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REVISITING THE COURSE OF PAKISTAN HISTORY AND SECESSION OF EAST PAKISTAN: A SYSTEM ANALYSIS (1947- 1971)

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Abstract

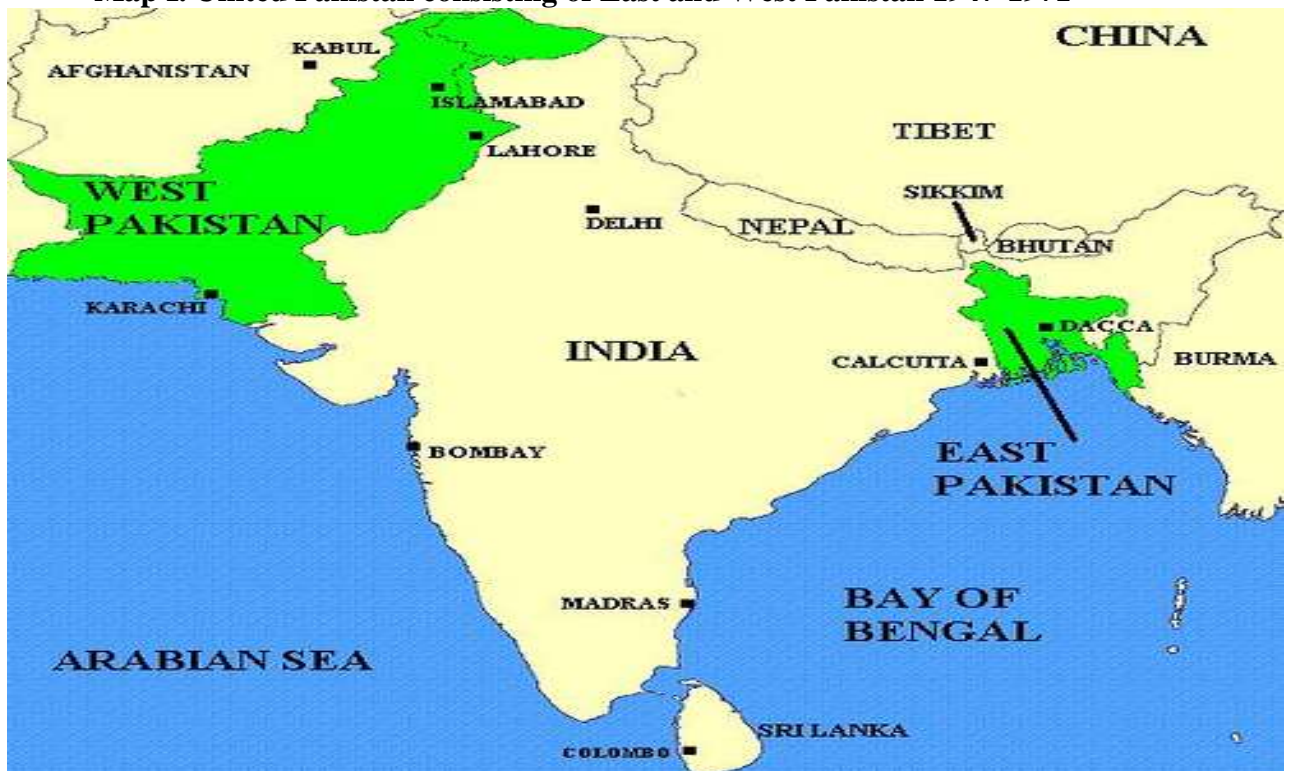
Pakistan has been much larger as being United but the division of United Pakistan into East Pakistan as Bangladesh and West Pakistan into the contemporary Pakistan weakened the geographical leverage of Pakistan. The key cause of East Pakistan's disintegration was the exploitation and deprivation by the West Pakistani government of the East Pakistani masses and leadership, the extraction of resources from East Pakistan, and the biased allocation of resources with respect to East and West Pakistan. It was a failure of the distributive and responsive capacity of the government as it had failed to equally distribute the resources among the two unique wings of Pakistan. Further responsive capability failed to meet the demands and needs of the masses and to carry on exploiting the historically oppressed class. Simple infrastructure was lacking in Pakistan's Eastern wing, which became the cause of their protest against the hegemony of West Pakistan, eventually resulting in the collapse of Dhaka in the form of the 1971 December 16 incident. All of the mentioned factors resulted in an east-west session from mainland Pakistan (Western Pakistan).

Introduction

In unity lies strength and it is considered to be an element of power. The states' possessing huge territorial spaces is to be considered more powerful so if the secession of East Pakistan was not happened then the situation of contemporary Pakistan would be different. Emergence of Bangladesh previously East Pakistan and West Pakistan as today's Pakistan were united until December 15 1971. It is irreparable division of East Pakistan from the west (current day Pakistan) Islamabad with capital. Pakistan's Political system 1947-1971 worked for the disadvantage of majority ethnic group of the region of East Pakistan who were being deprived of their interests by the West Pakistan dominated government. The system capabilities generated a sense of deprivation among the masses and marginalized them in East Pakistan and also provoked the inhabitants of East Pakistan to safeguard their fundamental rights. Hence, they took refuge in secessionist movement. This emerged as the reasons for disillusionment of East Pakistani masses which compelled them to intrigue against West Pakistan oriented Central government and for their liberation earlier identified that the latter is sole pleader and inhabitant of Pakistan where the masses

of East Pakistan anticipated that their survival as well as their prosperity, development and progress lies in segregation from West Pakistan. Many books have been written and many researchers have depicted and presented their stance on the collapse of Dhaka as a result of the 1971 Indian-Pakistan War. On 16 December 1971, the Secession of East Pakistan was the ultimate outcome of the evils and crimes committed by the government of West Pakistan with the collaboration of the Western Wing of Pakistan's civil military bureaucracy, which could be held responsible for the bifurcation of the two wings of United Pakistan. We come to know the realities of the issue as we examine the whole phenomenon of the secession of East Pakistan. First of all, the unfair actions of Pakistan's central government when dealing with Pakistan's two wings, secondly discriminatory policies towards the unified Pakistan's western side, then East Pakistan's third ruling leadership of West Pakistan committed massacres and persecution towards the eastern Pakistani masses, forcing them to lift their voices against the deprivations they were facing. I traced back the causes or the shortcomings that broken Pakistan apart and an abundant area with the sense of nationalism that also helped the movement of Pakistan and the Muslim League stood against the people of their brother to fight for their liberation. Why did the people, along with their political leaders, feel the desperate need to demand their separation from the empire, which was considered their only need until 1947? Why did the emancipation slogan hit the climax of being the emblem of the ultimate way out to survive? We can state here that the inequalities, disparities, unequal development, exploitation led to the shape of Bangladesh, where language and ethnic composition acted as a minor element that gave rise to debacle.

