



LEADERSHIP CRISES AND FAILURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF ISOLATION OF EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN

Dr. Nasir Abbas
Lecturer, Pakistan Studies,
Govt. Alamdar Hussain Islamia Graduate College
Multan-Pakistan
davidbaloch82@gmail.com

Kashif Imtiaz Khan,
Lecturer, Political Science,
Govt. Alamdar Hussain Islamia Graduate College
Multan-Pakistan
kashifimtiaz1648@gmail.com

Muhammad Ramzan Rimzi
Lecturer, History
GGC, Choubara,
Layyah - Pakistan
rimzi1124@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Since the inception of Pakistan on the map of the world as a result of the partition of all India, the dominancy of the Western part of Pakistan was very clear but un-understandable. The political parties and leaders from the West Pakistan always thought themselves superior to that of East Pakistan. This behaviour of the political parties and the leadership from the West Wing gave birth to hatred among the subjects belonging to the East Pakistan. The political Parties and the leadership never tried to take such steps which could create harmony among the masses of the both sides. As the time passed, hatred increased. The reflection of these hatred emerged in the general elections, held on 1970. Awami League led by Sheikh Muji-Ur-Rehman secured 160 seats out of 162 seats allocated for the East Pakistan but unfortunately, it failed to win even in a single constituency of the West Pakistan. On the other hand, PPP led by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, secured a marginalised victory of 81 seats out of total 138 seats allocated for the West Pakistan but it did not participate in East Pakistan. These unexpected results further divided the parties and leadership because the West Pakistan was not ready to give its dominance in the hands of the East Pakistan while there was an absolute majority of the East Pakistan and constitutionally, the rule was to be given to Awami League. Whereas, the leadership of that time is concerned, they were not



ready to solve the rift politically. The problems increased; Pakistan had to go into war with India in 1971. As a result of this political chaos and anarchy Pakistan had to face humiliation in the war. The East Pakistan separated from the West Pakistan and emerged as an independent country on international sphere, known as "The Republic of Bangladesh". This study also unwraps some shrouded things such as, West Pakistan's genocism act against the East Pakistanis and the Indian roll of taking part into the matter of Pakistan, which became an immediate factor for physical separation of Pakistan. The study uncovers how Indian intervention into the burning matter, reinforced the already existing variables, paved a way for the creation of Bangladesh. Paradoxically, foreign agents such as the USA, USSR and China had a very bounded and limited impact on the sources and upsurge of the East-West isolation.

Keywords: Partition, West Pakistan, East Pakistan, Constitution, Dhaka, Mukti Bahini, Elections, Awami League, Peoples Party.

Introduction

The Muslims of the subcontinent struggled for many decades in order to have their independent state in South Asia. The creation of Pakistan on 14 August 1947 was a mile stone for the Muslims of subcontinent. Pakistan rose as a biggest Muslim state in the Islamic world. Pakistan was consisting of two parts separated by thousands of mile with the hostile state of India. The Eastern part of Pakistan was well versed as East Pakistan (presently Bangladesh) while the Western part was called West Pakistan (currently Pakistan). Pakistan got the credit being created only on ideological basis. The Ideology of Islam played a key role in the formation of Pakistan. It was the Islam which was very common among the Muslim community of the Subcontinent. Islam played a vital role in uniting Muslims of India. Islam worked as a binding force among the Muslims of the subcontinent. The whole Muslim community converted into Islamic brotherhood within a short and limited period of time. But unfortunately, after the creation of Pakistan this binding force could not work any more in keeping the Muslim community united. The bond of brotherhood continuously went downward with every passing moment. Attempts made to increase the bond of love between the two parts were mere killing of time based on selfishness of stakeholders. No serious attempts were made to reduce resistance between the two culturally different parts of the country.

CULTURAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFERENCES

Once Pakistan was created, the uniting bond of two parts that was Islamic Ideology, was forgotten and several cultural and geographical differences arose to give birth to hatred on the both sides. The geographical distance between the two parts became meaningful reason of disunity between the two wings of Pakistan. Apart from this, the culture of the people living in both parts of Pakistan was much different from each other. The rich class of West Pakistan considered themselves superior to that of people in the Eastern part. The poor people of Eastern part of Pakistan were ridiculed by the rich class of the Western part of Pakistan. Moreover, the educated rich class of West Pakistan used to make fun of living standards



of those people living in the East Pakistan. The eating habits, the way of dressing and the rituals of the both parts of Pakistan were different from each other. Beside this, there was no connection, mutual understanding and travelling of people of both sides towards each other. As the people of West Pakistan were more concentrated in considering themselves highly superior to that of East Pakistan, so the marital relations could not be produced among the people of both sides. Due to these reasons the cultural differences between both parts could never be culminated.

THE ROLE OF BUREAUCRACY AND MILITARY

With the creation of Pakistan, bureaucracy got absolute power in the state. Bureaucracy and military were most powerful departments of British rule in the subcontinent. Both the departments continued their previous practices of doing whatever they wanted to do even in their own new born country. They took illegal prestige and benefits using their absolute power and authority in the country in such a way that a few of them reached the very important posts, for example, Ghulam Muhammad and Sikandar Mirza who never participated in the electoral politics of Pakistan but became the head of the state. They took the advantage of their power and authority in such a way that even Quaid-e-Azam would not have used. As majority of the bureaucracy and military were taken from the West Pakistan, it put a negative impact on the people of the East Pakistan and they started to give an impression that they were being used as a colony of the West Pakistan.

On the other hand, politicians were kept away from the real sense of politics even in the reign of British. They were not as trained as the bureaucracy and military. The establishment took the advantage of the situation by dividing politicians into various fictional groups. The politicians started blame game against each other giving an opportunity to establishment to play their role even in the Pakistan's politics. The political leadership of newly born country was mainly from Landlord class, Wadera Shahi and Jagirdars, they had their own political norms un-matching with the real politics. They wanted to run political department according to their wishes and soon they became an easy tool of establishment. In the real sense it was failure of political parties or leadership to keep the both parts of Pakistan united. Thus, such unnatural developments ended in isolation of Eastern part of Pakistan from that of Western part on 16th December 1971.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In this study, a historical background of East Pakistan would be brought into discussion. For the convenience of the readers, a short period of history comprising 1757-1947 would be made part of this section. All those events which have their historical importance in the above-mentioned period would be tried to highlight in this section of the study. After evaluating all important events of the described period, this study would give a rich information about the historical background of the East Pakistan.

Subcontinent (presently India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) had a great attraction for the traders from the world for its silk, spices and jewelry. First of all, Arab traders turned to this region for the trade in silk and spices. They made a ransom profit for their business. Later, they brought their families in this region



because of peaceful environment of this region. After Arabs, traders from Portugal, France, Holland (Netherland) and Great Britain travelled towards the Subcontinent in order to trade in the following items:

Spices

Silk

Jewelry

Cotton

The British influence in the Subcontinent grew slowly, at first the East India Company (EIC) had its few bases only on the Indian coast but as the time passed, it succeeded in establishing its headquarter at Bombay. By 1690, EIC established another trading post in Calcutta. The Company traded in the above-mentioned items at regular basis and soon the trade became so profitable for the company that it felt a need to have its own army in order to protect its trading posts (Kelly,2014). In the early eighteenth century EIC was enabled to establish three of its main bases in India, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Initially, these bases were called presidencies and later they became the colonies for the British and then they become the major provinces of British India (Kelly,2014). With the passage of time, the company had established its firm roots in the area. Now the company started to see the governing affairs of the Mughal along with the trade. Soon the company came to know that the Mughal were not well organised ruler and they had a weak control over the state. This way of governing such a vast state, inspired the company to take control of the state.

