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Ethnic Nationalism or Uneven Development: A Subaltern Realist Analysis of Bengali Nationalism in Pakistan

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Abstract

After a short span of achieving statehood on basis of religious identity, the Bengali Muslims redefined their identity and once again demanded a separate state on basis of linguistic identity. Hobsbawm believe that identity formation in terms of nationhood is a result of deliberate ideological engineering. Economic factors serve as tangible signposts to cultural subjugation. Though many historians owe the Bengali nationalism and claims of statehood to linguistic and cultural difference that proved detrimental for state and nation making in pre 1971 Pakistan, the prime argument of this paper is that nationalist discourse is a discursive formation and a sort of language game rooted in material socio economic phenomenon of inequality and disparity. The concept of inequality and disparity essentially employ that a binary exists, and a group is feeling excluded, marginalized and at disadvantageous position in respect to some other group. The feeling of victimhood is at base of the nationalist movements and (re)definition of identity. Employing the concept of Subaltern Realism given by Mohammed Ayoob and the toolkit of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, and taking discourse as a combination of material and discursive formations, influencing human subjectivities and conditions of existence; the paper will examine the material economic conditions of existence in pre 1971 Pakistani federation and discursive responses as claims of self-determination and separatist nationalism. One of the key findings of paper is that ethnic Bengali nationalism was a derivative phenomenon of economic exclusion and uneven development.

Keywords: Uneven Development, Subaltern Realism, Ethnicity, Nationalism, Pakistan, Bengal

Introduction

State and state system are the priori of the present world. Territorial states are the building blocks of the world political map. In nineteenth century Fredrich Ratzel viewed state as an organic living entity. The main concerns of academic disciplines like political science, history, Law, political geography and public administration are the centripetal/centrifugal forces that promote or disturb integration of state and enhance or disrupt the legitimacy of state. In early stages of state making European state makers had to overcome the paradox of building institutions, extracting resources, and securing political legitimacy as well as deepening and broadening the state penetration in society not only as a legal regulative authority but also for distribution of welfare functions. State makers of the postcolonial state replicated and mimicked the process of state building and devised strategies to attain political legitimacy opted by European states, where state is the home of a nation, and nation is defined primarily in lingo-cultural syntax. Nationalism is the concept that forged the feudalities and city states into a state on basis of common language, culture and ethnicities. On the other hand, it acted as a centrifugal force leading to fragmentation of empires on same or similar definition of identity in cultural, linguistic and ethnic idioms. In colonial world the nationalism acted as an anticolonial sentiment and promised a world free from European imperialist oppression and exploitation in independent states. Postcolonial states unlike Europe were not mono-ethnic but multi-ethnic and independence dream was differently perceived by different classes, communal and ethnic groups and regions. The postcolonial dilemma could have been fixed with acknowledgement of diversity and penetration of state distributive functions as

