

HALF-WAY TO FREEDOM: DATES WITH DISASTER

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June 3, 1947: Agreement is reached to partition India. The Muslim majority areas to the east and north-west are to form Pakistan. Transfer of power is scheduled to occur in mid-August. Communal violence begins on a large scale in Punjab and other provinces.

August 10, 1947: Fifty-five members of the Constituent Assembly of India meet in Karachi and form the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The next day, in his address to the Assembly, its president Mohammed Ali Jinnah lays down "this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of the state". He dwells on the necessity of separating religion and the state saying in part that "You may belong to any religion or caste or creed..... that has nothing to do with the business of the State". This principle shall be consistently violated by his successors.

August 14, 1947: Pakistan is born. A carnage of historic magnitude accompanies its birth. Hundreds of thousands are killed; some fifteen million hapless people flee their ancestral homes. History's greatest migration and transfer of population was not willed nor anticipated. The state apparatus is barely in place. Its treasury is empty. The country's survival will be a triumph of collective hope and will over reality.

August 16, 1947: Lord Louis Mountbatten, in Karachi since August 14, shows to Pakistan's Prime Minister the British Boundary Commission's Report on the Punjab. Sir Cyril Radcliffe had awarded Gurdaspur to India, giving access to Kashmir. It was a political not a judicial decision, made by a judge under pressure from the Viceroy. It laid the foundations of a protracted conflict between India and Pakistan. Liaquat Ali Khan had sensed the risk and belatedly warned Britain that a 'breach of faith in this regard would imperil future friendly relations between Pakistan and Britain'. Pakistan officials' trust in the British proved enormously costly to the country. The lesson was lost on Pakistan's future rulers. In relation to the western world, they will achieve a permanent pattern of blind trust, nearly always at the country's expense.

September 13, 1947: Pakistan is admitted to the United Nations. Afghanistan casts the only opposing vote.

October 20-22, 1947: Pakistani tribals intervene in Kashmir as a rebellion against the Maharajah breaks out in the Poonch area. They are led by senior officers of Pakistan army including Major General Akbar Khan who would later attempt a coup d'etat. Citizens, including the volunteers, are encouraged to expect that they would celebrate Eid in Srinagar, barely a week away. No contingency plans are in place to counter an Indian initiative. This pattern of triumphalism, and of undertaking military options without strategic planning will be repeated in the future.

October 27, 1947: After provisionally accepting Maharajah's Hari Singh's accession—"the question of the state's accession should be settled by a reference to the people"—India intervenes militarily in Kashmir. Its airlift of troops and supplies suggests planning and determination. General Douglas Gracy, British C-in-C of the Pakistan army, disregards the Qaid-I-Azam's order to send troops to counter India's intervention. The tribals and their Pakistani advisors are pushed back just as they were nearing Srinagar. Pakistan army eventually intervenes to prevent Indian capture of Muzzfarabad.

November 1, 1947: India formally calls for a plebiscite during the first Indo-Pakistan talks on Kashmir but fighting continues.

December 20, 1947: India takes the Kashmir dispute to the United Nations where it rests to this day.

June 3, 1948: First coin bearing the seal of the Government of Pakistan is issued.

July 1, 1948: The State Bank of Pakistan is inaugurated by Qaid-I-Azam.

July 9, 1948: First batch of postal stamps are issued.

July 23, 1948: Karachi's administration is transferred from the Sindh government to the federal government. Karachi becomes the formal capital of Pakistan.

(Symbols of statehood and sovereignty are in place. The substance shall continue to lack.)

September 12, 1948: Mohammed Ali Jinnah, very ill, returns from Ziarat (Baluchistan) on his last journey to Karachi, then Pakistan's capital. The ambulance breaks down. The Qaid-I-Azam lies by the roadside suffocating in the hot, un-air-conditioned vehicle for hours before transport arrives to take him home. He dies a few hours later. Those hours symbolize the callous indifference of Pakistan's rulers to the personal and political legacies of the Qaid-I-Azam. Yet, sensing their own lack of legitimacy, they shall invoke his name constantly, as they shall invoke Islam, and render him a disfigured icon.

