

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

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ABSTRACT

Pakistan came into being in 1947 including two separate and distinct entities of subcontinent. There was a huge difference between East and West Pakistan. Before the creation of Pakistan, these both parts struggled together to get liberation from the slavery of the Hindus and the British rule. But after the inception of Pakistan the thinking and priorities were totally changed. The true spirit leaders were not so more and the thorn was handed over to the new comer politicians. The role of India is also very crucial in dividing Pakistan into two separate states. India has to take revenge from the Muslims because the Hindus were totally against the creation of Pakistan. They were not happy over the division of subcontinent because they considered that whole of this region belongs only to the Hindus, the Hindus are master and the others are their masses. So there were so many reasons behind the fall of Dhaka. In the present paper some of the important reasons of the creation of Bangladesh have been discussed. The current study is totally based on the secondary data. The researchers collected data from different books, articles, and journal and research papers.

Key Words: Bangladesh, Bengalis, Nationalism, Operation Search Light, Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, Mujib-ur-Rehman

Background

At the time of Pakistan's independence, it was divided into two wings. It was considered as geographical absurdity because these two wings separated by more than 1000 miles of Indian Territory. Such a long distance and huge number of socio-political, economic, and cultural differences created problems for nation building.

The East wing of Pakistan was culturally uniform despite of different ethnic minorities. Most of the population was Bengali speaking. The presence of different minorities Christian, Hindu, Sikh and Parsi did not become a hurdle in creation of uniform cultural pattern in East Pakistan.

On the other hand, there were four major ethnic groups (Punjabi, Pushtoon, Baloch, Urdu speaking Muhajirs) and many minor linguistic communities with their distinctive languages resides in West Pakistan.

Introduction

There was only reason for the creation of Pakistan and that was Islam. Islamic teachings combined the Muslim community of subcontinent and encouraged them to get a separate homeland that is especially for the Muslims where they may practice the teachings of Islam. The Bengalis were more active for the separation as compared to the Muslims of the north western region of subcontinent. The formation of Muslim League in 1906 in Dhaka is the first proof of the active role of the Bengalis in the creation of Pakistan. At last, after a long struggle, Pakistan came into being on 14th august 1947.

1947 year was an important year in the history of subcontinent. It was the time that the largest subcontinent witnessed historical changes in it that experienced a plenty of successions and downfalls of different rules on its territory. Subcontinent is perhaps very critical geography in the regards of multiple rules. If you through a glance into the history of subcontinent you would find many ruling civilizations, dynasties and families who ruled here. All of these ruling actors came into subcontinent ruled and went away. There were some actors who used to come here for a short time to fulfill a particular purpose but after a short period left subcontinent when their task is completed. They did not adopt permanent settlement here like Mehmood Ghaznavi. Most of these who did not adopt permanent settlement were the Muslims because they were outsiders. But on the other hand, there are some rulers who spent their lives in subcontinent. They born here and died here and the majority of the permanent settlers were the Hindus. If you go through the literature related to Pakistan movement, you would find that up to the creation of Pakistan, the role of almost all the active leaders was very patriotic. They were attached to only one destination that was the creation of a separate homeland. But just after the creation of Pakistan, the attitudes of politicians were evident before us. The death of Quaid-e-Azam was a sudden demise for the Pakistanis. After his death, everyone looks hungry for power like Iskender Mirza who became the feudal power of Pakistan. He used to consider him as he the Shaha of Iran. He brought Ayub Khan and forced him to impose the first martial law in the country (Mookherjee, 2006)

Field marshal Ayub Khan enforced first martial law in the history of Pakistan. Ayub Khan was basically motivated by Iskender Mirza. In 1958, the first ever martial law was imposed in Pakistan and it lasted until the general elections held by Ayub Khan.

East Pakistan was physically and geographically a separate territory from the West Pakistan. The East Pakistan was to the eastern side of the subcontinent and the West Pakistan was totally opposite to the north western side. The location of the east and West Pakistan was very important for Pakistan because the enemy country India was surrounded by both sides. But unfortunately due to the political instability the importance of strategic location could not be maintained. Everyone whether he was politician or military man played his role to further divide Pakistan into two different countries.

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

1971 was very unfortunate year for Pakistan because in this year Pakistan witnessed very terrible shock to the country. We lost one important component of Pakistan in the shape of new born country on the globe Bangladesh. In 1971, we lost the eastern wing of the country while turning it into a new state.

The Bengali movement that got separation in 1971 was not the result of the effort one night. There was spent a huge time for planning conspiracies against the West Pakistan. India never accepted Pakistan by heart and was busy to making plans and missions to harm Pakistan in every task. The Indian intellectuals, think tanks, politicians, businessmen and even teachers were preparing conspiracies against Pakistan from 1947. The wars of the 1948, 1965 and 1971 were the results of all those planning made by them. At last, India succeeded in her planning after making Bangladesh a separate country.

There were clear differences between the attitudes and social life between the east and West Pakistan. The language was different, the political participation of both sides was varied, and the social structure was evidently different of the both sides of Pakistan. The only factor that bound these two geographical territories was reorganization as the Muslim. The West Pakistan played a dominant role over the east Pakistanis. All of the economic and political activities were performed in the West Pakistan. These differences continued to rise and none took notice of this widespread desperation among the east Pakistanis.

History

There is a long history of subcontinent that cannot be explained in detail here. The history of subcontinent starts far behind from the Maurya Empire. This was the ruling time of subcontinent before Christ. They ruled here with great charm but with the passage of time, the picture of subcontinent continued to change. A chronicle history of subcontinent is being presented here in order to have a glimpse of different ruling dynasties of subcontinent (K.Ali, 2012).