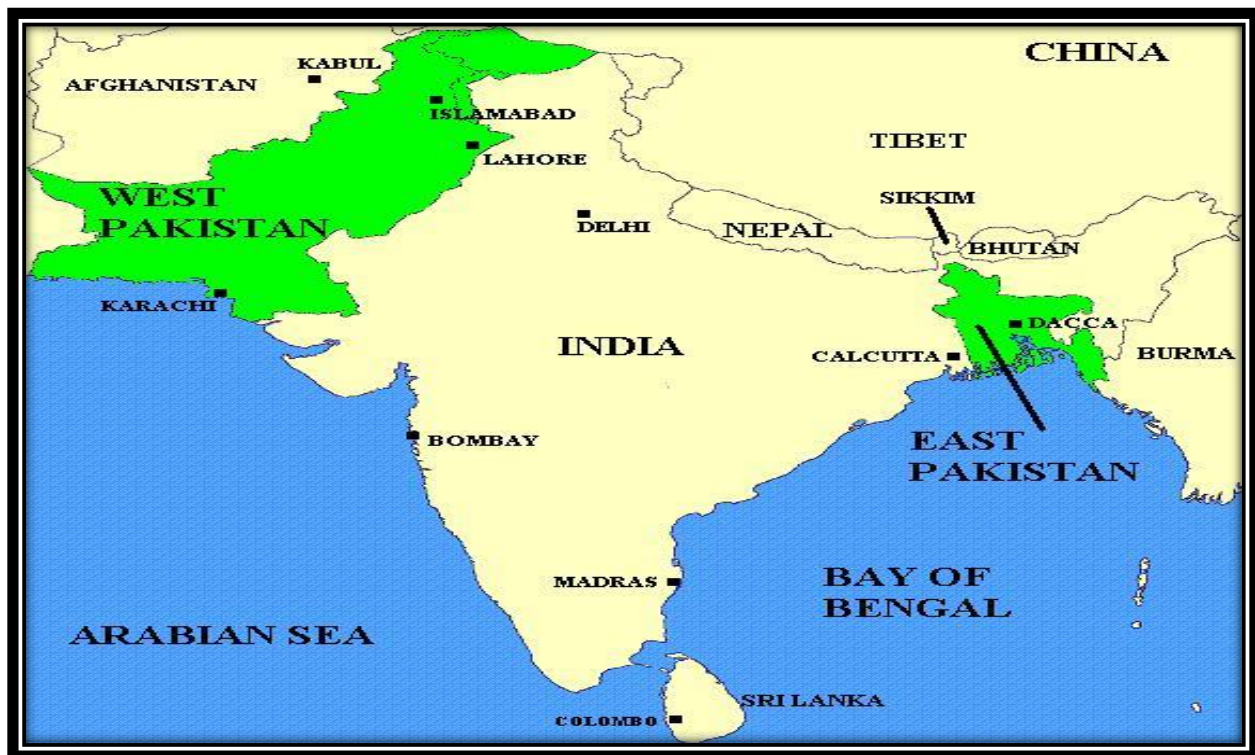


Image 1 Pakistan Map Pre 1970

provider of welfare and making polity inclusive for a civic nation. But postcolonial states opted the strategies of coercion to impose uniform identities leading to identity and legitimacy crisis, as deprived groups, regions and classes used identity as strategy of action politics.

Pakistan was the result of identity conscious Muslims of Indian subcontinent. Muslims of India never called themselves just Indians as there were many more communal groups who were different from them. Muslims and Hindus dwelled and cohabitated in common territory parted by the cultural walls keeping alive the historical memories of conquest and defeat. According to Nisar Ahmad Syed British reforms was responded by Muslims in religious revivalist movements and identity construction in religious syntax as Muslims emerged as a disadvantaged group. Muslims of North India who always traced their origins from Arabia and Central Asia resisted the Hindu domination in India by demanding a separate homeland for Muslims. (Ahmad, 1991)

Partition of India on basis of religious identities created a unique state with a chasm of approximately 1000K.M of foe land between its two regions, i.e., East and West. But disjointed territories were only one of the fissures, as fault lines of culture and ethnicity were also significant. The administrative flaws of a state in nascent phase of its making, adoption of modernization/development paradigm believing in functional inequality between regions proved detrimental for forging Pakistan into a civic nation state. While state makers of Pakistan were prone to identity mania and imposing certain cultural norms, the Bengali's also opted for identity and ethnic nationalism as strategy of action. Dialectics finally led to dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. It was perhaps the first instance of postcolonial history when a nationalist movement demanded self-determination, not from imperial foreign rule but from the economically overdeveloped "other" region, by redefining national identity in ethno-cultural syntax.

Many historians believe that Pakistan was not a viable state due to its geography and prevalent cultural, linguistic ethnic fragmentation and it was destined to breakup since inception, while other believe that ethno-lingual cleavages would have been cemented by proper employment of religious identity as nation binding force and creation of a state based on socio-economic distributive justice for all the region and ethnicities. Taking an overview of theories of nationalism and identity construction the paper will employ the concept of subaltern realism presented by Muhammad Ayoob. To Ayoob, the grave threats to security of postcolonial state emanates from inside when a multiethnic state emphasizes to focuses on monoethnic state building practices ignoring the diversity; and treating the culturally different regions as internal colonies relegating the regions to the status of periphery bonded in unequal exchange of finished products and raw material. These economically deprived ethnic groups resort to action politics based on identity and demand self-determination. The phenomenon is attributed by Ronaq Jahan as rise of vernacular elites resorting to language games of identity. The paper takes identity as fluid not fixed and as a multifaceted mask.

International law recognizes the groups, communities and people right of self (re)definition and determination on basis of identity claims. The international law also acknowledges the right of neighboring country to irredentism, i.e. to intervene militarily for protection of such ethnic groups facing discrimination, and life threats as genocide/ethnocidal can be opted as state strategy to check nationalist demands. In this situation a country become prone to internal strife as well as external intervention. Bengali nationalism could not have been a success to gain statehood only on basis of struggle of vernacular Bengali elites provided India would not have opted irredentism as strategy. The study is limited in scope as it will only take account of internal economic and cultural fault lines proving detrimental for state and nation building.