East India Company first time in 1686 took courage to go in war against Aurangzeb but they faced humiliation. The company succeeded to realize the emperor for their ill crimes and apologized for its ill emotions against the state. The emperor pardoned it on the account to pay heavy penalty of its mistake which it committed against the emperor. The company paid the penalty and was allowed to continue its trade in the country (Kelly,2014).

The company learned a lesson from the defeat and organised itself from the new end. Now the company started its rift against other European countries who wanted to earn profits from India. The company managed to defeat all European nations, Portuguese, Dutch and French by turns. The victory of the company against the other European nations gave them a lot of confidence and courage.

Now the company started to intervene into the political matters of the Bengal. The company succeeded in hiring some conspirator of the Bengal against Nawab Siraj-ul-Daulah. The major discontinuity occurred in the political history of Bengal when East India Company defeated Nawab Siraj-ul-Daulah on June 23,1757. Lord Clive became the Governor of the Bengal, after attaining the power, he started to intervene into the affairs of Bengal in all aspects, trade, occupation and even the private lives of the people. The plundering of the Bengal directly contributed to a new era of Industrial revolution in the England. Bengal



became a large source of raw material for British Industry. The capital collected in the Bengal was sent to British to support their Industries. These practices resulted in fall of demand and shortage of capital in Bengal region which ultimately ended in a de-industrialization in the region comprising of Bangladesh and its surroundings (Hussain,2019).

The rule of the British, in South Asia had a deep impact on the traditional society of India. It transformed the society in many ways as: Modern norms of British Law were introduced in the region, concept of modern democracy, bureaucracy, new modes of communications, English language, modern education system. The local markets were opened for the international trade which opened new horizons for development in various aspects of life. British rule also created concept of universal empire, it build new infrastructure to join different areas of Subcontinent closer to each other. The British rule also gave the concept of nationalism to the Indians, on the basis of which Hindus and Muslims became two different nations of All India. This concept of nationalism penetrated into the political arena first of all. For example, when British portioned Bengal in 1905, on some administrative grounds, the Hindu politicians stood against this partition because they realized that this partition would ultimately benefit Muslims of Bengal. Hindus pressurized the British in many ways until the British got forced to annul the partition in 1911(Hussain,2019).

The Muslims of the India got disappointed on the cancellation of the partition of Bengal in 1911.This waved the communal problems in All India, Muslims claimed that the British were not reliable as their attitude was leaning towards the Hindus.

The Road to Pakistan

A political party, "Congress" mainly a party of Hindus, was founded in 1885 by a British A. O. Hume. The Indians were invited to join this political party. The Hindus dominated the party and captured it to run it for their political objectives. Soon the Congress became the political party of Hindus of All India. Hindus started to run their political agenda form the plate form of Congress. When the Muslims of India saw that Congress was the political party of only Hindus which concerned only with the rights of Hindus and it had no concern for the rights of the Muslims of the India. Soon the Muslims of India realized that there should be a political party for the Muslims of the India which should deal with concerns of Muslims with British and other political parties of India. In 1906 Muslims agreed to have their own political party, on 30December 1906, All India Muslim League a political party for the Muslims of the Subcontinent was established at Dhaka (Bangladesh). The major objectives of All India Muslim League were:

To promote the feelings of loyalty among the Muslims of India for the British Government.

2. To protect the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India.

3. To protect Muslims from any sort of rift with the other nations of the India.(Pirzada,1969)



The concept of nationalism introduced by British, divided Muslims and Hindus and both nations started to oppose each other diametrically. The Lahore Resolution was the result of political chaos between the two nations. The Resolution was mainly based on the demand that the geographical contiguous areas be demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary so that the areas in which Muslims are in numerical strength should be united to constitute an independent state for the Muslims of the Subcontinent where the constitutional units be autonomous and sovereign (Hussain, 2019).

Whereas the constitutional point of view of the Resolution is concerned, it consisted of word nations which asserted that there were never only two nations in All India but there were several nations in the India, which shows that the Bengal be declared an independent sovereign state. The partition of the India into only two states indicates the failure of the British policy. British presented a blurred picture for the partition plan.

Political Background (1947-1970)

For the facilitation and convenience of the readers an attempt has been made to make the study easily understandable. In this continuation, the political period between 1947 to 1970 has been divided into three stages:

The Period From 1947-1958

Pakistan 'a dream of the Muslims of the Subcontinent' came truly filled on 14 August 1947 with inheriting several mountainous problems. The Redcliff award unjustly handed over many Muslim majority areas to the India including Batala, Zeera, Gurdaspore and Pathankot. The rehabilitation of the migrated masses from India to newly born Pakistan was another problem faced by Pakistan.

There was a shortage of literate people to run the business of central government. Until the creation of Pakistan, East Pakistan was run by the Hindu management but after creation of Pakistan they were replaced by the people from West Pakistan. One of the severe problems was the problem of language that which language should be the national language of Pakistan (Ziring, 1997).

After the creation, Pakistan was run on the same lines as by the British Government, the Government of Indian Act 1935 was enforced with minimal changes to run the state's affairs. With the death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, power was magically shifted from governor General to the Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan. With the murder of Liaqat Ali Khan, Pakistan faced unstable circumstances which were tried to resolve by the intervention of military and bureaucracy. The Constitution Assembly became lethargic and an ineffective body that took a long period of nine years to draft a constitution for newly born country. Khwaja Nazimuddin succeeded Liaqat Ali Khan as Prime Minister while Ghulam Muhammad a civil servant of the time was sworn as governor general. In 1953, Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Nazimuddin from the seat of prime minister and declared Martial Law in the Punjab and dismissed government in East Pakistan



imposing governor's raj (rule) (Ziring,1997).

While appointing new cabinet in 1954, he appointed Muhammad Ali Bogra as the prime minister, who belonged to Bengal. The meanwhile, Muslim League got defeated in the elections of provincial assembly of East Pakistan. United Front coalition of Bengali regional parties secured an overwhelming majority in the province. These regional parties agreed to two point agenda, the rejection of West Pakistan's domination in the government affairs and the desire for the Bengali provincial autonomy(Hussain,2019).

Muhammad Ali Bogra attempted to minimize the powers and authorities of Governor General Ghulam Muhammad in September-October 1954 but in return he was over thrown by the Governor General Ghulam Muhammad with the support of establishment consisting of military and bureaucracy. A new cabinet was formulated. Sikandar Mirza was formed interior minister, General Ayub Khan was nominated Minister for Defence and Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was sworn as minister for finance. In 1955,Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was made Prime Minister while Ghulam Muhammad fell ill due to plague and Sikandar Mirza succeeded him as a new governor General.

In 1955, an amalgamation of four provinces of West Pakistan was made to a single administrative unit. On 23 March 1956, the first constitution of Pakistan was implemented, which mentioned that there will be one house for the parliament comprising 300 seats, with equal representation from East Pakistan and West Pakistan.

