

EMB 101: Emergence of Bangladesh — Comprehensive Master Study Note

EMB 101 Course Team & Student Note Synthesizers
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EMB 101: Emergence of Bangladesh — Comprehensive Master Study Note

Course: EMB 101 (Emergence of Bangladesh) Academic Institution: BRAC University Scope: 1905 (Pre-Partition Bengal) through 1975 (Fall of the First Regime), with Constitutional Trajectories to 2024 Primary Scholarly Sources Integrated:

Professor Rehman Sobhan, *From Two Economies to Two Nations: My Journey to Bangladesh* (2015)

Professor Rounaq Jahan, *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration (1972) & Genocide in Bangladesh (1971)*

Dr. Kamal Hossain, *Bangladesh: Quest for Freedom and Justice* (2013, Ch. 9)

Professor Talukder Maniruzzaman, *The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath* (1980/1988)

Professor Badruddin Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggles in East Pakistan (1947–1958)* (Vols. 1 & 2)

Professor Enayetur Rahim, *Prelude to War of Liberation* (Georgetown University)

Primary Course Documents, buX Video Lectures (Shamsuddoha Moni), Mail Guides, WhatsApp Reading Packs

Authentic Classroom Lecture Transcripts & Notes: FAEIZ (50 pages), SABA (28 pages), FARIHA (7 pages)

Supplementary Historical Reference: Banglapedia: National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh

Final Examination Structure & Methodological Guidelines

As established in the official faculty guidelines (MAIL/Final_Exam_and_Viva_Topics_Syllabus.txt) and emphasized across classroom lectures (Saba, p. 9; Faeiz, p. 10; Fariha, p. 6):

Format & Marks Distribution:

Total Marks: 25 Marks | Duration: 2 Hours.

Broad Questions: Must answer 2 out of 3 questions (10 marks each = 20 marks).

Short Question: Must answer 1 out of 2 questions (5 marks each = 5 marks).

Writing Strategy & Pedagogical Criteria:

Essay Structure: Every broad answer must contain an analytical Introduction, a well-developed, chronologically sequential Body, and an evaluative Conclusion / Ending Remarks.

Chronology is Paramount: Historical causality must follow an uninterrupted temporal sequence. Do not skip transitional milestones.

Incorporate Classroom Stories: Faculty specifically evaluate student retention of authentic classroom explanations, insider vignettes, and analytical anecdotes shared during lectures.

No Bullet-Only Submissions: While structured headings, conceptual trees, and comparative tables enhance clarity, broad questions must feature rich, analytical prose rather than detached bullet fragments.

Page Count vs. Information Density: Marks are awarded based on analytical rigor, factual precision (exact dates, institutional names, economic metrics), and comprehensive coverage, rather than raw page count.

Viva Voce Alignment: Topics 1–5 (British period) are primarily for written context; the viva places heavy scrutiny on the 1947–1971 continuum, 1972–1975 crises, Constitutional Amendments (Article 70, 4th, 13th, 15th), and contemporary critical reflections connecting historical lessons to the July 2024 Mass Uprising and the non-party caretaker debate.

CHAPTER 1: Late Colonial Era, Partition & Pre-1947 Foundations (1905–1947)

1.1 Introduction

The emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 cannot be comprehended in isolation as an abrupt break from Pakistan; rather, it represents the culmination of a protracted historical process whose roots stretch deep into the colonial political economy of undivided Bengal. The social stratification of Bengal under British colonial rule placed Bengali Muslims in an economically disadvantaged and politically marginalized position. The interplay between colonial administrative maneuvers, communal competition, agrarian distress, and constitutional negotiations created a distinct Bengali Muslim political identity that initially sought emancipation within the Pakistan movement, only to encounter a new form of internal colonialism after August 1947.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

1905: Partition of Bengal — (Eastern Bengal & Assam created)
↓ (*Swadeshi Agitation & Boycott*)
1911: Annulment of Partition — (Muslim alienation; 1921 DU founded)
↓ (*Agrarian & Communal Realignment*)
1940: Lahore Resolution — (*Independent States* envisioned)
↓ (*Colonial Neglect & Scarcity*)
1943: Great Bengal Famine — (3-3.8M dead; peasant ruin)
↓ (*Failed Federal Grouping*)
1946: Cabinet Mission Plan & Direct Action Day — (Great Calcutta Killings)
↓ (*Radcliffe Boundary Award*)
1947: Partition of India & Bengal — (Agrarian East Bengal separated from Calcutta)

NOTES & CITATIONS

1. Banglapedia; Saba Notes, p. 27; Rehman Sobhan, pp. 2–4
2. BUX/Class09DictatorshipsandStruggles.txt; Banglapedia; Saba Notes, p. 6; Faeiz Notes, p. 3–4
3. Banglapedia; Rehman Sobhan, p. 2; Saba Notes, p. 27; Final Exam Syllabus Topic 1.b
4. Banglapedia; Saba Notes, p. 6; Faeiz Notes, p. 11; Syllabus Topic 1.c, 1.d
5. Rehman Sobhan, pp. 2–5; Banglapedia; Saba Notes, p. 14, 27; Faeiz Notes, p. 4

1.2 Historical Background: 1905 Partition of Bengal to the 1930s

[1]

The 1905 Partition of Bengal:

Lord Curzon partitioned the Presidency of Bengal in October 1905, establishing the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with its capital at Dhaka.

Socio-Economic Motives: Eastern Bengal was an overwhelmingly Muslim-majority agrarian hinterland that produced raw jute and agricultural wealth, but whose profits were completely siphoned off by the

commercial, industrial, legal, and administrative hub of metropolitan Calcutta.

Reactions: Bengali Muslims, spearheaded by Nawab Sir Salimullah of Dhaka, welcomed the partition as an opportunity to escape the domination of Calcutta-based zamindars and mahajans. Conversely, the Hindu upper-caste elite (bhadralok) launched the vigorous Swadeshi Movement, accompanied by economic boycotts of British goods and the rise of revolutionary underground societies (Anushilan Samiti, Jugantar).

The 1911 Annulment & Political Realignment:

King George V annulled the partition at the Delhi Durbar in December 1911, reuniting Bengal and transferring the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

This annulment left Bengali Muslims feeling politically betrayed by the British Raj. To placate their grievances, the British government established the University of Dhaka in 1921, which subsequently served as the intellectual cradle and breeding ground for the modern Bengali educated middle class (intelligentsia).

In 1906, the All-India Muslim League had already been founded in Dhaka, marking the institutionalization of separate Muslim political mobilization.

1.3 The 1940 Lahore Resolution & The Two-Nation Theory

[2]

The Historic Session:

At the 27th annual general session of the All-India Muslim League held at Minto Park, Lahore, on March 23, 1940, the premier of Bengal, Sher-e-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq, formally moved the historic Lahore Resolution.

The Original Operative Text:

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute *'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."*

The Two-Nation Theory:

Formulated by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Two-Nation Theory posited that Hindus and Muslims in the Indian subcontinent constituted two entirely distinct and irreconcilable nations, defined by divergent religions, social customs, historical memories, and civilizational values, rather than shared linguistic or geographic ties.

The Plural vs. Singular Controversy (Historiographical Conflict):

The Conflict: The original 1940 text unequivocally utilized the plural noun "Independent States" (States), acknowledging the distinct geographic, cultural, and political realities of the Northwestern and Eastern Muslim zones.

The 1946 Revision: At the Muslim League Legislators' Convention in Delhi in April 1946, Jinnah unilaterally altered the wording from "States" to a single "State" of Pakistan, claiming that the plural "States" had been an unintended typographical error.

Bengali Dissent: Bengali leaders, notably Abul Hashim and A.K. Fazlul Huq, vigorously objected to this alteration, arguing that the Delhi Convention of legislators lacked the constitutional authority to amend a resolution passed by the full open session at Lahore. This controversy planted the initial seeds of

constitutional grievance that Bengali leaders would invoke continuously throughout the Pakistan period (especially in the 1954 21-Point Programme and the 1966 Six-Point Demand).

1.4 The 1943 Bengal Famine

[3]

Nature and Scale of the Disaster:

In 1943, Bengal was devastated by a catastrophic famine that claimed between 3.0 to 3.8 million lives, primarily among the landless peasantry, sharecroppers, and rural artisans of Eastern Bengal.

Colonial Policy & Man-Made Causation:

Scholarly consensus (anchored by Amartya Sen's entitlements approach and documented in Banglapedia) demonstrates that the 1943 famine was not a natural disaster resulting from severe crop failure, but an administrative and man-made catastrophe.

The "Denial Policy": Following the Japanese conquest of Burma (1942), the British War Cabinet under Winston Churchill implemented a scorched-earth policy in coastal Bengal. The Boat Denial Policy confiscated or destroyed over 66,000 rural country boats—the primary transport artery of the delta—paralyzing the movement of food grains. The Rice Denial Policy authorized state agents to forcibly procure rice from rural districts to supply military garrisons and urban Calcutta.

War Inflation & Speculation: Imperial military spending drove rampant currency inflation. Big merchant syndicates and grain cartels (such as the M.M. Ispahani firm, acting as chief government procurement agents) hoarded grain, causing the market price of rice to spiral from Rs. 6 per maund to over Rs. 40–50 per maund, far beyond the purchasing power of the rural peasantry.

Churchill's Refusal of Relief: The British War Cabinet repeatedly declined requests from Viceroy Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell to divert merchant shipping to deliver food aid to Bengal, prioritizing European stockpiles.

Political Repercussions:

The famine exposed the absolute callousness of imperial colonial governance and utterly undermined the legitimacy of the colonial administration. It accelerated peasant desperation, destroyed traditional rural patron-client relationships, and made the promise of an independent state an urgent existential necessity for the rural masses of East Bengal.

1.5 The Cabinet Mission Plan (1946) & Direct Action Day

[4]

The Cabinet Mission Plan (March–May 1946):

Dispatched by British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, the mission comprised Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps, and A.V. Alexander.

The Constitutional Scheme: Rejected full partition; proposed an undivided Indian federation with a three-tier constitutional structure:

Central Tier: Weak federal centre controlling only Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Communications.

Sectional / Grouping Tier: Compulsory grouping of provincial legislatures into three sections:

Group A: Hindu-majority provinces (Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces, Orissa).

Group B: Northwestern Muslim-majority provinces (Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, Balochistan).

Group C: Eastern Muslim-majority provinces (Bengal and Assam).

Provincial Tier: Provinces retained all residual powers and could opt out of their assigned Group after ten years and the framing of new constitutions.

The Collapse: Both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress initially accepted the plan. However, on July 10, 1946, Congress President Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a fateful press conference in Bombay declaring that Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly completely unfettered by agreements, specifically questioning the compulsory nature of provincial grouping. Jinnah interpreted this as a Congress intention to crush the autonomy of Groups B and C using their overall assembly majority.

Direct Action Day (August 16, 1946):

Following Nehru's declaration, the Muslim League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. On July 29, 1946, the League Council in Bombay resolved to resort to "Direct Action" on August 16, 1946, to achieve Pakistan.

The Great Calcutta Killings: Bengal's Chief Minister, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, declared August 16 a public holiday. A massive League rally at the Calcutta Maidan descended into unprecedented communal rioting between Hindus and Muslims. Over four days, between 4,000 and 10,000 people were slaughtered, and over 15,000 injured.

Classroom Perspective & Anecdotes (Saba Notes, p. 6; Faeiz Notes, p. 11):

Suhrawardy faced intense accusations from Hindu leaders and British officials for spending crucial hours inside the Lalbazar Police Control Room, allegedly restraining police intervention while Muslim crowds attacked Hindu neighborhoods.

Simultaneously, student activists, including the young Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (who was then Islamia College Student Union General Secretary), operated actively in the streets. Classroom lecture notes explicitly note that Mujib functioned as an organizer and volunteer under Suhrawardy ("called Suhrawardy's bodyguard"), coordinating food supplies, rescuing marooned families, and patrolling hostels, but was deeply exposed to the violence of the partition riots.

Chain Reaction: Calcutta's violence triggered retaliatory massacres of Hindus in Noakhali and Tippera (October 1946), which in turn provoked horrific anti-Muslim massacres in Bihar (October–November 1946), making the partition of India psychologically irreversible.

1.6 The 1947 Partition of Bengal, the Radcliffe Award & The Refugee Issue

[5]

The Mountbatten Plan (3 June 1947):

Announced by Viceroy Lord Louis Mountbatten, confirming the partition of British India into two dominions—India and Pakistan—and mandating the partition of the provinces of Punjab and Bengal.

The "United Independent Bengal" Initiative:

In May 1947, H.S. Suhrawardy, Abul Hashim, and Sarat Chandra Bose launched a last-minute initiative for a Sovereign, United Bengal (Mukto Swadhin Bangla), independent of both India and Pakistan. The scheme envisaged an egalitarian socialist democracy with joint electorates. While Jinnah reluctantly indicated tolerance, the Congress High Command (Nehru and Sardar Patel) and the Hindu Mahasabha (Shyama Prasad Mookerjee) fiercely vetoed it, insisting on the partition of Bengal to incorporate Hindu-majority West Bengal into the Indian Union.

The Radcliffe Award (August 17, 1947):

Sir Cyril Radcliffe, Chairman of the Bengal Boundary Commission, demarcated the boundary using outdated census maps in five weeks without visiting the actual frontier tracts.

Truncated Bengal: East Bengal received 64% of Bengal's territory and 65% of its population, along with the tea-growing district of Sylhet (following a popular referendum in July 1947).

The Economic Severance: East Bengal was entirely separated from Calcutta, which housed Bengal's entire industrial capacity (all 108 jute mills, textile mills, engineering workshops), its sole major seaport, its financial institutions, and its electric grid. East Bengal emerged as a "moth-eaten, truncated" agrarian hinterland producing raw jute without a single operational jute processing mill.

The Demographics of Deprivation & The Refugee Influx:

Unlike West Pakistan (which underwent near-total, violent, two-way ethnic cleansing), East Bengal retained a massive non-Muslim minority: 22% of East Bengal's population remained non-Muslim (predominantly Hindu) in August 1947.

Millions of destitute Muslim refugees fled into East Bengal from Bihar, West Bengal, and Assam, while millions of educated and wealthy Hindu professionals, zamindars, traders, and teachers emigrated to West Bengal.

As Professor Rehman Sobhan analyzes, Bengali Muslims initially entered Pakistan with the highest expectations: they anticipated taking control of land, dominating state machinery, expanding educational opportunities, and using the state to drive rapid industrialization. Instead, as the Hindu elite departed, their vacuum in business, administration, and finance was immediately captured not by indigenous Bengalis, but by non-Bengali Muslim migrant merchant elites (Memons, Bohras, Chiniotis, Ispahanis) and West Pakistani civil-military bureaucrats.

CHAPTER 2: The Language Movement & Cultural Oppression (1947–1952)

2.1 Introduction

The Bengali Language Movement (Bhasha Andolon) was the foundational catalyst of modern secular Bengali nationalism. It was not merely an isolated sentimental dispute over phonetics or scripts; it represented an existential socio-economic and political confrontation. By attempting to impose Urdu—the language of a tiny, aristocratic, North Indian immigrant minority—as the sole national language of Pakistan, the ruling West Pakistani civil-military oligarchy sought to permanently handicap the Bengali majority, disqualify them from civil service employment, dismantle their rich secular literary heritage, and reduce East Bengal to an internal cultural and economic colony.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

Sept 1947: Tamaddun Majlis founded — (Pamphlet: *Bangla na Urdu?*)
↓
Feb 1948: Dhirendranath Datta’s Assembly Demand — (Rejected by Liaquat & Nazimuddin)
↓
March 1948: Jinnah’s Dhaka Declaration — (*Urdu and Urdu alone*)
↓
June 1949: Awami Muslim League formed — (Rose Garden, Bhashani, Shamsul, Mujib)
↓
1948-1951: Cultural Assault — (Arabic script, Tagore ban, Nazrul sidelined)
↓
Jan 1952: Nazimuddin reaffirms Urdu — (All-Party Action Committee forms)
↓
21 February 1952: Massacre at Medical College — (Section 144 defied; Salam, Barkat, Rafiq martyred)
↓
1956: Constitutional Recognition — (Bangla recognized as State Language in 1956 Constitution)

NOTES & CITATIONS

1. BUX/Class07LanguageMovement.txt; BUX/Badruddin Umar, Ch. 5; Saba Notes, p. 14, 24; Faeiz Notes, p. 4–5
2. BUX/Class07LanguageMovement.txt; BUX/Badruddin Umar, Ch. 5; Saba Notes, p. 24; Faeiz Notes, p. 8–9
3. BUX/Class07LanguageMovement.txt; BUX/Badruddin Umar, Ch. 5; Saba Notes, p. 24; Faeiz Notes, p. 8
4. BUX/Class07LanguageMovement.txt; BUX/Badruddin Umar, Ch. 5; Saba Notes, p. 24; Faeiz Notes, p. 8
5. BUX/Class07LanguageMovement.txt; BUX/Class09; Saba Notes, p. 6, 23; Faeiz Notes, p. 6
6. BUX/Class07LanguageMovement.txt; Saba Notes, p. 6; Faeiz Notes, p. 9–10; Fariha Notes, p. 6
7. BUX/Class07LanguageMovement.txt; BUX/Badruddin Umar, Ch. 20–21; Saba Notes, p. 24; Faeiz Notes, p. 9

2.2 The Demographics of Language & The Lingua Franca Debate (1947–1948)

The Ethnolinguistic Reality of Pakistan in 1947:

Bengali: Spoken by 54.6% to 56.4% of the total population of Pakistan (an absolute democratic majority).