Review of Literature

Stephen P Cohen is of the view that Bengalis under representation in military and their relatively underdeveloped economy was a cause of stress between inter regional relations, but real problem lied in disparate and physically separated parts. As territory determines the destiny of state, without India hostility the state was unlikely to break. Cohen is of the view that if Islamic nationalism the basis of Pakistani identity, it could have acted as people binding centripetal force. (Banuazizi & Weiner, 1986)

Badruddin Umar builds the case for a predestined failure as state from the very beginning was unstable. Physical distance between two wings; differences in socio cultural and political traditions, imbalanced economies and power structures all led to inevitable disintegration of Pakistan. (Umar, 2006) Contrary to opinion Raghavan is of the view that far from being predestined event the creation of Bangladesh was the product of conjecture and contingency; choice and chance where international powers intervened for the disadvantage of Pakistan. Raghavan consider Pakistan state policies responsible for Bengali nationalism. If it would have opted for greater Pakistani autonomy and drew on Bengali cooperation in place of suppressing Bengali demands state would have remained intact. (Raghavan, 2013)

Schendel is of the view that strategies devised to control centrifugal trends like establishing the strong centralized state, insistence on religious identity and fear of India were led to state failure as Bengali's perception of Pakistan was a land free from economic domination. In pre 1947 years in United Bengal the Bengali Muslims resented the domination of Calcutta based manufacturer and Hindu money lender and landlord. Independence does not change their subservient status in economy. (Schendel, 2009) Alqama Khwaja iterating on same lines believe that road to disillusionment from Pakistan was paved by inequality generated by Pakistani state centralized policies of development and modernization. (Alqama, 1997)

Farzana Sheikh work "Making Sense of Pakistan" addresses Pakistan identity crisis and implications of this crisis in economic, political and strategic arena. Sheikh is of the view that the crisis is responsible for deepening the existing divisions among Pakistani population and discouraging the plural definition of identity has intensified the identity mania. (Shaikh, 2009) Sufia M.Uddin (Uddin, 2006) builds the case that Muslims of North India constructed separate Muslim identity in cultural symbols in knowledge and use of Urdu and defined themselves as part of larger Muslim Ummah. The belief in pan Islamism often treated the cultural symbols of land and local languages as inferior. The migrants coming from North India wanted the indigenous majority to change their lifestyles according to them.

Rounaq Jahan focuses on Ayyub Khan's period who was signified as great modernizer and state builder of Pakistan. according to Jahan though Ayyub's regime policy of development/modernization led to grave economic inequalities, but the real mistake according to Jahan was the regimes' failure to integrate Pakistan politically. "None of the political institutions introduced by the military ruler succeeded in given the Bengali counter elites effective participation in national political system. While Bengali elites were not included in the political system Ayyub's economic policies increased the number of counter elites exponentially. Bengali elites dissatisfied with the pace of their economic development demanded the adoption of two economy systems. (Jahan, 1994)

Problem Statement

State of Pakistan was the outcome of Muslim identity consciousness and religion served as a unifying force for the Muslims of subcontinent who had different languages, dialects, ethnicities often similar to other religious groups of the subcontinent. Hence, Islam was considered a binding agent for Pakistanis living in East and West. Pakistani state elites emphasized on the religious identities while constructing a modern developed nation-state. Development paradigm intensified already existing economic disparities East and West wings of the state; Bengali Muslims felt excluded and exploited opted the course of redefinition of identity on the lingo-cultural lines and demanded two economic systems for one state.

Research Questions/ Supposition of Study

The study aims to address the following questions

- Does nationalism is a dynamic concept and changes with one's objective condition of existence?
- Does identity is a mask and one's declared identity is hiding (an)other somehow more real identity?
- What were the historic-cultural roots of identity for Bengali Muslims in pre-partition years and the factor responsible for redefinition of identity for them?

Based on the questions the supposition of study is that Bengali identity rooted in lingo-cultural factors was constructed by Bengali vernacular elites who were signified as traitors, secessionists and enemy's agents and their cultural symbols like Bengali language was not only treated as secondary in comparison to Urdu as official language of state but also an un-Islamic entity; and dismemberment of Pakistan was a direct result of monoethnic state building practices of Pakistani state elite dominated by West Pakistani military-bureaucratic alliance.

Theoretical Construct

Identity formation is a derivative discourse and rooted in socio-economic factors. Socioeconomic models for the formation of nation focus on material as well as discursive elements that forge a group into people and motivate them for action politics. Nationalism is a mode of resistance to fight subjugation. These models provide that beneath the layer of cultural divisions lays the material inequality. Bengali-Muslim nationalism was a derived phenomenon of British administrative reforms dating back to 1793-94 that introduced the land settlements as well English education to land. Education paved the way for inclusion in administrative structure of imperial state and land settlements spawned the Zamindari(feudal) system. Muslims being ambivalent to English education were excluded from economic opportunities provided by state and land reforms made the Muslim peasant subservient to Hindu Zamindars. Bengali Hindus were the class who took advantage of all British reforms. (Batabyal, 2021)The East Bengal served as internal colony of West Bengal as reservoir of raw material and market. It gave rise to their consciousness and identity as Muslim Bengalis. Hechter internal colonialism thesis is best model to understand inequalities within a polity. He believes that unequal exchange relations exist between core and periphery. Periphery as internal colony produces wealth for the benefit of core. But Hechter also employs discursive elements of differentiation. He believes that internal colonies can be