In 1956,Suhrawardy of Awami League replaced Chaudhary Muhammad Ali as a prime Minister and constituted a cabinet of coalition. Suharwardy could not secure his seat when he took a strong stand against the act of abrogation of one unit. Finally,in 1957 president, Sikandar Mirza used his influence to overthrow Suharwardy. Such selfish attitude of the military and bureaucracy eventually put the country to economic downfall and political anarchy. From 1954to 1958 East Pakistan's political Parties seemed struggling for the autonomous power for the provincial government of East Pakistan.

THE PERIOD FROM 1958-66:

The circumstances in Pakistan never got normal, the political chaos increased with every passing moment. Sikandar Mirza abrogated the only two years old constitution in 1958 and proclaimed Martial Law on 7 October 1958. The new cabinet formed by Sikandar Mirza consisted of four generals in ministerial position while eight civilians were sworn to the remaining ministries. Few days later Ayub Khan overthrew Sikandar Mirza by setting him to exile and declared himself Chief Marshal Law Administrator. Ayub Khan, till 1962 replaced many politicians and civilian with army officers. Ayub Khan promulgated a new constitution in 1962 which has the following features.

All executive power and authority was granted to the president. President being the chief executive could appoint ministers without prior permission from the legislature. In this constitution there was no provision for the prime minister. This constitution made a legal provision for the formation of a national assembly,



furthermore, two provincial assemblies, whose members were mandatory to be chosen by a body of basic democrats. The distance between the East Pakistan and West Pakistan increased throughout Ayub's period. The hatred among the masses of East Pakistan reached a height when Suharwardy died in 1963 and the Awami League's leadership went into hands of Mujib-ur-Rehman. Mujib was an aggressive politician, he had already advocated for the liberation of East Pakistan from the West Pakistan even in 1956. He was also put behind the bars during the military coup of 1958. He succeeded to put the issue of autonomy of East Pakistan in the forefront lines of national politics between the period 1960-65. (Sayeed, 1967)

During the period of 1960-65, there was a huge difference between the per capita income of parts of Pakistan. East Pakistan had a lower per capita income as compared to that of West Pakistan. Similarly, the major exports of Pakistan were Jute and Tea which produced in the East Pakistan while the foreign exchange earned from the export was spent mainly in the West Pakistan which annoyed the people of East Pakistan. The office of the president/prime minister being in the West Pakistan was more beneficiary for the Western wing of Pakistan. The living standard of people of West Pakistan was far better than the people of the counterpart. But unfortunately, these issues remained unsettled even in the late sixties. (Sayeed, 1967)

THE PERIOD FROM 1966-70:

Mujib-Ur-Rehman started aggressive politics after taking over the Awami League's leadership. In 1966 he gave his famous six points, called a political objective of the Mujib for the East Pakistan. He demanded:

- i. He asked for the federal government, parliamentary in nature. The legislative members should be elected on the basis of population.
- ii. Only foreign affairs and defence should lie in the hands of federal government.
- iii. Each part of the country should be given an access to have its own currency and managing separate fiscal accounts.
- iv. Taxation should be a provincial matter.
- v. Each part of the country should control and maintain its own foreign exchange.
- vi. Each part of the country be given right to choose its military or paramilitary forces (Kelly, 2014).

The government arrested Mujib in 1968 for his aggression in politics. Ayub Khan resigned from his position on 25 March 1969 and handed over the administration to General Yahya Khan. Yahya made his position clear by announcing that soon he would conduct free elections in the country in order to bring back the democracy in the country and that he would give authority to new constitutional assembly to draft new constitution for the country. (Hussain, 2019)

General Yahya Khan, after assuming the power announced to conduct the general elections countrywide



purely on the basis of adult franchise. He promised to transfer the rule to the elected representative of the masses of Pakistan on the basis of the results of the elections of 1970. He declared that he had a clear aim to transfer the power to the elected members of the people (Chaudhary,1974). The first general elections of Pakistan were held on 1970, which are reported to be the free and fair elections. The results of the elections gave birth to the political chaos and unrest in the country. The formation of the government became a difficult task for the stakeholders. General Yahya is given credit for giving a comprehensive plan known as Legal Frame Work Order (LFO) (Syed,1992). Under LFO, an Election Commission was fixed to conduct the elections consisting of a body of three persons. It was contained in the duty of Election Commission to fix the number of seats for the National Assembly of Pakistan. A figure of 162 was fixed for the general seats and 7 seats for women were reserved in the East Pakistan. While, the general seats fixed in the West Pakistan were 138, along with 6 seats reserved for the women candidates. The number of seats allocated for the West Pakistan were further divided among Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, NWFP and Tribal Areas as: 82+3 from Punjab, 27+1 from Sindh, 4+1 from Baluchistan, 18+1 from NWFP and 7 members were to be elected from Tribal Areas (Khan,2001).

There were 25 political parties who participated in the elections of 1970. A controversy produced among the major political parties over LFO. The two major politicians Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the president of Pakistan's People Party (PPP) and Sheikh Mujib-Ur-Rehman, the then president of Awami League accepted LFO. Many army personnel were not ready to accept the LFO, basically they were against the principle of one man, one vote. They viewed that in this way, Bengali supremacy will be set in the National Assembly and even in the provincial Assembly of the East Pakistan. (Talbot,1999)

From 1st January 1970, election campaign was started by all 25 political parties, participating in the general elections of 1970. The political parties were mainly divided into two groups:

The one group consisted of rightist (religious) political parties while the other group represented the leftist (secular) political parties. The political agenda of rightist group was mainly based on religious slogans while the leftist was modern themes of democracy.

DISTRIBUTION OF TICKETS TO THE LANDED ARISTOCRATES

This has been the history of Pakistan that the political system and political parties always remained under the influence of elite class. The role and the influence of the landed aristocrats in the electoral politics before and after the creation of Pakistan remained so influential that during the elections of 1970, all political parties of Pakistan decided to give tickets of their parties to only those candidates who had a landed political background and were much influential among the masses of their constituencies. It was the mind set of leadership of the political parties that the landed aristocrats had a strong probability to win in their constituencies, particularly in the rural areas, landed aristocrats had deep roots among the masses. On the other hand, the mindset of the poor class was also ready to accept only the landed elite as their representatives. They were not ready to support such a candidate which had a weak or no landed background. Since the elections of 1970, the foundation building of electoral politics was laid on non



electoral behaviours of democratic process. That's why the true sense of electoral politics and democracy have never evolved among the masses. The scale to measure the calibre of a representative in the country is far from the actual scale established by the norms of politics.

Major Political Parties

There were almost 25 political parties contesting the elections of 1970 from East Pakistan and West Pakistan. In this study, the detailed discussion about the political manifestos of the only two major parties would be taken into account. Pakistan's People Party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a major political party of the West Pakistan and the Awami League of Mujib-Ur-Rehman, an influential political party of East Pakistan would be given a special space in this study.