September 12/13, 1948: Khwaja Nazimuddin replaces M.A. Jinnah as Governor General. Liaquat Ali Khan remains Prime Minister. Maulavi Tamizuddin is elected President of the Constituent Assembly. Thus, with the passage of control over the Cabinet from head of state to head of government and with the elections of Assembly president, a certain progress is made toward conventional parliamentary government and pluralistic distribution of power. There is a suggestion also of seeking equitable distribution of power between east and west Pakistan.

January 1, 1949: A UN sponsored cease-fire goes into effect in Kashmir establishing a 'line of control' that divides Kashmir, and separates two hostile armies. The conflict over Kashmir would provide a compelling logic for the transformation of Pakistan into a "national security" state.

March 1949: In its 19th month and fifth session, the Constituent Assembly passes the Objectives Resolution as a preamble to Pakistan's Constitution[s]. But in contrast to the clarifying function of preambles, it is an ambiguous statement that confuses more than it clarifies especially in its characterisation of the role of religion in law and the state. It assigns to Islam in constitution and law-making a place rhetorically central, linguistically ambiguous, and legally undefined: "Whereas sovereignty over the entire Universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone, and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people to be exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust". As such it would remain susceptible to opposing interpretations and ideological about turns. The Objectives Resolution does prescribe a democratic and federal state, and autonomy for the federating units with guarantees of fundamental rights and social justice to all. On the same day, the Assembly establishes a high powered Basic Principles Committee of 25 members including the Prime Minister and Chief Justice of Pakistan.

In the coming months, the Committee bogs down in disputations over province's rights, and role of Islam in law and government. In future, these shall be the perennial sources of disputations and instability in Pakistan's political life.

March 5, 1950: Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan visits the United States after spurning a Soviet invitation. Archival records show that while US congressional and business leaders are impressed by his political savvy and charmed by his modern wife, Washington's increasingly powerful national security establishment is uncomfortable with his non-committal attitude on taking sides with the west against the communist bloc. It begins to cultivate senior military officers and bureaucrats to serve its cold war strategies.

March 9, 1951: Liaquat Ali Khan announces the arrest of senior army officers including the Chief of General Staff General Akbar Khan along with Communist leader Swaged Zaheer and poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Subsequent evidence would indicate that the soldiers were motivated more by praetorian ambition than by ideology. Pakistan's warrior class gave an early signal of its proclivity to seek political power.

October 16, 1951: Liaquat Ali Khan is assassinated in Rawalpindi. A senior police officer kills the assassin thus destroying the primary evidence. The mystery of his murder is never solved and lends to multiple speculations. Khwaja Nazimuddin resigns as Governor General to replace Liaquat Ali as Prime Minister. Ghulam Mohammed, a senior bureaucrat, assumes the office of Governor General. The event marks the beginning of the ascendancy in politics of the military-bureaucratic establishment which is predominantly from the Punjab and Urdu speaking middle class. From this point onward, Britain's Viceregal legacy shall begin to gain hegemony over the democratic, liberal inheritance of western educated middle class

professionals like Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Pakistan's growing security ties with the United States shall vastly reinforce the viceregal, military-bureaucratic structure allied to landed notables. This development shall progressively alienate East Pakistanis who do not enjoy a significant presence in the colonial military or bureaucracy. Their hope for sharing power and resources lie in the democratic process.

February 21, 1952: Political agitation in East Bengal against the imposition of Urdu as the national language. Police firing kills 26 protestors and wounds some 400. Bengali nationalism has its first martyrs. According to the 1951 census, 54.6% of Pakistan's population spoke Bengali and only 7.2% used Urdu as mother tongue.

May 5, 1952: Passport/visa system is introduced for travel between India and Pakistan.

February 28-March 6, 1954: Anti-Ahmedi disturbances in the Punjab led by a number of Islamic parties and leaders. On March 6, after much wobbling by the Federal and Punjab governments, Lahore is placed under Martial Law and order is restored in just six hours. A judicial inquiry commission (the Munir Report) later reports that important elements of the state apparatus and the Muslim League had encouraged and aided the agitation. The objectives of the instigators of these violent disturbances are to have the Ahamadis declared a non-Muslim minority and bar them, including Foreign Minister Sir Zafrullah Khan, from holding high office. An ancillary demand is the resignation of Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin, a pious Muslim.