- The Maurya Empire
 - Chandragupta Maurya (324-300 B.C)
 - Bindusara (300-273 B.C)
 - Asoka the Great (273-232 B.C)
- The Sunga Dynasty of Magadha (185 B.C)
- The Satvahana Dynasty (100 B.C)
- The Sakas (2nd Century A.D)
- The Kushan Empire
- The Gupta Empire (4th century A.D)
- The Muslim Conquest (7th century A.D)
- Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi (998-1030)
- Muhammad Ghuri (1173)
- Slave dynasty
 - Sultan QutbudinAibak (1206-10)
 - Sultan ShamsuddinIltutmish (1211-36)

- Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-86)
- The Khalji Dynasty (1290-1320)
 - Jalaluddin Khalji (1290-96)
 - Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316)
- The Tughluq Dynasty (1320-1412)
 - Ghiyasuddin Tughluq (1320-1325)
 - Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351)
 - Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388)
- The Sayyid and Lodhi Dynasties
 - Sikandar Lodhi (1489-1517)
 - Ibrahim Lodhi (1517-1526)
- The Mughal Empire
 - Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur (1526-30)
 - Humayun and Sher Shah (1530-1556)
 - Akbar the Great (1556-1605)
 - Jahangir (1605-1628)
 - Shah Jahan (1628-1658)
 - Aurangzeb Alamgir (1658-1707)
- The British Rule (1858-1947)

History shows that there was Hindu rule in the subcontinent before the arrival of Islam. Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka are the examples of the earliest prominent Hindu rulers in subcontinent. But with the advent of Islam, the picture of this land changed marvelously. The dominant rule of the Hindus was replaced by the flexible and equal rule of Islam. The Muslim rule was introduced by Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 and lasted up to 1857 with the downfall of the Mughal Empire. During the Muslim Rule, the majority of the Hindus were treated as a minority. They made many efforts to snatch the rule from the Muslims but failed in all efforts.

The Hindus are mentally very sharp that they adjusted with every ruler here. During the Muslim rule, some of them supported to get advantages and some of them opposed and fought wars with them. The 1000 years rule of the Muslims is like a nightmare for the Hindus. During the British rule, they set relations with them and used many tactics to turn them against the Muslims. The Hindus were very unhappy over the creation of Pakistan. With the fall of Dhaka the Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi boasted that “Today we have got revenge of 1000 years Muslim rule in subcontinent”.

Bengali Hopes

None of Zulifqar Ali Bhutto, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and Yahya Khan was sincere about the new born country Pakistan. After the downfall of Ayub Khan, these three were the main characters of the power of whole eastern and western Pakistan. The results of general elections show a clear majority and unity of the Bengalis and the Bengalis were very hopeful about the smooth transformation of power to them.

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

But there was a clear gap between their hopes and practical happenings. The military operation washed off all their hopes and demands. The military operation was right and wrong as well. To one point of view the application of military operation was right because the Bengalis were settling relations with the Indian government. If the sole power of Pakistan transferred to them, they might harm it more than the fall of Dhaka. But on the other side, the military operation was morally wrong because the Muslims were being killed by the Muslims and a clear advantage was given to the enemies of the Pakistan. It is vivid that there cannot be any conspiracy against any country if local assistance is not available to them. The war of 1971 and the victory of India is the result of local assistance from the East Pakistan. The major reason behind the arrestment of 90,000 military personals was the favor given to Indian government by the east Pakistanis (Khan Z. R., 1976)

Bengali Unity

Before military operation in the East Pakistan, perhaps the Bengalis were not so united to get a separate land from a combine Pakistan. But due to the operation search light, the Bengalis united themselves under a single motto of the independence for the West Pakistan. They were also somehow hopeful that army will help them to get shift of power but contrary to their wishes, the military operation was launched to harden their prideful demands. It was the military operation that the Bengalis were aroused by India also to get their demands. India was already very passionate due to the results of war 1965 and wanted to get revenge from Pakistan at any cost. In 1971, India got revenge after dividing Pakistan into two pieces that was only due to the assistance from the East Pakistan.

Mutiny of the Bengalis

The military action that was launched on the east Pakistanis inspired a wave of mutiny among the Bengalis. Before the operation the attitudes of the Bengalis were different as compared to the actions after military operation. The Bengalis were united to cope with the military action. They used any tactic to handle this situation as they could. The level of violence during operation varied from place to place and the local Bengalis used guns in which number of the officers belonged to West Pakistan were killed. The west Pakistanis and non-Bengalis were at the hit list of the Bengalis. There were different assembled groups of the Bengalis to target the west Pakistanis (Chaudary, 1974)

The launching of the military operation was not only followed by the killings of the west Pakistanis rather the Bengalis also targeted the Biharis because they did not belong to the Bengali nation. The Biharis were the migrated communities who migrated from India during the partition of 1947 in order to get supportive environment. They were pro-Pakistani people who supported the West Pakistan rather than the Indian conspiracy for the East Pakistan to get separation from the West Pakistan.

