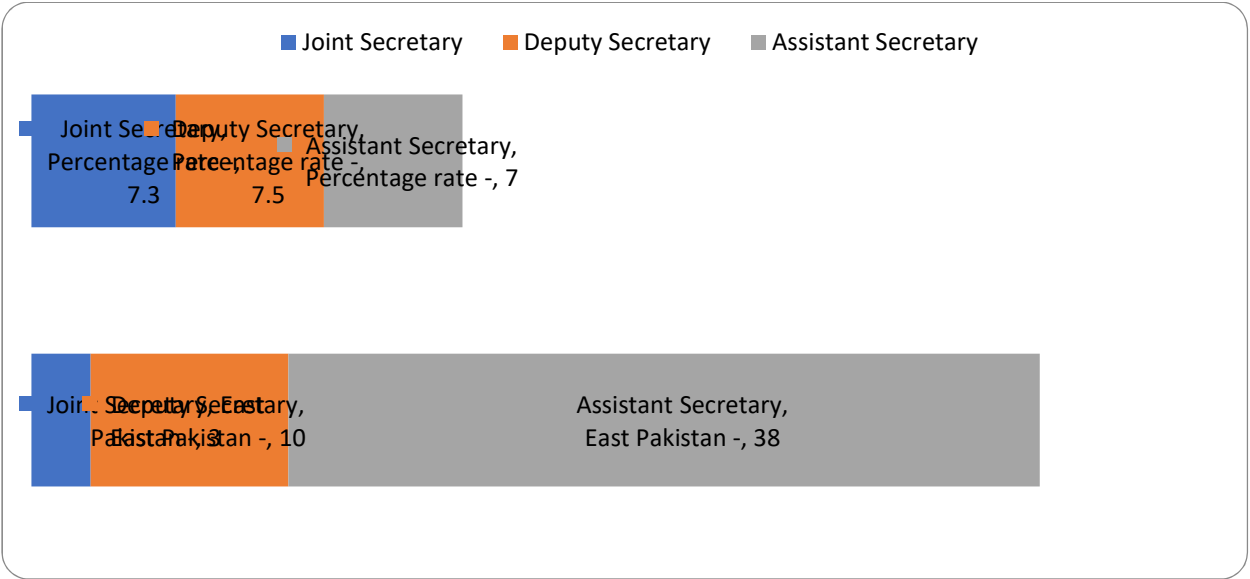


Chart 4: Civilian Bureaucrats

A perusal of the above table shows that while West Pakistan had 19 secretaries, East Pakistan had none. East Pakistan had 3 Joint Secretaries, 10 Deputy Secretaries and 38 Assistant Secretaries. In that case Pakistan had 38, 123 and 510 respectively. Only 7 percent is East Pakistan and 93 percent is West Pakistan (Rounaq Jahan, 1972). So, there was not much officer to look after the interests of East Pakistan.

There is extreme discrimination in the recruitment of people in government offices. The recruitment in the first 6-7 years after the establishment of Pakistan in 1947 shows that East Pakistan was larger in total population but less recruited. The following documentary is a perfect proof of that (A. K. Chowdhury, 1984).