Pakistan People's Party (PPP)

Pakistan People's party was founded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto a landed aristocrat of Sindh. He founded his party in the late 1967 and became the first president of the party while J.A. Rahim was nominated as the first secretary general of the party. Leftists from all sectors of West Pakistan including intellectuals, journalists, poets, writers, poets and students were seemed flocking towards the PP. The labour class particularly from the Punjab turned towards the manifesto of PPP. Landed aristocrat particularly from Punjab and Sindh supported PP. Similarly, a large number of bureaucrats and military men stood in favour of PPP.(Ahmad,1970) Thus, PPP succeeded in gathering many diverse actors of the West Pakistan to their political agenda. The political manifesto of PPP had a great attraction for the masses of the West Pakistan. That's why, the sympathy from all over the Western society of Pakistan immediately turned towards Pakistan People's Party.

Awami League

The All Pakistan Awami Muslim League was founded in 1949 at Dhaka, the then capital of East Pakistan. The founding leaders of the party were Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Shaukat Ali, Yar Muhammad Khan and Shamsul Huq. Later on, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy (former PM of Pakistan) joined the party. This party was established as the Bengali alternative to the dominant Muslim League. Soon after its establishment, the party gained enormous popularity among the masses in the East Pakistan. The party succeeded in mobilizing the Bengali nationalists against the military establishment and political forces of the West Pakistan.(Wikipedia,2023)

After the death of Suharwardy in 1963, Sheikh Mujib-Ur-Rehman became the president of the party. He started an aggressive political pattern in order to safeguard the rights of Bengali Masses. He raised his voice for the independence of East Pakistan and was arrested and prisoned. Later on, he presented his famous six points of demand and finally he started Non-Cooperation Movement during the Bangladesh Liberation War.

Issue of Land Ownership in Manifestos of Major Political Parties



During the 1970 general elections in Pakistan, various political parties contested with different agendas and priorities. One of the major issues that was highlighted during the election campaign was the question of land ownership and the unequal distribution of land in the country. This was particularly important in a country like Pakistan, where agriculture was the main source of income for a large number of people.

The landed aristocracy and jagirdarana nizam were seen as major contributors to the unequal distribution of land. The AL, in East Pakistan and similarly, PPP in West Pakistan, both recognized the importance of addressing this issue in their political manifestos.

The Awami League, a political party led by Mujib, tried to run their election campaign on a platform of greater autonomy for East Pakistan and the recognition of Bengali nationalism. The party promised to bring about land reforms to address the unequal distribution of land and the exploitation of farmers by the landed aristocracy. The party's manifesto promised to implement a ceiling on landownership, distribute surplus land among landless peasants, and provide security of tenure to sharecroppers. On the other hand, the Pakistan People's Party, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, campaigned on a socialist platform that aimed to address the issue of land ownership and other social and economic inequalities in West Pakistan. The party promised to implement land reforms that would distribute land among landless peasants and establish cooperatives to empower farmers.

Both parties recognized that the unequal distribution of land was a major issue that needed to be addressed in order to promote social justice and economic development in the country. However, their approaches differed in terms of the specific policies they proposed to address this issue.

In the end, Awami League rose as the winner of the 1970 elections in East Pakistan, while the Pakistan People's Party rose as the winner in West Pakistan. However, the failure of the ruling elite in West Pakistan to recognize the legitimate demands of the Awami League and other political parties in East Pakistan led to a political crisis and eventually to the Bangladesh Liberation War.(Ahmad,1970)

Awami League

Awami League, a political party of Bangladesh was founded in 1949. The party played a leading role in the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971, which mainly led to the independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan. In the elections, held in 1970, Awami League won a landslide triumph in East Pakistan, winning 160 out of 162 constituencies reserved for East Pakistan in the lower house (National Assembly).

The party campaigned on a platform of more autonomy for the East Pakistan and Bengali nationalism, which was seen as a threat by the ruling elite in West Pakistan. However, the army led by General Yahya Khan, denied to hand over the rule to the Awami League, triggering a political crisis. Then, Awami League decided to boycott the National Assembly, which led to a constitutional deadlock. In response, Yahya Khan launched a brutal crackdown on the Awami League and other pro-democracy activists in East Pakistan, which led to the Liberation War.



In order to control the anarchy, Sheikh Mujib was arrested and kept in imprisonment, while millions of Bengalis fled to neighboring India to escape the violence. After the war, with the creation of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became the country's first Prime Minister. However, his government faced numerous challenges, including the reconstruction of the war-torn country, the influx of refugees from India, and the establishment of a new political and economic system. Despite these numerous challenges, Awami League continued to play a dominant role in Bangladesh's politics. It has been in power for multiple terms, and its current leader, Sheikh Hasina, has been serving as the Prime Minister since 2009. (Wikipedia,2023) The party's platform has evolved over the years, but it continues to emphasize the principles of democracy, secularism, and social justice

Pakistan People's Party

The Pakistan People's Party's (PPP) foundation was laid in 1967 by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, an-ex foreign minister and close aide to Pakistan's military ruler, Ayub Khan. The party's major aim was to empower the common people of Pakistan, especially the rural masses, and to establish a socialist-oriented democracy. Bhutto was a charismatic leader and his message of "Roti, Kapra aur Makan" (Bread, Clothing, and Shelter) resonated with many people, especially the poor.(dailytimes,2010)

The PPP's popularity grew rapidly, and it emerged greatly as an important force in the 1970 general elections. The party campaigned on a platform of land reform, nationalization of industries, and a foreign policy based on non-alignment. Bhutto promised to provide a voice to the downtrodden and to bring an end to the elitist rule that had dominated Pakistan's politics since independence. The PPP's campaign was highly successful, and it got numerically a larger number of seats in both National Assembly as well as in the Provincial Assemblies of Pakistan's Western part.

The PPP's success in the 1970 elections was a turning point in Pakistan's political history. It marked the emergence of a new political order in the country, which challenged the dominance of the traditional elite and opened up avenues for the participation of the masses in the political process. The party's victory also demonstrated the power of grassroots mobilization and the potential for a new kind of politics in Pakistan. However, the PPP's tenure in government was not without its challenges. The country was deeply divided along regional and ethnic lines, and Bhutto's socialist policies were met with resistance from the powerful industrial and business interests. Nevertheless, the PPP's legacy in Pakistan's political history remains significant, and the party continues to be a major force in the country's politics. (Wikipedia, 2023)

Election Results of 1970

Election Commission of Pakistan determined that there were 56,500,000 qualified electors in Pakistan, whom the right to vote could be given. Almost, 135,000,000 ballot papers were printed and the number of polling stations established in the East Pakistan were 16,000 while in the West Pakistan were 14,000.(William,1972)



The elections related to the National Assembly of Pakistan were conducted on 7 December 1970. The two parties emerged as the results of the election's 1970 were announced, PPP and AL. The victory of both parties in nature was a regional victory. No, even a single party could prove to be the national party of the country presenting the party of all regions of Pakistan. In the East Pakistan AL secured 160 seats out of 162 seats. But unfortunately, it failed in securing a single constituency in the four provinces of the West Pakistan. Similarly, the same case was observed in the West Wing, where PPP got 81 seats out of 138 seats but it did not contest election in the East Pakistan. The percentage of votes secured by AL in the East Pakistan was 75.124 while the percentage of votes secured by the AL in the four provinces of West Pakistan was negligible. On the other hand, percentage of votes secured by PPP in the Punjab was 41.65% of the total votes cast in the Punjab. Similarly, the percentage of votes cast in the favour of PPP in Sindh was 44.96% of the total votes cast in the election. It also secured some seats in NWFP and Baluchistan by obtaining 14.30% and 2.38% votes in NWFP and Baluchistan respectively. (Rizvi, 1991) The two political parties, AL and PPP emerged as a result of the elections, these elections proved to be a setback for the other older, regional and religious political parties. The landed aristocrats made a great proportion in the election results of 1970. Out of the total seats, 51 candidates were landed aristocrats, making a 16.291% of the total seats. All these landed aristocrats were elected from the West Pakistan and no one landed aristocrat was elected from the East Pakistan. This result showed that there was a clear difference of voting behaviors among the masses of two parts of Pakistan.