Punjabi: Spoken by approximately 28%.

Sindhi: Spoken by approximately 5.8%.

Pashto: Spoken by approximately 7.1%.

Urdu: Spoken as a mother tongue by only 3.27% to 3.3% of the population (almost exclusively refugees from the United Provinces and Delhi, and the urban aristocratic Ashraf class).

The "One Nation, One Language" Ideological Imposition:

The West Pakistani ruling elite, led by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and intellectual ideologues like Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed (Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University), declared that an Islamic state required a unified Islamic language. They equated Urdu with Islamic purity and the Arabic-Persian script, while denouncing Bengali as a language of "Hindu origin" saturated with Sanskrit vocabulary.

Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah's Historic Rebuttal (July 1947):

"If Urdu or Hindi is adopted as the state language of Pakistan, it will be tantamount to political enslavement of the people of Bengal... Bengali is the language of the majority of the population of Pakistan and on that count alone it has the first claim to be the state language."

The Administrative Logic of Marginalization:

As classroom notes acutely highlight (Faeiz, p. 5; Saba, p. 14): if Urdu became the sole state language, the Central Services of Pakistan (CSP) examinations, military recruitments, postal orders, and central banking would operate exclusively in Urdu. West Pakistanis and Urdu-speaking migrants would automatically hold a structural, generational advantage, permanently consigning educated Bengalis to menial subordinate jobs.

2.3 The Pioneering Phase: Tamaddun Majlis & The 1947 Mobilization

Founding of Tamaddun Majlis (September 1, 1947):

Formed in Dhaka by Principal Abul Kashem (Professor of Physics, Dhaka University) alongside intellectuals such as Kazi Motahar Hossain, Abul Mansur Ahmad, and Dewan Mohammad Azraf.

Nature of the Organization: Tamaddun Majlis was not a conventional political party; it was an intellectual and cultural think-tank originally affiliated with moderate Muslim League elements.

The Historic Booklet (September 15, 1947):

Authored by Professor Abul Kashem, Kazi Motahar Hossain, and Abul Mansur Ahmad, titled: *Pakistaner Rashtra Bhasha: Bangla na Urdu?* (Pakistan's State Language: Bangla or Urdu?).

The Three-Tier Language Formula:

1. Bengali must be the official language of instruction, administration, and the courts within East Pakistan.
2. Both Bengali and Urdu must be the co-equal national/state languages of the central government of Pakistan.

3. Both Bengali and Urdu should be taught as secondary languages across the two wings to foster inter-wing communication.

The First Committee of Action (October 1, 1947):

Tamaddun Majlis spearheaded the creation of the first Rastrabhasa Sangram Parishad (State Language Committee of Action), convened by Professor Nurul Huq Bhuiyan.

2.4 Dhirendranath Datta's Assembly Motion (February 23, 1948)

[3]

The Constituent Assembly Motion:

At the opening session of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in Karachi on February 23, 1948, Babu Dhirendranath Datta (a Hindu member from Comilla, East Bengal) moved an amendment to Rule 29 of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure:

"The language of the House should be Urdu or English, but I suggest that Bengali should also be included as one of the languages for conducting the proceedings of this Assembly."

Datta's Democratic Justification:

Datta argued that out of Pakistan's 69 million citizens, 44 million resided in East Bengal and spoke Bengali. To deny Bengali representation in parliament was to render 56% of the country's population illiterate aliens in their own state legislature.

The Vitriolic Rejection by Central Rulers:

Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan fiercely condemned the motion, declaring that Datta was attempting to create a rift between Muslims and undermine the very ideological existence of Pakistan.

East Bengal Chief Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin (himself an Urdu-speaking Bengali nawab) shamefully opposed Datta, claiming on the assembly floor that the people of East Bengal overwhelmingly favored Urdu as the national language. Datta's motion was summarily defeated.

The Backlash in East Bengal:

News of the rejection reached Dhaka on February 25, 1948. Spontaneous student strikes paralyzed Dhaka University on February 26.

On March 2, 1948, an expanded All-Party State Language Committee of Action (Sarbadaliya Rashtrabhasa Sangram Parishad) was formed at Fazlul Huq Muslim Hall, drawing representatives from Tamaddun Majlis, the newly founded East Pakistan Muslim Students League (formed Jan 4, 1948 by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Tajuddin Ahmad, and others), and student hall unions.

A general strike was observed on March 11, 1948. Police brutally assaulted demonstrators, arresting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Oli Ahad, Shamsul Huq, Shawkat Ali, and Kazi Golam Mahbub.

Faced with an escalating rebellion, Chief Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin panicked and signed an 8-Point Agreement with the Action Committee on March 15, 1948, promising to release all detained students and introduce a resolution making Bengali the official language of East Bengal.

2.5 Jinnah's Dhaka Speeches & Student Defiance (March 1948)

[4]

Jinnah's Arrival in Dhaka (March 19, 1948):

Governor-General Muhammad Ali Jinnah visited East Bengal for the first and only time as head of state, arriving on March 19, 1948.

The Race Course Speech (March 21, 1948):

Addressing an audience of over 300,000 people at the Dhaka Race Course Maidan, Jinnah delivered his uncompromising ultimatum:

"Let me tell you in the clearest possible terms that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan."

The Historic Curzon Hall Defiance (March 24, 1948):

Delivering the Special Convocation address at Curzon Hall, University of Dhaka, Jinnah reiterated his declaration:

"Make no mistake about it, there can be only one state language if the nation is to remain united, and that language can only be Urdu."

The Spontaneous Explosion: For the first time in his career, Jinnah was publicly defied. A section of students stood up in the convocation hall and shouted: "No! No! No!" Jinnah paused in stunned silence for nearly a minute.

Classroom Insight on Public vs. Elite Perception (Saba Notes, p. 24; Faeiz Notes, p. 8):

Student notes capture an important nuance emphasized in class: When Jinnah spoke at the Race Course, the vast rural majority did not immediately revolt; having just endured 200 years of British rule, they were exhausted and preoccupied with economic survival. It was the university student intelligentsia and educated middle class that recognized the existential cultural threat, organized resistance, and initiated the ideological shift.

2.6 Founding of the East Pakistan Awami Muslim League (June 23, 1949)

[5]

The Historic Gathering at Rose Garden:

Progressive dissidents of the Muslim League, frustrated by the feudal, undemocratic control of the central leadership, gathered at the Rose Garden palace on K.M. Das Lane, Tikatuli, Dhaka, on June 23–24, 1949.

Founding Leadership & Ideology:

President: Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (venerable peasant leader, champion of tenant farmers and the rural proletariat).

Vice-Presidents: Ataur Rahman Khan, Shakhawat Hossain, Ali Amjad Khan.

General Secretary: Shamsul Huq (victor in the historic 1949 Tangail by-election, crushing the official Muslim League candidate Khurram Khan Panni).

Joint Secretaries: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (who was incarcerated in Dhaka Central Jail at the time of founding) and Khandaker Mushtaq Ahmad.

Ideological Character:

The formation of the Awami Muslim League signaled the emergence of the first formidable, organized institutional opposition to the Muslim League oligarchy. It rooted its politics in East Bengal's middle class and peasantry, demanding full regional autonomy, democratic franchise, and state language status for Bengali. In 1955, the party dropped the word "Muslim" from its name, transforming into the secular Awami League.

2.7 Institutional Cultural Oppression: Linguistic Engineering & Censorship

[6]

Throughout the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the Pakistani state conducted a continuous, systematic campaign to alter and suppress Bengali cultural life:

The Arabic Script Project (*হরফকরণ)*:

In 1949, the Central Education Advisory Board under Education Minister Fazlur Rahman established 20 adult education centers across East Bengal to teach the Bengali language written in Arabic/Perso-Arabic script. The government financed literature to demonstrate that Bengali could be "cleansed" of Hindu influences by replacing its alphabet with Arabic letters. The project was roundly rejected and lampooned by Bengali university linguists (Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah).

The Roman Script Proposals (Ayub Era):

During the Ayub Khan military dictatorship (1958–1969), the regime renewed this campaign by attempting to enforce the Roman (Latin) script for Bengali, arguing it would modernize communication and bring parity with West Pakistani languages.

The Ban on Rabindranath Tagore (1967):

Following the 1965 Indo-Pak War, Central Information Minister Khwaja Shahabuddin announced in the National Assembly in June 1967 that songs and poems of Rabindranath Tagore would be completely banned from Radio Pakistan and state television, alleging Tagore was a Hindu poet whose literature was antithetical to the cultural values of Pakistan.

The Counter-Mobilization: Bengali intellectuals, led by Sufia Kamal, Qazi Motahar Hossain, and cultural organization Chhayana (founded in 1961 to celebrate Tagore's birth centenary), openly defied the ban, declaring Tagore's literature inseparable from Bengali identity.

Denigration of Pahela Baishakh:

The state apparatus actively denounced the celebration of the Bengali New Year (Pahela Baishakh) as a "Hinduized festival" and an act of Indian cultural subversion.

Marginalization of National Literary Icons (Classroom Anecdotes):

Kazi Nazrul Islam: Despite his revolutionary anti-colonial stance, Nazrul was denied national poet status during the Pakistan period; central state media selectively broadcast only his Islamic ghazals while censoring his secular, egalitarian, and socialist poetry. Only after Bangladesh gained independence in 1972 was Nazrul formally brought to Dhaka and officially declared the National Poet (Jatiya Kabi).

Farrukh Ahmad: The state promoted poet Farrukh Ahmad as an "Islamic writer," awarding him national honors, but rapidly withdrew patronage once he expressed support for the preservation of Bengali language

rights.

2.8 The Climax: 21 February 1952 Massacre

[7]

Nazimuddin's Provocation (January 27, 1952):

Khwaja Nazimuddin, who had become Prime Minister of Pakistan following the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in October 1951, addressed a public meeting at Paltan Maidan, Dhaka, and declared:

"The state language of Pakistan shall be Urdu and Urdu alone. No nation can conquer without one state language."

Formation of the All-Party Action Committee (January 31, 1952):

An emergency all-party convention convened at the Dhaka University Bar Library hall, presided over by Maulana Bhashani. The meeting formed the Sarbadaliya Kendriya Rashtrabhasa Sangram Parishad (All-Party Central State Language Committee of Action), with Kazi Golam Mahbub as convener. The committee called for a nationwide general strike, student boycotts, and massive protest processions on February 21, 1952, coinciding with the opening session of the East Bengal Legislative Assembly.

The Imposition of Section 144 (February 20, 1952):

In an effort to crush the planned demonstration, Dhaka District Magistrate imposed Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC), banning all assemblies, processions, and gatherings of more than four people for thirty days.

The Dramatic Debate on Breaking Section 144 (Night of Feb 20 / Morning of Feb 21):

The All-Party Action Committee met secretly on the night of February 20. Mainstream political leaders (including Shamsul Huq of the Awami Muslim League) argued against breaking Section 144, fearing severe state repression that could derail upcoming provincial elections.

However, radical student leaders—including Oli Ahad, Abdul Matin, Dr. Golam Mawla, and Shamsul Alam—insisted that accepting Section 144 would permanently destroy the momentum of the movement.

The Decision Under the Mango Tree (*Amtala): On the morning of February 21, thousands of students from Dhaka University, Dhaka Medical College, and Engineering College gathered at the university *Amtala (under the mango tree). Shamsul Huq pleaded with students to respect the law, but was shouted down. Led by Abdul Matin and Oli Ahad, students resolved to break Section 144 in disciplined groups of ten.

The Police Crackdown & Shootings (February 21, 1952):

Around 3:00 PM, as student groups moved past the Dhaka Medical College gate toward the Legislative Assembly, police fired massive volleys of tear gas, followed by batons (lathi charge), and finally opened fire with live ammunition under the command of West Pakistani police officers.

The Martyrs (*Bhasha Shaheed)*:

Abul Barkat: M.A. student in Political Science, shot in the abdomen; died at Dhaka Medical College Hospital.

Rafiq Uddin Ahmed: Commercial worker and student; bullet blew his skull off on the road; died instantly.

Abdul Jabbar: Peasant/tailor from Mymensingh; succumbed to bullet injuries in hospital.

Abdus Salam: Office assistant in the Department of Industries; died of bullet wounds on April 7.

Shafiur Rahman: High Court employee, killed in police firing on February 22.

Abdul Awal: Rickshaw puller, run over and killed by a police truck.

Mohammad Ohiullah: A 9-year-old boy, killed by a police bullet near the Medical College.

Secret Midnight Removals: Police secretly loaded several bodies onto army trucks on the night of February 21 and buried them under armed guard at Azimpur Graveyard to suppress the true casualty toll.

The Construction of the First Shaheed Minar (February 23, 1952):

On the night of February 23, medical students led by Badrul Alam and Saeed Haider worked overnight to construct the first Shaheed Minar (Martyrs' Memorial) at the site of the killings inside the Medical College compound. It was inaugurated on February 24 by Shafiur Rahman's father, and again formally on February 26 by Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, editor of the Dainik Azad. Later that afternoon, police cordoned off the area and bulldozed the memorial to rubble.

The Anthem of Ekushey:

Journalist and student activist Abdul Gaffar Chowdhury penned the iconic poem:

"Amar Bhaier Rokte Rangano Ekushey February, Ami Ki Bhulite Pari" (My brother's blood-spattered 21st February, can I ever forget it?)

Initially set to tune by Abdul Latif, it was subsequently composed into its definitive musical score in 1969 by Altaf Mahmud (who was later brutally murdered by the Pakistani military in September 1971 as a martyred intellectual).

CHAPTER 3: Electoral Upheaval, Bureaucratic Palace Coups & The First Constitution (1954–1958)

3.1 Introduction

The period between 1954 and 1958 demonstrated the structural incompatibility of democracy with the Pakistani state apparatus. When East Bengal utilized the institutional mechanism of provincial elections in 1954 to overwhelmingly reject the Muslim League, the non-elected civil-military bureaucracy in Karachi responded with arbitrary dismissals, engineered industrial violence, cold-war manipulation, and authoritarian centralization. The eventual promulgation of the 1956 Constitution compromised on democratic representation through the artificial principle of "Parity," ultimately collapsing under military intervention in October 1958.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

March 1954: Provincial Elections — (United Front crushes Muslim League: 228 vs 7)
↓
May 1954: Dismissal in 42 Days — (Ghulam Muhammad fires Huq; engineered riots at Adamjee)
↓
Oct 1954: 1st Constituent Assembly Dissolved — (Tamizuddin Khan challenges Governor-General)
↓
Oct 1955: One Unit & Parity Imposed — (West Pakistan unified into single bloc)
↓
March 1956: 1st Constitution of Pakistan — (Islamic Republic; Parity; Urdu & Bangla recognized)
↓
Feb 1957: Kagmari Conference & NAP Split — (Bhashani's *Assalamu Alaikum* to Pakistan)
↓
Sept 1958: Legislative Brawl in Dhaka — (Deputy Speaker Shahed Ali dies)
↓
Oct 1958: Iskander Mirza declares Martial Law — (Ayub Khan deposes Mirza on Oct 27)

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3.2 The 1954 Provincial Election: The United Front & The 21-Point Programme

Formation of the United Front (*Jukto Front)*:

In December 1953, the fractured opposition parties in East Bengal established an electoral coalition called the United Front to contest the long-delayed provincial legislative elections scheduled for March 1954.