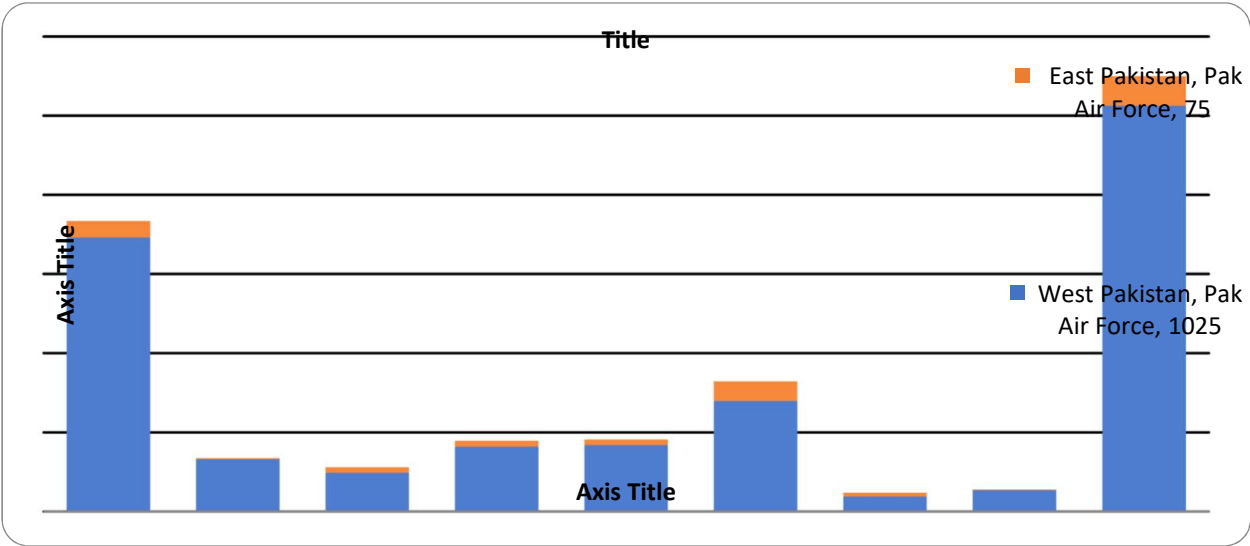


Chart 5: People recruited in workforce

Table 7: People recruited in workforce

Department	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
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Central Secretariat	692	42
Pak Industrial Development Corporation	132	3
Radio Pakistan	98	14
Supply and Development Department	164	15
Railway Division	168	14
Department of Posts and Telegraphs	279	50
Department of Agricultural Development	38	10
Survey Department	54	2
Pak Air Force	1025	75

Just seeing this picture shows how much the people of this region have lived in hardship. Not to mention in the military, the educated youth of East Pakistan have been deprived in the civil sector as well.

In the central government of Pakistan, there was a mountain of discrimination in the senior officials who were subsequently appointed. Two-four examples discussed here make the point clear. 225 out of 551 officers in administration, 73 out of 177 in foreign affairs, 82 out of 210 in police, 86 out of 227 in income tax department, 40 out of 116 in railways and only 18 out of 68 in military accounts were East Pakistanis. Bureaucrats from East Pakistan were not considered as competent. Again, there was no equality in promotion. As mentioned, the Chief Secretary was Punjabi Aziz Ahmed, who was the Bengali Commissioner T.I.M. About 10 years younger than Nurunnabi (Muhit, 2009). 19 Out of a total of 119 in the Pakistan Foreign Service in 1953, 36 were from East Pakistan and 50 out of 240 in 1962. In 1958, President Iskandar Mirza and Army Chief Ayub Khan imposed military rule in the country and suspended all political activities. During this military rule people were appointed more arbitrarily. For one, out of 790 junior grade officers, there were only 120 in East Pakistan. In 1959-60, 734 section officers were recruited, of which only 10% were from East Pakistan. Even in the recruitment of clerk-peons, West Pakistanis were targeted.

Discrimination in Education

Discrimination in education Although education is the backbone of the nation, the people of this region have not got the necessary and appropriate educational institutions for some time. From the British rule to Pakistan only suffered from deprivation. During the British period, the educational institutions of the region were very fragile. It was no exception during the Pakistan era. The number of educational institutions that were established in West Pakistan did not happen here. Because of that there was no equal opportunity for education. The main objective was to destroy the Bengali nation by keeping them away from education. The United Front presented this claim with detailed information. The information is as follows (A. K. Chowdhury, 1984)-

Table 8: Educational institutions

Educational institutions	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
University	2	4
Medical College	1	5
Engineering College	1	5
Textile College	-	8

Forestry College	-	2
College	56	76
Primary school	2217	5246

In the field of education, the people of East Pakistan were subjected to unlimited discrimination - which was inhumane'. It is difficult to think that such a situation can prevail in the same country.