Defining the Biharis

The term of “Bihari” applies to all those immigrants who migrated from the Indian provinces Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, the Punjab and Gujarat. These migrants migrated to the East Pakistan at partition. A large number of people migrated to the new country in order to seek better opportunities of life. Most of them supported the combined Pakistan because they were the witnesses of the brutalities of the Hindus as they have spent a part of their lives in India. On the other hand, sometimes the term is only applied on all those people who migrated to East Pakistan only from Bihar. They were considered as a minority in East Pakistan. But being a minority, they occupied many prestigious jobs in the East Pakistan (Khan Z. R., 1976)

Bihari-Bengali Clash

The Biharis were perceived as the responsible for Pakistani atrocities against the Bengalis. The minority of the Biharis was crushed by the Bengalis during the search light operation. The defeat of Pakistani forces in the East Pakistan further created many problems for the Biharis because now the Bengalis were all in all and they treated the Biharis in very inhuman way. Furthermore the Bengali politicians who supported West Pakistan were imprisoned and the Biharis were also interned.

The massive transformation of the people from Bihar to the East Pakistan had many reasons. The most important reason of this migration was that they were Urdu speaking that was the first official language of Pakistan. They were accepted as brothers by the west Pakistanis. They were welcome in Pakistan. That was the main reason that they soon received all the benefits from the rulers of West Pakistan. They got high jobs due to the support of the western Pakistani elite. They got low interest loans for investment from the banks to start their small businesses. They were very hard working, so they started to take part into the industry and other local businesses. As the result of such support to the Biharis by the West Pakistan, they were considered as the agents of the west Pakistanis. A streak of prejudice was born in the minds of the Bengalis against the Biharis (Khan Z. R., 1976).

When the Bengali mobs rose with guns, their first and easy target was the Biharis. There were also some groups of the Biharis to stop the atrocities against them but they were a minority. They could not defend themselves before the massive mobs of the Bengalis. There was a serious murderous clash between these two groups. Apart from the Bengali national movement, the military also used force to save the minority of the Biharis. In result, a massive organized killing occurred by the collaboration of military and the Biharis.

Apart from sporadic incidents of violence in Dhaka, there was arson, looting and attacks by Bengali mobs on non-Bengali people and property in many parts of

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

the province, some with casualties. The White Paper published by the Pakistan government in August 1971 lists such incidents, of which the worst loss of life appears to have occurred in Khulna and Chittagong in the first week of March. That "the government's writ had ceased to function in most parts of the province" and that there were attacks upon non-Bengalis by Bengalis on the rampage, is acknowledged by critics of the government too (Iqbal, 2008)

1971 in South Asia usually denotes the third major war between India and Pakistan, in the context of a civil war in Pakistan which led to the secession of East Pakistan and the formation of a new country, Bangladesh. The cold war served as the international backdrop to this regional conflict. However, the conflicts played out on the soil of East Pakistan in 1971 were more numerous and ran deeper. The civil war was not merely between the two wings of Pakistan, but also within the territory of East Pakistan, between Bengalis and non-Bengalis, and among Bengalis themselves, who were bitterly divided between those who favored independence for Bangladesh and those who supported the unity and integrity of Pakistan. The middle ground of federation and autonomy was increasingly squeezed between these two highly polarized positions, especially through the general elections of December 1970 (Bose, S, 2005).

The above mentioned paragraphs show that there was a vivid clash between the Bengalis and Non-Bengalis. The Bengalis were more violent than the Non-Bengalis. The Non-Bengalis were the Biharis who migrated from Indian province Bihar. The above references also explore that the clash was not only between the Bengalis and Non-Bengalis rather the violence also existed among the different groups of the Bengalis. In the Bengalis, there were further two groups one of them supported the independence of Bangladesh and the rest supported Pakistan.

Operation Search Light

After the boasting attitude of the Bengalis the operation search light was planned to tackle the brutal and inhuman actions of the Bengalis. The Bengalis killed hundred of the Biharis because they were in the favor of the West Pakistan. Due to military action a massacre took place in the East Pakistan. During the military action, hundreds of the Bengalis were also killed by the Biharis as well as the military.

Consequences of Operation

Operation search light was launched in March 1971 and lasted for nine months. During this operation it was estimated that lot of people were killed in these nine months. It was also reported that a widespread torture was carried out and massive killings and rape victims were characterized. In the western world, the operation search light was perceived as least-known massive military crackdown of that century. It was also reported that 20 million people were displaced during this operation in the East Pakistan. On the other hand, 10 million people got refuge in India (Kelley, 2010).

Factors for the Creation of Bangladesh

According to intellectuals, there were many factors that played important role in the transformation of the East Pakistan into Bangladesh. There were many reasons like, geographical, socio-cultural, and linguistic issues, the economic disparity and exploitation between east and west Pakistan, the differences over constitution making, the degeneration of Muslim League and rise of the regional Bengalis parties and politically and socially alienation of the east Pakistan were some of the major factors in the creation of Bangladesh.

Bangladesh was made a separate state in 1971, but still up to date is not very easy to explore all those reasons through which this state was made. The different intellectuals and thinkers have different opinions regarding the formation of Bangladesh. It is not easy to conclude all the reasons of the formation of Bangladesh into a phrase whether it was a political, internal, external or international conspiracy that resulted in the form of division of country into two separate domains.

The Rise of Bengali Sub-Nationalism

The Bengali nationalism rose due to many reasons like there was not parity between the two wings of Pakistan. The West Pakistan was dominant wing on the East Pakistan. It was superior to the East Pakistan almost in all the fields. The Bengalis were more politically conscious than the Pakistanis of the West Pakistan. The Bengalis were more politically active as well. The Bengali nationalism started to raise and create issues just after the creation of Pakistan. The very initial issue of the Bengalis was the linguistic issue that was raised in 1948 when Quaid-e-Azam addressing the students in Dhaka declared Urdu as the national language of Pakistan (Zaheer, 1990).