differentiated by particular cultural variables such as religion, language or ethnicity. Due to these differences, they are excluded and deprived of superior status within the political stratification. For internal colonialism to prevail there must be a cultural division of labor so that inferior status of internal colony can be maintained. In case of internal colonialism “nationalism” is a response of a territory-based class to concentration of economic and political power at core occupied by the dominant cultural group. (Hechter, 1975)

Wallerstein also employs similar theme. He believes that in states of third world exchange takes place between territories occupied by different ethnic groups, he terms as “ethno-nations”. Ethno-nation is a broad category that not only includes conventional social class structured around the mode of production but also the territorial units with people having a unique sense of identity. Process of appropriation in third world states produces unevenly developed ethno-nations. Transfer of resources from periphery to core and from poor territories to rich ones generate social conflict. The protest to economic disparities in these regions employs nationalist metaphors, i.e., the notion of “People” to explain their marginalized status in the polity. (McCrone, 1998) Alqama Khwaja extends the notion of vernacular elite employed by Rounaq Jahan and establishes that religion was the expression of ethno-nationalism for Bengali elites and Pakistan was perceived as a promise to break the domination of Hindu. Independence unfolded the reality differently and relegated peripheral status was maintained. The Bengali Muslims were not will to accept the domination of Western wings. (Alqama, 1997)

Andre Gunder Frank (Frank, 1966) also believes that less developed territories are structurally prevented from catching up because the developed region need their raw material and captive markets. Discussion in coming segment validate the fact that cause of economic lag between two regions was not only in misappropriation of resources but also due to trade deficit between two wings. Frank believes that political and cultural responses are derived phenomena resulting from unequal exchange relations.

Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger believe that nationalism necessitates the “invention of tradition”. Nationalist narratives employ older ideals and identities. A cultural renaissance, including literary, linguistic and historical discourses is a necessary part of this invented tradition. For Hobsbawm all these discursive constructs of national identity serve as form of “self-consciousness”, masking real social relations i.e., the economic class. For resistance nationalism the reason to take solace in these discursive formations is that peripheral areas are not adequately incorporated in a political system working for the advantage of core. (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012)

Subaltern Realism of Mohammed Ayoob traces the third world security predicament to self-determination secessionist claims. Drawing on Myron Weiner he establishes that hegemonic rather than accommodative ethnic politics characterize state policy. While the postcolonial states have multi-ethnic composition state elites coming from one of many ethnicities attempt to construct mono-ethnic states in terms of participation in power structure and allocation of resources. Subaltern Realism according to Ayoob is name of accommodation of diversity and delinking self-determination from secession. State survival from threats emanating from inside can only be ensured if all or most segments start believing that they are no more powerless in structure. Ideal strategy according to Ayoob is elevation of deprived strata from subject to participant status politically as well as legally. (Ayoob, 1995)

Analytical and Methodological Framework: Discourse as a Combination of Discursive and Material Practices

The theoretical construct of Nationalism take nationalism as language game and strategy to resist economic and political domination. The discursive construct of nationalist discourses is rooted in material conditions of existence. Process of exclusion and marginalization is at heart of identity movements. The process can be best analyzed through the concept of discourse given by Michel Foucault. According to Foucault Discourse is a violence we do to things. Discourse determines the boundary between right and wrong, true and false and according to Foucault principally organized around the practices of exclusion. (Mills, 2004) Discourse has two elements that sustain each other i.e., discursive and material. Discursive formations include concepts, signifiers, metaphors, ideas and ideology. According to Foucault the Discursive formations are serious speech acts rooted in material conditions. It is conceptual apparatus used to catalogue a new domain. For Foucault non-discursive practices provide the horizon, background or element in which the choice of discursive strategy is intelligible. The subject with its aspirations and struggles, at any given moment of history is the product of discursive and non-discursive realm that determines his conditions of existence. Discursive formations also provide a conception of possibility and a vision of future as well because resistance employ discursive practices like concepts, ideas and ideology and transform non discursive material environment. Discursive formations bring together economic, political, technological and pedagogical factors. (Merquior, 1985) Subjects employ discursive formations not only to see the truth about itself but also its experiences and desires are translated through discourse. Hence the discursive and material both influence not only people everyday reality but also their responses and behavior.