Though, 25 political parties went into the elections of 1970, but only two parties could emerge as the major political parties of Pakistan as a result of the elections. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from the West Pakistan while Mujib-Ur-Rehman from the East Pakistan emerged as the leaders of the two sides of Pakistan. The results of the elections of 1970 were beyond the expectations of the officials of the Pakistan. Awami League stood at the top of the result sheet while the PPP was on the second place on the same sheet. Bhutto himself, was astonished to see the results of the various constituencies as they were not matching with the results which Bhutto had dreamt. He was not expecting from the establishment a free and fair elections to emerge him as a power, particularly in the Punjab.

In the following table the results of the election of 1970 has been shown for the better understanding of the readers of this study. (Rizvi, 1991)

The Seats Secured by the various parties during the elections of 1970



Name of political Party	Seats won in East Pakistan	Seats Won in Punjab	Seats Won in Sindh	Seats won in NWFP	Seats won in Baluchistan	Total number of seats Won
AL	160				-----	160
PPP		62	18	01	-----	081
CML		07				007
CVML		02				002
QML	-----	01	01	07		009
PDP	001					001
JUI	-----			06	01	007
JUP		04	03			007
JI		01	02	01		004
NAP				03	03	006
Independent	001	05	03	07		016
Total	162	82	27	25	04	300

SOURCE: Ahmad Shujja Paasha, Pakistan a Political Profile 1947 to 1988.(Pasha,1991)

The above table is a true picture of popularity of the various political parties among the masses of the two parts of Pakistan. This table also shows that howv the political manifestos of the different political parties were matching with the needs and demands of the masses. The voting behaviour of the masses reflected in the results of the elections of 1970.

Aftermath

The 1970 elections in Pakistan were historic and significant, as they were the first democratic elections held in Pakistan after a decade of military rule. The elections were held on the basis of universal adult suffrage, where every adult citizen was given the right to vote without any discrimination of religion, caste,



or creed. The results of the elections had very deep and profound impact on the political and social fabric of the country and set in progress a long series of unwanted events that led to the separation between East and West Pakistan and paved a way for the creation of Bangladesh.

The elections of 1970 were a three-way contest among the PPP, AL and PML led by Nurul Amin. The Awami League contested primarily in East Pakistan, while the Pakistan People's Party and the Pakistan Muslim League contested in West Pakistan. The Awami League's demand for greater autonomy for East Pakistan was a central theme of its election campaign. The results of the elections were a surprise to many. The Awami League succeeded in securing an overwhelming majority, winning 167=160(general)+07(women reserved seats) out of the 169=162(general)+07(reserved for women) total reserved seats for East Pakistan. While PPP emerged as single largest party in West Pakistan, securing 81 seats out of the 138 seats reserved for the West Pakistan.

The Pakistan Muslim League obtained only 9 seats, from the total seats reserved for West Pakistan. The results of the elections were significant, as they gave a clear mandate to the Awami League to form a government at the federal level. However, the military establishment, which had ruled Pakistan for most of its history, was unwilling to stand with the results of the elections. The military leadership viewed the Awami League's demand for greater autonomy for East Pakistan as a threat to the unity and integrity of Pakistan. The military establishment didn't agree to give power in the hands of Awami League. This act of the establishment gave blow to widespread protests and civil disobedience in East Pakistan. The protests were met with a brutal crackdown by the military, which led to widespread human rights violations and atrocities against civilians. The situation in East Pakistan deteriorated rapidly, and the Awami League declared independence on 26th March 1971, which pushed Pakistan into a civil war with East Pakistan. India took the advantage of the situation and rushed into the war supporting the latter.

The war ended in December 1971 with a deep wound of separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. The aftermath of the 1970 elections and the separation of East and West Pakistan had a profound impact on the political and social fabric of Pakistan. The country was left with a deep sense of loss and disillusionment, and the country's military establishment was severely discredited. The separation of East and West Pakistan had significant economic consequences for the country, as East Pakistan was the country's industrial and agricultural heartland. The country's economy suffered a severe setback, and it took several years for the country to recover. In conclusion, the 1970 elections in Pakistan were a turning point in the country's history. The results of the elections were significant, as they gave a clear mandate to the Awami League to form a government at the federal level.

However, the establishment's refusal to accept the results and subsequently, the separation of East and West Pakistan put a deep impact on the country's political and social fabric. The events of 1970 and their aftermath continue to shape the country's political landscape and influence its relationship with neighbouring countries.

Indo-Pak War 1971 and Emergence of Bangladesh



Background of The War

The elections held in 1970, ultimately put Pakistan on the way of its dismemberment. The absolute majority of the Awami League in the elections was not being digested by a section of the military and political leadership. They were not agree to accept the traditional dominance of West Pakistan to be overturned.

The Awami League won the elections with such a huge margin that it became the principal party not only in the East Pakistan but also in the National Assembly as a whole. This victory with a remarkable margin enabled the AL to form the government on its own. This gave birth to the probability that the future prime minister and the entire cabinet of the country would be from the East Pakistan. The overwhelming win of PPP in the West Pakistan would keep it out of rule until AL invited it to share power (Kelly, 2014).

The second problem created was that the Awami League had won the elections on agenda of limiting the rule of Central government over the provinces. AL had demanded the provincial control over the foreign exchange earned from the provincial trade. This was an attempt to reduce the control of Central government in the West Pakistan (Kelly, 2014).

Consequently, many generals including Yahya Khan and the politicians from the West Pakistan were not ready to allow the six points charter of demand presented by Mujib-Ur-Rehman put into action.

Yahya Khan started arguing with Mujib of Awami League to go behind from his demand of limiting the powers of Central government. On the other hand, there was years frustration among the masses of East Pakistan, they built their pressure on Mujib to remain firm in his demands. In 1971, Bhutto declared that he would not produce his elected candidates in the assembly until Mujib comes forward to negotiate with other political parties and promises them power sharing in the government. Finally, on 1 March 1971, just two days before the conduct of assembly meeting, Yahya Khan was forced to postpone the opening of the assembly without announcing a new date for the meeting of the assembly (Kelly, 2014).