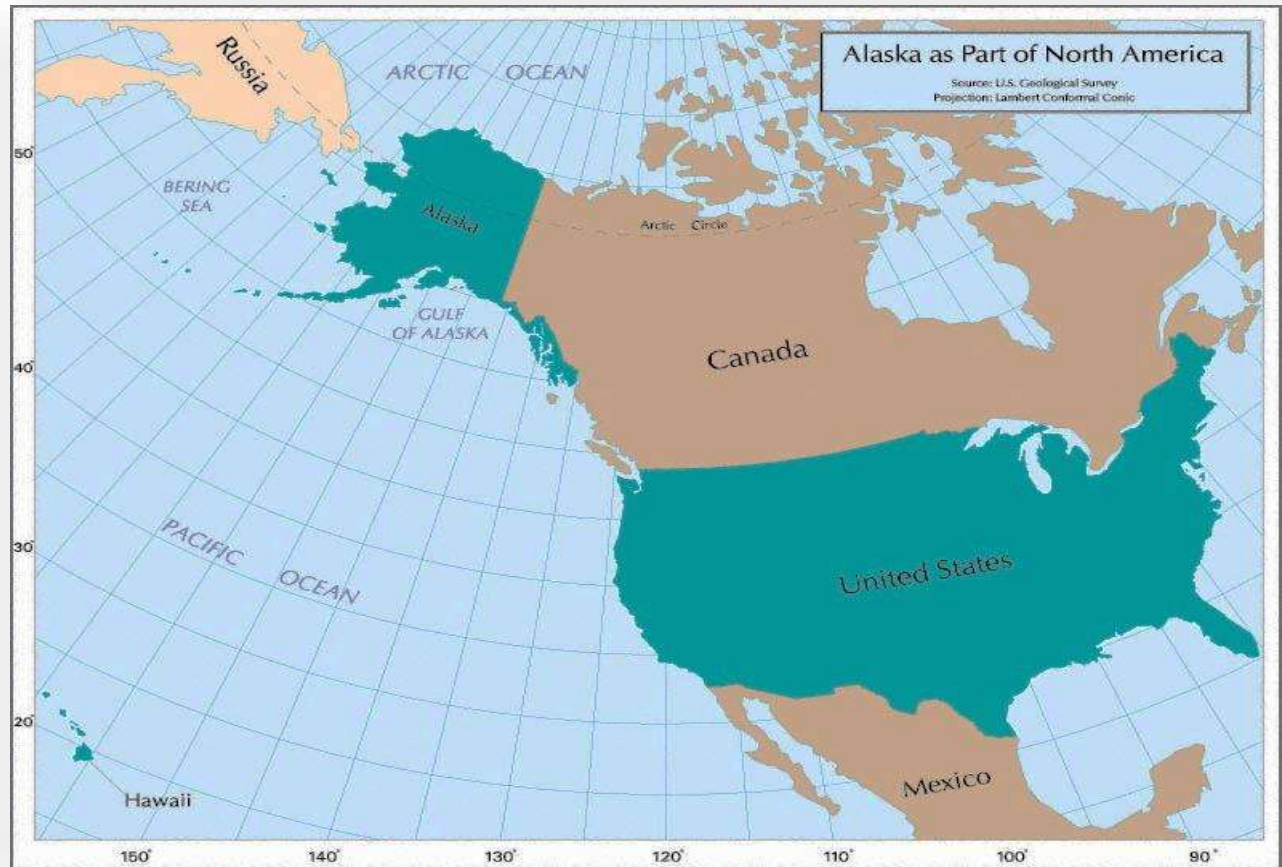
Map I. United Pakistan consisting of East and West Pakistan 1947-1971



Source: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/~khan23n/classweb/worldpolitics116/Templates2/east-and-west-pakistan.jpg>

Analysis: The map depicts the united Pakistan which consists of East and West Pakistan and to argue that if the secession of East Pakistan had not happened then Pakistan would have been stronger and bigger as compare to the country as geography is an element of Power.

Map II. Map depicting Alaska as a Part of United States



Source: <https://www.akhistorycourse.org/images/geography/large/l4.jpg>

Analysis:

The map of U.S. clearly shows that how united States has managed a state Alaska in its union which is more than 500 miles away from its mainland this could be also the case of Pakistan if the dark episode of 16 December 1971 had not happened and Pakistan had not be divided into two units.

Following are the factors which served as a cause of separation of East Pakistan

- Systems have removed resources from eastern Pakistan. (Easton, 1965)
- System incentives were allocated in a manner that created disparity between the country's two wings. (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966)
- The mechanism has been less and less open to East Pakistan's needs. (DALTON, 1982)

Literature review

Numerous scholars and social scientists argued that the language was the root cause of discord, some blame that East Pakistan's secession was stimulated by ethnicity and Bengali culture. Some of them claim that the main issue that contributed to Bangladesh's outcome was Bengali chauvinism. Ali (1970) is of the opinion that oppressive regimes consisting of civil bureaucracy and military rulers have been responsible for Pakistan's crisis since its inception until 1969 and for the 1971 war leading to the fall of Dhaka on 16 December, respectively. Some social scientists

explain the whole phenomenon as the despotism of Pakistan's autocratic rulers whose infamous designs of authoritarian rule, self-protection, self-promotion and self-empowerment culminated in the dark days of Pakistan's history in the form of Bangladesh. Salik (1977) propagates that in the Bangladesh liberation war, East Pakistan was enriched by how humiliating the western Pakistani forces surrendered before the Indian army and how we sacrificed our natural resources. Matinuddin (1993) the real picture of errors resulting in a sense of deprivation among the citizens of East Pakistan was exposed by Bangladesh. The author promotes his stance and insight to the situation that existed in East Pakistan first-hand.