Coalition Partners (5 Parties):

1. Awami Muslim League (led by Maulana Bhashani and H.S. Suhrawardy).
2. Krishak Sramik Party (KSP) (led by Sher-e-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq).
3. Nizam-e-Islam (led by Maulana Farid Ahmad).
4. Khilafat-e-Rabbani Party (represented by Abul Hashim, evolved from Tamaddun Majlis dissidents).
5. Ganatantri Dal (leftist secular democratic party led by Haji Mohammad Danesh and Mahmud Ali).

Electoral Symbol: The Boat (*Nouka)*.

The 21-Point Programme (*Ekush Dofa)*:

Drafted primarily by Abul Mansur Ahmad, the 21 points served as the revolutionary charter of regional autonomy and socio-economic emancipation:

1. Make Bengali one of the state languages of Pakistan.
2. Abolish Zamindari and all rent-receiving interests in land without compensation, distributing surplus land among landless peasants and reducing excessive agricultural land rents.
3. Nationalize the raw jute trade, ensuring fair prices to jute growers and investigating corruption in the jute industry.
4. Introduce free, compulsory primary education and increase teacher salaries.
5. Reorganize education, making mother-tongue the medium of instruction.
6. Guarantee economic and social rights for industrial workers, including humane working hours, fair wages, and housing.
7. Protect East Bengal from recurring floods and famines through permanent scientific drainage and irrigation systems.
8. Transform Burdwan House (the official residence of the Chief Minister) into the Bangla Academy for Bengali language research.
9. Establish complete regional autonomy for East Bengal in accordance with the Lahore Resolution, leaving only Defense, Foreign Affairs, and Currency to the central government.
10. Locate the Headquarters of the Pakistan Navy in East Bengal and establish an Ordnance Factory in the province to ensure regional defense viability.
11. Repeal all repressive safety and preventive detention acts, and release all political prisoners.
12. Separate the Judiciary from the Executive.

The Landslide Electoral Result:

Total Muslim Seats contested: 237 (in a total legislative house of 309 seats elected under separate electorates).

United Front Won: 228 seats (Awami League 140, KSP 34, Nizam-e-Islam 12, Ganatantri Dal 10, Youth League/leftists 15, Communists 4).

Muslim League Reduced to: Only 7 seats (even Chief Minister Nurul Amin was crushed in Nandail by a 27-year-old student leader, Khaleque Nawaz Khan). Non-Muslim seats overwhelmingly supported the Front.

Historical Significance: The 1954 election was the first general election held on universal adult franchise in East Bengal. It permanently demolished the political base of the Muslim League in Bengal.

3.3 The Dismissal in 42 Days & The Cold War / CIA Nexus

[2]

Formation of the Fazlul Huq Cabinet (April 1954):

Sher-e-Bangla A.K. Fazlul Huq took oath as Chief Minister of East Bengal. Young leaders, including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, were inducted into the cabinet (Mujib served as Minister of Agriculture, Cooperatives, and Forestation).

The Dismissal (May 30, 1954):

After just 42 to 56 days in office, Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad dismissed the Fazlul Huq ministry under Section 92A of the Government of India Act 1935, dissolved the legislature, and imposed direct central Governor's Rule.

The Official Pretext: While visiting Calcutta in early May, Fazlul Huq delivered speeches emphasizing the cultural and linguistic brotherhood of all Bengalis. Central Pakistani newspapers seized upon sensationalized misquotations in The New York Times, accusing Fazlul Huq of conspiring for the armed secession of East Bengal. He was branded a "traitor to Pakistan" by Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra.

Engineered Industrial Riots: Adamjee & Karnafuli:

To manufacture a pretext of "complete breakdown of law and order," violent clashes erupted at Chandraghona/Karnafuli Paper Mills (March 23, 1954) and Adamjee Jute Mills, Narayanganj (May 25, 1954). Over 400 Bengali and non-Bengali/Bihari workers were killed in brutal machete battles.

Classroom & Scholarly Insights (Enayetur Rahim, p. 5; Saba Notes, p. 4; Faeiz Notes, p. 13): The riots were actively provoked by central intelligence agencies and non-Bengali industrial management to discredit the newly installed United Front government as incompetent and incapable of maintaining security.

The Cold War & US/CIA Manipulation:

Professor Enayetur Rahim's treatise and classroom lectures highlight the covert geopolitical dimension:

On May 19, 1954 (eleven days before Huq's dismissal), the Pakistan military signed the historic Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement with the United States in Karachi.

East Bengal's populist, left-leaning United Front vehemently opposed the pact; 162 elected members of the East Bengal Assembly signed a public declaration condemning the US-Pakistan military alliance.

In the peak of the Cold War and the "Red Scare," US diplomats and Pakistani military brass (under General Ayub Khan) could not tolerate East Bengal—the nation's most populous province—being governed by neutralist, anti-imperialist, and socialist-inclined political parties.

Major General Iskander Mirza (then Defense Secretary) was dispatched to Dhaka as Governor. Mirza instantly incarcerated over 1,000 political leaders and student activists, placed Fazlul Huq under house arrest, and imprisoned Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

3.4 Constitutional Coups: Dissolution of the Constituent Assembly & The "One Unit" Scheme (1954–1955)

[3]

Dissolution of the 1st Constituent Assembly (October 24, 1954):

As the 1st Constituent Assembly prepared to pass a constitution that would strip the Governor-General of his arbitrary powers to dismiss cabinets, Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad dissolved the assembly. Assembly President Maulvi Tamizuddin Khan challenged the dissolution in the Sindh Chief Court, which ruled the Governor-General's action illegal. However, the Federal Court, under Chief Justice Muhammad Munir, infamously overturned the verdict using the "Doctrine of State Necessity," giving legal cover to constitutional authoritarianism.

The 2nd Constituent Assembly & The "Parity" Formula (1955):

Convened in July 1955, composed of 80 members (40 from East Bengal, 40 from West Pakistan).

The Violation of Democracy: East Bengal constituted 56% of Pakistan's population. By forcing the principle of "Parity" (50:50 representation), the West Pakistani establishment permanently deprived the Bengali majority of their democratic numerical superiority.

The "One Unit" Scheme (October 1955):

To prevent East Bengal from forming legislative coalitions with individual West Pakistani provinces (Sindh, NWFP, Balochistan, Punjab), the central regime enacted the Establishment of West Pakistan Act, amalgamating all western provinces into a single political bloc called "West Pakistan." Pakistan was arbitrarily restructured into two wings: "East Pakistan" and "West Pakistan."

3.5 The 1956 Constitution: Salient Features & Progressive Dissent

[4]

Adoption & Core Provisions:

The Second Constituent Assembly enacted Pakistan's first written constitution on March 23, 1956.

Feature 1: Islamic Republic: The state was officially designated the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan." The Head of State (President) had to be a Muslim.

Feature 2: Official Language Parity: Bengali and Urdu were both recognized as the state languages of Pakistan, formally fulfilling the primary demand of the 1952 movement.

Feature 3: Unicameral Parliament & Parity: Established a 300-member National Assembly divided equally (150 East, 150 West).

The Walkout by 22 East Bengal Legislators:

While H.S. Suhrawardy signed the constitution in pursuit of the Prime Ministership, 22 progressive members of the Awami League and Ganatantri Dal walked out of the Assembly, refusing to sign. They protested against the Islamic state nomenclature, the rejection of secular joint electorates, the entrenchment of artificial parity, and the denial of genuine regional autonomy.

3.6 Suhrawardy's Premiership, The 1957 Kagmari Conference & The NAP Split

[5]

Suhrawardy as Prime Minister (September 1956 – October 1957):

H.S. Suhrawardy formed a central coalition government with the West Pakistani Republican Party. Aatur Rahman Khan of the Awami League became Chief Minister of East Pakistan.

The Foreign Policy Dilemma: Suhrawardy staunchly defended Pakistan's participation in Western Cold War military pacts (SEATO and CENTO), arguing they provided national security.

The Kagmari Conference (February 1957):

Awami League President Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani convened the party council at Kagmari, Tangail. Bhashani fiercely attacked Western imperialist alliances and demanded non-aligned foreign policy and unconditional provincial autonomy.

The Historic Warning: In his fiery address, Bhashani issued an ominous warning to the Pakistani ruling elite:

"If you continue to deny autonomy and exploit East Pakistan, the time will inevitably come when we will say *Assalamu Alaikum to Pakistan!*" This was the first explicit public articulation by a major national leader warning of separation.

The Birth of the National Awami Party (NAP) (June 1957):

When the Awami League Council in Dhaka endorsed Suhrawardy's pro-Western policy, Bhashani and his leftist followers resigned. In July 1957, Bhashani merged with progressive regional leaders from West Pakistan (Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of NWFP, G.M. Syed of Sindh, Abdus Samad Achakzai of Balochistan) to establish the National Awami Party (NAP), advocating non-alignment, the breakup of One Unit, and full provincial autonomy.

Suhrawardy's Dismissal (October 1957):

Despite Suhrawardy's concessions to the central establishment, President Iskander Mirza arbitrarily forced his resignation in October 1957 when Suhrawardy attempted to dismantle the One Unit scheme and initiate preparation for scheduled 1959 general elections.

3.7 The Assembly Brawl & Death of Shahed Ali (September 1958)

[6]

Legislative Chaos in East Pakistan:

Between 1956 and 1958, intense factional maneuvering between the Awami League and the Krishak Sramik Party paralyzed the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly.

The Fatal Brawl (September 21, 1958):

On September 20, Speaker Abdul Hamid disqualified several Awami League members. The following day, pro-Awami League Deputy Speaker Shahed Ali Patwary presided over the session. Krishak Sramik opposition members rioted on the assembly floor, hurling microphones, heavy wooden chairs, and desk fixtures.

Deputy Speaker Shahed Ali was struck in the head by a heavy chair hurled by an opposition member, suffered massive cranial trauma, and died in hospital two days later.

The Strategic Pretext for Dictatorship:

The tragic death of the Deputy Speaker was immediately seized upon by the Pakistani military brass and President Iskander Mirza to declare that parliamentary democracy had completely collapsed in Pakistan. Within two weeks, it provided the direct pretext for the abrogation of the 1956 Constitution and the declaration of nationwide Martial Law on October 7, 1958.

CHAPTER 4: Military Dictatorship & The Ayub Era (1958–1965)

4.1 Introduction

The imposition of nationwide Martial Law on October 7, 1958, marked the complete collapse of the civilian constitutional experiment in Pakistan and institutionalized the hegemony of the Punjabi-dominated military-bureaucratic oligarchy. General Muhammad Ayub Khan's seizure of power was not a reactive measure to restore administrative order, but a calculated, preemptive strike designed to abort the scheduled 1959 general elections, which would have inevitably installed an East Pakistani parliamentary majority. Over the subsequent decade, Ayub Khan introduced a highly centralized presidential dictatorship masked by the indirect "Basic Democracies" electoral system, suppressed democratic dissent, commercialized education, and pursued an economic strategy that severely exacerbated inter-wing regional disparities.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

Oct 7, 1958: Iskander Mirza declares Martial Law — (Abrogates 1956 Constitution; cancels 1959 elections)
↓
Oct 27, 1958: Ayub Khan Coup — (Exiles Mirza; assumes CMLA & Presidency)
↓
1959: PODO, EBDO & Basic Democracies Order — (5-tier indirect voting; 80,000 Basic Democrats)
↓
March 1962: 2nd Constitution Promulgated — (Presidential autocracy based on BDO)
↓
Sept 1962: Education Movement — (Sharif Commission protests; 4 martyrs on Sept 17)
↓
Jan 1965: Presidential Election — (Ayub Khan defeats Fatima Jinnah through BD vote-rigging)
↓
Sept 1965: Indo-Pak War over Kashmir — (East Pakistan left completely defenseless; 17-day war)

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4.2 The Double Coup of October 1958: From Mirza to Ayub Khan

[1]

The Preemptive Motivation:

The first general elections of Pakistan under the 1956 Constitution were constitutionally slated for February 1959. Demographic realities meant that East Bengal's 56% majority would elect an autonomist or progressive coalition to central power, dismantling the West Pakistani oligarchy's monopoly.

The First Coup (October 7, 1958):

President Major General Iskander Mirza abrogated the 1956 Constitution, dismissed the central and provincial assemblies, outlawed all political parties, proclaimed nationwide Martial Law, and appointed Commander-in-Chief General Muhammad Ayub Khan as Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA).

The Second Coup (October 27, 1958):

Within twenty days, a bitter power struggle emerged between Mirza and Ayub. On the night of October 27, Ayub dispatched military generals (including Azam Khan, Burki, and KM Sheikh) to the Presidential Palace. Mirza was forced at gunpoint to sign a letter of resignation, arrested, and exiled to London (where he lived the rest of his life running a small hotel).

Classroom Legal Insight (Saba Notes, p. 21; Faeiz Notes, p. 16): Ayub justified exiling Mirza by arguing that because Mirza was a retired military officer, his initial martial law declaration was legally void; Ayub, as the active serving Army Chief, re-declared Martial Law, declared himself CMLA, assumed the Presidency, and banned civilian courts from questioning martial law orders.

4.3 Instruments of Authoritarian Consolidation: PODO, EBDO & Press Censorship

[2]

To eliminate political competition and consolidate absolute authority, Ayub Khan deployed a battery of draconian ordinances:

Public Offices (Disqualification) Order (PODO, March 1959):

Provided for the disqualification from public office for up to 15 years of any politician found guilty of "misconduct" or corruption by an administrative tribunal.

Elective Bodies (Disqualification) Order (EBDO, August 1959):

Specifically targeted former ministers and parliamentarians. Politicians were offered a choice: face trial before a military-chaired tribunal or voluntarily withdraw from political life until December 31, 1966. Over 7,000 politicians across Pakistan (including H.S. Suhrawardy, Ataur Rahman Khan, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) were barred from political activity.

Muzzling the Press & Civil Society:

Promulgated the Press and Publications Ordinance (1960), empowering the state to confiscate printing presses, demand security deposits, and impose pre-censorship on newspapers criticizing the military. The independent progressive newspaper The Pakistan Observer was subjected to intense surveillance, while progressive cultural gatherings were infiltrated by military intelligence.

In 1962, writs of habeas corpus were suspended for political detainees, and former Prime Minister H.S. Suhrawardy was arrested in Karachi, sparking widespread student riots across Dhaka.

4.4 The Basic Democracies System & The 1962 Constitution

[3]

The Basic Democracies Order (BDO, October 27, 1959):

Ayub Khan abolished direct universal adult suffrage for national and provincial legislatures, replacing it with an indirect electoral college termed "Basic Democracy" (Controlled Democracy).

The 5-Tier Pyramidal Structure:

The system established five concentric tiers of local government:

1. Union Councils (Rural) / Town & Union Committees (Urban): Directly elected grassroots members.
2. Thana / Tehsil Councils: Chaired by Sub-Divisional Officers (SDO).
3. District Councils: Chaired by the Deputy Commissioner (DC).
4. Divisional Councils: Chaired by the Divisional Commissioner.
5. Provincial Advisory Councils: Chaired by the Provincial Governors.

Bureaucratic Tutelage: Non-elected civil bureaucrats (DCs and SDOs) held absolute veto power over council resolutions, turning local representatives into subservient instruments of executive power.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

General Electorate (Universal Adult Franchise at Grassroots)
↓ (*Elects locally*)
80,000 Basic Democrats (Local Council Representatives)
↓
West Pakistan: 40,000 Basic Democrats
↓
East Pakistan: 40,000 Basic Democrats — (Gross Under-representation of 56% Population)
↓
Elects: President of Pakistan & National Assembly
↓
↓
Central Executive: Field Marshal Ayub Khan

The Artificial Parity Formula & Institutional Corruption:

The electoral college consisted of exactly 80,000 "Basic Democrats":

40,000 from West Pakistan.

40,000 from East Pakistan.

The Democratic Inversion: Although East Pakistan held over 55–56% of the national population, it received only 50% of the electors.

Patronage & Bribery: Ayub channeled vast sums of rural works programme funds (financed by US PL-480 local currency reserves) directly to the Basic Democrats. These 80,000 electors became a heavily subsidized, privileged rural aristocracy fiercely loyal to Ayub Khan.

The 1962 Constitution:

Promulgated on March 1, 1962, and enacted on June 8, 1962.

Salient Features:

Concentrated absolute executive authority in the President; ministers were personal appointees responsible solely to the President, not to the legislature.

The National Assembly lacked real power over the budget, being permitted to vote only on new expenditures while recurring expenditures were non-votable.

President was elected exclusively by the 80,000 Basic Democrats.

4.5 The 1962 Education Movement (Shikkha Andolon)

[4]

The Sharif Commission Report (1959–1962):

In 1958, Ayub Khan appointed the Commission on National Education headed by S.M. Sharif (Ayub's former teacher and Education Secretary). The Commission published its reactionary report in 1962.