This was the first overt expression of violent sectarianism in Pakistan. In later years, two government leaders—Z.A. Bhutto and Mohammed Ziaul Haq—shall confer upon it the patronage and legitimation of state policy. After Zia, it will acquire an epidemic aspect.

April 17, 1953: Governor General Ghulam Mohammed abruptly dismisses the government of Khwaja Nazimuddin who still commands the Assembly's majority, and appoints Mohammed Bogra, Pakistan ambassador to the U.S. as Prime Minister. He leads a cabinet chosen for him. The Assembly is not permitted to meet until September. Deep indignation is caused in East Bengal as the viceregal tradition gains ascendancy. Hectic high level activities involving Ghulam Mohammed, General Iskander Mirza and General Ayub Khan begin to forge a military relationship with the United States.

February 1954: American Military Mission visits Pakistan.

March 12, 1954: In Provincial elections in East Bengal, Muslim League wins only 10 seats in a parliament of 309. A left oriented United Front led by Maulana Bhashani and A.K. Fazlul Haq is the absolute victor.

March 27, 1954: East Bengal is renamed East Pakistan.

April, 1954; the United Front forms government in East Pakistan.

April 2, 1954: Military Agreement, promoted by the U.S., is signed between Pakistan and Turkey.

April 28, 1954: Urdu is declared Pakistan's national language. Widespread protest in East Pakistan is centered among students.

May 7, 1954: National Anthem is adopted, in Urdu.

May 19, 1954: Mutual Aid and Security Agreement between the United States and Pakistan.

May 3, 1954: Governor General Ghulam Mohammed dissolves East Pakistan's elected government and imposes central government rule with General Iskander Mirza as governor. Now, East Pakistan has no self government whatsoever. When Mirza returns to Karachi to become Interior Minister, a British bureaucrat Sir Thomas Ellis is appointed governor of East Pakistan. "One thing is certain", pronounced General Mirza, "the Center will never allow this province to again incur the danger of disintegration." (Dawn, November 18, 1954). That danger was not at all discernible then. Bengalis had played a more central role in the making of Pakistan than any other constituent province.

July 16-September 24, 1954: Constituent Assembly amends the British 1935 Act to limit the Governor General's power, his choice of Cabinet ministers, to render ministerial advice binding, and to assert Assembly's independence by strengthening its ties to Cabinet. These amendments are in conformity with common parliamentary practice.

September 1954: Pakistan joins the U.S. led Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

October 1 and 22, 1954: After Assembly adopts the Basic Principles Committee Report, the Prime Minister in a broadcast announces that the final phase of Constitution making shall be completed by end December.

October 24, 1954: Governor General Ghulam Mohammed dissolves Constituent Assembly, declares state of emergency, and appoints cabinet including non-Assembly members: General Ayub Khan, General Iskander Mirza, Mr. M.A. Ispahni, a businessman and former ambassador to Washington. "People of this country need controlled democracy for some time to come", says the interior Minister General Iskander Mirza.

Assembly president Maulavi Tamizuddin Khan files writ of mandamus and quo warranto to restrain the GG and the new cabinet. The High Court rules unanimously against the Governor General, and decides in favor of legislative supremacy. Ghulam Mohammed appeals to the Federal Court.

October 1954: United States Military Assistance Advisory Group (USMAAG) is established at GHQ Rawalpindi.

January 11, 1955: Pakistan-USA sign a Mutual Security: Defense Support Assistance Agreement.

February 24, 1955: Pakistan signs Mutual Cooperation Agreement with the United States to "maintain their collective security and to resist aggression direct or indirect".

March 3, 1955: West Pakistan provinces are merged to form One unit. Intent of this military-bureaucratic feat is to cancel out in future constitutional arrangements the numerical superiority of East Pakistan.

March 26, 1955: Chief Justice Mohammed Munir upholds the Governor General. His defining point of reference is the colonial Government of India Act 1935. Justice A.R. Cornelius dissents forcefully. His primary reference point the Independence Act of 1947. The Viceregal view holds. The legislative alternative loses.

The event symbolizes another pattern of Pakistan's fifty years: the higher judiciary will play a very significant but contradictory role in the political process.