Alqama (1997) describes the whole mess, most of who claim that the division of East Pakistan was due to unequal growth in the East, so that there was a sense of exploitation and deprivation among the masses in East Pakistan. In his publication author, the vastness of the problem is explored in detail and critically analyses the division of Pakistan's two wings and explains the entire façade according to his research emergence from East Pakistan, as Bangladesh was due to unequal distribution phenomena as well as the development of infrastructure in western Pakistan. Hossain (2013) explains vividly key political developments in his publication 'BANGLADESH Quest for Freedom and Justice' (Hossain, 2013) that led to the emergence of sovereign and independent Bangladesh and describes the problems faced by Bengalis shortly after they became independent of West Pakistan and also draws a sketch of Bangladesh's current situation Sarmila Bose recounts the destruction caused by the forces of West Pakistan in his book "DEAD RECKONING Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War," and briefly addresses the entire dark days of war and offers an unbiased version of the 1971 war. Bose (2012) reveals the reality of the destruction of 1971, while extensive research helps to be skeptical of the crimes committed during the 1971 civil war and war between India and Pakistan. "A stranger in my own land, EAST PAKISTAN, 1969-1971" by Khadim Hussain Raja reveals the leadership intentions of West Pakistan and also describes the role of civil society in the secession of East Pakistan from the West. (2013, Raja). Jahan (1972) Pakistan: failure in national integration' by Rounaq Jahan Research on the subject of Pakistan's division brief on the facts that were responsible for the formation of a new state under the ethnic composition of Bengal, she explains in detail the causes of Pakistan's failure in national integration that created a divide between East and West. She also unleashes the truth by exposing the truth. In the beginning, which seemed to be only for both sides of Pakistan, later reality represented the entire rhetoric, and the eastern Pakistani masses finally displayed resentment, culminating in the occurrence of the phenomenon in the form of Bangladesh on 16 December 1971, which kept all the unjust changes, progress and modernization in western Pakistan to lose its eastern wing until the end. She also stressed the need to inculcate national integration was the need for that era that could not be imbibed by politicians, and East Pakistan as Bangladesh gave birth to deprivation, inequity and repression. (Ali S. m., 2010). Understanding Bangladesh has recently been published by S. Mahmud Ali which describes the whole reality of the government of Pakistan and the suppression committed by West Pakistan's rulers in regard to East Pakistan as West Pakistan's colony when every attempt was made to deprive East Pakistan of its privileges. East Pakistan 's position also played a vital role in the active involvement of regional powers and the US, since the government of Pakistan played the role of a bridge between the formation of friendly relations between China and America, while Russia, on the other hand, was tilting towards the emergence of Bangladesh.

Research objectives

The basic aim of the thesis is to explore the whole subject in a new dimension and to highlight the other side of the picture that has exposed the truth of East Pakistan's secession from West Pakistan in December 1971 from 14 August 1947 until 16 December. The key purpose is to revisit the entire course of history from a new point of view, all the shortcomings of the respective governments from 1947 to 1971 lead up jointly to the division of two wings of Pakistan. In addition to the polemical narrative of the 1971 crisis situation from either side (Pakistani, Indian or Bangladeshi), the analysis will rationally brief the causes of East Pakistan's separation as well as the sinister designs of the western Pakistani government-dominated bigots

In addition, the previously embarrassed yet thriving community was further exacerbated by the implementation of their own will on Bengalis. And following unfair patterns of growth for both wings of Pakistan, The Single West Pakistan Area benefited from all development, growth, infrastructure, industry, capital, finance, raw materials and on behalf of the destitute East Pakistan, East Pakistan was stripped of all the fundamentals and wealth was to be achieved in West Pakistan, where the total number of inhabitants of East Pakistan was more than the people of West Pakistan. The measures that added fuel to the fire were the incompetent government in a sense that it refused to function while the masses continued to demand something else and in response the just refusal was embraced along with the negation of their repression of tendencies as a panacea but all in vain. Another core aim is to examine the government's deliverance, as defined in their publication by Almond&Powell (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966). My concern is simply to expose the lack of machine efficiency capabilities of system supported by the unreasonable mentality of power elites who could be kept accountable for the entire façade. I want to brief an impartial and systematic overview of East Pakistan's secession from the west and I want to present my perception that Bangladesh's apartheid was due to a system breakdown that was unable to deliver equally, explain, justify, extract and distribute fairly, and ultimately reacted in the way that resulted in an east-west secession in 1971.

Research Methodology

Historical, analytical, descriptive, Qualitative research methodology and techniques are adopted while conducting the research and in culmination of the up given title. Primary and secondary sources of data collection are used for completion of my research Paper which includes books, journals and interviews. Data was collected basically through secondary sources which includes various publications made upon the issue of division of Pakistan, besides of nationalistic rhetoric the entire Paper stresses upon critical analysis of Secession of East Pakistan. To all the extent biasness was given least importance in my study and unbiased description as well as analysis was made the central importance in my paper. Other sources include economic commission reports and five year plans presented by the panel of economists of East and West Pakistan.

Cause of research

This research paper will be to address the following questions by doing which I will be able to target my case study in which I will brief my view of the collapse of Dhaka as I believe it was due to the failure of extractive, distributive and sensitive capabilities of the Pakistani system (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966). So I will revisit the entire time period of East Pakistan's secession from 1947-1971 and examine the conduct of the Pakistani structure that struggled to hold our country's two wings unified (Easton, 1965). What were the causes of bloody, filthy and horrific bifurcation of East and the west, Bangladesh and Pakistan? Why did an area that sponsored and stimulated the Muslim League and Pakistan movement begin to assert its liberation and independent sovereign state? Why are the inhabitants who have a common religious history ripped apart? What were the fundamental irrationalities and fundamental factors responsible for the cessation of the Pakistan's Eastern Wing? In my research and in my view of the façade of system capabilities, I will answer these questions.