This decision made by Yahya Khan gave blow to fire among the masses of the East Pakistan. They thought that Yahya Khan was betraying them. In a reaction to this announcement, the subjects from East Pakistan, immediately decided to launch a move of civil disobedience aided by riots, strikes and refused to pay taxes to the government. Upon this, Yahya Khan got aggressive, he called for the governor of the East Pakistan General Tikka Khan and appointed him as Chief Martial Law Administrator in the East Pakistan. On 15 March 1971, Yahya along with Bhutto met Sheikh Mujib in Dhaka to reach a solution of the situation but all in vain. The two (Yahya & Bhutto) came back from the East Pakistan. (Ziring, 1997)

In order to make the Bengalis learn a lesson, Yahya, started an operation searchlight in the East Pakistan to crush Bengali nationalism. All the extremists of the movement including Bengali nationalists and Hindus were treated harshly. Mujib-Ur-Rehman was arrested and thousands of Bengais were killed in order to suppress the voice of the Bengalis but results were vice versa. In retaliation to the situation Bengalis



secretly announced the formation of a sovereign Republic of Bangladesh by separating East Pakistan from that of West Pakistan. On 31 March 1971, India announced its support to Bengali people against West Pakistan. They started supporting Bengalis in all aspects even providing training to the rebel army 'Mukti Bahini' of East Pakistan. The relation between India and Pakistan deteriorated. Yahya Khan sent more troops to crush the rebels in the East Pakistan (Ziring,1997).

The politicians in the West Pakistan supported the measure taken by Yahya Khan against the people of East Pakistan even Bhutto said that 'Pakistan has been saved'. Upon this the reliability of Bengalis on army and politicians of West Pakistan vanished. On one hand Pakistan's politicians and army were making conspiracies against each other while on the other hand India was found busy to extend its relations with the international community. In August 1971, India and Soviet Union signed an agreement in terms of peace, friendship and commerce.

This treaty opened the eyes of Yahya, he commented that this treaty meant was Soviet Union would support India if India goes a war with Pakistan. Pakistani ally's were less keen to involve themselves into the situation as they called it Pakistan's internal matter and suggested Yahya to negotiate with Awami League to settle the matter.(Kelly,2014)

On 21 November 1971, Mukti Bahini the rebellion force of East Pakistan launched an attack to capture the town of Jessore and remained successful. The Indian forces involvement into the internal matters of Pakistan and their supporting behaviour to Mukti Bahini made Yahya fierce. He declared the state of emergency in the East Pakistan and warned the people for a war against Pakistan. On the other side Indian forces started patrolling on the border of East Pakistan.

Physical War with India

The physical war between Pakistan and India started on 3 December 1971 when Pakistan's Air Force attacked on East Pakistan and Northern India. An immediate reaction from India came claiming it a self-defence. Pakistan's army had no match with that of India in any aspect. India's superiority was very obvious particularly in logistics. Indian naval suspended the way of Pakistan in the Bay of Bengal by blocking the way by their naval forces. Pakistan's air capability was eliminated within no time.(Ziring,1997)

Creation of Bangladesh was the primary objective of New Delhi. The Indian army took advantage of the situation and destroyed the Pakistan's war making capability. Indian forces also started intervening into Kashmir and West Pakistan's frontier as well. Pakistan forces tried to divert Indian forces from Kashmir and Bengal but they were not successful at a large.

After two days, the war started, India came to declare the official government of Bangladesh. Dhaka was surrounded by the Indian forces within the two weeks.

When the war was at its peak, UN Security Council tried to find a political solution of the situation. Bhutto



went to New York to attend the UN talks. The UN passed a resolution to stop the war calling both countries to stop fighting and evacuating East Pakistan until a solution was reached. As the USSR was found ready to fight for India against Pakistan while US and other allies of Pakistan were not ready to fight for the Pakistan. Bhutto returned to Pakistan disappointed by knowing that the Pakistan had to fight and win the war on its own. A week later the arrival of Bhutto back in Pakistan, Yahya Khan accepted defeat in the hands of Indian army and ordered the Pakistan army in the East Pakistan to surrender.

After being defeated in the hands of Indian soldiers Pakistan faced humiliation in the world. All its claims being the best army in the world got shattered. Mukti Bahini started killing those people who were suspected support Pakistan during the war. Bengalis also blamed Pakistan army that they were found guilty in wiping out many Bengali professionals during the final days of the war in order to make the rival country a weaker one to them.

The people in the West Pakistan felt humiliation on this defeat and were found disappointed on the situation as they were told that the Awami League was mere a small group of unorganised Bengali people. The masses were told that if Indian army intervened the situation, they will also face humiliation but the things happened in reverse order. Pakistan faced humiliation on accepting its defeat. A large number more than ninety thousand soldiers and high military officials surrendered before the India army and were arrested by India. (Ziring, 1997) The failure of the war was actually the failure of political parties or leadership, their greed for the rule and immaturity in their political career for which Pakistan had to pay an enormous cost.

On 3 December 1971, the physical war between Pakistan and India began when Pakistan's Air Force launched an attack on East Pakistan and Northern India. India immediately reacted, claiming it as self-defence. However, the Pakistan army was no match for India in any aspect, as India's superiority was evident, particularly in logistics. The Indian naval forces blocked Pakistan's way in the Bay of Bengal, suspending their naval capabilities. Pakistan's air capability was eliminated in no time. The primary objective of New Delhi was the creation of Bangladesh, and the Indian army took advantage of the situation by destroying Pakistan's war-making capability. Indian forces also started intervening in Kashmir and West Pakistan's frontier. Pakistan forces attempted to divert Indian forces from Kashmir and Bengal, but their attempts were not successful on a large scale. Within two weeks, the Indian army surrounded Dhaka and declared the official government of Bangladesh. When the war was at its peak, the UN Security Council attempted to find a political solution. Bhutto went to New York to attend UN talks, and the UN passed a resolution to stop the war and evacuate East Pakistan until a solution was reached. However, the USSR was willing to fight for India against Pakistan, while the US and other allies of Pakistan were not ready to fight for Pakistan. Bhutto returned to Pakistan, disappointed that Pakistan had to fight and win the war on its own. A week later, Yahya Khan accepted defeat in the hands of the Indian army and ordered the Pakistan army in East Pakistan to surrender. After being defeated, Pakistan faced humiliation in the world, as its claims of being the best army in the world were shattered. Mukti Bahini began killing people suspected of supporting Pakistan during the war, and Bengalis blamed the Pakistan army for wiping out many Bengali professionals during the final days of the war (Ziring, 1997). The people in West Pakistan felt humiliated by this defeat and were disappointed with the situation, as they were told that the Awami League was a



small group of unorganised Bengali people. The masses were told that if the Indian army intervened, they would also face humiliation, but the situation happened in reverse order. Pakistan faced humiliation on accepting its defeat. Over ninety thousand soldiers and high military officials surrendered before the Indian army and were arrested by India. The failure of the war was the failure of political parties or leadership, their greed for power, and their political immaturity, for which Pakistan paid an enormous cost. It was a significant turning point in the history of Pakistan and India, which still affects their relationship to this day.

Consequences of The War

The Pakistan (East+West) had died by pouring acid on its body years before but its burial ceremony was marked on 16 December 1971, when General Niazi surrendered with his army before the General Jagjit Singh Arora. This day is remarked as the day of disappointment in the history of Pakistan while for India, the same day is of high celebrations. On this day, East Pakistan got separated from the West Pakistan due to the failure of political parties and leadership crises in the country. No serious attempts were made to heal the injuries of people of the East Pakistan, they were tried to suppress with force, this injustice to them finally forced them to separate from the West Pakistan.

On 16 December 1971 defeat in the war brought a great disgrace for Yahya and rest of the military. Finally, Yahya resigned from the office of the president on 20 December 1971 and Bhutto was sworn as a president of Pakistan.