The Geographical and Socio-Cultural Differences

At the independence, Pakistan got two separate territories of lands that were totally disengaged from one another. The two wings of Pakistan the east and the west

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

were set apart thousands miles away from each other. This was also the reason of difference between the two separate parts of the country. There was not any common integration between the East and West Pakistan except the common religion and common struggle for independence. In short, the both parts of Pakistan lacked all social, cultural, and linguistic ties to bound east and West Pakistan (Mahmood, 1989).

East Pakistan was 1/7 of the total area of the country. Its territory was very short as compared to the West Pakistan. But on the other hand, the population of the East Pakistan was larger than the West Pakistan. The population of the East Pakistan exceeded to all over the other four provinces of the West Pakistan. Being larger by population and politically conscious it was set apart and ignored by the West Pakistan (Chaudhry, 1988).

Role of Hindu Teachers

Unlike the West Pakistan, the East Pakistan had prominent Non-Muslim minorities. These minorities were based on the Hindu community especially. The Hindus were dominant in all the important fields of life. At the time of partition, a majority of the Hindus preferred to live in the East Pakistan. Out of these Hindus, the Hindu intellectuals were present in the form the teachers. They were directly attached to the Bengali students who incorporated a sense of deviance in the minds of the Bengali students to get liberation from the West Pakistan. The syllabus that was being taught by the Hindu teachers was presenting the negative sense against the West Pakistanis. The Hindu teachers displayed the pictures of Gandhi and Nehru rather than the Muslim freedom fighter Muhammad Ali Jinnah. So, a lobby was incorporated in the minds of the Bengalis by the Hindu teachers from very start against the West (Mahmood, 1989).

Leadership Crisis

The leadership of the West Pakistan was mainly based on the landlords and the feudal as compared the East Pakistan whose political leaders were mainly the professionals like teachers, lawyers, the retired officials who have a great sense of the politics. But the west Pakistani leaders were not well aware of the political requirements like the eastern wing had. The western leaders had a dominant and authoritative attitude in all forms of the society. That is why they played a vital role in the breaking of the eastern wing of Pakistan. The Bengalis were also more educated and sensible than the western people of Pakistan (Khan M. A., 2005).

Linguistic Problem

Langue was another issue raised by the Bengalis although there were other regional languages in both the eastern and western wings of Pakistan. There were many other languages in West Pakistan like Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and Pushto

but they accepted Urdu as national their national language. On the other hand, in East Pakistan, there were regional languages as well like the West Pakistan but they were unwilling to accept Urdu as a national language. It has also mentioned that the Bengalis were more educated then the west Pakistanis so it was more easy for them to read and write Urdu than the uneducated west Pakistanis. It shows that they raised the linguistic issue intentionally to create problems to get provide a roadmap for separation.

The language issue was also raised before the creation of Pakistan. In Lucknow session of All India Muslim League in 1937, the Bengali leaders strongly opposed the proposed resolution that Urdu would be official langue of Muslim League (Zaheer, 1990). The Bengali Language issue was raised just after the creation of Pakistan. The Bengalis demanded that Bengali would the official language of medium of instruction, language of courts and administration and in all other forms of communication. They also demanded that Bengali language should be given the status of the national language along with Urdu (Rahman. T, 1996). The language was the first issue raised by the Bengalis in the East Pakistan. It was linguistic issue that gathered a huge community of the Bengalis under the platform of Bengali nationalism. The teachers, political activists and students came out in the streets in 1948. It was the langue issue that introduced Sheikh MujiburRehman who founded a student league that was known as The East Pakistan Student League in January 1948 (Zaheer, 1990).

The very initial problem between east and West Pakistan was the language problem. Urdu had been declared as national language of whole Pakistan. But the Bengalis were not happy on this decision and they started to engage Bangla as national language also. So, later in the constitution of 1956, Bangla was also declared as national language besides Urdu(Kelley, 2010).

But the question that raises here that in the history of Pakistan movement, there was also a controversy on Hindi and Urdu languages but that time all the Muslims were in the favor of Urdu langue. But after the creation of Pakistan what happened to these Bengalis that they started to raise the linguistic issue. This was the first basic seed that gives a clue about the clever mindedness of the Bengalis who were basically motivated by the Hindu mentality.

By raising the issue of language, the Bengalis proved that they were interested to divide Pakistan into two parts from very start. There are also many references that reveal evidence that there were close relations between Mujib and the Indians. The Indian think tanks were busy to destabilize Pakistan from 1947. So the Bengalis became their prey and played a vital role to divide Pakistan.

Language recognition, however, did not lead to full parity in other areas, for Bengalis remained marginalized in the united Pakistan. In East Pakistan, where they formed the majority, they were less economically and less politically influential than the Urdu-speaking community. Urdu-speakers formed a distinct but privileged minority. They were affiliated linguistically with the governing elite in West

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

Pakistan and received preferential treatment in regard to government jobs and housing. They lived in separate communities. They dominated the Indus river sector, small businesses, and trade and commerce, while the majority Bengalis was engaged largely in the agricultural sector (Kazi, Fahmida, & Farzana, 2008).

On March 1948, a student demonstration was charged with the issue of Bengali language and a large number of the students were arrested. During his visit to university of Dhaka, Jinnah announced that Bengali could be the provincial language but the state language would be Urdu. At this announcement, the students demonstrated and fled into the streets. Further in 1952, the support of Khwaja Nazimuddin to Urdu as a national language raised the language issues once more (Rahman, 1996).