Discussions and Results

All opinions and interpretations are valid and required accordingly, but as I understand the whole situation that resulted in Bangladesh's final independence from Pakistan was due to the failure of system capabilities. (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966)

1. Failure of the political system's extractive capabilities; West Pakistan by force from East Pakistan extracted natural resources in the form of jute and rice, and other raw materials shipped to foreign countries used in West Pakistan's development won economic gains. Tax imposed by force on the Eastern wing and citizens were not repaid by the government, hence the patriotism aspect was overcome by the feeling of exploitation of the Bengali community, and it was the failure of the

extractive capacity that the Bengalis were less recruited in the armed forces compared to that of West Pakistan. Another big mistake was that a specific sum was paid to the political system based on bureaucracy and military people rather than tax framers who hold all they can get after central government. The secession of East Pakistan was thus due to a breakdown of the system's extractive power. (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966).

Table I. Export earnings of East and West Pakistan (Million Rupees)

Year	East	West	East Pakistan's share in total earnings
1960-61	1,259	540	70
1961-62	1,301	543	70
1962-63	1,249	998	55
1963-64	1,224	1,070	54
1964-65	1,268	1,140	53
1965-66	1,514	1,204	55
1966-67	1,660	1,325	56
Annual rate of Growth	4.6	16.1	

Source: Pakistan, Planning Commission, the Mid-Plan Review of the third Five Year Plan 1965-70,p38.

Analysis: Table I describe the phenomena of deprivation with East Pakistan where it is crystal clear that the resources were extracted from Eastern Wing of United Pakistan and all the revenue collected was utilized in West Pakistan. East Pakistan's share in total earning of Pakistan was twice then that of West Pakistan in spite of that annual growth Rate of West Pakistan was four times 4to that of East Pakistan which identified the failure of4Extractive capability failure which became one of the sole cause of Disintegration of East Pakistan.

Table II. Per capita in East and West Pakistan at 1959/60 Constant prices

Years	per capita GDP East rupees	per capita GDP West rupees	west-east disparity ratio	disparity index
1959-60	269	335	1.32	100*
1960-61	277	363	1.31	97
1961-62	286	376	1.31	97
1962-63	277	393	1.42	131
1963-64	299	408	1.36	113
1964-65	293	426	1.45	141
1965-66	295	427	1.45	141
1966-67	290	448	1.54	169
1967-68	307	468	1.52	163
1968-69	312	490	1.57	178
1969-70	314	504	1.67	191
Growth over Decade	17%	42%		
Growth in Third plan period	7%	18%		

Source: Economic Disparities between the East and West Pakistan, Government of Pakistan Publication for the planning department 1963 (pg 7)

Analysis: Table II depicts clearly the picture of disparity among the two wings of Pakistan where the disparity index increased with each passing day. Where system (West Pakistan) kept on exploiting resources from East Pakistan but did not even responded to re pray for extracted resources from there. East Pakistan was the part of Pakistan which was suppressed as well as it was deprived of its due share including that masses were also being negated from being given working and participating opportunities in government as well as private sector which disillusioned the leadership as well as the masses.

Table III. Comparative regional growth rates in the last two decades.

1. Growth rates in east Pakistan	1950's	Percent	1960's
(a). Agriculture	1.9		3.1
(b). Non-agriculture	2.9		6.0
(c). Overall	1.9		4.3
2. Growth rates in West Pakistan			
(a). Agriculture	1.4		4.8
(b). Non-agriculture	4.1		7.7
(c). Overall	2.7		6.4

Source: Report on the Panel of Economists constituted by the President of Pakistan, Aga Muhammad Yahya Khan in 1970 Islamabad 1970.

Analysis: Table III depicts the picture of extractive capability failure of the system which was unable to cope with disparities of East Pakistan where it is identified that the growth rate of East Pakistan is many times lesser than that of West Pakistan but revenue and export Earnings of East Pakistan in the decades of 60's and 70's were more than that of West Pakistan. The up given facts identifies the vivid reality of deprivations which were committed against the East Pakistani masses. Ineffectiveness of extractive capability is evident.

Table IV. Name of permanent representatives of Pakistan in United Nations from 1949 to May, 1968 places of their domicile.

Name	Domicile
1. Mr. Abdur Rahim Khan	West Pakistan
2. Mr. Late Prof. A.S Bokhari	-do-
3. Mr. Mohammad Mir Khan	-do-
4. Mr. G. Ahmad	-do-
5. Mr. Late Prince Ali Khan	Generally resident Abroad
6. Mr. Said Hassan	West Pakistan
7. Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan	-do-
8. Mr. Syed Amjad Ali	-do-
9. Mr. Agha Shahi	-do-

Source; Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company .pg,243

Analysis: Table IV highlights that none of the official from East was given the responsibility by the West Pakistan oriented government to represent as being the part of East Pakistan share's in national government.

2. **Failure of the system's distributive capacity;** Because of the system's distributive capacity failure resulted in the downfall of East Pakistan in 1971. Where the distribution of previously exploited wealth was not fairly distributed between the two wings of Pakistan and Government jobs, services, honors were only affiliated with West Pakistanis and East Pakistanis were tremendously distributed as colonized people the west As Western political elites continue to refuse the equal allocation of resources among individuals and groups, the social system was also on the verge of collapse, leading the masses to revolt against the authorities and demand the liberation of the oppressed and exploited eastern wing population. (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966)

Table V .Distribution of land ownership in East Pakistan

Size of holding acres	% of owners	% of land owned
0 to 0.4	13	1
0.5 to 0.9	11	2
1.0 to 2.4	27	13
2.5 to 4.9	26	26
5.0 to 7.4	12	19
7.5 to 12.4	7	19
12.5 to 24.9	3	14
25.0 to 39.9	-	3
40.0 or over	-	2

Source: Pakistan Ministry of Food and Agricultural Census Organization, Pakistan Census of Agriculture, East Pakistan. Vol 1, Table 3, p.33.