Discussion in coming segment will analyze the two-way relation of discursive responses of Bengali elites and material conditions of inequality. On the other hand the strategies of state building were also discursive and material in nature. Besides opting development/modernization paradigm to build state on modern lines with the help of international finance, the state elites also invested in identity discursivities as nation building forces. The postcolonial history of East Pakistan/East Bengal was manifestation of dialectics going on between the discourses employed by state elites to maintain the status quo of domination and control and counter discourses employed by Bengali vernacular elites.

Discussion

Ethnic Nationalism or Uneven Development!

Homi K. Bhabha declares nations as narrations disseminated in everyday practices and symbols. For Wallerstein nations like social classes are formed, consolidate them and then disintegrate. They are in constant process of making and remaking depending on the economic status of a group vis a vis other groups in the polity. Identity hence is not a constant but a variable constantly in flux. (McCrone, 1998) During British period, East Bengal that later became East Pakistan served as internal colony of West Bengal. Despite the cultural and linguistic similarity, the Bengalis were divided in two ethno-nations discursively on basis of religion. Material differences between Hindu and Muslim Bengalis were the real divide between Bengalis in pre partition years. Alqama Khwaja reading reveals that large majority of Muslims in East Bengal were poor peasants living under Hindu landlords. They became radical populists under the influence of Bengali Muslim middle

classes excluded from Government services due to Hindu domination of Service Sector of British India. They expected to secure a territory and government of their own and their own market in goods and services. Hence the expression and response of material inequality was signified in form of Muslim nationalism in Bengal. (Alqama, 1997) Batabyal furthers the argument that it would be incorrect to say that poor Muslim peasants were against “Hindu” Zamindar (feudal) only, they were against the feudal exploitative system, and it so happened that majority of large landholding were in possession of Hindus who benefitted by Lord Cornwallis land settlement and revenue collection, and most land laborers and peasants were Muslims. (Batabyal, 2021)

The other region comprising Pakistan (west) had also the peripheral status in British India. But due to its military importance the British developed the Road, Railways and Port structure. Despite all these differences both regions were producers of primary agricultural cash crops. Partition of India meant that both the Eastern and Western peripheral fringes were dislocated with their core areas, now a part of Indian state. Hence development of Core areas was an integral part of Postcolonial state making, to convert the primary produce into consumer commodities. The process of industrialization started in Karachi and Lahore, but for East Pakistan matter became worsened because they now have to incorporate in a new Core, Karachi instead of Calcutta that was at a distance of about thousand miles. (Alqama, 1997) (Sayeed K. B., 1980) The development paradigm opted by Pakistani state elites developed west as core and East as periphery. The core-peripheral lag is reflected in difference of per capita income. The initial gap of per capita income of two wings i.e. 51 Rs in 1949-50 increased threefold and touched the figure of 206 in fateful years of 1969-70.

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

1Per Capita Income in East and West Pakistan (In Rupees) (Commission, 1970)

Historians like Khalid bin Sayeed (Sayeed K. b., 1998) and Asif Hussain (Hussain, 1979) agree that Mr. Jinnah had a vision of Pakistan as modern industrialized state. Mr. Jinnah had special relations with Muslim business houses. Jinnah’s emphasis on Karachi made Karachi core attraction for investment for industrial houses previously doing business in Bombay, Delhi, Madras Rangoon and East Africa. (Hussain A. , 1979, p. 95) First reason of material disparity lied in the fact that Karachi instead of Dhaka was the priority for the Muslim bourgeoisie. The endowment of

development and revenue expenditure by the central government also reflects those two regions were developed differently as core and periphery.

| | East Pakistan | | West Pakistan | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| | Development Expenditure | Revenue Expenditure | Development Expenditure | Revenue Expenditure |
| 1950/51-1954/55 | 1000 | 1710 | 4000 | 7200 |
| 1955/56-1959/60 | 2700 | 2540 | 7570 | 8980 |
| 1960/61-1964/65 | 9250 | 4340 | 18400 | 12840 |
| 1965/66-1969/70 | 16560 | 6480 | 26100 | 22230 |

2 Regional Allocation of Resources (In Million Rupees) (Commission, 1970)

The second source of disparity among two regions was endowment of foreign aid. However, both regions were recipients of foreign aid, but West Pakistan accrued more benefits.