Economic Disparity

There were many disparities between the east and the West Pakistan and one of the important disparities was economic disparity between both wings of Pakistan. The Bengalis believed that they were economically exploited by the west Pakistanis. A huge part of economy is reserved only to the West Pakistan and the east gets very little. They also think that were economically deprived off by the West Pakistan.

A bulk of the whole revenue of the country is spent in the West Pakistan because the central government and capital of country was in the West Pakistan. Further, a huge part of the budget was spent in the defense and most of the military personals and arsenals existed in the West Pakistan. To Bengalis, the East Pakistan earns more in the export of jute but gets little than the West Pakistan and their earning is spent on them (Chaudary, 1974)

Disparity in Development Planning

There was disparity between eastern and western wings of Pakistan in economic and developmental planning. The developmental projects were relatively shortly planned for the eastern Pakistan. Ayub Khan confessed the injustice against the East Pakistan. He promised to the Bengalis that in future more developmental projects will be launched in the East Pakistan in order to fulfill the developmental shortage in the East Pakistan. The constitution of 1962 also realized and promised that new economic policies would be applied to remove all economic and developmental disparities between the eastern and western Pakistan. But despite the promises made by the constitution and Ayub Khan, the economic and developmental disparity enlarged not collapsed (Chaudary, 1974).

Disparity in Civil and Armed Forces

The Bengalis were given very poor representation in the civil and armed forces of Pakistan. The armed forces were basically recruited from the West Pakistan. The province of Punjab was further important land for the selection of the army personals. The Potohohar plateau region was the short listed territory of the Punjab province from where the people were selected for military. The Bengalis were considered inferior to the west Pakistanis and they were perceived weaker as well. It was also imagined about the Bengalis that they were converted from the lower casts of the Hindus so they got a fewer chances for the selection in the army and civil services.

In 1970, about eighty five percent of the forces of Pakistan belonged to the West Pakistan but according to the size of population, the East Pakistan was larger than the West Pakistan. The main reason for the selection of military personals from the West Pakistan is rooted to the British rule. The Britishers used to select the people from the Punjab province mostly. To them, the Punjabis are very strong and brave as compared to the other parts of subcontinent. Due to this reason, it was a trend for the selection of army from the West Pakistan. But in the disparity for the selection of the bureaucracy from the West Pakistan there was not any justification because the Bengalis were more educated and competent than the west Pakistanis (Khan M. A., 2005)

Constitutional Problems

Pakistan was a new country so there were many problems for Pakistan. The constitution of any country is the main issue to make. Firstly it was not easy to make a new constitution for the country. Secondly, the both wings of Pakistan were unwilling to accept each other in the process of constitution. The proposed ratio of representation in the central legislature and the distribution of the powers were not being accepted by the East Pakistan.

So in the result, the first constituent assembly was failed. With multiple efforts, the second constituent assembly gave the first constitution on 29th February, 1956. This constituent assembly gave the parity to the both parts of Pakistan in representation. Bengali was accepted as one of the state's language by the constitution. Even after giving the parity of representation, the Bengalis were not satisfied with this solution and they started to create further problems for more representation than the West Pakistan. When their demands were not fulfilled, Sheikh MujiburRehman presented six points and laid the foundation of the Bengali nationalism movement to liberate from the West Pakistan (Mahmood, 1989).

Rise of the Bengali Political Parties

Muslim league played a vital role for the development of Muslim community in subcontinent. It was founded in 1906 in Dhaka. At the time of its inception, all of

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

the leaders were very sincere to it that in the result they got a separate homeland for the Muslims of subcontinent. But after the partition, the role of leaders was indifferent to it. Everyone wanted to get power that was unable to fulfill. In result, the sincerity to Muslim League lost.

Muslim league fell into the hands of the selfish people soon after the inception of Pakistan. The internal and personal decisions in the party caused the downfall of the league that was only representing party of the Muslims. In 1948, Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani and FzalulHaq left the Muslim League and in return they formed another political party in June 1949 that was known as East Pakistan Awami Muslim League. MaulanaBhashani was elected the president of this party. Mujib was student that time and was appointed the joint secretary of the party. In 1950, the party was renamed as All Pakistan Awami Muslim League Party and Suharwardi was appointed as the president and chief organizer of the party. Further, in 1953, Mujib was made the general secretary of the party (Saliq, 1986). In 1953, the Awami Muslim League eliminated the word “Muslim” from its name and became the AwamiLeague. It was ethically and morally wrong to drop the word “Muslim” from the party because it was basically the Muslim representing political party. In response, some of its old members resigned from it and their seats were filled by the Hindus latterly. FazlulHqa formed his own party known as “KrishakSramik Party” (The Labour Peasant Party).

Political Alienation of East Pakistan

The Bengalis were also politically alienated by the west domination. The first shock to the Bengalis was given in 1947 when the most popular leader of the East Pakistan Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi was not allowed for the parliamentary leadership of the East Pakistan Assembly. KhwajaNazimuddin was elected the Chief Minister due to Liaqat Ali Khan.

The Bengalis were further angered over the dismissal of KhwajaNazimuddin’s Ministry. They perceived that it was a conspiracy against the Bengalis. The Bengalis considered it the political alienation of the East Pakistan. They were unable to stand before the powerful west Pakistani feudal leaders. Ghulam Muhammad tried to handle the Bengalis by installing another Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra but according to the Bengalis he was just a puppet had no powers before the powerful Ghulam Muhammad (Saliq, 1986).