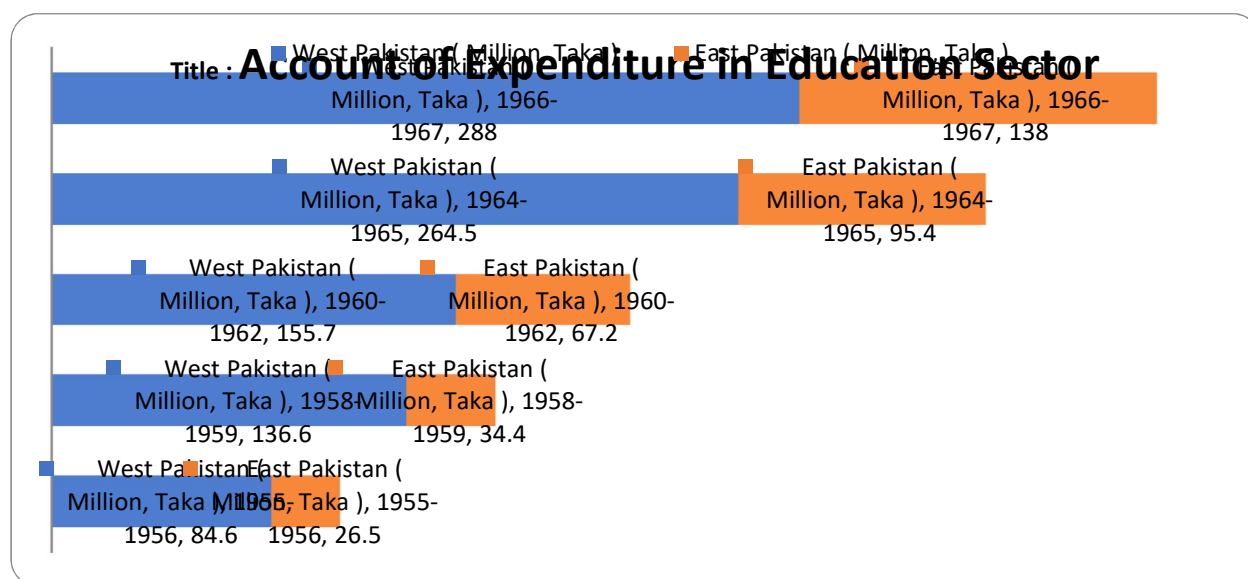


Chart 6: Account of Expenditure in Education Sector (A. K. Chowdhury, 1984)

Due to less allocation in East Pakistan, educational institutions are also less established and a smaller number of students have access to education. In 1947-1947 there were 2,274 students at the university level. Out of this, 654 people were admitted in East Pakistan and 1620 in West Pakistan. In the academic year 1951-52, out of a total of 3949 students, 1558 were admitted in East Pakistan and 2391 in West Pakistan. In 1957-58 Out of 6586 people, 3136 in East and 3125 in West Pakistan. In the academic year 1961-62, 1,3031 people were admitted to universities in the whole of Pakistan. Among them 7214 students in West Pakistan and 5817 students in East Pakistan. In 1965-66 West Pakistan admitted 18708 and East Pakistan only 8831. It is clear here that Pakistan government's laissez-faire behavior in the field of education was evident. This policy of educational contraction was adopted so that the people of East Pakistan could not rise. 'Education is impossible where emancipation is limited' and indeed it was.

The number of primary schools at the birth of Pakistan was 8413 in West Pakistan and 29663 in East Pakistan. One thing is clear here that, though few in all, the number of primary schools in East Pakistan at that time was very high. The reason for this is that after the partition of Bengal in 1905, many primary schools were established in the region with the efforts of Lord Curzon. This issue has been discussed in the second chapter. Moreover, many primary schools were established during the ministry of Nawab Nawab Ali. Primary schools are more because of these opportunities. But surprisingly, after the independence of the country in 1947, by 1969 the number of primary schools in West Pakistan stood at 3941 and in East Pakistan at 28308. That is, in 1947 there were

29663 and that number did not increase and it decreased to 28308. What is exploitation and what are its types is evidenced from this information. The percentage increase in secondary schools was 176 in West Pakistan and 114 in East Pakistan. The growth rate of the college is equally remarkable (Nagar, 1972). 22 During the same period, while 90 secondary schools and 31 colleges were established in East Pakistan, 653 secondary schools and 114 colleges were established in West Pakistan (Tapan Kumar Dey, 1999). 23 Between 1951-61 the matric pass rate stood at 143.7% and in East Pakistan it was only 6.3%. In West Pakistan the number of university graduates increased by 86.6% but in East Pakistan it was 12% (Mankekar, 1976).