April 15, 1955: Ghulam Mohammed summons a second Constituent Assembly in Murree.

September 1955: Pakistan, Britain, Iran, Turkey and Iraq form the Baghdad Pact.

March 23, 1956: Assembly adopts a constitution. Pakistan becomes the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and exits the Commonwealth. Governor General's designation is now President. Article 37(3) gives President the discretion to appoint prime minister. General election under new constitution is promised.

March 1956-October 1958: Revolving door of governments opens. Mohammed Ali Bogra, Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Chaudhry Mohammed Ali, Ibrahim Islam Chundrigar, Malik Feroz Khan Noon take turns at being Prime Minister. Horse trading becomes the hallmark of politics. Fist fighting in provincial and central assemblies accompanies horse trading. Public pressure mounts for holding general elections. It is promised for 1959.

October 7, 1958: Pakistan's President General Iskander Mirza abrogates the Constitution, and imposes Martial Law Administrator.

October 27, 1958: General Ayub Khan ousts his friend General Iskander Mirza and takes over as President and Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan. His first cabinet consisted of three generals and six civilians, among them Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, an Sindhi lawyer not active in politics, is Minister of Commerce.

June 12, 1959: Change of Pakistan's capital is decided from Karachi to Patwar, adjacent to the army's head quarter in Rawalpindi. It is named Islamabad. East Pakistanis are not thrilled.

March 1, 1962: Ayub Khan promulgates Pakistan's second Constitution, "a blending", says he, "of democracy with discipline". Public reaction is harshly negative. The country, wrote the General, was "behaving like a wild horse that had been captured but not yet tamed".

January 23, 1963: Ayub Khan appoints Z.A. Bhutto as foreign Minister of Pakistan.

April 8, 1964: Sheikh Abdullah is released from prison. On April 29, he arrives in Delhi and meets Jawaharlal Nehru. On May 24, Sheikh Sahib arrives to tumultuous welcome in Lahore. May 25-26: he meets Ayub Khan twice. May 27: Jawaharlal Nehru dies. A peace initiative ends inconclusively.

September 18, 1964: Three-month long campaign opens for election of President. Combined Opposition Parties' (COP) candidate is Fatima Jinnah. She draws massive, enthusiastic crowds. The Field Marshall is no match for her. A fatwa is obtained from some Ulema "to the effect that a woman could not become the head of a Muslim state". "The whole election", writes Altaf Gauhar, a senior aide to Ayub Khan, "was now reduced to an administrative exercise to ensure Ayub's victory.

Another discernible pattern of Pakistani politics is here noteworthy: Islam is dragged into politics by weak and isolated, not by secure and popular leaders and governments. At the outset, Ayub Khan's regime was popular and had the assurances of stability. His policies were reformist, which included progressive marriage laws, and posture secular-the word "Islamic" did not appear in the 1962 Constitution. As his popularity plummeted, Ayub turned increasingly to invoking and employing religion. Bhutto's story in this regard is similar. Ziaul Haq, isolated and hated almost from the start, inaugurated early his Islamisation policies.

January 2, 1965: the Electoral College made up of Basic Democrats votes to elect President. Field Marshall Ayub Khan is now Pakistan's "elected" President.

August 8, 1965: An extra-secret Operation Gibraltar begins in Kashmir. The same evening. All India Radio puts two captured Pakistanis on the air, they spell out the details as they knew it.

August 28, 1965: India occupies Haji Per encircling units.

August 31: Pakistan forces launch Operation Grand Slam with the objective of cutting india's supply line' by September 2; this operation collapses.

September 6, 1965: Indian forces attack Lahore. Full scale India-Pakistan war begins.

September 22, 1965: A United Nation's arranged cease-fire comes into effect. In 17 days of war, neither the Field Marshall, nor the C-in-C, nor even the Chief of General staff visit East Pakistan. Its people felt abandoned, alienated.

January 3, 1966: After trying in vain to get the U.S. to help out, Ayub Khan accepts Moscow's mediation and flies with Foreign Minister Bhutto to Tashkent.

