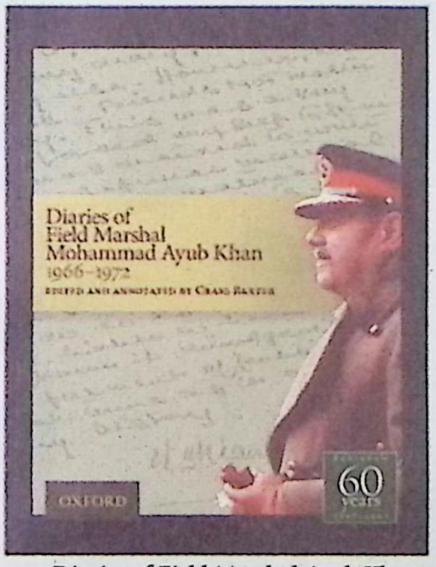
ment, commonly practiced by West Pakistani civilians to avoid more substantive actions. From Justice Ibrahim's (then the Central Law minister) diaries published in 2012 by the Academic Press, one sees how for making a constitutional proposal of autonomy for East Pakistan in the 1962 draft constitution, he was considered a secessionist by Ayub.

According to Ayub, even his East Pakistani ministers and other appointees, instead of pacifying their compatriots, were adding fuel to the fire and behaving in a disloyal manner. To him Monem Khan, the governor in 1962-1969, was good in this respect but had limitations as he did not understand economic development. We do not have to go back to Ayub's first book giving his ideas of governance in Pakistan titled " Friends not Masters" to understand what lowly opinion he held about Bengalis and East Pakistan, where he started his career in Pakistan as the GOC of 14th division in a Dhaka. It was full of derogatory and disparaging remarks. The best is to see how his thinking had developed on that subject in 1966 and following years as recorded by him in the diaries. From the beginning to the end, it is full of his pride and arrogance, his dislike of the politicians and their kind, and his requirement of absolute, ridiculous loyalty, from his appointees. Naturally, he kept on changing his ministers and high civil servants based on what he heard about their disloyalty or whenever he thought that they were not delivering to his satisfaction, while all the time harbouring in his mind highly biased views of the Bengalis.



Diaries of Field Marshal Ayub Khan 1966-1972
By Craig Baxter (Editor)
The University Press Limited (UPL)
Pp 599; 1590.00 BDT

Below I quote verbatim from Ayub Khan's Diaries.

During a visit to East Pakistan in Dec. 1966, Ayub praising his Law minister, Zafar, states: "The law minister has come under criticism by the section of Bengalis of secessionist and parochial tendencies for having dubbed such people as traitors and enemies of the country. I am glad he let them have it, as this is the sort of language in which they should be spoken to. The time for mincing words has gone."

In May 1967, Ayub writes in his diary about the situation in East Pakistan:" They are consciously Hinduising the language and culture. Tagore has become their god. Everything has been Bengalised, even the plate numbers on vehicles are in Bengali. A man from West Pakistan feels like a foreigner in Dhaka. Consciously or unconsciously, they are moving towards separation and exposing themselves to absorption by Hinduism."

In August 1967, Ayub writes: "through emotional upsurge the East Pakistani had cut himself off from Urdu, the vehicle in which Muslim thought and philosophy is expressed. In consequence, he was now totally at sea, drifting. This will prove very dangerous for their future. Without meaning any unkindness, the fact of the matter is that a large majority of the Muslims in East Pakistan have an animist base which is a thick layer of Hinduism and top crust of Islam which is pierced by Hinduism from time to time."

In September 1967, Ayub tells Khwaja Shahabuddin:" God has been unkind to us in giving the sort of neighbours and compatriots we have. We could not think of a worst combination. If worse comes to the worst, we shall not hesitate to fight a relentless battle against the disruptionists in East Pakistan. Rivers of blood will flow if need be, unhappily. We will arise to save our crores of Muslims from Hindu slavery."

In December 1967, after attending a meeting in Dhaka of the Economic Council on the subject of growing disparity in GNP between the two wings, Ayub writes: "how do you deploy defence forces and split the central government to meet their needs of parity is not understood, and how will spending more money in the public sector do any good when the private sector, which produces goods and services, is not allowed to grow. East Pakistan was a bottomless pit. Both the centre and West Pakistan are suffering through trying to fill it."

In early 1968, on the subject of the reasons for lagging of the private sector in East Pakistan, Ayub wrote in his diary: "the real cause... was the antipathy and abhorrence of the government and people of East Pakistan to the intervention of West Pakistan and foreign capital, and through poor work performance and poor discipline... The whole object is to get whatever they can by blackmail. How long will this partnership last, I do not know."

Ayub Khan was quite right in wondering about the longevity of the union of East and West Pakistan. It did not last long-only about three more years of bloody conflicts till December 16, 1971. As amply demonstrated by the ignorant remarks of the Sandhurst trained Ayub, there was something fundamentally wrong in West Pakistani assessment of the Bengali faith and cultural tradition. They just did not get it and that was one of the reasons, along with economic disparity that led to the dissolution of Pakistan. ■