Discrimination in Agriculture

The comparative rate of development in the agricultural sector under the three five-year plans in Pakistan is as follows-

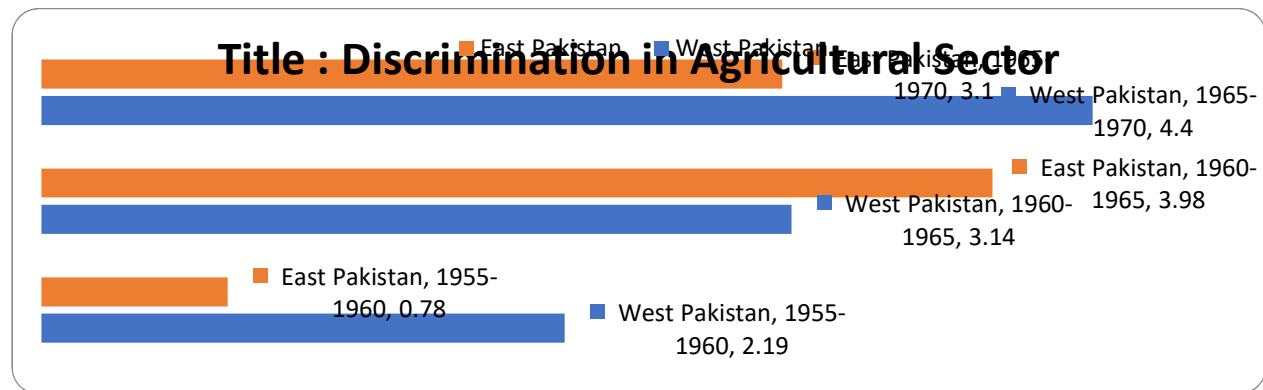


Chart 7: Discrimination in Agricultural Sector

East Pakistan is a major agricultural region. Because no industry has been established here since a long time ago. Almost all the industrialists of Pakistan invest their capital in West Pakistan, so there are no industries or factories established here. Although agriculture is major, little has been done to improve it. Hence no significant progress was made in agriculture. The government spends 21.63 lakh takas per year on agriculture in West Pakistan. On the other hand, East Pakistan's expenditure was Tk. 1.33 lakh. Development of both agriculture and industry requires generation of electricity. It can be seen that 83% of the electricity generation is done in West Pakistan while only 17% was for East Pakistan. A large part of the foreign aid was spent on West Pakistan's power development scheme. 18,000 million dollars were allocated for two large power development projects in the Indus basin (Tapan Kumar Dey, 1999). 25 Nothing has been done to promote jute development. The jute which was the golden scale gradually went towards destruction. Pakistan gets 79.6 percent of the allocation for agriculture. West Pakistan receives the bulk (83.9%) of the money given as agricultural loans (Mankekar, 1976). Thousands of crores of takas are spent on agricultural development in West Pakistan while nothing is done for East Pakistan. 1200 crores were spent to remove the salinity of the land and 1600 crores were spent on Manga Dam. This is due to the existence of 'two economies' in Pakistan at that time due to geographical reasons not a penny of money came to East Pakistan (M. R. Akter Mukul, 1989).

Discrimination in the Health Sector

Health is one of the basic human issues. In this sector too, the policy of the Pakistani government is worth noting. If we review the number of hospitals and hospital seats from 1955 to 1966, we will be able to know the correct information about this.

Table 9: Discrimination in the Health Sector

Number of Hospitals				Number of beds		
Years	Pakistan	West Pakistan	East Pakistan	Pakistan	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
1955	400	333	67	23099	19197	3902
1959	409	338	71	26130	21658	4472
1963	441	369	72	28936	23429	5507
1966	469	393	76	33184	26200	6984

A comparative discussion shows that although West Pakistan is much smaller in terms of population, it has a greater number of hospitals. Moreover, another point to note is that the trend at which the number of hospitals and seats increased exponentially in West Pakistan was not maintained for East Pakistan. Apart from hospitals, charity hospitals are also developed there. In 1955 there were 1245 such hospitals in the whole of Pakistan. Of these, West Pakistan had 964 and East Pakistan had only 290. There were 1467 hospitals in 1959, 1910 in 1963 and 2243 in 1966. Of these, West Pakistan has 1155, 1544 and 1754 respectively. In East Pakistan the numbers are only 312, 396 and 489 (Kashem, 1995).

Discrimination in industry

Just as there was no development in agriculture, it did not even touch the industrial sector. The truth of this saying can be seen if you look at the development of the industry under the three five-year plans of Pakistan.