January 10, 1966: The Tashkent Declaration, an innocuous diplomatic document, is signed. It will gain enormous significance from

June 1966 when Z.A. Bhutto, relieved by Ayub Khan as Foreign Minister, shall strike out against the dwindling power of his benefactor.

December 12, 1967: Pakistan People's Party is founded in Lahore.

January 6, 1968: 28 Bengalis are arrested by military intelligence on charges of conspiring with india to bring about the secession of East Pakistan. Subsequently, the Agartala Conspiracy's scope will widen to include prominent Bengali leaders including Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman.

November 7, 1968: Agitation against military rule turns into national movement after a student is killed by police in Rawalpindi. The arrest on November 13 of Z.A. Bhutto and other opposition leaders fans the fires of revolt.

February 22, 1969: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is released. Agartala case is closed.

March 25, 1969: Ayub Khan resigns, hands over power to General Yahya Khan saying in his last broadcast to the country: "There is now no institution except the armed forces which can save the country from chaos and ruin. I have, therefore, asked the Commander-in-Chief of the army to carry out his legal obligations[sic]... May God save Pakistan". General Yahya Khan's speech follows soon thereafter. He declares Martial Law, assumes power as Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA), and abrogates another Constitution (1962). By order of superior officers, the army had been preparing to take over since early March, a time period somewhat longer that it devoted to preparing for war in 1948, 1965, and 1971.

This is how ten years of Pakistan's first military dictatorship came to an end.

April 14, 1969: CMLA Yahya Khan issues a Provisional Constitution Order whereby, subject to the supremacy of Martial Law, Pakistan shall be governed "as nearly as may be in accordance with the Constitution of 1962, but without its provisions of Fundamental Rights and the courts' powers to enforce them". The Order also appointed General Yahya Khan, retrospectively from March 25, as President of Pakistan.

November 28, 1969: Yahya Khan announces that general elections will be held on October 5, 1970 under a legal framework to be announced.

March 30, 1970: The province of West Pakistan is dissolved. One Unit is undone by decree. The Legal Framework is promulgated laying out transitional arrangements for elections, and size and composition of National Assembly. East and West Pakistan are to have parity in assembly.

December 7, 1970: General elections are held. In East Pakistan, Awami League captures 160/162 directly elected seats. In West Pakistan, PPP take 80/138 seats. The Awami League has won absolute majority in National Assembly.

January 3, 1971: Sheikh Mujib at a large rally promises to frame Constitution on the basis of his party's Six-Point programme which envisages a weak federation and augmented provincial autonomy.

January 11-12, 1971: Yahya meets Sheikh Mujib in Dacca. Their meetings are cordial but inconclusive. Mujib assures the visitors on his Six-points with statements such as: "I have fought for Pakistan. I am not going to secede from it". Yahya insists that he can not form government without Bhutto's assent as Awami League has not won a single seat in West Pakistan. Mujib retorts-let the Assembly be convened, I am sure of nearly two-thirds majority. He expected to win the support of non-PPP groups like the National Awami Party.

January 17, 1971: Yahya Khan visits Larkana for "hunting" as Bhutto's guest. Bhutto tells him he has not given careful thought to the implications of the Six Points. He says nomination to Prime Minister and President must be made by majority parties respectively of East and West. And talks about three parties to transfer of power in Pakistan—PPP, Awami League and the Army. "Zulfi, don't put me on this three-legged stool", Yahya is reported as saying, "I have done my duty". As compromise, Bhutto suggests "grand coalition" of the two parties which Yahya calls his preference too. Generals Peerzada and Hamid make hawkish contributions as their views converge with Bhutto's.

Note: The central issue of concern to the West Pakistani generals, senior bureaucrats close to General Yahya, and to Mr Bhutto was the Awami League's Six-point program. It was assumed to be a formula for dismembering Pakistan. Yet, few if any had actually studied it, or reflected on its ramifications, or posited alternatives to it. "The Six Points were never referred for official examination", writes Hasan Zaheer, "to bring out their full implications and to develop alternative proposals to accommodate Bengali demands within a viable federal structure". (The Separation of East Pakistan, Oxford University Press, Currycomb, 1994, p. 146). He quotes major General Ghulam Umer, Yahya's confidante and secretary of his Security Council as saying in part:"the subject [of the substance of Six Points] was never formally brought for consideration in the cabinet or before the President. (P.147)

January 27, 1971: Bhutto visits Dacca with PPP delegation and asks Mujib for reasonable amount of time before convening Assembly so he can prepare public opinion for the Six Points. Mujib does not like the idea of delaying the Assembly. He wants an early meeting.