Reactionary Recommendations:

Urdu as National Language: Demanded that Urdu be enforced as the sole common language of Pakistan.

Compulsory English: Made English compulsory from Class IV or Class IX, creating an elitist academic filter.

Commercialization & Desubsidization: Declared that education must not be subsidized by the state; instituted steep increases in university tuition and examination fees; eliminated free primary schooling.

Three-Year Degree Course: Extended the bachelor's degree from two to three years, heavily burdening poor rural families.

The Student Uprising (August–September 1962):

Led by the Dhaka University Central Students' Union (DUCSU), East Pakistan Student League, and East Pakistan Student Union (EPSU), students recognized that the policy was designed to keep East Bengal illiterate and prevent the expansion of the educated Bengali middle class.

The Fateful Strike & Martyrs of September 17, 1962:

A province-wide general strike was called on September 17, 1962. Police and paramilitary forces fired into student processions near High Court and Curzon Hall.

The Martyrs: Babul, Golam Mostafa, Wajiullah, and Sundor Ali were shot dead, and hundreds injured.

Faced with an uncontrollable mass uprising, Ayub Khan was forced to suspend the implementation of the Sharif Commission Report. September 17 has since been commemorated in Bangladesh as Education Day (Shikkha Dibosh).

4.6 The 1965 Presidential Election: Controlled Democracy in Action

[5]

The Candidates:

Held on January 2, 1965.

Incumbent: Field Marshal Ayub Khan (Convention Muslim League; electoral symbol: Rose / Golap).

Opposition: Fatima Jinnah (sister of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah), nominated by the Combined Opposition Parties (COP), comprising the Awami League, NAP, Council Muslim League, Nizam-e-Islam, and Jamaat-e-Islami.

Mass Popular Support vs. Systemic Rigging:

Fatima Jinnah's rallies in East Pakistan (escorted by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) drew immense crowds of millions demanding the restoration of parliamentary democracy.

Classroom Rigging Anecdotes (Saba Notes, p. 20; Faeiz Notes, p. 18):

Because voting was restricted to the 80,000 Basic Democrats, the state apparatus exercised intense intimidation: local police chiefs and DCs threatened to revoke development licenses and contracts if Basic Democrats voted for the COP.

Illiterate rural electors who intended to vote for Fatima Jinnah were actively misled by polling officials, who deliberately marked ballots for the Rose symbol.

The Result: Ayub Khan secured 64% of the electoral college vote, though Fatima Jinnah secured strong majorities in the urban centers of Dhaka and Karachi. The election proved to Bengalis that democratic transition was impossible under the Basic Democracies framework.

4.7 The 1965 Indo-Pak War & The Strategic Vulnerability of East Pakistan

[6]

The 17-Day War (September 6–23, 1965):

Pakistan launched Operation Gibraltar and Operation Grand Slam in Kashmir, provoking an all-out Indian military counter-offensive across the international border in Punjab.

The Abandonment of East Pakistan:

The central military high command deployed the overwhelming bulk of the Pakistan Army and Pakistan Air Force to the western front, leaving East Pakistan defended by just one under-equipped infantry division (14th Division) with virtually no armored tanks and only a handful of vintage F-86 Sabre jets.

East Pakistan was completely encircled by India and severed from West Pakistan by 1,000 miles of enemy territory and naval blockade. Had India chosen to advance on Dhaka, the province would have fallen within days.

Collapse of the Pakistani Defense Doctrine:

For eighteen years, Pakistani military theorists had dogmatically insisted that "the defense of the East lies in the West" (meaning a threat to East Pakistan would be neutralized by Pakistani armor capturing Indian territory in the Punjab/Delhi plains). The 1965 war proved this doctrine to be a bankrupt strategic myth.

East Pakistanis realized with profound shock that the Pakistani state took their jute export earnings, spent 70% of the national budget on a Punjabi-dominated army, and then left 55 million Bengalis completely defenseless.

The Tashkent Declaration (January 10, 1966):

Brokered by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin between Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan. The treaty restored the status quo ante bellum without mentioning the political status

or defense security of East Pakistan, convincing Bengali political leaders that self-defense and economic autonomy could only be secured through radical self-governance.

CHAPTER 5: The Two Economies Thesis & Structural Economic Disparity (1947–1970)

5.1 Introduction

Economic disparity between East and West Pakistan was not an accidental or inevitable byproduct of geography; it was the direct structural consequence of state-directed capitalist planning executed by a central government controlled by West Pakistani civil-military elites and immigrant merchant monopolies. Drawing on pioneering research by Bengali economists (Professor Rehman Sobhan, Professor Nurul Islam, Professor Akhlaqur Rahman, Professor Mosharraf Hossain, and Professor Anisur Rahman), this chapter details the empirical architecture of the "Two Economies" thesis and demonstrates how East Pakistan was systematically transformed into a captive domestic market and a source of primary foreign exchange extraction to underwrite the rapid industrialization of West Pakistan.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

Raw Jute Exports (*Golden Fibre*) — Generates 55% of National Foreign Exchange
↓ (*Foreign Exchange Siphoned*)
State Foreign Exchange & Import Licensing — Administered by West Pakistani Bureaucracy
Bengali Peasantry — Endures 74-100% Currency Overvaluation
↓ (*Concealed Tax: 6.4% to 10%*)
↓ (*Subsidized Capital Goods & Aid*)
Rapid Industrialization — (Textiles, Chemicals, Machinery)
↓ (*Over-priced Consumer Goods*)
Captive Market — Buys WP Manufactured Goods behind High Tariffs
↓ (*Rs 7.5 Billion Trade Deficit*)
Capital Accumulation & High Per Capita Incomes — Surges from 351 Rs to 533 Rs (61% Gap)
Federal Budget & Development Plans — 70-77% Allocated to West Pakistan
↓ (*Rs 11.8 Billion Net Capital Transfer*)
↓
The 22 Families — (Control 66% Industry, 87% Banking/Insurance)

NOTES & CITATIONS

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2. Rehman Sobhan, pp. 5–7; BUX/Transcripts/Video01; Saba Notes, p. 18; Faeiz Notes, p. 3, 20
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5.2 Initial Conditions at Partition (1947)

[1]

The Asymmetry of Heritage:

West Pakistan: Inherited the extensive canal irrigation network of the Punjab, better road and rail networks, the federal capital at Karachi, major military cantonments, and the major seaport of Karachi. Crucially, wealthy Muslim trading communities (Memons, Bohras, Khojas, Chiniotis) migrating from Gujarat, Bombay, and Calcutta chose to settle in Karachi.

East Pakistan: Entered Pakistan as an agrarian hinterland completely devoid of modern industry, severed from its historical industrial hub (Calcutta). While possessing fertile land, abundant water, and world monopoly over raw jute, it possessed no operational jute mills, poor road infrastructure, negligible electric power, and an impoverished peasantry.

Disparity in the Civil Bureaucracy & Military:

Of the 133 Muslim officers of the elite Indian Civil Service (ICS) and Indian Police (IP) who opted for Pakistan in 1947, only 1 was a Bengali (the rest were West Pakistanis or refugees from North/West India).

In the military, Bengalis accounted for less than 3% of the army, less than 1% of the air force, and negligible officer corps positions.

Consequently, the central executive machinery that determined exchange rates, import licenses, industrial sanctioning, and federal expenditures was 99% non-Bengali.

5.3 The Conceptual Framework: The "Two Economies" Thesis

[2]

The Geographic & Economic Reality:

Formulated by young Bengali faculty at Dhaka University in the early 1960s (led by Rehman Sobhan, Nurul Islam, and Akhlaqur Rahman).

In standard neoclassical economics, regional disparities are smoothed out over time through the free mobility of factors of production (labor and capital). However, Pakistan's two wings were separated by over 1,000 miles of Indian land territory and 3,000 miles of sea route.

Labor could not migrate freely to the West due to language barriers, travel costs, and passport regulations. Capital accumulated in the East was repatriated to the West, while private West Pakistani capital refused to invest in the East.

The Result:

Pakistan did not constitute a single integrated national economy; it functioned as two distinct economic systems operating under a single, centralized, and discriminatory monetary, fiscal, and commercial policy regime. Economic policies tailored to stimulate West Pakistani capital accumulation actively impoverished East Pakistan.

5.4 Longitudinal Empirical Evidence: Per Capita Income & Consumption Disparity

The following datasets prove that inter-wing disparity widened dramatically over successive five-year plans, demonstrating that the gap was structural:

Table 5.1: Regional Per Capita Income Disparity (1949/50 – 1969/70)

(Measured in 1959/60 Constant Factor Cost Rupees)

Fiscal Period	East Pakistan Per Capita (Rs.)	West Pakistan Per Capita (Rs.)	Absolute Disparity (WP - EP in Rs.)	Disparity Ratio [% = (WP - EP) / EP × 100]
1949/50	288	351	63	21.9%
1954/55	294	365	71	24.1%
1959/60	277	367	90	32.5%
1964/65	303	440	137	45.2%
1969/70	331	533	202	61.0%

Critical Analysis:

In 1949/50, West Pakistan's per capita income exceeded East Pakistan's by 21.9%. By 1969/70 (on the eve of independence), this chasm had nearly tripled to 61.0%.

While West Pakistan's per capita income surged by 51.8% (from 351 to 533 Rs), East Pakistan's per capita income crawled by just 14.9% over twenty years (even declining between 1954 and 1960).

Table 5.2: Disparity in Basic Consumption Expenditures & Infrastructure

Consumption / Infrastructure Item	Unit of Measurement	1951–52: East Pak	1951–52: West Pak	1967–68: East Pak	1967–68: West Pak
Electricity Consumption	Kwh per capita per year	0.5	8.6	1.6	28.8
Power Generating Capacity (1969)	Megawatts (MW)	378 MW	—	—	1,559 MW
Highways / Road Mileage	Miles of paved roads	405	17,152	2,588	22,508
Railway Route Mileage	Miles	1,682	5,316	1,712	5,334
Registered Motor Vehicles	Total Number	—	—	56,285	259,395

Impact on Jute Growers: East Bengal produced raw jute, which accounted for over 50% to 70% of Pakistan's export earnings. An overvalued currency meant that foreign buyers paid in dollars/pounds, which the central State Bank converted into rupees at the artificially low official rate. Economists calculated this imposed a concealed taxation of 6.4% to 10% on the gross income of Bengali jute farmers.

Subsidizing West Pakistani Industrialists: Conversely, the overvalued exchange rate allowed West Pakistani industrialists to import machinery, capital goods, and industrial raw materials at heavily subsidized domestic prices.

Financing the Trade Deficit (Foreign Trade Drain):

Between 1947/48 and 1969/70, East Pakistan accounted for 55% of Pakistan's total export earnings (Rs. 46.7 billion).

In 23 years, East Pakistan ran a constant surplus on its foreign trade account totaling Rs. 5.5 billion.

Conversely, West Pakistan ran a massive, chronic foreign trade deficit totaling Rs. 23.2 billion.

The Reality: East Pakistan's export earnings were surrendered to the State Bank in Karachi and utilized to pay for the chronic foreign trade deficits and industrial machinery imports of West Pakistan!

The Captive Domestic Market (Inter-Wing Trade Drain):

To make matters worse, East Pakistan was forced to purchase manufactured consumer goods (cotton textiles, sugar, cement, matches, paper) from West Pakistani factories behind exorbitant tariff walls that barred cheaper foreign imports.

Between 1948 and 1970, West Pakistan ran a cumulative inter-wing trade surplus of Rs. 7.5 billion against East Pakistan.

By 1971, East Pakistan absorbed 15% of the total industrial output of West Pakistan's large-scale manufacturing sector. East Pakistan thus functioned as a classic colonial captive market: providing cheap raw agricultural exports to the world while absorbing expensive manufactured consumer goods from the metropole.

Disparities in Foreign Aid Allocation:

Between 1947 and 1970, Pakistan received \$7.6 billion in foreign economic assistance (\$5.6 billion loans, \$1.4 billion grants, plus commodity aid).

East Pakistan was allocated only \$2.02 billion (26.4%) of aid commitments, and utilized only \$1.9 billion (30%) of aid disbursements, while West Pakistan appropriated 70% of all utilized foreign aid (\$4.5 billion).

Because foreign aid financed 67% of Pakistan's total development budget, the skewed allocation of aid was the primary engine perpetuating widening regional inequality.

Net Quantified Transfer of Resources:

In the Fourth Five-Year Plan Panel of Economists Report (1970), Bengali economists definitively calculated the net capital transfer by adjusting for rupee overvaluation and balance-of-payments invisibles.

Between 1948/49 and 1968/69, East Pakistan transferred Rs. 11.79 billion (approximately Rs. 11.8 billion) of net resources to West Pakistan.

This siphoned surplus financed 19% of West Pakistan's total gross development expenditure during that period. If this Rs. 11.8 billion had been retained and invested in East Pakistan, the eastern wing's development investment would have been augmented by 39%, completely eliminating poverty and food insecurity.

5.6 Capitalist Planning, The Harvard Advisory Group & "The 22 Families"

[6]

The Harvard Advisory Group & State-Sponsored Greed:

In the late 1950s and 1960s, the economic planning of Pakistan was directly advised by the Harvard University Advisory Group (financed by the Ford Foundation and US AID, featuring economists like Gustav Papanek).

The Doctrine: The Harvard Group preached that economic development in its early stages requires high savings and capital accumulation, which can only be achieved by transferring national wealth into the hands of a small class of private capitalists who have a high propensity to save and reinvest. Papanek termed this the "Social Utility of Greed."

Rise of the "22 Families":

In April 1968, Dr. Mahbub ul Haq (Chief Economist of the Pakistan Planning Commission) made a shocking public revelation:

"Twenty-two industrial family houses in Pakistan control 66% of the nation's total industrial assets, 70% of insurance, and 80% to 87% of all banking assets."

The Regional Aspect: Out of these 22 oligarchic dynasties (Dawood, Adamjee, Saigol, Valika, Colony, Bawany, Crescent, Ispahani, etc.), 21 families were West Pakistanis or non-Bengali migrants; only ONE (AK Khan) was a Bengali family!

Non-Bengali Monopoly inside the East Pakistan Private Sector:

Even inside East Pakistan's geographic borders, private capital was overwhelmingly controlled by non-Bengali firms favored by central state development banks:

62% of all loans sanctioned by the Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation (PICIC) and the Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan (IDBP) in East Pakistan went to non-Bengali business houses.

Non-Bengali firms controlled 47% of all industrial assets in East Pakistan (Bengalis owned 23%; the state EPIDC held 34%). Within the private sector alone, non-Bengalis owned 72% of industrial assets.

Non-Bengalis held 93% of all major import category licenses, 70% of all commercial bank deposits, and owned 2 of the 3 largest river shipping conglomerates and 28 major tea gardens.

Ayub Khan's Failed "Green Revolution" in East Pakistan (Classroom Focus: Faeiz Notes, p. 1–2; Saba Notes, p. 27):

While the Green Revolution transformed West Pakistani agriculture (large landlords received subsidized tubewells, tractors, and fertilizers), it failed completely in East Pakistan:

The central government offered loans through agricultural banks to purchase expensive imported US equipment.

Because East Pakistani peasants were smallholders and tenant farmers living in deep poverty, they could not provide land collateral or afford repayment interest. Consequently, the imported machinery remained unpurchased or fell into disuse, and East Pakistan remained vulnerable to seasonal food deficits and crop failures.

5.8 The Political Culmination: Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's 1966 Six-Point Programme

The empirical reality of the "Two Economies" proved that economic equity was structurally impossible within a centralized Pakistani federation. In February–March 1966, following the 1965 Indo-Pak War which left East Pakistan completely defenseless, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman presented the historic Six-Point Programme (Chhoy Dofa) at an all-party opposition conference in Lahore, directly translating Rehman Sobhan and Nurul Islam's economic findings into an uncompromising political charter of autonomy.