Inflow of foreign aid into East and West Pakistan

| Year | 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 |
| 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 |
| Total | 7063 | 16477 | 23540 |

3 Inflow of foreign aid into East and West Pakistan (Commission, 1970) (Report of the Panel of Economists on the Fourth Five Year Plan Outline, 1970, p. 102) (Alqama, 1997, p. 188)

| Year | East Pakistan | West Pakistan |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1959-60 | 3.4 | 31.2 |
| 1960-61 | 4.1 | 23.7 |
| 1961-62 | 1.0 | 241.2 |
| 1962-63 | 21.5 | 222.3 |
| 1963-64 | 42.6 | 219.2 |
| 1964-65 | 51.6 | 222.8 |
| 1965-66 | 36.1 | 192.9 |
| 1966-67 | 44.5 | 161.3 |
| 1967-68 | 3.7 | 148.4 |

4 Central Government's Grant-in-aid to the Two Provinces from 1960-68 (In Million Rupees)
(Jahan, 1994, p. 210)

The analysts owe that the reason behind this disparity in inflow of aid (foreign as well as by the central government) was since Pakistani military was dominated by Punjabis and Pashtuns. The two linguistic groups not only dominated the institution of Army but also became the ruling Janta during the military rule of Ayub. They used the funds endowed from US as foreign aid to develop the territory they belong.

But all these figures also reflect the downside of development paradigm. The author of Pakistan Development paradigm Dr. Mahbub ul Haq provided a functional justification of inequality by saying that road to eventual equalities may inevitably lies through initial inequalities. (Hussain, 1979)

The other source of material disparity was imbalance of internal trade in favor of West Pakistan, that substantiate the Frank/Wallerstein thesis that Western region was developed as being the producer of finished consumer goods while East was producing only the primary commodities like Tea, Jute, Matches, Spices. While the West not only exported Rice that was the basic food requirement of East but also the Cotton Fabrics, Cotton yarn, Vegetable oils and all kinds of drugs and medicines. The pattern led to deficit trade for East and the money allocated as grant by central government and share of foreign aid reverted to economy of West Pakistan making increasing the economic lag between two regions.

| Year | Export from West Pakistan to East Pakistan | Export from East Pakistan to West Pakistan | Year | Export from West Pakistan to East Pakistan | Export from East Pakistan to West Pakistan |
|----------------|---|---|----------------|---|---|
| 1949-50 | 235.6 | 50.5 | 1960-61 | 825.5 | 363.5 |
| 1950-51 | 272.5 | 62.9 | 1961-62 | 855.1 | 402.0 |
| 1951-52 | 254.1 | 66.3 | 1962-63 | 957.1 | 471.5 |
| 1952-53 | 218.4 | 149.2 | 1963-64 | 895.2 | 511.2 |
| 1953-54 | 386.9 | 151.9 | 1964-65 | 874.5 | 537.1 |
| 1954-55 | 305.0 | 198.2 | 1965-66 | 1208.6 | 651.8 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|-------|----------------|--------|-------|
| 1955-56 | 333.8 | 283.3 | 1966-67 | 1324.8 | 738.9 |
| 1956-57 | 531.7 | 244.0 | 1967-68 | 1333.2 | 784.9 |
| 1957-58 | 701.4 | 269.5 | 1968-69 | 1385.2 | 870.5 |
| 1958-59 | 685.8 | 288.8 | 1969-70 | 1550.0 | 1100 |
| 1959-60 | 569.4 | 362.4 | | | |

5 Export from East to West Pakistan and Vice Versa (In Million Rupees) (Report of the Panel of Economists on the Fourth Five Year Plan Outline, 1970, p. 143)

The inequalities increased to the extent that Planning Commission constituted for the Fourth Five-year plan was divided on the formula to eliminate disparities among two wings. West Pakistani Economists proposed that by accelerating the growth rates in East Pakistan disparity can be reduced. They proposed a growth rate of 8.5 from a growth rate of 4.3 percent for a long period of next two to three decades for East Pakistan will make them catch up the economy of Western region. They presumed that if East Pakistan economy would grow by the rate of 8.5 percent disparity in per capita income would disappear in less than 25 years. (Commission, 1970)

According to East Pakistani Economists the reason of disparity was the flow of capital from East to West. They believed that foreign aid endowed to East Pakistan was utilized for imports from West Pakistan They estimated that real resources transferred from East to West during 1948-49 to 1968-69 were 1530 crore with an average of 73 crores per year. They proposed that Rs.50000/- Crores out of a total of 75000 Crores of Foreign Aid must be allocated to East Pakistan to bring two wings of Pakistan at Economic parity. They also proposed separate Planning Commissions for the two wings to resolve the issue of economic disparity among the two wings. (Commission, 1970)