Agartala Conspiracy

Before the presentation of six points by Sheikh MujiburRehman, the Bengali movement was not taken seriously. The politicians of the West Pakistan taken the Bengali issue for granted. But when Mujib presented his six points on February 6, 1966, this turning point of the Bengalis was taken seriously. The media also played an important role for the advertisement of six points. The major reason of the advertisement was to shape the public opinion about the conspiracy of the

Bengalis and to convert the attention of people from Tashqand Declaration to the new issue. That time perhaps it was not noticed that on the basis of these six points, the Bengalis would get a new land for them (Rizvi, 1987).

After the presentation of six points, it was found that there was a conspiracy against Pakistan known as Agartala Conspiracy in which India was involved. Sheikh MujiburRehman and 34 others were accused to involve in the Agartala Conspiracy. They were sent to jail due to involvement in conspiracy against Pakistan.

When Mujib and his other followers were imprisoned, it was created much tensed situation in East Pakistan in response of the imprisonment of their leaders. This imprisonment made Mujib the hero of the East Pakistan. He got fame in all over Pakistan especially he rose as a charismatic leader of the Bengalis. This trial gave such fame to Mujib that he never could get other than (Saliq, 1986).

Political Determinants

There are many reasons of the creation of Bangladesh from East Pakistan but the political reasons are more important than all other reasons. The political autonomy was the major issue that led to the creation of Bangladesh. The people who were politically conscious and neutral from any wing of Pakistan consider that the central government to concede greater autonomy to East Pakistan because the population of East Pakistan was larger area wise as compared to the West Pakistan and the people of the East Pakistan were more politically conscious than the West Pakistan. The disparities between the East and West Pakistan should be resolved peacefully in order to work smoothly. The absence of sincere political activists led to the division of the country into two parts.

If you throw a glance into the history, there were two parties of the politicians the right-wings and the leftist in the East Pakistan. The right wings comprise the minority but they advocated that the East Pakistan should continue to work as a part of Pakistan. They advocated that both parts of the country should work cooperatively maintaining harmony. While on the other hand, the leftists demanded a radical change in the society. They advocated the complete independence from West Pakistan and supported a separate country.

Sheikh MujiburRehman was the main leader of the leftists party. They were strongly against the combined Pakistan. They did not only demand to end the west exploitation but also the exploitation from the Bengalis of the right wings. Awami League had the only mission to have a complete separation from the West Pakistan. They worked for days and nights to get liberation from the dominance of the West Pakistan. Awami League had some secret links with India before the creation of Bangladesh. India indirectly supported Awami League to raise the issues so that Pakistan may be divided into parts. The closely worked together as it is known "Agartala Conspiracy" where different personals of Awami League were trained. MujiburRehaman presented six points in Lahore when Pakistan was passing through very crucial situation. The country was suffering from war and

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

Mujib was busy to make conspiracies to divide Pakistan into two parts. A sincere leader cannot even think to do such act as Mujib did. He was a close member of opposition of that time but all of the other opposition members rejected his idea of Six Points that clearly showed idea of separation.

The creation of Bangladesh was basically the result of political battle between Sheikh MujiburRehaman and Zulifqar Ali Bhutto. After the creation of Pakistan, the East Pakistan relatively got less resources and political influence as compared to the West Pakistan. The politicians of the West Pakistan were more affluent and well to do than the political activists of the East Pakistan. The Bengalis were also aroused by the Indian intellectuals who were residing in the East Pakistan since its inception. The Bengalis were in majority in East Pakistan and Indian support gave a streak of fuel to work for the separation from the West Pakistan. The result of Bengali unity and Indian support was presented by Mujib in the form of six points. Further in the general elections the attainment of almost all of the seats by Awami League shows that how they were committed to get a separate land for the Bengalis. Awami League won all the East Pakistan seats of National Assembly (Khan Z. R., 1976)

On the other hand, in the West Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party led by Zulifqar Ali Bhutto won majority of seats of National Assembly in the West Pakistan. But he was unsuccessful to win a single seat from the East Pakistan that narrates that the west Pakistanis were not welcomed in the East Pakistan. All of the Bengalis were in the favor of only political party that was Awami League.

After completing the process of general elections, the next issue was to form new government. Mujib had the majority of the seats to form the next government. Politically he had right to form a new government wherever he wanted whether in East or West Pakistan. But Bhutto was not in the favor if Mujib alone formed the entire government without his coalition. Both of them started to raise their own issues regarding to establish a new government. Mujib wanted to shift whole of the central government in East Pakistan but Bhutto was against this decision of MujiburRehamn.

The third important character of the creation of Bangladesh was General Yahya. He showed himself neutral because he was also interested to acquire power. He did not care whether there was Mujib or Bhutto. But he indirectly supported both of them but after the results of general elections he desired to get sympathy from MujburRehman but now Mujib was very prideful as he got majority of the seats of National Assembly to form the sole government alone. When Yahyabecame hopeless from Mjuib, he turned to Bhutto and arranged some secrets meetings with Bhutto. The pictures of Yahya and Bhutto got very fame in the East Pakistan.

Later, in March 1971, Yahya postponed the sitting of National Assembly and dissolved the cabinet system. Further the whole Pakistan was handed over the army control. The postponement of the sitting of National Assembly created a serious situation in the East Pakistan that a revolt began in all over the East

Pakistan which further created tensions and Operation Search Light was started in all over the East Pakistan.