February 11, 1971: Bhutto, back from Dacca, tells Yahya Khan that Sheikh Mujib has prepared a draft of a new Constitution which he would get passed by Assembly as soon as it meets. He informs that Awami League would impose constitutional obligations of intolerable financial burdens on West Pakistan to compensate East Pakistan for past inequities. There is no evidence that Mujib had made any of these plans. Bhutto requests Yahya not to convene Assembly until end March as he needed time to hold meetings and discussions in West Pakistan and negotiate a settlement with Mujib. Yahya agrees. Delay in convening the Assembly exacerbates Bengali distrust.

February 13, 1971: General Yahya announces Assembly shall meet on March 3.

February 15, 1971: Bhutto announces his party will not attend; in an implied threat, he warns those West Pakistan politicians who do attend of the danger when they come back.

February 19, 1971: Bhutto and Yahya Khan meet for five and a half hours in Rawalpindi. This is another turning point as the next day shall indicate.

February 20, 1971: Government amends the Legal Framework order rule effectively allowing Bhutto to prevent PPP members from attending assembly meeting, a decision that could only be read in Dacca as evidence of collusion between Bhutto and the Martial Law authorities.

February 22, 1971: At a conference of Governors and MLAs, (Martial Law Administrators) Yahya Khan announces he will postpone the Assembly meeting.

February 28, 1971: Generals Rao Farman Ali, Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, and Admiral Ahsan Inform Sheikh Mujib that March 3 meeting of Assembly is being postponed. He pleads with them saying this will cause him serious trouble with his "extremists". As last resort, he urges that at least a fresh date be announced simultaneously with postponement. The three officials—who were the ones serving in East Pakistan—convey his pleading to Yahya, Peerzada, and Gul Hasan, and advise against postponement. Assembly meeting is postponed sine die. Sheikh Mujib and his colleagues are now convinced that Bhutto and the army brass are colluding to deny East Pakistan its rightful political representation.

March 15, 1971: Yahya in Dhaka meets with senior officers. Air Force Officers oppose any military intervention.

March, 17, 1971: Yahya meets Mujib who demands end of Martial Law and restoration of power to elected representatives. Yahya agrees. Differences arise however on a legal detail: Yahya's side argues that Martial Law shall be retained until the National Assembly meets and ratifies the constitutional arrangements. Awami League leaders see a trap in it and object.

March 21, 1971: Deadlock is broken with Mujib confining matters primarily to power transfer in East Pakistan. Yahya agrees on condition that Bhutto concurs. Bhutto is in Dacca that day. He does not concur. Mujib refuses to back down. Thenceforth begins a dialogue of the deaf with Awami League's proposals centered around a confederation. In other words, Mujib has upped the ante.

March 24, 1971: East Pakistan and West Pakistan delegations meet for the last time. The Bengalis say they had expected more meetings. Justice A.R. Conelius has an appointment with Kamal Hossain to go over provisions in the presidential Proclamation but General Peerzada conveyed to him Yahya's orders that the West Pakistanis were to leave Dhaka on March 25. Hasan Zaheer quotes Colonel M.A. Hasan that the next meeting was fixed for 4 p.m. on March 25 but

he was asked to postpone it until March 26. When he went to Dhanmandi to inform Muhibur Rahman, the Sheikh said: "Hasan Bhai, they are playing dirty". (157)

March 25, 1971: At 4 p.m. Bhutto and his team were briefed on the Awami League's proposal. He again opposed the lifting of martial Law. Generals Yahya Khan and S.G.M.M. Peerzada headed for the Eastern Command. Army's massive crackdown follows Bengali resistance which is aided by India. Hundreds of thousands, mainly Hindus, take refuge in India. Mukti Bahini is organized and armed with Indian help. Pakistani atrocities in East Pakistan arouse great international concern.