On 21 December 1971, the Republic of Bangladesh was declared officially. Two weeks later, Mujib-Ur-Rehman was released from the prison and was sent to the Bangladesh by Bhutto, where he became the first Prime Minister of the Bangladesh on 10 January 1972. (Kelly, 2014)

The tragic death of the Pakistan (East+West) was not a sudden occurrence, but a slow and painful demise caused by years of neglect, poor governance, and disregard for the rights and aspirations of the people of East Pakistan. The brutal suppression of dissent, the imposition of martial law, and the failure of political parties and leaders to address the legitimate grievances of the Bengali people had created an atmosphere of resentment and disillusionment. The surrender of General Niazi on 16 December 1971 was not just a military defeat but a moral and political defeat for the entire nation. While India celebrated the birth of Bangladesh on this day, Pakistan was left to mourn its disintegration. The failure of political parties and leadership crises in Pakistan were major factors that contributed to the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan. The ruling elite in West Pakistan had little regard for the culture, language, and aspirations of the people of East Pakistan, who were treated as second-class citizens. The political parties, including the Awami League, which had won a clear mandate in the 1970 elections, were denied their rightful place in the power structure, and their demands for autonomy and self-rule were ignored. The result was a growing sense of alienation and frustration among the people of East Pakistan, who felt marginalized and oppressed. The failure to address the grievances of the Bengali people ultimately led to a violent confrontation, as the Pakistan military launched a brutal crackdown on the Bengali population in March



1971.(Chaudhary,2015)

The military operation, which was aimed at suppressing the independence movement, resulted in widespread atrocities and human rights abuses. The Bengali people were subjected to rape, torture, and extrajudicial killings, and millions were forced to flee their homes. Despite international condemnation, the Pakistan military continued its campaign of terror, causing further resentment and anger among the Bengali population. The surrender of General Niazi on 16 December 1971 was the final nail in the coffin of the Pakistan (East+West). It marked the end of a painful and tragic chapter in the history of the subcontinent, and the birth of a new nation, Bangladesh. While India celebrated the victory, Pakistan was left to face the consequences of its actions. The defeat in the war brought a great disgrace to Yahya and the military establishment, and led to the resignation of Yahya on 20 December 1971.(Chaudhary,2015) Bhutto took over as the new president of Pakistan, but the damage had been done, and the scars of the war and its aftermath would take years to heal. In conclusion, the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan was a result of the failure of political parties and leadership crises in Pakistan, which created an atmosphere of resentment and alienation among the Bengali population.

The brutal military crackdown on the independence movement, the failure to address the legitimate grievances of the Bengali people, and the defeat in the war all contributed to the disintegration of the Pakistan (East+West). The birth of Bangladesh on 16 December 1971 marked the end of one era and the beginning of another, and the consequences of the war continue to be felt in the region to this day. The war of 1971 between Pakistan and India was a significant event in the history of the Indian subcontinent. The conflict arose as a result of political and social tensions between East and West Pakistan, which eventually led to the creation of Bangladesh. The war had far-reaching consequences, which affected both Pakistan and India, as well as the broader South Asian region. In this essay, we will explore the consequences of the 1971 war and its impact on the region. One of the most significant consequences of the 1971 war was the emergence of Bangladesh as a separate country.(Haqqani,2005)

The war resulted in the defeat of the Pakistani military and the creation of Bangladesh. This had a profound impact on the region and the world, as it marked the first time that a Muslim-majority country had gained independence from another Muslim-majority country. Bangladesh emerged as a new country, with its own government and constitution, and its creation led to a significant realignment of power in South Asia. The war also had significant economic consequences for both Pakistan and India. Pakistan's defeat in the war resulted in the loss of a significant portion of its territory and resources, which had a severe impact on its economy. In contrast, India's victory in the war helped to boost its economy, as it gained access to new markets and resources in the region. The war also had geopolitical consequences, as it led to a realignment of power in the region. Pakistan's defeat in the war resulted in a significant loss of influence in the region, while India's victory helped to establish it as a regional power. The war also had broader implications for international relations, as it led to a shift in global alliances and a reconfiguration of the balance of power. In addition to these consequences, the war also had significant humanitarian consequences. The conflict resulted in widespread violence and displacement, with millions of people forced to flee their homes. The war also resulted in significant loss of life, with estimates suggesting that hundreds of thousands of people



may have been killed during the conflict. In conclusion, the consequences of the 1971 war between Pakistan and India were far-reaching and had a significant impact on the region and the world.(Haque,2011)

The emergence of Bangladesh as a separate country, the economic consequences for both Pakistan and India, the realignment of power in the region, and the humanitarian consequences of the conflict all had a lasting impact on South Asia. The war serves as a reminder of the complex and interconnected nature of global politics and the importance of peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Summary and Conclusion of The Study:

Summary of The Study:

With its creation Pakistan inherited several issues. Among these, political, leadership and constitutional issues were the major issues that were never solved and remained unresolved until the separation of the two wings. During the formulation of the new constitution for Pakistan, it was very difficult job to decide that what number of national assembly seats would be given to each part.

With the death of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, political crises started in the country. All powers and Authorities vested with Governor General were immediately transferred to the office of the Prime Minister. Khwaja Nazim-Ul-Din became the second Governor General. The leadership crises enhanced more with the death of Liaqat Ali Khan, Pakistan's first Prime Minister in 1951. Since then, the military and bureaucracy started intervening in the politics of Pakistan. Khwaja Nazim-Ul-Din became the second prime minister of Pakistan while Ghulam Muhammad (a bureaucrat) took the oath of Governor General. The political crises deepen more with the intervention of military and bureaucracy. In 1953, Ghulam Muhammad dismissed Nazimuddin from the seat of prime minister and declared Martial Law in the Punjab and imposed governor's rule in the East Pakistan. In 1954, he appointed new cabinet, Muhammad Ali Bogra was appointed as the prime minister who was from Bengal. The meanwhile, Muslim League got defeated in the hands of United Front (coalition of regional parties of Bengal) during the elections of provincial Assemblies of East Pakistan. These regional parties agreed to two point agenda, the rejection of West Pakistan's domination in the government affairs and the desire for the Bengali provincial autonomy. In 1955, Chaudhary Muhammad Ali was made Prime Minister while Ghulam Muhammad fell ill due to plague and Sikandar Mirza succeeded him as a new governor General. In 1955, all four provinces found in West Pakistan were merged into a single administrative unit. On 23 March 1956, the first constitution of Pakistan was implemented, which mentioned that there will be one house for the parliament comprising 300 seats, with equal representation from East Pakistan and West Pakistan. In 1956, Suhrawardy of Awami League replaced Chaudhary Muhammad Ali as a prime Minister and formed a coalition cabinet. Sikandar Mirza abrogated the only two years old constitution in 1958 and proclaimed Martial Law in the country on 7th October 1958.

Few days later Ayub Khan overthrew Sikandar Mirza by setting him to exile and declared himself Chief



Marshal Law Administrator. Ayub Khan, till 1962 replaced many politicians and civilian with army officers. Ayub Khan promulgated a new constitution in 1962. In 1963, Awami League's leadership went into hands of Mujib-ur-Rehman. In 1966 he gave his famous six points, called a political demand for the East Pakistan.