The response of Awami League was very serious regarding to the postponement of the National Assembly sitting. Awami League called for a general strike in all over the East Pakistan. A civil disobedience movement was started by the Bengalis in the whole of the East Pakistan. During the civil disobedience, Awami League was banned and Sheikh MujiburRehman was arrested. The journalists who belonged to foreign countries were expelled from the East Pakistan. This pressure further helped the Bengalis to come together at one platform that led them to the track of the creation of Bangladesh. (Khan Z. R., 1976).

The postponing of the sitting of National Assembly created serious disturbance in the East Pakistan. The strike and disobedience of Awami League put the eastern part of country in many alert difficulties. When the situation became out of control and there was not any chance of solution of this disturbance, the Operation Search Light was planned to control the situation. According to the Search Light Operation, firstly the major cities of East Pakistan were taken under control. There were a lot of casualties during the search light operation.

Chances for India

Sheikh Mujib's six points, election campaign and demand for maximum autonomy were strongly supported by New Delhi. This Indian point view influenced the voting pattern of Bangladeshi Hindu Community because they were culturally and historically linked with India. According to Election commission reports there were participation of 57% of the total enrolled voters and Awami League secured 75% of the casted votes. 42% of total registered votes were secured by the Awami League out of which the Hindus constituted 25% and only 17% Muslims in East Pakistan. (Iqbal, 2008)

The Great Game of Big Powers (US, India, China, Russia)

In United India East Bengal (area of majority Muslim population) was the poorest region of higher illiteracy, low urbanization and industrialization. Socio-economic backwardness of East Bengal was attentional, because Hindu Zamindars used this region (especially Calcutta) to provide raw industrial material for west Bengal (Hindu dominated region) for 200 years. At time of Indian subcontinent division in 1947 worsened the socio-economic condition of East Bengal. (Hossain, 2013)

Since inception of "Two-Nation Theory" India disliked it and kept on proving it right even after birth of Pakistan. Absurd geography of Pakistan given chance to India and it took advantage of no land corridor link between two wings. Before and after independence India planned to agitate the minds of Bengalis because a strong Pakistan does not suit India. Israel and Soviet Union (former) viewed strong Pakistan (the envisioned fort of Islam) as a future threat to their ideologies. The

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

following statement of Indra Gandhi is the best evidence to support the Indian conspiracy point. She stated,

“We have drowned the two nation theory in the Bay of Bengal.”

But as long as Muslim Bangladesh maintains an Islamic identity, no one can say that Two-Nation theory has been drowned in Bay of Bengal. But the above statement is a confession that India (a Hindu-dominated state) devised a conspiracy to break Pakistan and to fulfil their dream of Akhand Bharat. The statements of Indra Gandhi on fall of Dhaka were proof of the two-nation theory existence. She claimed that “Today we have taken the revenge of the 1000 years slavery.” But in 1971 Pakistan was just 24 years old then what was she referring to by mentioning 1000 years? Definitely she was talking about the Muslim rule in India. (Tamimi, 2010)

Indians systematically washed off the memories of criminal activities during British rule in India against Muslims of Bengal and to put the entire responsibility of backwardness of East Pakistan on rulers of West Pakistan. India took advantage of affluent Hindu population in that province to make Bengali figures of their choice successful. India took 24 years to exploit East Pakistan differences from western wing (in Food, Dress, Language, Habits, Culture) and convinced that there cultural links are with west Bengal. (Malik, 1991)

Indian government supported separation of East Pakistan through training Mukti Bahni guerrillas, opening borders and established refugees camp to portray that it caused financial hardships for the country. It was an attempt to corner Pakistan and gain sympathies. In 1971 Indra Gandhi toured Europe (a diplomatic offensive tour) and succeeded to block any pro-Pakistan directives through breaking United Kingdom and France to break with United States (US) in the United Nations Security Council. Gandhi's greatest achievement was 21 years India-Soviet treaty (of friendship and co-operation) on 9 august. It decreased the possibility of china involvement in indo-Pak Conflict. This treaty was shocking for United States too(Chopra, 1974). China (an ally of Pakistan) morally supported with little military aid and did not advance troops to Indo-Sino border. Indian military awaited for winter that Himalayan passes would be closed by snow and dried ground of Indian sub-continent for easier operation for preventing any Chinese intervention. Nixon feared soviet expansion into south and Southeast Asia, that's why he supported Pakistan. Another factor was close Sino-Pak relations because Nixon was intend to visit China in February 1972 to negotiate for rapprochement. Nixon had a fear of total soviet domination in the region was linked with successful Indian invasion in West Pakistan. It was a serious concern for global position of United States and to the regional position of China (America's new tacit ally). It is being stated that Nixon sent military supplies to Pakistan through Jordan and Iran, even encouraged china to increase arm supplies to Pakistan. In the opinion of American writers (after many years of war), it is believed that United States policies were badly flawed and ill-served the interest of country during Indo-Pak war of 1971. There were various reasons for US

sympathies with Pakistan. Two important reasons were Pak-US military pacts and India as a pro soviet nation helpful for soviet expansion in this region. (Jackso, 1975)

As mentioned earlier that china and US were trying for good relation and Pakistan was the messenger. With the efforts of Yahya Khan in July 1971 Zhou Enlai (prime minster) and Henry Kissinger had a meeting. In that meeting, Zhou Enlai said,

“In our opinion, if India continues on its present course in disregard of world opinion, it will continue to go on recklessly. We, however, support the stand of Pakistan. This is known to the world. If they [the Indians] are bent on provoking such a situation, then we cannot sit idly by.”