Table VI .Distribution of land ownership in West Pakistan

Size Of Holding (Acres)	Percentage of Owner	Percentage of Land Owned
5 or less	64.5	15.0
5 to 25	28.5	31.7
25 to 100	5.7	22.4
100 to 500	1.1	15.9
500 or above	0.1	15.0

Source: Adapted from West Pakistan Land reforms Commission Report 1959, Appendix 1 Analysis: Table V&VI explicates the failure of distributive capability of government where distribution of Land ownership was not made according to the just standards and the

affiliations of East Pakistani turned weaker and weaker with West Pakistan after which their humiliations took refuge in secessionist tendencies and disintegration of Eastern wing was inevitable then.

Table VII. Net resource in flow into east and West Pakistan (Rs. In million)

	East Pakistan	West Pakistan	Total
1961-62	347	1671	2018
1962-63	488	1607	2095
1963-64	797	1864	2661
1964-65	950	2531	3481
Second plan (4 years)	2582	7673	10255
1965-66	736	1853	2589
1966-67	814	2088	2902
1967-68	862	2103	2965
1968-69	1016	1208	2224
1969-70 (estimate)	1053	1552	2605

Source: Report of panel economics constituted by the President of Pakistan Muhammad Yahya Khan, in 1970, Islamabad 1970. (pg 102)

Analysis: Resources which were unjustly extracted from Eastern wing of Pakistan after that unjustly distributed amongst East and West Pakistan. Disparity was prevailing in between two blocs of Pakistan and by inflow of resources in West Pakistan destitution was predestined for the people of East Pakistan but they (East Pakistani) masses by the assistance of enemy agenda and collaboration intrigued against the forces of Pakistan deployed in East and achieved liberation.

Table VIII .Armed forces.

(a). West Pakistani in E.P Riffls	Percentage
1. Officers	92%
2. JCO's	48%
3. NCO's	41%
Other Ranks	81%
(b). East Pakistanis in W.P Rangers:	
1. Officers	Nil
2. JCO's	3%
3. NCO's	Nil
Other Ranks	01 percent
(c). East Pakistanis in Frontier Constabulary:	
1. Officers	6.66%
2. JCO's	Nil
3. NCO's and other ranks	Nil

Source: Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company Pg, 238.

Analysis: Table VIII Above is the explanation of the feelings of East Pakistanis as they feel themselves second class citizens as compare to West Pakistanis because their participation in national army was near to the line where the distribution offices were assigned to West Pakistani inhabitants which planted the seeds of hatred against law enforcement agencies. Emerged as a cause of disintegration of Pakistan.

**Table IX .Table from the parliamentary papers of 9 December, 1968:
Non-career heads of missions: Ambassadors**

Name	Place of posting
1. Mr. Hakim M. Ahson	Afghanistan
2. Maj. Gen. Nawabzada Muhammad Sher Ali Khan	Indonesia
3. Maj. Gen. N.A.M.Raza	Italy
4. Brig. M.Hayat	Saudi Arabia
5. Maj.Gen.Shaukat Ali Khan	Spain
6. Mr.Muhammad Hayat Junejo	Thailand
7. Mr. Jamshed K. Marker	Romania
8. Mr.M.Rabb	Lebanon
9. Mr.A.K.M. Hafizuddin	Switzerland
10. Mr.K.K Panni	Argentina
HIGH COMMISSIONERS:	
1. Mr.Mahmood A. Haroon	U.K
2. Mr. H.K Panni	Ceylon
Total	
Ambassadors/high commissioners (non career)	12
West Pakistan	9
East Pakistan	3

Source; Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company .pg, 239

Analysis: Ratio of extraction officers from East Pakistan is exposed in the above provided data in table IX as well as failure of distribution and response of the system again was nil.

3. Failure responsive capabilities of system: The system's responsiveness combined with other difficulties encountered by the citizens of East Pakistan that raised awareness of the independence of sovereign Bangladesh. This capability refers to what you have sown and what you have reaped in return, so this ability is a link between the system's input and output. I will illustrate in my work that the inputs were not reviewed by Pakistan's ruling elites and ignored by the leadership that provided its output in the form of Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan. If dealing with a small matter of realistic approach such as the national language of the whole united Pakistan, numerous problems emerging from the ground may make it possible for Pakistan today to be much stronger than it is (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966).

Table X. Number of US officials stationed in Pakistan 1948-71

Year	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
1948	19	0
1949	26	1
1950	28	2
1951	41	3
1952	43	3
1953	56	4
1954	116	5
1955	169	9
1956	190	21
1957	214	45
1958	231	45
1959	229	39
1960	216	39
1961	205	38
1962	239	40
1963	271	36
1964	269	44
1965	119	119
1966	166	68
1967	188	67
1968	193	58
1969	160	52
1970	146	34
Total	3,675	692

Source: Adapted from R. Laporte Jr., Power and Privilege, (Berkeley: University of California press 1975) (pg 169).

Analysis: Table X explains Deputation of US officials in Pakistan indicate the failure of responsive capability of government as the West Pakistani government kept on exploiting and humiliating East Pakistan which ultimately resulted in secession of East Pakistan. Which is showing the commitment of West Pakistan to deal its other part.

Table XI. Governors State Bank of Pakistan.

Year	East	West
1. 7.1948	-	1
1. 1.1949	-	1
1. 1.1950	-	1
1. 1.1951	-	1
1. 1.1952	-	1
1. 1.1953	-	1
1. 1.1954	-	1