6.1 Introduction

The structural failure of the Pakistani constitutional framework and the economic devastation exposed by the 1965 war culminated in a qualitative transformation of Bengali political mobilization between 1966 and 1969. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's announcement of the historic Six-Point Programme shifted Bengali demands from constitutional power-sharing to radical confederative self-rule. When the military regime sought to decapitate this movement through high treason charges in the Agartala Conspiracy Case, it unleashed an unprecedented, student-led Mass Uprising (Gono-obbhutthan) in 1969 that toppled Field Marshal Ayub Khan and permanently shattered the ideological foundation of a united Pakistan.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

- Feb 1966: Six-Point Programme unveiled — (Lahore Conference; *Charter of Emancipation*)
- ↓
- June 7, 1966: Historic General Strike — (Manu Mia martyred; mass arrests of AL leaders)
- ↓
- Jan 1968: Agartala Conspiracy Case filed — (*State vs. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Others*; 35 accused)
- ↓
- Jan 1969: All-Party Student Action Committee (SAC) — (Formulates 11-Point Programme; Motia & Menon groups join)
- ↓
- Feb 15-18, 1969: State Murder of Martyrs — (Sgt. Zahurul Haque & Dr. Shamsuzzoha killed)
- ↓
- Feb 22-23, 1969: Case Withdrawn; Mujib Crowned — (Tofail Ahmed bestows *Bangabandhu* title at Race Course)
- ↓
- March 25, 1969: Fall of Ayub Khan — (Ayub resigns; power transferred to Gen. Yahya Khan)

6.2 The Historic Six-Point Programme (1966): "Our Charter of Survival"

[7]

Unveiling at Lahore (February 5–6, 1966):

Following the Tashkent Declaration, West Pakistani opposition parties convened a National Conference in Lahore to criticize Ayub Khan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, representing the Awami League, stunned the assembly by placing the Six-Point Programme before the Subject Committee.

The Western Rejection: West Pakistani politicians (both government and opposition, including Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Chaudhry Muhammad Ali) rejected the demands, branding them as thinly veiled secession. Mujib boycotted the conference and returned to Dhaka to formally launch the movement.

The Intellectual Brainchild:

As classroom notes and scholarly documents emphasize (Faeiz, p. 3, 20; Saba, p. 7, 18), the intellectual architects of the Six Points were Bengali economists Professor Rehman Sobhan and Professor Nurul Islam, along with CSP officer Ruhul Quddus and political strategist Tajuddin Ahmad. The points translated the

empirical findings of the "Two Economies" thesis into a concrete constitutional blueprint.

The Operative Six Points:

Point Number	Constitutional Subject	Detailed Operative Provision
Point 1	Character of the Federal Constitution	The Constitution must provide for a Federation of Pakistan in its true sense on the basis of the Lahore Resolution of 1940. The government shall be parliamentary with supremacy of the legislature directly elected on universal adult franchise.
Point 2	Powers of the Central Government	The Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects: Defense and Foreign Affairs. All other residual subjects shall vest unconditionally in the federating states.
Point 3	Currency & Monetary Policy	Option A: Two separate, freely convertible currencies for the two wings; OR + Option B: One currency for the whole country, with effective constitutional provisions to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan, accompanied by two separate Reserve / Central Banks for the two wings and separate fiscal and monetary policies.
Point 4	Power of Taxation & Revenue Collection	The power of taxation and revenue collection shall vest solely in the federating units. The Federal Centre shall have no power of taxation; it shall be funded through fixed fiscal levies contributed equally or proportionally by the federating units.
Point 5	Foreign Trade & Foreign Exchange Accounts	1. Two separate accounts for foreign exchange earnings of the two wings. + 2. Foreign exchange requirements of the Centre met by both wings equally or by ratio. + 3. Indigenous goods move duty-free between wings. + 4. Federating units empowered to establish foreign trade links, trade missions, and negotiate commodity export agreements independently.

Point Number	Constitutional Subject	Detailed Operative Provision
Point 6	Military & Paramilitary Autonomy	East Pakistan must have a separate militia or paramilitary force (Territorial Army), and the Headquarters of the Pakistan Navy must be located in East Pakistan to ensure regional defense viability.

Classroom Anecdote: Coercing Scared Leaders to Lahore (Saba Notes, p. 7; Faeiz Notes, p. 21):

When Mujib first convened the Awami League Working Committee in Dhaka to approve the draft Six Points before traveling to Lahore, senior party leaders were terrified that Ayub Khan would hang them for high treason. Several senior leaders fled the party office and went into hiding.

Radical student leader Sirajul Alam Khan (General Secretary of East Pakistan Chhatra League) tracked down the frightened leaders in their residences and coerced them to sign and attend the meeting, ensuring Mujib arrived in Lahore with the backing of the party.

The Regime's Reaction & The June 7 General Strike:

Ayub Khan denounced the Six Points as a scheme for "Greater Bengal" and threatened to crush the autonomists using "the language of weapons."

Mujib launched a massive tour of East Pakistan, addressing 35 public meetings in two months before being arrested on May 8, 1966.

On June 7, 1966, the Awami League called a historic province-wide general strike (Hartal). Police fired on workers and students in Dhaka, Narayanganj, and Tejgaon, killing Manu Mia and 10 others. Over 9,000 activists were thrown into prison.

CHAPTER 6: The Agartala Conspiracy Case & The 1969 Mass Uprising (1968–1969)

6.3 The 1968 Agartala Conspiracy Case: High Treason Trial

[1]

The Official Accusation (January 1968):

On January 6, 1968, the Home Ministry of Pakistan announced that 28 persons had been arrested for conspiring to bring about the secession of East Pakistan. On January 18, 1968, while already detained in Dhaka Central Jail, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was named as Accused No. 1 in the case formally titled: "State vs. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Others" (Special Tribunal Case No. 1 of 1968).

Total Accused: 35 persons (including 3 senior Bengali CSP officers: Ahmed Fazlur Rahman, Ruhul Quddus, and Khan Shamsur Rahman; naval officers led by Lt. Commander Moazzem Hossain; army soldiers; and Awami League politicians).

The Charges: High treason under Section 121A of the Pakistan Penal Code, alleging that the conspirators met with Indian intelligence officers (including P.N. Ojha) at Agartala in Tripura, India, to procure arms, ammunition, and funds to stage an armed insurrection in East Pakistan.

The Special Tribunal in Dhaka Cantonment:

A Special Tribunal was convened on June 19, 1968, inside the Signals Mess of Dhaka Cantonment, chaired by former Chief Justice S.A. Rahman (a West Pakistani), flanked by two Bengali High Court judges (Justice M.R. Khan and Justice Maksum-ul-Hakim). Renowned British barrister Sir Thomas Williams QC, MP, arrived in Dhaka to defend Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The Dialectical Historiographical Conflict (Classroom vs. Official History):

The Official / Political Defense: Awami League leaders vehemently asserted that the case was an absolute, trumped-up falsehood engineered by Ayub Khan to defame Mujib and destroy the Six-Point movement.

The Historical Insider Reality (Col. Shawkat Ali's Revelations):

As detailed in the classroom lecture transcripts (Saba, p. 8; Faeiz, p. 21) and confirmed in Colonel (Retd.) Shawkat Ali's memoir *Satya Mamla Agartala*: The trial and its formal legal charges were politically fabricated by Ayub's regime, but the core incident was authentic!

Beginning in the early 1960s, a clandestine revolutionary group of Bengali military officers (led by Lt. Cmdr. Moazzem Hossain) and Bengali civil servants had indeed established contact with Indian officials and coordinated with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to prepare for armed national liberation. As Col. Shawkat Ali admitted on the floor of the Bangladesh Parliament decades later: "The case was false, but the plan for independence was true!"

6.4 The 1969 Mass Uprising (Gono-obbhutthan) & The Eleven-Point Demand

[2]

Formation of the Central Student Action Committee (SAC):

In January 1969, as the Agartala trial proceeded, university students seized the political initiative from banned and imprisoned politicians, forming the Sarbadaliya Chhatra Sangram Parishad (All-Party Students

Action Committee - SAC).

The Factional Coalition: The SAC united the East Pakistan Chhatra League (led by Tofail Ahmed, DUCSU VP) with both factions of the divided East Pakistan Chhatra Union (EPSU):

1. EPSU (Menon Group): Left-leaning, anti-imperialist student faction.
2. EPSU (Motia Chowdhury Group): Led by dynamic student leader Motia Chowdhury (Agni Kanya).

Classroom Insight on Motia's Condition (Saba Notes, p. 8; Faeiz Notes, p. 22): When Chhatra League leaders approached Motia Chowdhury to form a joint protest movement, Motia refused to mobilize merely for the release of Sheikh Mujib. She insisted that the movement address the broader socio-economic grievances of peasants, workers, and all political prisoners. This led to the drafting of the Eleven-Point Programme (Egaro Dofa).

The Eleven-Point Programme (*Egaro Dofa)*:

Formulated on January 5, 1969, the 11 points synthesized student academic demands, the Six Points of regional autonomy, and radical socialist reforms:

1. Fourteen-point educational charter: Scrapping the Sharif Commission report, reducing tuition fees, making mother-tongue medium of instruction, and repealing the repressive University Ordinance.
2. Restoration of Parliamentary Democracy based on direct universal adult franchise.
3. Full regional autonomy for East Pakistan based on the Six-Point Programme (confining federal powers to Defense, Foreign Policy, and Currency).
4. Sub-federation of West Pakistan: Dissolution of the One Unit scheme; full provincial autonomy for Sindh, Balochistan, and NWFP.
5. Nationalization of banks, insurance companies, and large-scale industrial monopolies.
6. Reduction of agricultural taxes and land revenues on the peasantry; cancellation of outstanding agricultural debts.
7. Fair wages, bonuses, housing, and social security for industrial workers; repealing the ban on labor strikes.
8. Permanent scientific flood control and drainage projects for East Pakistan.
9. Immediate repeal of all emergency regulations, preventive detention acts, and public security ordinances.
10. Anti-Imperialist Foreign Policy: Immediate withdrawal from Western Cold War military alliances (SEATO, CENTO) and the US-Pakistan Military Pact.
11. Immediate release of all political prisoners and students, and withdrawal of all politically motivated cases, especially the Agartala Conspiracy Case.

6.5 Climax of the 1969 Uprising: State Murders & The Fall of Ayub Khan

[9]

The Martyrs of the Uprising:

Asaduzzaman (Asad): A 27-year-old peasant-organizer and law student of Dhaka University, shot dead by police on January 20, 1969, while carrying a banner near Dhaka Medical College. Asad's blood-stained shirt became the iconic flag of the mass revolution.

Matiur Rahman: A 13-year-old student of Nabakumar Institute, killed in police firing on January 24, 1969 (celebrated as Mass Uprising Day).

Sergeant Zahurul Haque: Accused No. 17 in the Agartala Conspiracy Case, shot point-blank by Pakistani soldiers inside Dhaka Cantonment custody on February 15, 1969, under the pretext of an "attempted escape." News of his murder triggered violent mobs setting fire to the residences of the tribunal judges and central ministers.

Dr. Shamsuzzoha: Professor of Chemistry and Proctor of Rajarshi University, bayoneted and shot by army troops on February 18, 1969, while bravely shielding protesting students outside the university gate, declaring: "My students' blood shall not be spilled before mine!" He became the first university teacher martyred in modern South Asian history.

The Unconditional Surrender of the Regime:

Terrified of complete armed revolution, the Ayub regime unconditionally withdrew the Agartala Conspiracy Case on February 22, 1969, releasing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and all co-accused without conditions.

Crowning of "Bangabandhu" (February 23, 1969):

On February 23, 1969, the Central Student Action Committee hosted a historic reception attended by over a million citizens at the Dhaka Race Course Maidan. DUCSU VP Tofail Ahmed, on behalf of the entire nation, formally bestowed upon Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the immortal honorific title: "Bangabandhu" (Friend of Bengal).

The Resignation of Ayub Khan (March 25, 1969):

Unable to control the mass strikes and labor revolts in both wings, Field Marshal Ayub Khan broadcast his farewell speech on March 25, 1969.

The Final Constitutional Violation: Rather than adhering to his own 1962 Constitution (which dictated that power be handed to the Speaker of the National Assembly, Abdul Jabbar Khan, a Bengali), Ayub Khan illegally transferred power to Army Commander-in-Chief General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, who instantly abrogated the constitution, dismissed the assemblies, and imposed Pakistan's second nationwide military dictatorship.

NOTES & CITATIONS

1. BUX/Class09; WHATSAPP/SixPointProgrammeChapter14Scan; Saba Notes, p. 8; Faeiz Notes, p. 21–22

2. BUX/Class09; WHATSAPP/SixPointProgrammeChapter14Scan; Saba Notes, p. 8, 13; Faeiz Notes, p. 22

3. BUX/Class09; BUX/Transcripts/Video03; Saba Notes, p. 8, 19; Faeiz Notes, p. 22–23

CHAPTER 7: Legal Framework Order, Bhola Cyclone & The 1970 Elections (1969–1970)

7.1 Introduction

The transfer of power from Field Marshal Ayub Khan to General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan on March 25, 1969, led to the dismantling of the 1962 constitutional apparatus and the staging of the first nationwide general elections based on universal adult franchise in Pakistan’s history. However, the military junta sought to structure the electoral rules through the Legal Framework Order (LFO) to ensure a fractured parliament incapable of threatening the military’s institutional interests. When the catastrophic Bhola Cyclone of November 1970 exposed the callous negligence of the West Pakistani central state, it galvanized a unified Bengali electorate behind the Awami League, delivering an absolute national parliamentary majority that permanently unhinged the military’s calculations.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence
March 1970: Legal Framework Order (LFO) — (One Unit dissolved; 313 seats allocated; 169 in East) ↓ Nov 12, 1970: Catastrophic Bhola Cyclone — (300k-500k dead; central state negligence radicalizes East) ↓ Dec 7, 1970: Landslide General Elections — (Awami League wins 167 of 169 East seats; absolute national majority) ↓ Dec 1970: West Pakistan Polarization — (Bhutto’s PPP wins 81 seats; refuses minority status) ↓ Jan 1971: The Larkana Military Conspiracy — (Yahya & Bhutto secret pact to deny power transfer) ↓ March 1, 1971: Assembly Postponement — (Triggers spontaneous popular revolution in East Bengal)

NOTES & CITATIONS
1. BUX/Class11TheWarofIndependence.txt; BUX/Transcripts/Video03, Video04; Saba Notes, p. 1; Faeiz Notes, p. 23
2. BUX/Class11; Saba Notes, p. 1; Faeiz Notes, p. 23–24; Video04 Transcript
3. Banglapedia; Saba Notes, p. 1, 18, 26; Faeiz Notes, p. 23–24
4. BUX/Class11; BUX/Transcripts/Video04; Saba Notes, p. 1, 24, 26; Faeiz Notes, p. 24–25

7.2 The Legal Framework Order (LFO) of 1970

[1]

Promulgation & Institutional Dismantling (March 30, 1970):

General Yahya Khan issued the Legal Framework Order (President’s Order No. 2 of 1970), establishing the ground rules for the upcoming general elections and the framing of a new constitution.

Abolition of One Unit: The LFO formally dismantled the hated One Unit scheme in West Pakistan, restoring the historic provinces of Punjab, Sindh, NWFP, and Balochistan.

Abolition of Parity: Representation by population (one man, one vote) was conceded for the first time.

Composition of the National Assembly:

The National Assembly was designed with 313 seats (300 general seats + 13 reserved women seats):

East Pakistan: 169 seats (162 general + 7 reserved women seats) — an absolute demographic majority (54%).

West Pakistan: 144 seats (138 general + 6 reserved women seats: Punjab 85, Sindh 28, NWFP 19, Balochistan 5, Centrally Administered Tribal Areas 7).

The Junta's Constitutional Traps:

The LFO contained five non-negotiable clauses designed to hem in Bengali autonomy:

1. Islamic Republic: Pakistan must remain an Islamic Republic; the Head of State must be a Muslim.
2. Territorial Integrity: The territorial integrity and ideological unity of Pakistan must be preserved; no manifesto advocating secession would be tolerated.
3. Federal Control: Complete statutory power over the budget and army was retained by the Centre.
4. The 120-Day Limit: The National Assembly had to frame a constitution within 120 days of its first sitting, or stand automatically dissolved.
5. The Presidential Veto: The President retained the absolute power to refuse authentication to any constitution passed by the Assembly, rendering the parliament subservient to the military.

Bangabandhu's Pragmatic Strategy:

Leftist parties (NAP-Bhashani) condemned the LFO as a military trap and called for boycotting the elections. However, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman insisted on participating, famously remarking to his close confidants:

"My goal is to establish the democratic mandate of 75 million Bengalis on the Six-Point Programme. Once the elections are won and the people's verdict is established, I will tear the LFO to pieces!"

7.3 The November 1970 Bhola Cyclone & State Indifference

[2]

The Cataclysm of November 12–13, 1970:

On the night of November 12, 1970, a Category 3 tropical cyclone and a massive 20-foot storm surge struck the coastal islands and estuaries of East Pakistan (Bhola, Manpura, Hatia, Patuakhali, Barguna).