Table 10: Discrimination in industry

West Pakistan	5.73	13.37	8.0
East Pakistan	7.0	5.8	7.0

East Pakistan was also not allowed to rise in the industrial sector. Electricity is essential for industrial expansion. But the power generation was 56 times higher in West Pakistan than in East Pakistan (Adib, 1991). According to a senior Planning Commission official, 20 families in West Pakistan control 66% of Pakistan's industrial assets. They got loans for industrial expansion, that too was 70%-80% share. 6-G.F. Papanik showed that only 2 out of 29 big industrialists were from East (Anthony Mankekar, 1976). Pakistan and their names are at the bottom of the list. Most of the industrial factories that existed in Pakistan at the time of partition were located in West Pakistan. Industrial factories did not develop much in the later period. A description of Anthony Mascaren has is worth mentioning here – “The shops in East Pakistan are full of goods and these have come from West Pakistan. Don't find East Pakistani goods in West Pakistani shops. A particular aspect of East Pakistan's loss of trade due to East Pakistan's unequal trade with West Pakistan is the marginal response to East Bengal's current independence struggle on the direct

availability of consumer goods from East Bengal to West Pakistan. The main affected products are tea, dishwash, some types of medicine and newsprint. These were the major contributions of East Bengal to the consumer goods market of West Pakistan. The experience of the people of East Bengal is opposite. Almost all consumer goods here have to be imported from West Pakistan. That's why the deficit is downward trending (Mascaranhas, 1971).

Conclusion

Finally, we can say that the hope with which the people of this region fought to the death for the creation of Pakistan was disillusioned within a few days. The first blow comes on language. Even though an average of 7.2 percent of people speak Urdu, efforts are being made to impose it as the state language. But 56 percent of people's language is not given any value. Even the imam of the Lahore Mosque once said, "If Bengali is the language of Muslims, what is the call of a dog!" What a surprise! The religion of the people of this region has also been mocked. Allah has been prayed for help - to make the brothers of Masreki (East) Pakistan true Muslims. He did not stop calling the patriotic leaders as agents of India. Sheikh Sahib, the voice of the people, has been kept in jail almost all the time. Discrimination is also the main reason. Discrimination is everywhere. If we go through this chapter fully, we will see that insurance practices in agriculture, industry, commerce, education, health. East Pakistan was also destroyed economically. Scholars first highlighted this and wrote 'one country-two economies'. Finally, the government was forced to call the 1970 elections. East Pakistan mainly participated in the election under the leadership of Awami League. A leaflet was distributed in that election. Discrimination is highlighted in pamphlets; it opens people's eyes (Rafiqul Islam, 1991).

Table 11: Discrimination highlighted in pamphlets

Subject	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
Revenue	1500 crore taka	5000 crore taka
Development costs	3000 crore taka	6000 crore taka
Foreign aid	20%	80%
Imports	25%	35%
Central Govt Jobs	15%	85%
Military forces	10%	90%
Rice (per maund)	50%	25 taka
Flour (per maund)	30%	15 taka
Mustard (per head)	5 taka	2.50 taka
Gold (per tola)	175	135 taka

Another point of discrimination is worth mentioning in this regard.

Table 12: Over all discrimination in employment

Subject	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Central Civil Service	84%	16%
Department of Foreign Affairs	85%	15%
Foreign Embassies Head Number	60%	4%

Army	95%	5%
Military officer general rank	16%	1%
Navy Technical	81%	19%
Naval Non-Technical Air	91%	9%
Force Aviator	89%	11%
Number of members of the army	50000.00	20,000
The number of members of Pakistan Air Lines	7000	280
Director of PI	9	1
Director of Railways	7	1

East Pakistan economists feel that East Pakistan is left behind voluntarily. West Pakistani economists also feel that reducing inequality must be a national goal. GW Chow. in mind - this is the main reason for the division of the country (G. W. Chowdhury, 1998). It is clear from this how far the West Pakistani ruling class has exploited and oppressed. No people or nation endures torture in silence all the time—sometimes they rebel. Abraham Lincoln said, "All men can be fooled some of the time, some men can be fooled all the time, but all men cannot be fooled all the time." The people of Bengal also once fell into agitation and struggle. The 1966 6-point was the first clear expression of protest. After that we established independent and sovereign state through mass movement of 1969, election of 1970 and liberation struggle of 1971. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said in his book 'India became independent' that there is no commonality between the people of Pakistan except religion. No nation can continue with this for long. The visionary politician's words have come true. We should all fully implement the spirit of the liberation war in which we fought.

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