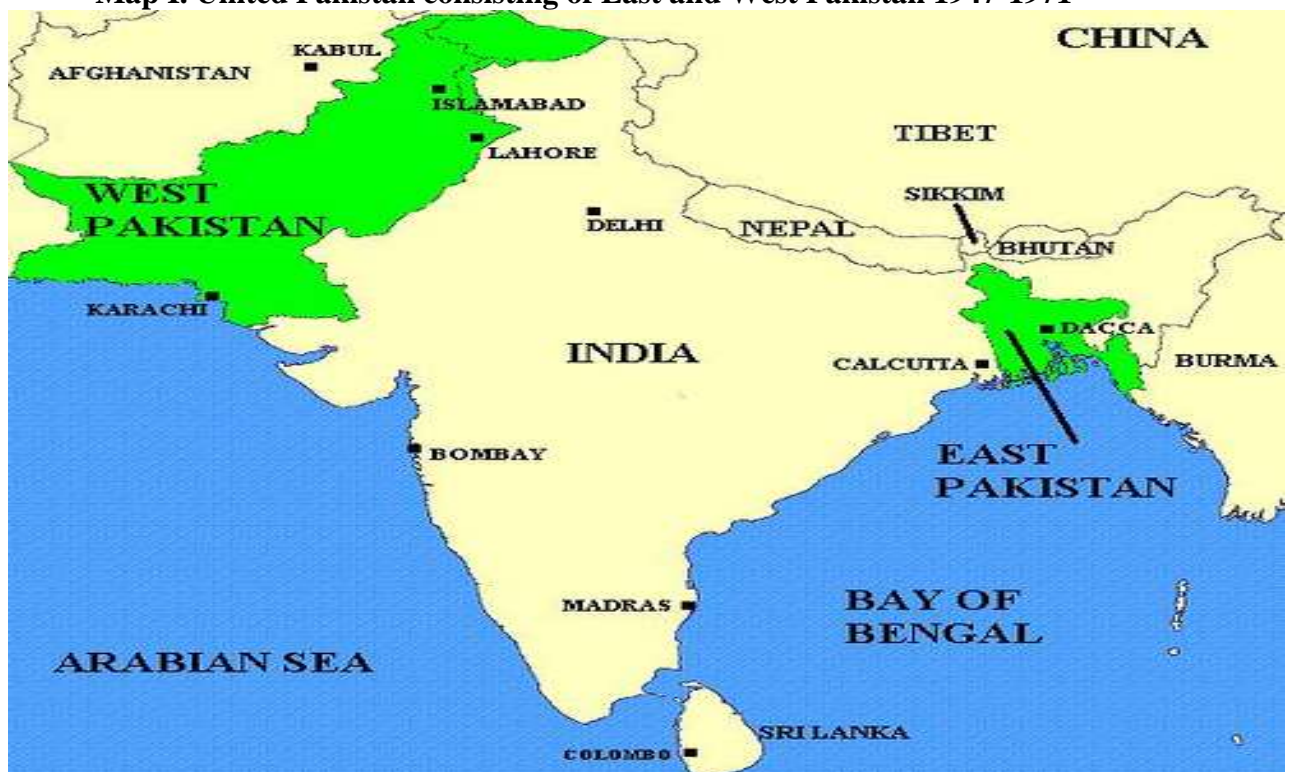
1. 1.1955	-	1
1. 1.1956	-	1
1. 1.1957	-	1
1. 1.1958	-	1
1. 1.1959	-	1
1. 1.1960	-	1
1. 1.1961	-	1
1. 1.1961	-	1
1. 1.1962	-	1
1. 1.1963	-	1
1. 1.1964	-	1
1. 1.1965	-	1
1. 1.1966	-	1
1. 1.1967	1	1

Source; Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company.pg,248.

All the governors of State Bank of Pakistan was from West expect the one which deputed from East Pakistan in1967. Table XI Show the response of West Pakistan to deal with East Pakistan. All of the above given factors culminated together to disintegrate Pakistan into two independent states West Pakistan as Pakistan and East Pakistan as Bangladesh.

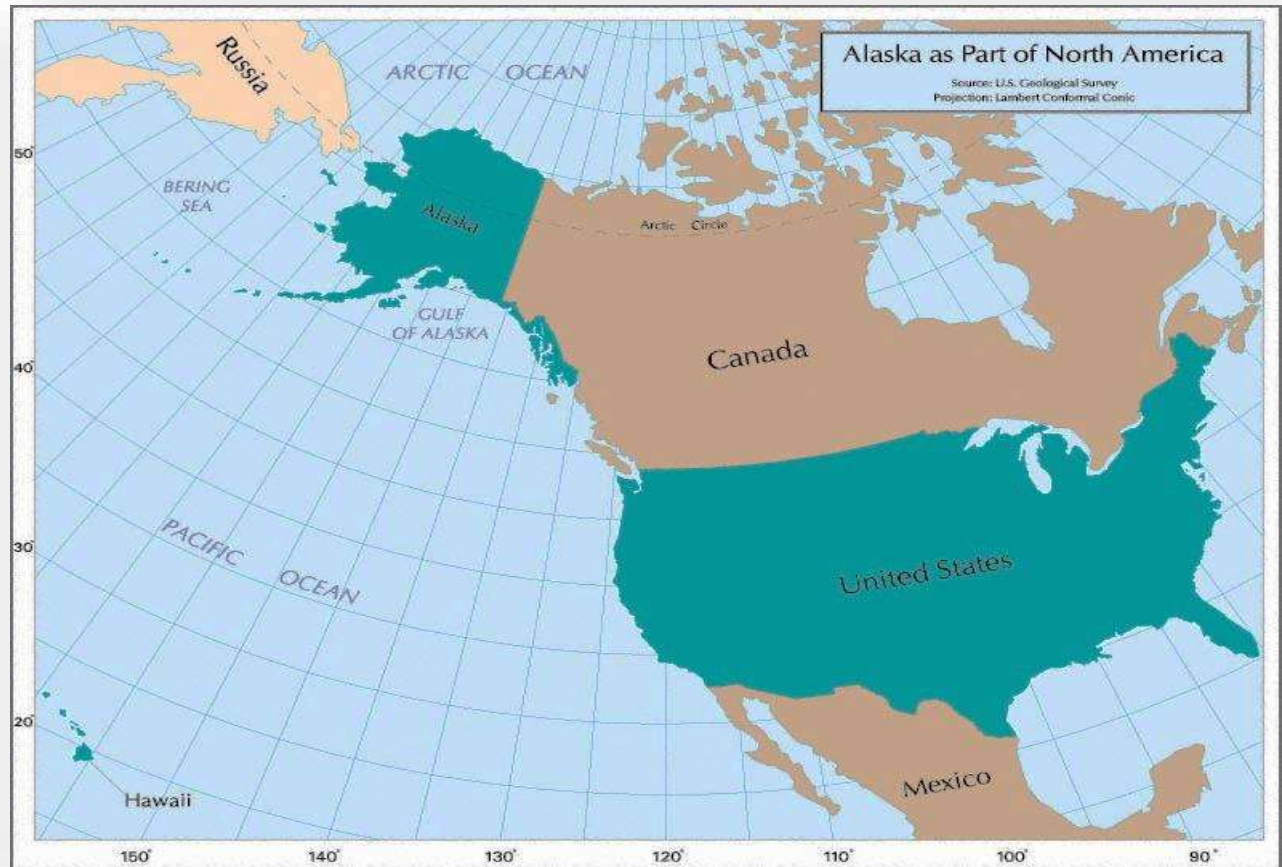
Lists of Maps and tables.