Engineered Modernization and Socio-Economic Changes

In Pakistan Postcolonial history Ayub Khan period has great significance.as he made the economic development as primary national objective with the expectation that it will serve as centripetal force pulling together all regions. The bureaucracy became instrumental for implementation of development/modernization paradigm. (Jahan, 1994) One pillar of Ayub power base was bureaucratic elites. Bureaucracy was the steel pin of administrative state state charged with the responsibility to modernize Pakistan. Ayub regime introduced the land reforms in East as well as West Pakistan with different objectives. Whereas in West Pakistan aim of reform was to erode the power base of politicians who were mostly landed elites. (Hussain, 1979) The land reforms in East wing was introduced with an objective to create feudal elites. East Pakistan was the province where land reforms were introduced Land reform bill in 1947 that was enacted in 1950. Ayub khan

regime undid the previous reforms and raised the land ceiling from 100 bighs to 360 to 375 bighs or 120 to 125 acres providing the opportunity to new rich class and facilitated the land to transfer from small peasant to money lender. It increased the propensity to buy land and become jotedar (Feudal lord) The accumulated surplus was invested not in manufacturing and industry but in land. The action according to Badruddin Umar was aimed to enhance the power base of military regime and was an effort to create new Bengali elites to counter the vernacular elites comprising of urban middle classes. (Umar, 2006, pp. 16-21)

Post-independence years witnessed a trend from rural to urban migration. The population of Dhaka city was increased threefold and many small towns grew. Energy requirements of new towns, industry and agricultural sector were growing. In 1950's the natural gas was discovered in Comilla and Sylhet. With the help of foreign aid its utilization was made possible for fertilizer and cement factory. As energy needs were ever growing Pakistani planners with the help of foreign aid took initiative to finance a mega hydroelectric project in Chitagong hill tracts. The plan was not a new initiative but conceived in 1906 by British planners but work started in 1950s. The project brought thousands of rural Bengali unskilled workers on construction site on Karanphuli river at Kaptai village. It was celebrated as triumph of development and Ayub regime. To fill the Kaptai lake that was 650 square kilometer many villages, forests and almost 40 % of the arable land of Chittagong hill tract came under water, displacing 100,000 people. (Schendel, 2009, pp. 178-80)

The development/modernization was a mixed blessing like elsewhere creating advantageous and disadvantageous strata of population, but it affected almost all segments of society in East Pakistan. It benefitted a new class of landed elites at the same time causing displacement for many.

Urbanization, radio waves and television as modernization agents a new aware educated middle class emerged that has its own myths, symbols and slogans. The class was product of material progress in postcolonial years, but it was conscious of its subordinate status in polity and economy and its aim was to revise the status quo in its favour. Rounaq Jahan is of the view that whereas elites coming from West upheld the norms of centralization and bureaucratic administrative authority elites' tendencies of East were on contrary political believing in political process and participation. The dialectics of elites with two diatonically opposite view about identity, and polity resulted in dismemberment of Pakistan

Dialectics between Discourses of State vs Vernacular Bengali Elites and Bengali Nationalism

The first episode of Dialectics between East and West was on issue of language. Question of national language was raised in Pakistan Education Conference held in November 1947. The conference proposed Urdu as National Language. The proposal was detested by Bengali parliamentarians, but Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan reiterated that language of 100 million Muslims of subcontinent of India. In response language action committee was created and in March 1948 general strikes were called not only in Dhaka but all the towns of Eastern region. The Quaid e Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah solid stance that "state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language". The suppression of language riots by coercive state apparatus caused disillusionment. It was the instance that gave birth to a new elite who was rooted in land and peculiar Bengali culture. The culturally conscious vernacular elite resorted to nationalist engineering. Popular resistance avowed the independence as new form of colonial rule. One key figure representing vernacular elites was Shiekh Mujib ur Rehman. The attitude of migrants from

North India who considered themselves as superior cultural group and expected the local population to adapt to them rather than assimilating with local culture created a tension inside the Eastern region. Language movement was not only directed against the cultural dominance of the West Pakistani establishment but also against the upper middle-class Muslim immigrants from Kolkatta, and adjacent provinces of Bihar and Asam. It was the start of cultural action politics that not only discarded West Pakistan controlled cultural models but also discarded the Kolkatta centered Bengali culture. (Raghavan, 2013, pp. 140-153)

The other discursive clash between local and central elite was on the conception of religion. Nesar Ahmad is of the view that people of North India always drew inspiration from historical sources of Central Asia and Middle East and took pride in being the conquerors of India as superior racial and cultural entity. (Ahmad, 1991) The same conception of Islam was employed by the Administrative state dominated initially by the Urdu speaking migrants from Central India. Islam was considered a cohesive centripetal force for state making. To Sufia Mohi Uddin the Muslim consciousness in Bengal was derived from indigenous roots. In colonial period it was not merely a Bengali community or Muslim community that was resisting the domination of Kolkatta, it was Bengali informed Muslim community resisting domination of Hindu feudal since 1905. Bengalis in postcolonial years were not ready to give up Bengali conscious Muslim identity in favor of Northwestern conception of religion creating affinity with alien lands of central Asia and Middle East. Muslims of west Pakistan as well as migrants Urdu speaking classes frowned on Bengali informed cultural practices of Bengali Muslims and deemed many everyday practices like dress codes, as un-Islamic. Bengali language was criticized for deriving its script and words for Sanskrit. (Uddin, 2006, pp. 116-18) Identity in case of Bengali Muslims was multilayered and both language and religion were equally important for people of East Pakistan.