Kissinger assured him to back Pakistan in any Indo-Pak conflict. (William, 1972)

During her western visit Indra Gandhi met Nixon on 4th and 5th of November to gain support and sympathy for Indian efforts to Bengali separatist movement. Nixon told her that a new war in sub-continent is out of question.

Indira Gandhi, the Indian prime minister in those times decided to tour most of the Western capitals to prove Indian stand and gain support and sympathy for the Bengalis of East Pakistan. On November 4th and 5th she met Nixon in Washington. Nixon straight forwardly told her that “*a new war in the subcontinent is out of the question*”.

Next day of meeting Kissinger told Nixon after accessing the situation, “*The Indians are bastards, they are plotting a war.*”

According to CIA reports Indian prime minster (Indira Gandhi) was sure that China will never intervene in north India during Indo-Pak war. If that time china intervened, Indian military might collapsed by fighting on three fronts (East, West and North). Even it is stated that US send aircraft carriers to threat India and instructed Chinese to move some troops toward Indian frontier. But China was feared of soviet aggression. With the myth of Chinese activities on northern frontier Pakistan army maintained to resist Indian advancement and boosted their morals to fight. (Jackso, 1975)

The Pakistani army commander in Dhaka (Lieutenant General A A K Niazi) was informed: “NEFA front has been activated by Chinese, although the Indians, for obvious reasons, have not announced it.” But Beijing never did. On the other hand Soviet Union (former) supported Indian army and MuktiBahni. USSR assured India that they will take all possible measures to confront India and China and sent nuclear submarine in Indian Ocean. (Iqbal, 2008)

Vladimir Kruglyakov, the former (1970-1975) Commander of the 10th Operative Battle Group (Pacific Fleet) remembers:

“I had obtained the order from the commander-in-chief not to allow the advancement of the American fleet to the military bases of India. We encircled them and aimed the missiles at the ‘Enterprise’. We had

Reviewing the Birth of Bangladesh; Analyzing the Role of Big Powers

blocked their way and allowed them to head anywhere, neither to Karachi, nor to Chittagong or Dhaka. Chief Commander had ordered me to lift the submarines and bring them to the surface so that it can be pictured by the American spy satellites or can be seen by the American Navy!’ It was done to demonstrate, that we had all the needed things in Indian Ocean, including the nuclear submarines. I had lifted them, and they recognized it. Then, we intercepted the American communication. The commander of the Carrier Battle Group was then the counter-admiral Dimon Gordon. He sent the report to the 7th American Fleet Commander: “Sir, we are too late. There are Russian nuclear submarines here, and a big collection of battleships”.(Simha, 2011)

Fall of Dhaka

After the general elections, the role of Mujibur Rehman became like feudal lord that he started to pass orders big ruler. Due his motivation the non-cooperation movement was launched in the East Pakistan. After a lot of loot and massacre of the Non-Bengalis, the military operation was proposed to tackle the brutalities of the Bengalis. Finally, operation search light was started on March 25, 1971. The Bengali officers killed their colleagues because they belonged to the West Pakistan.

Pakistani soldiers were accused of massive killing but in reality the Bengalis were more violent than the Pakistani soldiers. They killed hundreds of the Biharis due to their emotional attachment to West Pakistan. The men were killed the women were raped; arms and legs of the children were amputated in all over the East Pakistan.

On December 3, 1971, the Indian army crossed the border and moved towards Dhaka. This was the victorious invasion of the Indian army because the Bengalis supported the Indian army and helped them to defeat Pakistan. Almost into two weeks, Pakistan lost half of its navy, a quarter of its air force and third of its army. Finally on December 16, 1971, General Niazi surrendered his 93000 men before General Jagjit Singh Arora.

Conclusion

It is very amazing that the Bengalis who were the supporters of Quaid-e-Azam in 1947 became rebellion and started conspiracies to break Pakistan. Why the clash with center on provincial autonomy started in 1949 rose so much that in 1960’s they started the slogans of freedom and separation? If they don’t believe in united Pakistan why they supported separation of sub-continent and joined Pakistan instead of being part of west Bengal or India? In 1906 Muslim league came into being in the land of Bengal, what happened that they lose trust on that party after independence?

There is no single event or factor which make fall of Dhaka happen, there are many events causes and the characters involved in the 24 years of united Pakistan to break it into two states. Above discussion stated many internal and external actors responsible for the fall of Dhaka? In personal opinion it is more internal factors than external which make it happen, because if one is loyal and patriot with the own land no external force can break it into pieces. In this case personal interest won over national interest. It is not appropriate to blame the people of east or West Pakistan for this separation. The both were victims some of atrocities and some of ignorance. Because there were some elites rulers fighting for power, there hunger for power raised two countries on globe. It make author to recall the words of Rumi when his disciple asked him question what poison is. He answered, excess of anything is poison it may be power, wealth or anything. This poison of power among rulers of united Pakistan made people of Pakistan divided.

Apart from the Bengali point of view that they were exploited by the West Pakistan if you think neutrally about the consequences of the fall of Dhaka, it was clear that both of them the eastern and the western Pakistan were responsible. Both of them played their role in the formation of a new country on the globe. Due to the conspiracies of the both wings of Pakistan, a benefit was taken by the enemies of Pakistan. It is right that the East Pakistan was exploited by the west but the curiosity is that the issue could be solved by talks not by war.

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