The Human Toll: Between 300,000 and 500,000 human beings perished, over a million livestock drowned, and entire island populations were completely erased, making it the deadliest natural disaster in recorded twentieth-century history.

The Criminal Negligence of the Central State:

The response of the Pakistani military regime exposed total callousness and contempt for Bengali lives:

Although weather satellites and international meteorological stations had tracked the cyclone for days, the central administration failed to broadcast adequate coastal evacuation warnings.

Following the disaster, General Yahya Khan—who was returning from a state visit to Beijing—stopped briefly at Dhaka Airport for a few hours on November 16, declared from the runway that the reports were "greatly exaggerated," and flew directly to Islamabad without visiting the ravaged coastal islands.

British, American, and international relief helicopters and naval amphibious crafts arrived in the Bay of Bengal days before the Pakistan Army deployed a single relief unit from West Pakistan.

Political & Emotional Repercussions:

In Dhaka, Maulana Bhashani visited the devastated islands, held an emotional press conference, and declared: "The rulers of West Pakistan have proved they are not our brothers; we must say goodbye to Pakistan."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held an internationally broadcast press conference on November 26, 1970, declaring:

"A million people have died, and the rulers could not even spare a single helicopter for their relief. We will give another million lives, but we will emancipate the people of Bengal!"

The disaster transformed the upcoming December election from a conventional party contest into an existential moral and political referendum on Bengali survival.

7.4 Maulana Bhashani's Position on the 1970 Election (Historiographical Controversy)

[3]

The Boycott Declaration: "Vote-er Agey Bhat Chai":

Following the cyclone, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani announced that his National Awami Party (NAP-Bhashani) would boycott the December 1970 elections, raising the iconic rallying cry: "Vote-er agey bhat chai, khola jae-gah e taan chai" (We want food before votes; we want shelter in the open fields!).

On December 4, 1970, at a mammoth rally at Paltan Maidan, Bhashani formally proclaimed East Pakistan's right to full independence (Swadhin Purba Pakistan).

Competing Historiographical Interpretations:

Standard Nationalist View: Bhashani's boycott reflected his deep anti-imperialist impatience with bourgeois parliamentary elections, clearing the electoral field and allowing the Awami League to capture the entire nationalist vote without splitting the progressive constituency.

Classroom Lecture Insight (Saba Notes, p. 1; Faeiz Notes, p. 23–24): Classroom discussions provide a more complex insider perspective:

Notes indicate that Bhashani repeatedly warned Mujib that the Pakistani military junta and West Pakistani feudal politicians would never peacefully transfer state power to a Bengali-majority parliament under the Six Points, regardless of election results.

Bhashani argued that participating in the election legitimized Yahya's LFO and gave the military time to plan armed suppression, urging Mujib instead to lead an immediate mass civil uprising to declare unilateral independence in late 1970.

7.5 The December 1970 Landslide Electoral Mandate

The Election of December 7, 1970:

Held peacefully throughout the country under universal adult franchise (cyclone-affected coastal constituencies voted in January 1971).

National Assembly Election Results:

Political Party	East Pakistan Seats Won	West Pakistan Seats Won	Total National Assembly Seats	Percentage of Assembly
Awami League (AL)	167 (160 direct + 7 women)	0	167	53.35% (Absolute Majority)
Pakistan People's Party (PPP)	0	81 (Punjab 62, Sindh 18, NWFP 1)	81	25.88%
PML (Qayyum Group)	0	9	9	2.88%
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Hazarvi)	0	7	7	2.24%
Markazi Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan	0	7	7	2.24%
National Awami Party (Wali)	0	6 (NWFP 3, Balochistan 3)	6	1.92%
PML (Convention)	0	2	2	0.64%
PML (Council)	0	2	2	0.64%
Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP)	1 (Nurul Amin)	3	4	1.28%
Independents	1 (Raja Tridiv Roy)	15	16	5.11%
Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)	0	4	4	1.28%
Total Seats	169	144	313	100.0%

Provincial Assembly Result:

In the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly (300 general seats), the Awami League achieved a crushing victory, winning 288 out of 300 seats (later sweeping all 10 reserved women seats = 298 out of 310).

The Significance of the Two Non-AL Seats & The CHT Clash:

Nurul Amin (PDP): The former Muslim League Chief Minister won from Mymensingh; he subsequently collaborated with the Pakistan Army in 1971, was named Prime Minister by Yahya in December 1971, and died in exile in Pakistan.

Raja Tridiv Roy (Chakma Raja): Won the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) seat as an independent.

Classroom Insight on Indigenous-Bengali Frictions (Saba Notes, p. 1; Faeiz Notes, p. 24–25):

The victory of Raja Tridiv Roy signaled the distinct political identity of the indigenous peoples of the CHT, who feared Bengali majoritarian dominance.

When Awami League leaders demanded that the CHT conform to the mainstream Bengali linguistic platform, Raja Tridiv Roy refused to merge. Following independence, Tridiv Roy fled to Pakistan (becoming a federal minister and ambassador), but the clash laid the groundwork for Bangabandhu's subsequent rejection of indigenous autonomy in 1972, epitomized by his infamous demand to indigenous leaders: "Tora sob Bangali hoye ja!" (You all become Bangalis!).

CHAPTER 8: Non-Cooperation, 7th March Address & Operation Searchlight (Jan–March 1971)

8.1 Introduction

The historic victory of the Awami League in the December 1970 elections established Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the legitimate, democratic Prime Minister-elect of all Pakistan. However, the tripartite nexus between General Yahya Khan's military junta, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's West Pakistani establishment, and Punjabi civil-military interests could not accept the transfer of federal authority to a Bengali leadership armed with the Six-Point mandate. What followed between January and March 1971 was a coordinated conspiracy of political deceit, covert military troop buildups, spontaneous civil rebellion, Bangabandhu's historic 7th March directives, and ultimately, the unleashing of genocidal military fury through Operation Searchlight on the night of March 25, 1971.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

Jan 1971: The Larkana Military Conspiracy — (Yahya & Bhutto plot to abort power transfer)
↓
Feb 1971: Troop Build-up & Operation Blitz — (Troops airlifted via PIA; MV Swat arrives in Ctg)
↓
March 1, 1971: Yahya Postpones National Assembly — (Mass protests erupt across East Pakistan)
↓
March 2-3: Flags & Manifestos — (ASM Abdur Rab hoists flag; Shajahan Siraj reads manifesto)
↓
March 7, 1971: Historic 7th March Address — (*Ebarer sangram amader muktir sangram...*)
↓
March 8-25: Non-Cooperation Movement — (Dhanmondi 32 runs civil administration)
↓
Night of March 25: Operation Searchlight Unleashed — (Tanks assault DU, Rajarbagh, Pilkhana, Old Dhaka)
↓
March 26, 1971: Declaration of Independence — (Bangabandhu transmits message; Zia broadcasts on March 27)

NOTES & CITATIONS

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3. BUX/Class11; BUX/Transcripts/Video04; Saba Notes, p. 22, 26; Faeiz Notes, p. 26
4. BUX/Class11; BUX/Transcripts/Video04; Saba Notes, p. 22; Faeiz Notes, p. 26–27
5. MAIL/operationsearchlightarticle.txt; MAIL/Genocide1971LectureSlides; BUX/Class11; Saba Notes, p. 22, 26; Faeiz Notes, p. 27–28
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8.2 The Tripartite Deadlock & The Larkana Conspiracy (Jan–Feb 1971)

Bhutto's Rejection of Democratic Mandate:

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, whose PPP had captured 81 seats in West Pakistan (but zero in the East), refused to sit in the National Assembly as the Leader of the Opposition. He formulated his infamous slogan: "Idhar hum, udhar tum" (We rule here in the West; you rule there in the East!).

Bhutto demanded a "grand coalition" where power would be shared between the AL and PPP, or threatened that anyone from West Pakistan who traveled to Dhaka to attend the Assembly would have "their legs broken" (tangein tod di jayengi) and that the Assembly would become a "slaughterhouse."

The Larkana Military Conspiracy (January 17–19, 1971):

General Yahya Khan, accompanied by top military brass (General Abdul Hamid Khan, Lt. Gen. S.G.M.M. Peerzada), flew to Bhutto's private family estate at Al-Murtaza in Larkana, Sindh, on the pretext of hunting birds.

The Secret Pact: At Larkana, the military junta and Bhutto formalized a joint strategy: the National Assembly would not be permitted to enact a constitution based on the Six Points. If Mujib refused to compromise on federal taxation, foreign aid, and defense, the military would use force to crush the Awami League.

Covert Troop Buildup & The MV Swat Incident:

In February 1971, the Pakistan military began covertly airlifting elite commando and infantry units from West Pakistan to Dhaka aboard commercial Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) flights across the Indian Ocean (following the cancellation of overflight rights over India due to the Ganga hijacking incident).

As documented by US Consul General Archer Blood in his declassified telegrams, planeloads of military-age Pakistani troops dressed in civilian clothes (white shirts and khaki pants) landed daily at Tejgaon Airport and were loaded into military trucks.

Concurrently, the Pakistani naval merchant vessel MV Swat arrived at Chittagong Port loaded with 9,000 tons of heavy weapons, ammunition, and artillery for the Pakistan Army's 14th Division.

8.3 The Postponement of March 1 & Spontaneous Mass Rebellion

The Announcement of March 1, 1971:

On March 1, 1971, at 1:05 PM, Radio Pakistan abruptly broadcast an announcement from General Yahya Khan indefinitely postponing the session of the National Assembly that had been scheduled to convene in Dhaka on March 3.

The Spontaneous Uprising:

The postponement was correctly recognized by the entire Bengali populace as a military coup to nullify their democratic victory. Tens of thousands of people poured onto the streets of Dhaka with bamboo sticks (lathi) and iron rods, shouting: "Bir Bangali ostro dhoro, Bangladesh shadhin koro!" (Brave Bangalis, take up arms, liberate Bangladesh!).

Workers walked out of factories, students evacuated halls, and the ongoing cricket match at Dhaka Stadium was abandoned.

Hoisting the Flag & Reading the Manifesto (March 2–3, 1971):

March 2, 1971: At a massive student rally at Dhaka University's Battala, DUCSU Vice-President A.S.M. Abdur Rab formally hoisted the first Flag of Independent Bangladesh (bottle green with a red sun, enclosing a golden map of Bangladesh, designed by Shib Narayan Das and student leaders).

March 3, 1971: At Paltan Maidan, Shajahan Siraj, General Secretary of Chhatra League, read out the Manifesto of Independence (Shadhinotar Ishtehar) in the presence of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, declaring Bangabandhu the supreme leader of an independent and sovereign Bangladesh.

8.4 The Historic 7th March Address (1971)

[3]

The Gathering at Race Course Maidan:

On the afternoon of March 7, 1971, over two million people assembled at the Dhaka Race Course Maidan (now Suhrawardy Udyan), armed with bamboo sticks and carrying Bangladesh flags.

The Strategic Dilemma Faced by Bangabandhu:

Pakistani military gunships hovered overhead; tanks were positioned at the cantonment perimeter. Military commander General Khadim Hussain Raja later admitted in his memoir that artillery was zeroed in on the Race Course with standing orders to raze Dhaka if Mujib declared unilateral independence (UDI).

Mujib had to navigate between two extremes: declaring outright UDI would allow the military to slaughter millions and brand the movement as treasonous rebellion internationally; backing down would betray the revolutionary expectations of his people.

The Operative Four Preconditions:

Before the Awami League would consider attending any future assembly session, Bangabandhu demanded:

1. Immediate withdrawal of Martial Law.
2. Immediate return of all army troops to their barracks.
3. An impartial inquiry into the mass shootings of civilians by the army.
4. Immediate transfer of state power to the elected representatives of the people.

The Immortal Clarion Call:

In an unscripted, nineteen-minute masterpiece of political rhetoric (subsequently inscribed in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2017), Bangabandhu laid out directives for total civil non-cooperation and delivered the definitive call to arms:

"Turn every home into a fortress! Resist the enemy with whatever you have!... Since we have given blood, we will give more blood! By the grace of God, we will liberate the people of this land!...

The struggle this time is the struggle for our emancipation! The struggle this time is the struggle for our independence! Joy Bangla!"

8.5 The Historic Non-Cooperation Movement (March 8–25, 1971)

Dhanmondi 32 as the Seat of De Facto State Power:

From March 8 to March 25, 1971, British authority, Pakistani authority, and military governance completely ceased to function across East Pakistan. The province was governed entirely by the 35 Administrative Directives issued daily by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from his residence at House 32, Road 32, Dhanmondi.

Civil servants, police officers, post offices, telecommunications, railways, and commercial banks operated strictly under Awami League directives. Taxes were barred from being remitted to the central government in Islamabad.

Judicial Defiance: Justice B.A. Siddiky:

In an extraordinary display of judicial independence and solidarity with the movement, Chief Justice B.A. Siddiky of the Dhaka High Court and all fellow Bengali judges resolutely refused to administer the official oath of office to newly appointed Governor Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan. The military was forced to fly in a judge weeks later.

The Chittagong Port Confrontation (MV Swat):

At Chittagong Port, Bengali dockworkers (khalashis) and truck drivers refused to unload ammunition from the MV Swat.

Classroom Incident (Saba Notes, p. 22; Faeiz Notes, p. 27):

When Pakistani soldiers opened fire on resisting dockworkers, Major Ziaur Rahman (then Second-in-Command of the 8th East Bengal Regiment) was ordered to proceed to the port to secure the unloading under the pretext of military "training exercises."

En route, Zia was alerted by Major Rafiqul Islam (EPR) that Pakistani troops were ambushing Bengali officers. Ziaur Rahman quickly turned his troops around, escaped to the Sholashahar cantonment base, and initiated the military revolt of the 8th East Bengal Regiment.

The Farce of Dhaka Negotiations:

Between March 15 and March 24, General Yahya Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto held daily meetings with Bangabandhu at President's House in Dhaka.

Historiography and military memoirs (Khadim Hussain Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*; Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender*) prove that these negotiations were an elaborate military ruse. The junta never intended to reach a settlement; they conducted talks merely to buy time until sufficient troops and ammunition arrived from Karachi by sea and air to launch the pre-planned crackdown.

8.6 Operation Searchlight: Tactical Execution on the Night of March 25

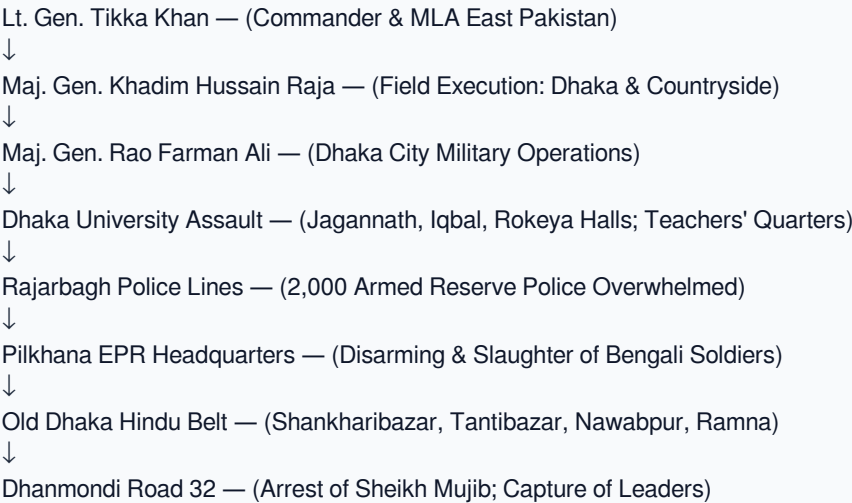
Operational Command & The "Butcher of Balochistan":

The initial crackdown scheme was drafted under the code name Operation Blitz, but was renamed Operation Searchlight when the original plan leaked.

Leadership: Supervised directly by Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan (who had earned the moniker "Butcher of Balochistan" for brutal massacres in the 1950s/60s), Major General Khadim Hussain Raja (GOC, 14th Division), and Major General Rao Farman Ali Khan (Advisor to the Governor).

At 5:45 PM on March 25, Yahya Khan secretly boarded a Boeing aircraft at Tejgaon Airport and flew back to Karachi. The order was given: the assault would commence at 11:00 PM.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence



Tactical Assaults Across Key Dhaka Sectors:

Dhaka University Campus (The Intellectual Slaughterground):

Troops from the 18th Punjab and 22nd Baluch Regiments, equipped with US-supplied M24 Chaffee tanks, mortars, and heavy machine guns, surrounded the campus.