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Name	Domicile
10. Mr. Abdur Rahim Khan	West Pakistan
11. Mr. Late Prof. A.S Bokhari-do-	
12. Mr. Mohammad Mir Khan	-do-
13. Mr. G. Ahmad	-do-
14. Mr. Late Prince Ali Khan	Generally resident Abroad
15. Mr. Said Hassan	West Pakistan
16. Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan	-do-
17. Mr. Syed Amjad Ali	-do-
18. Mr. Agha Shahi-do-	

Source; Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company .pg,243

Table IV highlights that none of the official from East was given the responsibility by the West Pakistan oriented government to represent as being the part of East Pakistan share's in national government.

1. Failure of distributive capability of system ;

As it was the failure of the distributive capability failure of the system that resulted in the collapse East Pakistan in 1971.where unjust distribution of formerly exploited resources were not equally distributed among the two wings of Pakistan and government jobs , services , honors were just linked with west Pakistanis and east Pakistanis were treated as colonized people the west.

As the political elites of west keep on negating the just distribution of resources among the individuals and groups social structure was also at the verge of collapse which provided impetus among the masses to rebel against the authorities and demand for the freedom of deprived and exploited community of eastern wing. (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966)

Table V .Distribution of land ownership in East Pakistan

Size of holding acres	% of owners	% of land owned
0 to 0.4	13	1
0.5 to 0.9	11	2
1.0 to 2.4	27	13
2.5 to 4.9	26	26
5.0 to 7.4	12	19
7.5 to 12.4	7	19
12.5 to 24.9	3	14
25.0 to 39.9	-	3
40.0 or over	-	2

Source: Pakistan Ministry of Food and Agricultural Census Organization, Pakistan Census of Agriculture, East Pakistan. Vol 1, Table 3, p.33.

Table VI .Distribution of land ownership in West Pakistan

Size Of Holding (Acres)	Percentage of Owner	Percentage of Land Owned
5 or less	64.5	15.0
5 to 25	28.5	31.7
25 to 100	5.7	22.4
100 to 500	1.1	15.9
500 or above	0.1	15.0

Source: Adapted from West Pakistan Land reforms Commission Report 1959, Appendix 1 Table V&VI explicates the failure of distributive capability of government where distribution of Land ownership was not made according to the just standards and the affiliations of East Pakistani turned weaker and weaker with West Pakistan after which their humiliations took refuge in secessionist tendencies and disintegration of Eastern wing was inevitable then.

Table VII. Net resource in flow into east and West Pakistan (Rs. In million)

East	East Pakistan	west Pakistan	Total
1961-62	347	1671	2018
1962-63	488	1607	2095
1963-64	797	1864	2661
1964-65	950	2531	3481
Second plan (4 years)	2582	7673	10255
1965-66	736	1853	2589
1966-67	814	2088	2902
1967-68	862	2103	2965
1968-69	1016	1208	2224
1969-70 (estimate)	1053	1552	2605

Source: Report of panel economics constituted by the President of Pakistan Muhammad Yahya Khan, in 1970, Islamabad 1970. (pg 102)

Resources which were unjustly extracted from Eastern wing of Pakistan after that unjustly distributed amongst East and West Pakistan. Disparity was prevailing in between two blocs of Pakistan and by inflow of resources in West Pakistan destitution was predestined for the people of East Pakistan but they (East Pakistani) masses by the assistance of enemy agenda and collaboration intrigued against the forces of Pakistan deployed in East and achieved liberation.

Table VIII .Armed forces
The information is as follow

(a). West Pakistani in E.P Rifles	Percentage
1. Officers	92%
2. JCO's	48%
3. NCO's	41%
Other Ranks	81%
(b). East Pakistanis in W.P Rangers:	
1. Officers	Nil
2. JCO's	3%
3. NCO's	Nil
Other Ranks	01 percent
(c). East Pakistanis in Frontier Constabulary:	
1. Officers	6.66%
2. JCO's	Nil
3. NCO's and other ranks	Nil

Source: Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company Pg, 238.

Table VIII Above is the explanation of the feelings of East Pakistanis as they feel themselves second class citizens as compare to West Pakistanis because their participation in national army was near to the line where the distribution offices were assigned to West Pakistani inhabitants which planted the seeds of hatred against law enforcement agencies. Emerged as a cause of disintegration of Pakistan.

**Table IX .Table from the parliamentary papers of 9 December, 1968:
Non-career heads of missions: Ambassadors**

Name	place of posting
11. Mr. Hakim M. Ahson	Afghanistan
12. Maj. Gen. Nawabzada Muhammad Sher Ali Khan	Indonesia
13. Maj. Gen. N.A.M.Raza	Italy
14. Brig. M.Hayat	Saudi Arabia
15. Maj.Gen.Shaukat Ali Khan	Spain
16. Mr.Muhammad Hayat Junejo	Thailand
17. Mr. Jamshed K. Marker	Romania
18. Mr.M.Rabb	Lebanon
19. Mr.A.K.M. Hafizuddin	Switzerland
20. Mr.K.K Panni	Argentina
HIGH COMMISSIONERS:	
3. Mr.Mahmood A. Haroon	U.K
4. Mr. H.K Panni	Ceylon
Total	
Ambassadors/high commissioners (non career)	12
West Pakistan	9
East Pakistan	3

Source; Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company .pg, 239

Ratio of extraction officers from East Pakistan is exposed in the above provided data in table IX as well as failure of distribution and response of the system again was nil.

