



# Seeds of Conflict in Pakistan

# Four major points of discontent:

- ▶ No partnership
- ▶ The language issue
- ▶ Islam
- ▶ The economic factor

# No partnership

- ▶ Denial of their full role in the decision-making process.
- ▶ It took **eight and a half years** to write the first constitution of Pakistan.
- ▶ There was an unceasing effort by West Pakistani leaders to demolish the superior political influence by reducing EB's representative in the central legislature.
- ▶ This was sometimes done under the aegis (support of a particular person) of Bengali leaders, notably Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin & Mohammad Ali Bogra.

# 1<sup>st</sup> formula for equal representation:

- ▶ The first Prime Minister, **Liaquat Ali Khan**, proposed a bicameral legislature (having two chambers) at the center in which East & West Pakistan will have **equal representation**.
- ▶ The two wings **200 seats each in the lower house** and **60 each in the upper house**.
- ▶ It also ignored the fact eastern region has 56% population.
- ▶ The unspoken reason underlying the idea was the presence of **1,50,00,000 Hindus (15million)**.
- ▶ The Liaquat formula was **stoutly resisted by East Bengal and finally abandoned** when Prime Minister was assassinated at a public meeting Rawalpindi.

# 2<sup>nd</sup> & 3<sup>rd</sup> proposal

## **#Repeated proposal by Khawja Nazimuddin for equal representation:**

- ▶ He was elevated to Prime ministership, advanced a similar proposal in 1952, with the same reaction from the east.
- ▶ Two years later Nazimuddin was removed from the office by the Punjabi establishment, which found no further use for him.

## **#Third formula was by new PM, Mohammad Ali Bogra.**

- ▶ His proposal was to give the desired weightage to East Bengal representation in lower house.
- ▶ But this was more than offset by the complexion of the upper chamber, in which EB had only minority representation.
- ▶ This formula suffered the fate of the other two, when Bogra in turn forced out of office.

# Fourth proposal and agreement:

- ▶ Agreement of representation was finally reached on the basis of 'Parity' - equal membership for east and west in a unicameral legislature.
- ▶ But East Bengal's concurrence was also **equal representation in the administrative structure.**
- ▶ Although the parity formula was incorporated in the 1956 constitutions

# Equal partnership never established

- ▶ East Bengal's share of the senior administrative posts never exceeded 36%.
- ▶ President Yahya Khan, could find of his staff only **3 Bengalis among 19** officers of secretary post.
- ▶ Bengali representation was immeasurably less in the military services.
- ▶ In 1970, only **one Bengali lieutenant-general** in the Pakistan army.
- ▶ In 1970, no Bengali has ever held an equivalent rank in the air force or navy.

**Secretaries and Other Key Posts in the Central  
Secretariat of Pakistan (1956)**

Sl. N.	Rank	Number	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
1.	Secretary	19	Nil	19
2.	Joint Secretary	41	3	38
3.	Deputy Secretary	133	10	123
4.	Under Secretary	548	38	510
Total		741	51	690

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



Table 1

## East-West Representation in the CSP (1948-1968)

Year	No. of CSP Officers	East Pakistan		West Pakistan	
		No.	% of total	No.	% of total
1948	18	2	11.1	16	88.9
1949	20	9	45.0	11	55.0
1950	11	4	36.4	7	63.6
1951	17	5	29.4	12	70.6
1952	13	3	23.0	10	77.0
1953	25	7	28.0	18	72.0
1954	17	5	29.4	12	70.6
1955	21	11	52.4	10	47.6
1956	20	7	35.0	13	65.0
1957	24	10	41.7	14	58.3
1958	25	12	48.0	13	52.0

1959	30	10	33.3	20	66.7
1960	28	11	39.2	17	60.8
1961	27	12	44.5	15	55.5
1962	28	13	46.5	15	53.5
1963	31	13	41.9	18	58.1
1964	33	14	42.2	17	57.8
1965	30	15	50.0	15	50.0
1966	30	14	46.7	16	53.3
1967	20	13	65.0	7	35.0
1968	20	11	55.0	9	45.0

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Note: Army Officers who joined the civil service are not in this list and all of 14 Army Officers were from West Pakistan.

Source : Compiled from Establishment Division, Civil List of the Class I Officers Serving Under The GOP, 1948 to 1969;

**Table 3****East-west Representation Among Class I Officers in Divisions of the Central Secretariat of Pakistan**

Division	1963		1964		1966	
	East	West	East	West	East	West
Cabinet	3	23	4	20	5	21
Establishment	8	28	9	27	10	27
Planning	13	44	17	46	19	61
Economic Affairs	6	39	9	40	11	36
Defence	1	38	6	35	4	38
Industry	4	22	7	19	8	14
Home	4	32	3	30	3	26
Education	5	25	6	22	6	21
Health	3	16	5	10	8	16
Foreign Affairs	13	83	14	94	18	50
Finance	21	91	20	106	27	107
Finance (Military)	-	-	1	37	3	34
Agriculture	6	50	4	37	5	35
Commerce	12	40	11	42	22	34

Source: Civil List of Class I Officers Serving Under the GOP,  
Establishment Division, GOP, 1st January, 1963, 1964,  
1966.

**East-West Representation in the Army Officers of  
Pakistan (1956)**

Rank	East Pakistan	West Pakistan
General	0 (Nil)	1 (One)
Lieutenant-General	0 (Nil)	3 (Three)
Major-General	1 (One)	20 (Twenty)
Brigadier	0 (Nil)	35 (Thirty five)
Colonel	0 (Nil)	50 (Fifty)
Lieutenant-Colonel	2 (Two)	198 (One hundred ninety eight)
Major	10 (Ten)	590 (Five hundred ninety)

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

# Inactive Parliamentary Government, 1947-58

- ▶ National legislature was in session for only 338 days.
- ▶ Annual average only 30days.
- ▶ Legislature passed 160 laws.
- ▶ President issued 376 major ordinances.
- ▶ It took **eight and a half years** to write the first constitution of Pakistan.

# Yahya Khan's initiatives & Liberation war

- ▶ These circumstances underscore the obvious justification for Bengali resentment.
- ▶ Yahya Khan did at first attempt to undo the wrong.
- ▶ He **scrapped the parity formula** in favour of popular representation in the civil services.
- ▶ But by then Bengali disenchantment had become pervasive in the face of economic strangulation.
- ▶ Yahya's own efforts were overtaken by the army's other more destructive action on a national level.



Thank you