What happened between March-December, 1971 is a blot on national history. As Pakistanis we have yet to confront, morally and intellectually, the crimes which were committed in our name, the follies and failures of those dark times, and the complicity and silence of us all. History did punish Pakistan and its people. There is little evidence though that we reflected on it and none that we learned. Only one inquiry commission looked into it; its report has yet to become public. No court martials were held; no war crimes trials ever took place. The only important and honest Pakistani witness so far has been Hasan Zaheer on whom I have relied greatly for part of the chronology.

November 21, 1971: An Indian brigade supported by armor enters East Pakistan in the Jessore sector. On November 24, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi informs parliament that Indian army has instructions to enter East Pakistan in "self-defense". Emboldened, Bangladesh Mukti Bahini steps up guerilla warfare.

December 2, 1971: In letter to President Richard Nixon, Yahya Khan invokes Article 1 of Pakistan-US Bilateral Agreement of March 5, 1959 and asks for direct U.S. military assistance.

December 3, 1971: Pakistan's armed forces open the western front. 5.20 pm: Pakistan air force made pre-emptive strikes at Indian bases. It was a dry run based on defective intelligence. Pakistan army is testing its pet theory: defense of East Pakistan lies in the West. India has been handed the excuse to engage in full scale warfare - east and west. Thereafter Pakistani military initiatives are rare. Rumors and military dispatches suggest unrealistic expectations of external help - Chinese and American.

December 7, 1971: The Governor of East Pakistan writes to the President in Islamabad. Dispatch reads in part: "The front in the eastern and western sector has collapsed. Loss of the whole corridor East of Meghna river can not be avoided. Jessore has already fallen..... Without fuel and oil there will be complete paralysis of life..... Law and order situation in areas vacated by army pathetic as thousands of pro-Pakistan elements being butchered by rebels.... Millions of non-Bengalis and loyal elements are awaiting death... If no help is expected I beseech you to negotiate so that a civilized and peaceful transfer takes place and millions of lives are saved and untold misery is avoided... Is it worth sacrificing so much when the end seems inevitable... (Zaheer, P 378) He gets an innocuous and

untruthful reply from the President: "... All possible steps are in hand (). Full scale and bitter war is going on in the West".

December 9, 1971: Governor East Pakistan tells President that "situation is desperate", that to save lives of civilians he "favorably inclined to accept the offer" of UN representative to declare Dacca an "open city".

The President replies to say that "I will approve of any decision you take and I am instructing General Niazi simultaneously to accept your decision and arrange things accordingly".

December 10, 1971: After General Niazi's briefing, Governor East Pakistan writes a note to the President and to the UN asking for immediate cease fire, transfer of power to the elected representatives, Indian withdrawal, peaceful repatriation of Pakistani forces, repatriation of West Pakistani civilians, and safety of all persons settled in East Pakistan. The note is sent by the UN representative to the Secretary General in New York. U'Thant has it distributed to members of Security Council.

Z.A. Bhutto arrives in New York as Pakistan's special envoy. On learning about the Governor's note, Bhutto says "We have been betrayed". He asks Yahya to rescind the authority given to Governor A.M. Malik, threatens to return to Pakistan if this advice is not met, and informs the Secretary General to disregard the Governor's letter. Yahya Khan complies.

A personal note: U'Thant had been deeply concerned over Pakistan's situation. In the Governor's note he sensed an opportunity to end bloodshed and humiliation, and thought he could get an agreement on it in the Security Council. I spoke with him that day. As Bhutto was expected to be in New York, he had hoped that given his savvy and comprehension of world politics Bhutto will not be taken in by great power posturing. At Secretary General U'Thant's suggestion, I attempted to talk to Mr. Bhutto. He and his aide dismissed me rudely without hearing me out. At the time, Henry Kissinger, who makes an art of manipulating reality, was making a big show of organizing a UN initiative favorable to Pakistan. He had also raised the delightful specter of a U.S. naval task force sailing into the Bay of Bengal. "important diplomatic and military moves are taking place by our friends", wrote Yahya to the Governor of Pakistan, "It is essential that we hold for another 36 hours at all costs". Kissinger and Bhutto had strategised to get Soviet agreement on a simple cease-fire. No knowledgeable observer at the UN thought it likely.