2. Failure responsive capability of system:

Responsiveness of the system culminated with other problems which faced by the people of East Pakistan built consciousness to claim for the independence of sovereign Bangladesh. This capability refers towards what you sowed and in return what you reaped, hence this capability is a link between input and output of the system. In my work I will explain that how the inputs were not checked by the ruling elites of Pakistan and ignored by the leadership which provided its output in the shape of Bangladesh formerly East Pakistan. Various issues when rising from the ground if dealt with tiny matter of pragmatic approach like of national language of the whole united Pakistan there might be possibility of today Pakistan would be much stronger than it is. (ALMOND&POWELL, 1966)

Table X. Number of US officials stationed in Pakistan 1948-71

Year	west Pakistan	east Pakistan
1948	19	0
1949	26	1
1950	28	2
1951	41	3
1952	43	3
1953	56	4
1954	116	5
1955	169	9
1956	190	21
1957	214	45
1958	231	45
1959	229	39
1960	216	39
1961	205	38
1962	239	40
1963	271	36
1964	269	44
1965	119	119
1966	166	68
1967	188	67
1968	193	58
1969	160	52
1970	146	34
Total	3,675	692

Source: Adapted from R. Laporte Jr., Power and Privilege, (Berkeley: University of California press 1975) (pg 169).

Table X explains Deputation of US officials in Pakistan indicate the failure of responsive capability of government as the West Pakistani government kept on exploiting and humiliating East Pakistan which ultimately resulted in secession of East Pakistan.

Table XI. East and West Pakistan representation in CSP, 1959-67

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan		
	Total no. of officers		No. total	% of total	No. total % of total
1959	24		12	50.0	12 50.0
1960	31		19	67.7	10 32.3
1961	27		17	63.0	10 37.0
1962	27		15	55.5	12 44.5
1963	31		18	58.1	13 41.9
1964	33		19	57.8	14 42.2
1965	30		15	50.0	15 50.0
1966	30		16	53.4	14 46.6
1967	30		17	56.7	13 43.3

Source: R. Jahan, op.cit (pg 107)

Table XI shows that the share of government officials was not made according to the merit except in 1959 after that continuously rate of participation went on dropping. Which is showing the commitment of West Pakistan to deal its other part.

Table XII. Governors State Bank of Pakistan.

Year	East	West
1. 7.1948	-	1
1. 1.1949	-	1
1. 1.1950	-	1
1. 1.1951	-	1
1. 1.1952	-	1
1. 1.1953	-	1
1. 1.1954	-	1
1. 1.1955	-	1
1. 1.1956	-	1
1. 1.1957	-	1
1. 1.1958	-	1
1. 1.1959	-	1
1. 1.1960	-	1
1. 1.1961	-	1
1. 1.1961	-	1
1. 1.1962	-	1
1. 1.1963	-	1
1. 1.1964	-	1
1. 1.1965	-	1
1. 1.1966	-	1
1. 1.1967	1	1

Source; Alqama, D. (1997). *Bengali Elites Perceptions Of Pakistan*. karachi: Royal book company.pg,248.

Conclusion

In the conclusion of research, if the followings statements are made, then if the negation of these can only prove as unjust, with the entire trauma, secession of East Pakistan was sole failure of West Pakistan centered government failure as the respective offices unable to meet the demand of masses. The genesis of problem lies in the segregation of United Pakistan East Pakistan and West Pakistan into Bangladesh as Pakistan. The main cause of disintegration of East Pakistan was the exploitation and deprivation of East Pakistani masses and leadership by West Pakistani government extraction of resources from East

Pakistan as well as biased distribution of resources in regards of East and West Pakistan. It is failure of the system responsive capability as it failed to meet with the demands as well as need of the masses and keep on exploiting the previously deprived class. Basic infra-structure was lacking in the Eastern wing of Pakistan which as became cause of their protest against West Pakistan hegemony ultimately which resulted in the form of 1971 December 16 the event with fall of Dhaka. The entire factors culminated in secession of east west from main land Pakistan (West Pakistan). Pakistan's Political system 1947-1971 worked for the disadvantage of majority ethnic group of the region of East Pakistan who were being deprived of their interests by the West Pakistan dominated government. The system capabilities generated a feeling of deprivation and marginalized in East Pakistan and also provoked the inhabitants of East Pakistan to safeguard their fundamental rights. Hence they took refuge in secessionist movement. Resources were extracted from East Pakistan by systems. System incentives were allocated in a manner that created disparity between the country's two wings. The system was less and much less attentive to the needs of the Bengali people. As the total study from 1947 to 1971 shows the image of West Pakistan's exploitation of East Pakistan since Pakistan's emergence as an independent state bias towards West 's growth is seen in the phase of budget allocation, distribution of loans for economic development, Recruitment of officials and the provision of work opportunities for East Pakistan's vulnerable citizens. As far as resource extraction is concerned, West Pakistan played a decisive role in East Pakistan's secession as exports were several times that of East Pakistan, but there was little amount of imports or incoming grants in exchange. If we look at the entire phenomenon of all the injustices from 1947 to December 1971, it can be concluded that since the language problem of East Pakistan 1948-1953, when stern response was embraced by the Government of West Pakistan, the distribution of the system lacked its active participation among the masses of East Pakistan. If we argue that the secession of East Pakistan was all due to inability of a system that could not respond to the needs and demands of the masses of East Pakistan and the integration of Pakistan was challenged by the desperate leadership of East Pakistan. We expect this dissertation to end with the expectation that 2our findings may assist the scholars and practitioners alike in their efforts to improve that living conditions for the ethnic groups in the respective multi-ethnic states. Our sincere wish is that the rather discouraging Pakistani experience should nowhere be repeated, and may serve as antique example to interested Politicians that a manifest willingness to compromise at an early stage and to engage immediately in a mutual give and take process between the two hostile parties may be at the brink of lose, it could be best antidote against any secessionist intentions of ethnic groups and may be able to ban the façade of partition forever.

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