Ayub Khan resigned from his position on 25 March 1969 and handed over the administration to General Yahya Khan. Yahya made his position clear by announcing that soon he would conduct free elections in the country in order to restore the democracy in the country and that he would give authority to new constitutional assembly to draft new constitution for the country. The first general elections in the history of Pakistan were held on 1970. The two parties emerged as a result of the elections 1970, PPP and AL. The victory of both parties in nature was a regional victory. In the East Pakistan AL secured 160 seats out of 162 seats. But unfortunately, it failed to win even a single seat in the four provinces of the West Pakistan. Similarly, the same case was observed in the West Wing, where PPP secured 81 seats out of 138 seats but it did not contest elections in the East Pakistan.

The controversy between the two leaders (Mujib & Bhutto) gave birth to the political chaos that led the country to a tragic division. This political anarchy ended in a separation of East Pakistan from the West Pakistan giving birth to a separate sovereign state of Bangladesh on the map of the world.

Conclusion of The Study:

The current study has reached two points, at first this study concludes that when someone behaves his most reliable friend, unfriendly and discriminately then in reaction to one's behaviour he will turn down you and will behave you in the same manners. Same was the case of West Pakistan towards the East Pakistan. The second thing that study has tried to prove is that a third party will come to fill the gap generated. This is just like when East Pakistan and West Pakistan turned against the interests of each other, India came forward to took advantage of the situation. It was in the keen interest of India, if two parts of Pakistan fight against each other and become worst enemies. The creation of Pakistan was never digested by India as India was badly entangled between the two parts of Pakistan. it was never easy for India to intervene in any side of Pakistan. There were many factors generated by India to turn the masses of East Pakistan to stand against the West Pakistan. Besides the enemy, there was no lessen made by the friends. They did every things to put salt to the injury. This behaviour resulted in a separation of two parts of Pakistan. The separation of two parts of Pakistan in 1971 was a significant event in the history of the Indian subcontinent. The separation was a culmination of years of political and social tensions between the two regions, resulting in a bloody conflict that lasted for nine months and resulted in the creation of Bangladesh. The question of whether the separation was a failure of political parties or leadership is complex, as there were multiple factors that contributed to the event. However, it can be argued that both the political parties and leadership role was a key factor in this failure. Political parties in Pakistan, including the Muslim League and the Awami League, failed to address the grievances and demands of the people of East Pakistan. The Awami League, which represented the people of East Pakistan, demanded greater autonomy and a more prominent role in the government. However, their demands were ignored by the West Pakistani-dominated government, which led to further resentment and anger among the people of East Pakistan. The Muslim



League, on the other hand, failed to mediate between the two regions and find a viable solution to the conflict. Leadership in Pakistan also played a crucial role in the failure of the state. The military government of General Yahya Khan, which came to power in 1969, failed to address the growing tensions between East and West Pakistan. Yahya Khan's decision to postpone the first general elections in 1971, which would have given the Awami League a clear majority, was a major catalyst for the conflict. Additionally, the military's brutal crackdown on the Bengali population during the conflict only served to further alienate them from the rest of Pakistan. In conclusion, the separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan was a failure of both political parties and leadership. The failure of political parties to address the grievances of the people of East Pakistan and the failure of leadership to find a viable solution to the conflict ultimately led to the separation and the creation of Bangladesh. The events of 1971 serve as a reminder of the importance of effective political leadership and the need to address the grievances of all sections of society.



References

- Ahmed, M. (1999). The causes behind the failure of the State of Pakistan. *Asian Affairs*, 26(1), 5-23.
- Aziz, K.K. (2011). *The 1971 war and the creation of Bangladesh*. Oxford University Press.
- Bhattacharya, R. (2010). The partition of Bengal and creation of East Bengal and Assam: A reappraisal. *Social Scientist*, 38(11/12), 1-17.
- Bose, S. (2011). *Dead reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh war*. Columbia University Press. *Causes, Concocted Myths*. Retrieved March Sunday, 2023, from
- Chakrabarty, B. (2015). *The separation of East Pakistan: The untold story*. SAGE Publications.
- Chaudhary, G.W. (1993). *The Last Days of United Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Chaudhuri, M.A. (2015). *Pakistan's disintegration: Memories of East Pakistan*. Routledge.
- Fakhar-e-Alam, S. (2015, December Tuesday). Fall of *Dhaka 16 Dec 1971*:
- Haq, S.M. (2014). *The emergence of Bangladesh: An ethnographic study of the 1971 war*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Haqqani, H. (2005). *Pakistan: Between mosque and military*. Carnegie Endowment.
- Haque, E. (2011). The 1971 Indo-Pak war: A reassessment. *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 34(3), 25-44.
- Hasan, M. (2012). *The 1971 war: Reflections on the Bangladesh war and its aftermath*. Rupa Publications.
- Hossain, S. (2016). Bangladesh's 1971 Liberation War: A case study of strategic communication. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 26(2), 145-161.
<http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk>
- Hussain, B. (2010, January Sunday). Fall of Dhaka. Retrieved March Sunday, 2023, from SCRIBED: www.scribbed.com
- Hussain, I. (2013, September Saturday). Story of *Pakistan*. Retrieved March Sunday, 2023, from Fall of Dhaka 1971: <http://storyofpakistan.com>
- Jalal, A. (1994). *The state of martial rule: The origins of Pakistan's political economy of defence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jurists, I.C. (1972). The Events in East Pakistan, 1971. *The Review of the International Commission of Jurists*, 1-98.
- Kelly, N. (2014). *The History and Culture of Pakistan*. London: Peak Publishing Limited.
- Khan, N. (2012). *The political economy of reforms and development in Pakistan*. Routledge.
- Pirzada, S.S. (1969). *Foundations of Pakistan: All India Muslim League Documents 1906-1907*. Karachi: National Publishing House.
- Riaz, A., & Rahman, T. (2012). The 1971 war and the creation of Bangladesh: An analysis of Pakistan's strategies. *Asian Profile*, 40(6), 565-576.
- Rizvi, H. A. (2000). *The Military and the Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Rizvi, H.A. (2000). *Military, state and society in Pakistan*. Springer.
- Sayeed, K.B. (1990). *The Political System of Pakistan*. Lahore: National Printing Press.
- Siddique, T. (2010). *The separation of East Pakistan: Rethinking the role of the United States*. Asian



-
- Affairs,37(2),157-171.
- Sisson,R.,& Rose,L.E.(1991). War and secession: Pakistan, India, and the creation of Bangladesh. University of California Press
- Taj, M. (2010). Bangladesh and Pakistan: The genesis of two nations and their evolving relationship. Asian Affairs, 37(2), 229-245.
- Talbot,I.(1998). Pakistan: A modern history. St. Martin's Press.
- Talbot,l.(1999).Pakistan: *A Modern History*. Karachi: Vanguard Books.
- Ullah,H.(2021, December Tuseday). *Fall of Dhaka and our Past, present and Future*.Retrieved March Sunday,2023,from www.pakistantoday.com.pk:
- William,L.F.(1972).*The East Pakistan Tragedy*.New York: Drakes Publishers.
www.google.com:<http://www.google.com>
- Ziring, L. (1997). *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ziring, L. (1997). *Pakistan in the twentieth century: A political history*. Oxford University Press.