Modernization/Development paradigm increased the number of local counter elites. Another reason for increase of vernacular elite was the Ayub's reforms to make administration of Pakistan representative of all regions. In previous section we identified that bureaucracy acted as power base of Ayub nondemocratic administrative set up. Ayub in absence of political representative tried to make bureaucracy more representative. Regional conflicts came to dominate the bureaucracy as bureaucracy assumed quasi-political role generating demands from within the system to protect interest of the marginalized communities and regions. With increased number of Bengalis in civil bureaucracy Bengalis in Bureaucracy created a "vociferous influential pressure group". (Jahan, 1994, p. 95)

Subaltern Realism

The material aspects of discourse of disparity finally ended in discursive formations of Bengali nationalism with demands of self-determination. Mohammed Ayoob concept of subaltern Realism believe to create a binary between self-determination and secession. To Ayoob secession can be avoided if diversity is acknowledged and political participation is given to all the ethnic groups. To him strategies to suppress cultural difference and monoethnic state building result in secession. If subaltern Realism would have been given a fair play and inclusive polity giving the regions and people a fair share was created Pakistan would have been saved. The final moment of discursive expressions of Bengali identity that started with Language Movement "Bhasha Movement" was Mujib ur Rehman's famous Six points. The content analysis of Mujib manifesto of Bengali rights reveals that each point was in actual, a response to the material realities faced by Pakistanis living

in Eastern Wing. Mujib called it a blueprint for Bengali right to live. Here we will analyze the contents of only 3rd, 4th and 5th points given by Mujib.

3. two separates but freely convertible currencies for two wings should be introduced. Or *if this is not feasible constitutional provisions should be introduced to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan*. There should be a separate banking reserve and a separate fiscal and monetary policy for East Pakistan.

4. The power of taxation and revenue collection should be vested in federating units.... *the federation would have a share in state taxes to meet their required expenditure*.

5. There should be two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings of the two wings, the earning of East Pakistan should be under the control of East Pakistan government. ...*the indigenous products should move free of duty between the two wings*. constitution would empower the unit governments to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in and enter into agreements with the foreign countries.

The Bengali bill of rights was actually rooted in material causes like flight of capital and differential resource endowments that made Eastern Wing an internal colony with a different culture partially incorporated in political system.

The material socio economic reasons provided the environment for discursive construction of nationhood and remaking of Bengali Ethno-nation on linguistic grounds. The previous Hindu Muslim divide of 1940's transformed into Bengali Urdu binary in 1960's. The reason was not different i.e. "to secure a territory and government of their own and their own market in goods and services".

Conclusion: Subaltern Realist Analysis of Bangali Nationalism

Since the inception of State system Nationalism and Irredentism are responsible to change the political map of the world. Nationalist sentiments are rooted in exclusionary state strategies and neighboring states always take advantage of internal chaos and intervene to aggrandize the group sentiments. History is evident that nationalist movements cannot be successful without the moral and financial support of neighboring states. But history also reveals the fact that sources of exclusion are rooted in domestic politico-economic arena.

Though creation of Bangladesh was not possible without Indian military intervention in 1971 that caused the final blow to integrity of Pakistan Bengali nationalism was rooted in domestic factors. Analyzed through subaltern realist prism the monoethnic state building practices, insistence to suppress multitude of ethnicities in a single ethnicity, treating the indigenous leaders and their demands as traitors and enemy's designs, looking local cultural symbols with disdain, excessive use of coercion all led to Pakistan fateful dismemberment. Ayoob is of the view that to ensure state survival self-consciousness self-determination in form of regional nationalism must be acknowledged and states must be multi-ethnic rather than monoethnic. The demands coming from regions for more development, elimination of disparity and inclusion in decision making should not be treated as secessionist trends. By acknowledging the diversity states survival can be ensured.

Present Pakistan comprising of only Western region of 1947 Pakistan is still a multi-ethnic diverse state with regional disparities. The case of Bangali nationalism is still relevant as historical lesson to learn from past. Subaltern Realism can serve as best strategy to ensure Pakistani security and countering threats to security emanating from inside, and not providing room for external intervention in case of internal strife. Demands of rights and acknowledgement of cultural diversity are necessary steps along with development and progress of stat.

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