Jagannath Hall: Targeted specifically because of its Hindu student and teacher population. Mortar fire breached the dormitory walls; troops stormed the rooms, executing over 36 students and employees. Captives were forced to dig a mass grave on the hall sports ground and were then lined up and machine-gunned into the pit (an atrocity secretly filmed from a nearby rooftop by BUET Professor Dr. Nurul Ula).

Iqbal Hall (now Sgt. Zahurul Huq Hall): The headquarters of the Chhatra League resistance. Heavy recoilless rifles and rocket launchers were fired into dormitories; student bodies were left burning inside rooms. British journalist Simon Dring reported finding over 200 charred student corpses.

Rokeya Hall: The women’s dormitory was assaulted, set ablaze, and fleeing female students were machine-gunned and assaulted.

Teachers' Quarters: Troops systematically moved from flat to flat using prepared lists. Eminent philosopher Dr. Govinda Chandra (G.C.) Dev, Provost of Jagannath Hall; Dr. Jyotirmoy Guhathakurta (Department of English); Dr. A.N.M. Muniruzzaman (Statistics); and sports trainer Sultan Ahmed were dragged into courtyards and murdered in cold blood.

Rajarbagh Police Lines (The First Armed Resistance):

At 10:30 PM, police wireless operators at Rajarbagh intercepted transmissions indicating that 37 military truckloads had left Dhaka Cantonment.

Constables hoisted the red-and-green flag, distributed vintage .303 rifles from the armory, and took firing positions behind brick barriers.

At 11:30 PM, the 32 Punjab Regiment attacked. Despite ferocious resistance from approximately 2,000 Bengali reserve police, the military used tank shells and flame throwers to set the tin-roofed barracks

ablaze. Hundreds of policemen burned alive; survivors were bayoneted.

Pilkhana EPR Headquarters:

The headquarters of the East Pakistan Rifles was attacked simultaneously. Bengali jawans were disarmed, forced into line, and slaughtered by non-Bengali units using heavy armor.

Old Dhaka Hindu Belt (Shankharibazar, Tantibazar, Nawabpur):

Troops cordoned off the narrow lanes of Shankharibazar, blocked all exits, splashed petrol on residential homes, and set entire streets on fire. Civilians fleeing the inferno were cut down by machine-gun crossfire. Over 800 innocent civilians were slaughtered in Shankharibazar alone that night.

Murder of Lt. Commander Moazzem Hossain:

At 6:00 AM on March 26, soldiers surrounded the house of Agartala Case accused Lt. Cmdr. Moazzem Hossain near Elephant Road. Soldiers aimed rifles and ordered him: "Bol Pakistan Zindabad!" Moazzem defiantly raised his index finger and shouted: "Ek dofa zindabad!" (Long live the One Point—Independence!). He was shot dead on the spot.

The Arrest of Bangabandhu at Dhanmondi 32:

Commando units led by Lt. Col. Z.A. Khan stormed House 32 using rocket launchers. After killing armed guards, troops forced their way upstairs and arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at approximately 1:30 AM on March 26.

Brigade Major Jaffar announced the successful capture over the army wireless grid: *"Big bird in the cage... others not in their nests."*

8.7 The Declaration of Independence (March 26–27, 1971)

[6]

The declaration of independence unfolded through a precise chronological sequence of transmission and broadcast:

Bangabandhu's Original Declaration (Early Hours of March 26, 1971):

Just before his arrest, minutes after midnight on March 25/26, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman transmitted his official Declaration of Independence in English via an East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) wireless transmitter located in Dhaka:

"This may be my last message. From today Bangla Desh is independent. I call upon the people of Bangla Desh, wherever you are and with whatever you have, to resist the army of occupation to the last. Your fight must go on until the last soldier of the Pakistan occupation army is expelled from the soil of Bangla Desh and final victory is achieved."

The message was received at the EPR base in Chittagong, transcribed, mimeographed as leaflets, and distributed at dawn.

First Radio Broadcast by M.A. Hannan (March 26, 1971):

In the afternoon of March 26, at approximately 2:30 PM, M.A. Hannan, General Secretary of the Chittagong District Awami League, broadcast Bangabandhu's declaration of independence over Radio Chittagong (Agrabad station), and later from the Kalurghat transmission center.

The Historic Kalurghat Broadcasts by Major Ziaur Rahman (March 26–27, 1971):

On the evening of March 26 and again on March 27 at 7:30 PM, Major Ziaur Rahman of the 8th East Bengal Regiment broadcast the message of independence over the newly established Shadhin Bangla Betar Kendra at Kalurghat, Chittagong.

The Definitive Text of March 27:

"This is Shadhin Bangla Betar Kendra. I, Major Ziaur Rahman, at the direction of our great national leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, do hereby declare that the independent People's Republic of Bangladesh has been established... I call upon all to support the legal government of Bangladesh and resist the aggression of the Pakistan Army until final victory is achieved."

Historiographical Reconciliation of the Declaration:

As classroom lecture notes emphasize (Saba, p. 3; Faeiz, p. 30):

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the undisputed constitutional and political proclaimer of independence who transmitted the initial directive on March 26.

Major Ziaur Rahman's broadcast on March 27 ("on behalf of Bangabandhu") played an extraordinary, indispensable operational role: hearing a serving Bengali army major declare military revolt provided immediate psychological assurance to the civilian population that the armed forces had defected to the liberation struggle, galvanizing nationwide military recruitment.

CHAPTER 9: The Armed Liberation War, 1971 Genocide & Geopolitics

(March–December 1971)

Following the brutal onset of Operation Searchlight on the night of March 25, 1971, the struggle for Bangladesh unfolded simultaneously as an armed war of national liberation and a systematic campaign of genocide waged by the Pakistani military and its auxiliary collaborator apparatus.

9.1 Introduction

The nine-month military campaign conducted by the Pakistan Armed Forces in Bangladesh between March 25 and December 16, 1971, constitutes one of the darkest and most systematic genocides of the twentieth century. Far from an ordinary counter-insurgency operation or civil war violence, the Pakistani military executed a pre-planned ideological project to physically exterminate Bengali political leadership, exterminate the intellectual elite, systematically rape hundreds of thousands of women to alter the demographic character of the population, and terrorize the Hindu minority into permanent exile. This chapter analyzes the genocide through the 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention, draws upon Professor Rounaq Jahan’s foundational sociology of state violence, and details the collaborationist auxiliary apparatus.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence
Pakistani State Ideology: <i>Internal Enemy</i> — (Bengalis framed as <i>Hinduized</i>, sub-human & disloyal) ↓ Dual Targeting Matrix — (1. Bengali National Group 2. Bengali Hindu Minority) ↓ Phase 1: March Crackdown (Operation Searchlight) — (Urban assault; slaughter of DU students & police) ↓ Phase 2: Total Rural Scorched-Earth (April–Nov) — (Massacres, village burnings, 10M refugees to India) ↓ Phase 3: Systematic Weaponized Rape — (200,000–400,000 women violated; Birangonas) ↓ Phase 4: Decapitation of Intellectuals (Dec 14) — (Al-Badr massacres professors, doctors, journalists)
NOTES & CITATIONS
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2. MAIL/Genocide1971LectureSlides; BUX/Class11; Video05 Transcript
3. MAIL/Genocide1971LectureSlides; BUX/Class11; Saba Notes, p. 11; Faeiz Notes, p. 31
4. MAIL/Genocide1971LectureSlides; Saba Notes, p. 25, 28; Faeiz Notes, p. 34
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6. BUX/Class11; BUX/Transcripts/Video05; BUX/KamalHossainMakingoftheConstitutionCh09; Saba Notes, p. 3; Faeiz Notes, p. 29
7. BUX/Class11; BUX/LessonSummaryTheWarofIndependence; Video05 Transcript; Saba Notes, p. 3; Faeiz Notes, p. 29–30

8. BUX/Class11; BUX/Transcripts/Video05; Talukder Maniruzzaman, Ch. 5; Saba Notes, p. 3, 11; Faeiz Notes, p. 29–31

9. BUX/Class11; Saba Notes, p. 11, 23; Faeiz Notes, p. 32

10. BUX/Class11; BUX/Transcripts/Video05; Saba Notes, p. 15; Faeiz Notes, p. 32

11. BUX/Class11; BUX/Transcripts/Video05; Saba Notes, p. 15, 25; Faeiz Notes, p. 32–33

9.2 The Conceptual Framework: UN Genocide Convention & Rounaq Jahan's Analysis

[1]

The 1948 UN Genocide Convention Criteria:

Article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines genocide as acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.

Academic Classification: The 1971 atrocities completely fulfill all legal criteria of the Convention.

Professor Rounaq Jahan's Sociological Model:

In her seminal treatises (Genocide in Bangladesh and Pakistan: Failure in National Integration), Professor Rounaq Jahan elevates the analysis beyond emotional grievance into the structural logic of state behavior and elite perception:

Structural Exclusion: Decades of economic disparity and political denial generated an entrenched contempt within the Punjabi-dominated civil-military elite toward Bengalis.

Elite Dehumanization: West Pakistani officers viewed Bengalis not as citizens, but as an ethnically inferior, physically "effeminate," and culturally "deviant" population contaminated by Hinduism and Indian culture. Major General Rao Farman Ali famously wrote in his diary found at Government House Dhaka: "The green land of East Pakistan will be painted red."

Theological Legitimization (Baghawat): The military establishment and allied Islamist parties labeled Bengali democratic resistance as baghawat (treasonous rebellion against legitimate Islamic authority), transforming mass murder into a "defensive jihad" to "save Islam and Pakistan."

Anthony Mascarenhas's Landmark Expose:

On June 13, 1971, Pakistani journalist Anthony Mascarenhas (who had been invited by the military to write a whitewashed account of the war, but fled to London in horror) published a massive 16-page investigative report in The Sunday Times under the headline: "*GENOCIDE: The systematic, calculated slaughter of a nation.*"

Mascarenhas quoted Pakistani army officers boasting: "We are determined to kill up to three million Bengalis and clear out the Hindus to make this province pure!" The article shocked the conscience of the world and turned global opinion irreversibly against Pakistan.

9.3 Anatomy of Regional Massacres & The Refugee Catastrophe

[2]

Following Operation Searchlight, the Pakistani military expanded its killing operations into the rural interior of Bangladesh:

Major Documented Massacres:

Shankharibazar Massacre (Dhaka, March 26–27): Hundreds of Hindu artisans, conch-shell craftsmen, and families rounded up and executed with bayonets; area bulldozed.

Ramna Kali Mandir Massacre (Dhaka, March 27): Ancient Ramna Kali Temple blown up with gunpowder; over 250 Hindu priests, devotees, and residents murdered.

Jinjira Massacre (Keraniganj, April 2): Over 1,000 to 2,000 civilians who had fled Dhaka and gathered across the Buriganga River in Jinjira were encircled and slaughtered by artillery shelling and machine-gun fire over twelve hours.

Akhira Massacre (Dinajpur, April 17): Over 100 Hindu refugees promised safe transit to India were lined up along a canal bank near Baraihat and executed by machine-gun bursts.

Muzaffarabad Massacre (Patiya, Chittagong, May 3): Over 300 Hindu villagers tested by forced recitation of the Islamic Kalma; those failing were executed on the spot.

Chuknagar Massacre (Khulna, May 20): The single largest one-day massacre of the war. Thousands of fleeing refugees gathered at the river port of Chuknagar were ambushed by a Pakistani army convoy firing light machine guns. Independent researchers estimate between 8,000 and 10,000 innocent people were murdered within five hours, their bodies dumped into the Bhadra River.

The 10 Million Refugee Crisis:

Between April and November 1971, over 10 million citizens of Bangladesh (approximately 14% of the entire population) fled across international borders into India as destitute refugees, walking hundreds of miles through rain and mud.

West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, and Meghalaya housed the refugees in squalid tent camps (Salt Lake Camp, Agartala). Millions suffered from malnutrition, exposure, and a devastating cholera epidemic.

Financial Reality (Classroom Focus: Saba Notes, p. 11): The immense financial burden was borne primarily by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and international humanitarian donations, rather than India's national treasury alone, though the demographic influx threatened India's regional social stability.

9.4 Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War (Birangonas)

[3]

Systematic State-Sanctioned Rape:

Sexual violence in 1971 was not the incidental excess of rogue soldiers; it was deployed as a deliberate military weapon of state terror. Military commanders established formalized rape camps inside cantonments, dak bungalows, and administrative circuits.

The Human Scale:

Independent researchers, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and the Government of Bangladesh estimate that between 200,000 and 400,000 women and young girls were subjected to brutal, repeated gang rape by Pakistani soldiers and local collaborators. Thousands died in captivity; over 25,000 were impregnated.

The Title of "Birangona" (War Heroine):

In 1972, Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared that violated women must not be stigmatized by society, bestowing upon them the official title of "Birangona" (War Heroine), declaring: *"I am their father, and Dhanmondi 32 is their address!"*

Literary works such as Nilima Ibrahim's *Ami Birangana Bolchi* (I, The War Heroine, Speak) and the life of sculptor Ferdousi Priyabhashini brought the raw, harrowing reality of their torture into national consciousness.

9.5 Auxiliary Collaborator Formations: Ideology & Structure

[4]

The Pakistan Army could not have operated across the vast riverine delta without local auxiliary collaborators who spoke the local language, knew local topography, and identified pro-liberation targets:



The Peace Committees (Shanti Committee):

Formed on April 9, 1971, by pro-Pakistan politicians (led by Ghulam Azam of Jamaat-e-Islami, Khwaja Khairuddin of Council Muslim League, and Moulvi Farid Ahmad of Nizam-e-Islam).

Provided political legitimacy to the military, organized pro-Pakistan rallies, compiled hit-lists of Awami League activists and Hindus, and distributed looted properties to collaborators.

The Razakar Force:

Formalized under the East Pakistan Razakar Ordinance of September 1971 promulgated by Governor Tikka Khan. Recruited from Bihari refugee communities and right-wing Muslim League sympathizers. Provided perimeter guards, manned checkpoints, guided army columns through rural marshes, and looted villages.

Al-Badr (The Ideological Death Squads):

Formed under the direct patronage of Major General Rao Farman Ali and Pakistani intelligence.

Composition: Recruited almost exclusively from the Islami Chhatra Sangha (the student wing of Jamaat-e-Islami, now known as Islami Chhatra Shibir), led by Ali Ahsan Mohammad Mojaheed, Motiur Rahman Nizami, and Chowdhury Mueen-Uddin.

Mission: Functioned as an elite ideological death squad tasked with intelligence gathering, surveillance, and the systematic liquidation of secular Bengali intellectuals.

Al-Shams:

Recruited from conservative madrasa students and orthodox Islamic groups, tasked with protecting communication bridges and logistical infrastructure from Mukti Bahini sabotage.

Classroom Historiographical Nuance: Coercion & Double Agents (Saba Notes, p. 28; Faeiz Notes, p. 34):

Student lecture notes capture an essential analytical distinction:

While the leadership of Al-Badr and the Shanti Committee were ideologically committed war criminals, many ordinary rural citizens joined local Peace Committees under extreme duress: if a local village chairman refused to form a committee, the Pakistan Army razed the entire village.

Multiple classroom anecdotes document individuals who joined Peace Committees strategically as "double agents"—using their official passes to warn villagers of imminent army sweeps, hide Hindu neighbors, provide rations to Mukti Bahini squads, and issue false identity cards (such as the father of former Chief Justice S.K. Sinha).

9.6 December 14: Martyred Intellectuals Day (Shaheed Buddhijibi Dibosh)

[5]

The Plan to Decapitate the Future Nation:

By early December 1971, with the Indian Army and Mukti Bahini encircling Dhaka and Pakistani defeat imminent, the military command executed a sinister contingency plan: to systematically kidnap and execute East Bengal's foremost professors, playwrights, doctors, journalists, and engineers, ensuring that an independent Bangladesh would emerge intellectually paralyzed, crippled, and deprived of leadership.

The Black Clay-Covered Microbuses of Al-Badr:

Between December 10 and December 14, 1971, curfew was clamped down across Dhaka. Masked Al-Badr operatives (guided by Chowdhury Mueen-Uddin and Ashrafuz Zaman Khan), riding in black microbuses with mud smeared on license plates, systematically dragged intellectuals from their homes at midnight.

The Prominent Martyrs:

Prof. Munier Choudhury: Acclaimed playwright, literary critic, and Professor of Bengali at Dhaka University. Abducted from his Green Road residence on December 14; murdered.

Prof. Mufazzal Haider Chaudhury: Renowned scholar and linguist of Dhaka University. Abducted from his home on December 14; executed.

Shahidullah Kaiser: Famous novelist (Sangsaptak) and journalist; abducted from his residence on December 14; body never recovered.