December 14-15, 1971: Mixed signals reach Dacca from Islamabad. East Pakistan Commandant is asked to hold out till U.N. Resolution is passed. Then a permission of sorts is given to surrender-"You have now reached a stage when further resistance is no longer humanly possible, nor will it serve any useful purpose". Governor and Commander try desperately on their own to obtain cease-fire. They are offered surrender terms instead. Bhutto has an emotional outburst and walks out of the Security Council.

December 16, 1971: 4.31 pm. In a televised ceremony, General Niazi, Commander, Eastern Command, surrenders to India. 90,000 Pakistani soldiers and civilians are taken prisoner. At 8.30 pm Yahya Khan broadcasts to the nation his firm resolve to fight on in West Pakistan. In her broadcast, India's Prime Minister announces unilateral cease-fire on the western front from 8 p.m. the next day.

December 17, 1971: Pakistan accepts cease-fire at 3 pm. Yahya explains that President Nixon had advised him to accept the cease fire. He wanted to save West Pakistan.

December 19, 1971: Following unrest and mutinies in the armed forces, staff officers and senior colleagues persuade General Yahya Khan to resign.

December 20, 1971: Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is sworn in as President and Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan.

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RACISM DISGUISED IN SPACE: SOME COMMENTS ON RECENT SPATIAL ARCHITECTONICS IN SRI LANKA

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Bourdieu once said that the production of a scientific work is a political act. Two objectives of the author determine this political character of the text. First, within the given field, it may be a means of position-seeking. Secondly, outside the field, scientific work allows the researcher to impose an 'objective' account of those observed upon them. In this sense, objective analysis in social science is a contradiction like dehydrated water.

In this paper, I intend to examine Prof. C.M.Madduma Bandara's paper, 'The Case for Redefinition of Provincial Boundaries: A Resource Management Perspective', in the light of Bourdieu's analysis of scientific texts. Prof. Madduma Bandara seems to think that political act and 'academic analysis and interpretation' are mutually exclusive things and that they belong to different spheres. The following words in his paper must lead to this conclusion: '[A]lthough the subject by its very nature is politically sensitive, it is also amenable to academic analysis and interpretation'. By way of constructing a Chinese wall between politicality and scientificity, Prof. Madduma Bandara has proposed a pure scientific criterion for the redefinition of provincial boundaries. In this article, I argue that his view is also political, though he seems to try to disguise his political views in hidden codes and signs. His silence on many relevant issues is, in my opinion, eloquent.

Let me recapitulate the main elements of Prof. Madduma Bandara's thesis. First, he argues that the present provincial boundaries have to be altered since they were drawn to satisfy the colonial needs of the British Raj. He writes:

Once the colonial character of the provincial boundaries is conceded and the fact that they catered to the needs of a bygone age is accepted, one cannot see much reason to treat these regional divisions as inviolable or sacrosanct.

Secondly, in redefining the provincial boundaries, the 'social, economic and administrative implications of these divisions' and the 'relevance to the development and the conservation of basic natural resources of land and water' have to be taken into account. However, the resource management aspect should be the most important factor in determining new boundaries. So, the redefinition of provincial boundaries should be done from the resource management perspective, i.e. the 'sustainable use and conservation' of the resource base of the island. Finally, Sri Lanka may be 'divided into seven regions... on the basis of river basin boundaries'.

This seems to be innocent and free of social prejudice. It may be argued that a system which contributes to ensure the sustainable use and conservation of the country's natural resource base will benefit all the people in the country irrespective of ethnic and religious divisions. However, the discursive formation of the article and the concept of space which is implicitly deployed in the argument give rise to certain questions. I would like to discuss these aspects under three headings, (i) the enunciative function of some statements in the discursive formation; (ii) the concept of space deployed in the discourse and (iii) the socio-political dimensions of the proposed boundary definition.

The enunciative function of some statements in the article has to be elucidated in examining the archaeology of the text. The importance of this is explained by Foucault in the following words:

[The statement] is a function of existence that properly belongs to signs and on the basis of which one may then decide, through analysis or intuition, whether or not they 'make sense', according to what rule they follow one another or are juxtaposed, of what they are the sign, and what sort of act is carried out by their formulation. (1972:pp.86-7)