Dr. Mohammad Fazle Rabbee: Eminent cardiologist, Professor of Medicine at Dhaka Medical College; had secretly treated injured freedom fighters; abducted December 15; body found with chest cut open.

Dr. A.F.M. Alim Chowdhury: Leading ophthalmologist; abducted and murdered.

Prof. Santosh Chandra Bhattacharya: Senior History Lecturer, University of Dhaka.

Sirajul Haque Khan: Senior Lecturer in Education, University of Dhaka; body recovered in Mirpur.

Selina Parvin: Courageous female journalist and editor of Shilalipi; murdered.

Nizamuddin Ahmed: Senior journalist and BBC correspondent.

The Slaughterhouses of Rayerbazar & Mirpur:

Captives were blindfolded, hands tied behind their backs with ropes, transported to the Physical Training Institute in Mohammadpur (Al-Badr headquarters), tortured with bayonets and blowtorches, and taken to the brick kilns of Rayerbazar and the swamps of Mirpur.

Following liberation on December 16–18, search parties discovered massive piles of decomposing bodies—blindfolded, eyes gouged out, chests pierced by bayonets. December 14 is observed annually as Martyred Intellectuals Day (Shaheed Buddhijibi Dibosh).

10.1 Introduction

The military onslaught of Operation Searchlight transformed the Bengali autonomy movement into an all-out, nine-month armed War of National Liberation (Muktijuddho). The struggle was prosecuted through a sophisticated dual structure: on the political front, the Mujibnagar Government established constitutional legitimacy, conducted international diplomacy, and directed state affairs; on the military front, the Mukti Bahini—comprising regular army defectors, specialized brigades, rural guerrilla squads, and daring urban commandos—waged asymmetric warfare that shattered the Pakistani occupation. This chapter analyzes the military command architecture, the cultural mobilization, the geopolitical chess game between Cold War superpowers, and the final 14-day joint blitzkrieg leading to the historic surrender on December 16, 1971.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

April 10/17, 1971: Mujibnagar Government Formed — (Syed Nazrul Islam, Tajuddin Ahmad, Col. Osmani)
↓
Military Architecture: 11 Sectors & 3 Brigades — (Z-Force: Zia | K-Force: Khaled | S-Force: Shafiullah)
↓
Guerilla Warfare & Urban Sabotage — (Mukti Bahini, Crack Platoon, Operation Jackpot)
↓
Superpower Geopolitics & Cold War Maneuvers — (Indo-Soviet Treaty vs. US-China *Tilt to Pakistan*)
↓
Dec 3-16, 1971: Joint Command Blitzkrieg — (Mitro Bahini & Mukti Bahini encircle Dhaka)
↓
Dec 16, 1971: Unconditional Surrender — (Niazi surrenders 93,000 troops to Aurora at Race Course)

10.2 The Mujibnagar Government: Institutional & Constitutional Legitimacy

[6]

The Proclamation of Independence (April 10, 1971):

Following their perilous escape across the Indian border, elected members of the National and Provincial Assemblies (MNAs and MPAs) gathered to constitute themselves into the sovereign Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh.

On April 10, 1971, the Assembly adopted the historic Proclamation of Independence (drafted by Barrister Amir-ul Islam), confirming Bangabandhu's March 26 declaration and declaring Bangladesh a sovereign People's Republic based on Equality, Human Dignity, and Social Justice.

The Swearing-In at Baidyanathtala (April 17, 1971):

On April 17, 1971, in a mango grove at Baidyanathtala (renamed Mujibnagar) in Meherpur, Kushtia, surrounded by foreign correspondents and guarded by a guard of honor from the EPR and police under Mahbubuddin Ahmed, the first Government of Bangladesh took the formal oath of office.

Cabinet Composition:

President of the Republic: Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (in absentia, imprisoned in Mianwali Jail, West Pakistan).

Vice-President & Acting President: Syed Nazrul Islam (exercised presidential powers).

Prime Minister: Tajuddin Ahmad (the administrative mastermind of the war effort).

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Law & Parliamentary Affairs: Khondakar Mushtaq Ahmad (who secretly conspired with US diplomats in Calcutta to subvert independence).

Minister of Finance, Commerce & Industries: M. Mansur Ali.

Minister of Home, Relief & Rehabilitation: A.H.M. Qamruzzaman.

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces: Colonel (later General) M.A.G. Osmani.

Chief of Staff: Lt. Col. M.A. Rab; Deputy C-in-C: Group Captain A.K. Khandker.

Historiographical Controversy: Sharmin Ahmad's Neta O Pita & The March 25 Directive Vacuum:

The Critical Narrative: In her controversial memoir Neta O Pita, Sharmin Ahmad (eldest daughter of Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad), supported by classroom lecture accounts (Saba Notes, p. 3; Faeiz Notes, p. 29), records that on the night of March 25, 1971, Tajuddin Ahmad went to Dhanmondi 32 with a tape recorder, a draft proclamation of independence, and an operational directive for an interim underground government.

According to this account, Bangabandhu declined to record the message or sign the operational plan, allegedly had his personal luggage packed, and provided no written chain of command for armed warfare. Tajuddin Ahmad was left to cross into India alone and construct the entire wartime state machinery from scratch.

The Official Awami League Counter-Perspective: Pro-Awami League historians argue that Bangabandhu's decision to stay was a supreme act of political martyrdom designed to prevent the Pakistan Army from completely incinerating Dhaka looking for him, and that his March 7 address had already provided total strategic directives ("Make every home a fortress... Resist with whatever you have").

10.3 Military Command Architecture: 11 Sectors & Regular Brigades

[7]

In July 1971, at the historic Sector Commanders' Conference convened in Kolkata under C-in-C Colonel M.A.G. Osmani and Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad, the entire operational territory of Bangladesh was divided into Eleven Military Sectors:

Table 10.1: The Eleven Operational Sectors of Muktijuddho

Sector	Operational Geographic Area	Sector Commander(s)
Sector 1	Chittagong District, Chittagong Hill Tracts, and Feni river belt	Major Ziaur Rahman (until June); Major Rafiqul Islam
Sector 2	Dhaka, Comilla, Faridpur, and parts of Noakhali	Major Khaled Mosharraf (wounded in Oct); Major A.T.M. Haider
Sector 3	Sylhet (Habiganj), Kishoreganj, Brahmanbaria	Major K.M. Shafiullah; Major A.N.M. Nuruzzaman
Sector 4	Sylhet Eastern frontier (Habiganj to Kanaighat)	Major C.R. Dutta (Chitta Ranjan Dutta)
Sector 5	Sylhet Northern border (Sunamganj to Durgapur)	Major Mir Shawkat Ali
Sector 6	Rangpur District and Dinajpur	Wing Commander M. Khademul Bashar
Sector 7	Rajshahi, Pabna, Bogra, and southern Dinajpur	Major Nazmul Huq (died in accident); Major Quazi Nuruzzaman
Sector 8	Kushtia, Jessore, Khulna, and Faridpur northern	Major Abu Osman Chowdhury; Major M.A. Manzur
Sector 9	Barisal, Patuakhali, and parts of Khulna and Faridpur	Major M.A. Jalil; Major M.A. Beg
Sector 10	Naval Sector (Internal river ports, coastal waters, high seas)	Directly under C-in-C Naval Command (HQ Kolkata; no single commander)
Sector 11	Mymensingh (Tangail, Jamalpur, Sherpur)	Major M. Abu Taher (lost leg in Nov); Squadron Leader M. Hamidullah Khan

10.4 Regular Brigades, Specialized Commandos & Independent Bahinis

[8]

The Three Regular Brigade Forces:

Formed in mid-1971 from defected East Bengal Regiment battalions, named after their commanders' initial letters:

"Z-Force": Commanded by Major Ziaur Rahman (1st, 3rd, and 8th East Bengal Regiments). Fought in Sylhet, Telidhala, and Nakshi border outposts.

"K-Force": Commanded by Major Khaled Mosharraf (4th, 9th, and 10th East Bengal Regiments). Fought in Comilla, Belonia, and Chittagong.

"S-Force": Commanded by Major K.M. Shafiullah (2nd and 11th East Bengal Regiments). Fought in Mymensingh, Sylhet, and Kishoreganj.

The Dhaka Crack Platoon (Urban Guerrilla Warfare):

Formed under Sector 2 (Khaled Mosharraf and A.T.M. Haider), drawing elite university students and young intellectuals: Shafi Imam Rumi (son of Jahanara Imam, author of *Ekattorer Dinguli*), Badiul Alam (Badi), Fateh Ali Chowdhury, Mofazzal Hossain Chowdhury Maya, and Shahadat Chowdhury.

Conducted daring commando raids inside occupied Dhaka: bombing the Hotel Intercontinental (stunning World Bank delegations), blowing up power sub-stations, assassinating collaborators, and paralyzing occupation morale.

Operation Jackpot (August 15, 1971) — Naval Sabotage:

The most spectacular commando operation of the war. Over 148 trained naval commandos (trained secretly on the Bhagirathi River in India under Indian Navy instructors) swam underwater with limpet mines strapped to their chests in the dead of night.

At exactly 1:15 AM on August 15, commandos struck simultaneously in Chittagong Port, Mongla Port, Narayanganj, and Chandpur.

Result: Sank over 26 Pakistani merchant supply ships, gunboats, and barges totaling 30,000 tons of munitions, blocking shipping channels and cutting off the Pakistan Army's sea supply lines to West Pakistan.

Independent Regional Bahinis:

Kaderia Bahini: Led by Bongobir Abdul Kader Siddique ("Tiger Siddique") in the Tangail-Madhupur forest belt. Commanded an autonomous army of over 17,000 local guerrillas, capturing Pakistani ammunition fleets on the Jamuna River. (Classroom Note: Student notes mention local controversies regarding his pre-war reputation as a dacoit/rebel, but highlight his unmatched wartime bravery).

Hemayet Bahini: Led by Hemayet Uddin in Faridpur/Gopalganj.

Afsar Bahini: Led by Major Afsaruddin in Bhaluka, Mymensingh.

Female Participation & The Gobra Camp:

Two heroic women were awarded the military title of Bir Protik: Captain Dr. Sitara Begum (commanded the Bangladesh Field Hospital at Bishalgarh, Sector 2) and Taramon Bibi (fought with rifles and gathered intelligence under Sector 11 in Kurigram).

In Kolkata, the Gobra Camp was established under Syeda Sajeda Chowdhury to provide military drill, civil defense, nursing, and first-aid training to hundreds of female freedom fighters.

"Romantic Guerrillas" vs. Regular Mukti Bahini (Talukder Maniruzzaman's Critique):

Professor Talukder Maniruzzaman (*The Bangladesh Revolution and Its Aftermath*) and classroom lectures (Saba Notes, p. 11; Faeiz Notes, p. 30–31) analyze an essential wartime dynamic:

Following the March crackdown, thousands of passionate, untrained teenage boys ("Romantic Guerrillas") formed spontaneous groups and staged ill-planned hit-and-run attacks on Pakistani outposts.

The Backlash: Because these romantic squads lacked tactical discipline or defense depth, the Pakistan Army easily repelled them and subsequently wiped out entire surrounding villages in retaliatory massacres.

Furthermore, Indian training camps initially maintained a rigid political screening process managed by the Awami League youth wing (Sheikh Fazlul Haque Moni and the Mujib Bahini / BLF), rejecting non-Awami League or leftist applicants. Only after the casualty toll rose did regular Mukti Bahini recruiters open broad, non-partisan enlistment to the general peasantry.

10.5 The Cultural & Psychological War: Shadhin Bangla Betar Kendra

[9]

The Voice of Free Bengal:

Established initially at Kalurghat on March 26, the radio station relocated to Kolkata (57/8 Ballygunge Circular Road), broadcasting on shortwave transmitters to sustain the psychological endurance of 75 million occupied citizens.

M.R. Akhter Mukul's Chorompottro:

The most famous broadcast of the war, written and narrated in sharp, satirical Old Dhaka dialect by M.R. Akhter Mukul. Mukul ridiculed the cowardice of Yahya Khan, Tikka Khan, and "Niazi-Biazi," while using clever double entendres and coded Bengali proverbs to transmit secret tactical intelligence to Mukti Bahini squads behind enemy lines.

Songs of Liberation:

Patriotic anthems broadcast daily—"Mora Ekti Phulke Bachabo Bole Juddho Kori" (Apel Mahmood), "Purbo Digonte Shurjo Uthechhe" (Samar Das), "Joy Bangla Banglar Joy"—galvanized fighters in muddy trenches across the delta.

10.6 Cold War Geopolitics: Superpower Rivalry & The Tilt to Pakistan

[10]

The 1971 war erupted during the height of Cold War polarization, transforming Bangladesh into a pivotal theater of superpower competition:

The Soviet Union (USSR):

Strategic Alliance: The USSR provided unyielding diplomatic and military backing to India and Bangladesh.

Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation (August 9, 1971): Signed in New Delhi between Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Swaran Singh. The treaty stipulated that an attack on either nation would be considered an attack on both, effectively shielding India from Chinese military intervention on its northern border.

The UN Security Council Vetoes (December 4, 5, 13, 1971): When the United States tabled resolutions demanding an immediate ceasefire and troop withdrawal (which would have trapped the Mukti Bahini and saved the Pakistan Army), Soviet Ambassador Yakov Malik exercised the Soviet VETO three consecutive times, buying precious time for the Joint Command to encircle Dhaka.

The United States (The Nixon-Kissinger "Tilt to Pakistan"):

President Richard Nixon and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger maintained an aggressive pro-Pakistan policy.

The Motive: The Secret Opening to China: General Yahya Khan was serving as Nixon and Kissinger's secret diplomatic backchannel to establish diplomatic relations with Chairman Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. Kissinger had secretly traveled from Rawalpindi to Beijing in July 1971 (Operation Beverly). Nixon viewed Yahya as an indispensable ally and refused to criticize the genocide.

The Archer Blood "Dissent Telegram" (April 6, 1971): US Consul General in Dhaka, Archer Blood, along with 29 consulate staff members, sent a historic formal dissent telegram to Washington, denouncing the atrocities as "selective genocide" and criticizing the US government for "failing to denounce what is in effect a reign of

terror." Nixon and Kissinger retaliated by instantly recalling Blood and banishing him to minor diplomatic posts.

Task Force 74 & The 7th Fleet (December 10, 1971): In a desperate effort to intimidate India, Nixon dispatched the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS Enterprise and the US 7th Fleet into the Bay of Bengal. The maneuver was neutralized when the Soviet Pacific Fleet deployed nuclear-armed submarines to shadow the American battle group.

The People's Republic of China:

Maintained an alliance with Pakistan, denouncing the liberation war as "Indian expansionism" and "Soviet social-imperialism." However, warned by Soviet troop deployments on the Sino-Soviet border and facing heavy winter snows in Himalayan passes, Beijing chose not to intervene militarily.

Global Civil Society: The Concert for Bangladesh (August 1, 1971):

Organized by former Beatle George Harrison and Indian sitar maestro Pandit Ravi Shankar at Madison Square Garden, New York City.

Attended by 40,000 people and featuring Bob Dylan, Eric Clapton, Ringo Starr, and Joan Baez ("Song of Bangladesh"). The concert raised millions for UNICEF refugee relief and shattered American official propaganda, placing the human suffering of Bangladesh onto front pages globally.

10.7 The 14-Day Joint Blitzkrieg & The Historic Surrender (Dec 3–16, 1971)

[11]

Pakistan's Fatal Gamble (December 3, 1971):

Facing imminent strangulation in East Pakistan, General Yahya Khan ordered pre-emptive airstrikes against Indian Air Force bases in western India (Punjab, Rajasthan, Agra) on the afternoon of December 3, 1971.

India formally declared war. The Indian Armed Forces and the Mukti Bahini unified under the Joint Command (Mitro Bahini), commanded by Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora (GOC-in-C, Eastern Command).

The Lightning Blitzkrieg Across the Delta:

The Joint Command executed a brilliant military doctrine of rapid maneuver warfare: instead of engaging fortified Pakistani defensive strongpoints (fortress doctrine), Indian armored columns and Mukti Bahini squads bypassed cities, using river flotillas and air bridges to cross major deltaic rivers (Meghna Heli-lift).

On December 11, the 2nd Indian Parachute Battalion dropped at Tangail, linking with Kaderia Bahini guerrillas and advancing directly on Dhaka.

Classroom Anecdotes: Yahya's Denial & Superstition (Saba Notes, p. 15, 25; Faeiz Notes, p. 33):

Student lecture notes record vivid insider vignettes:

On December 12, as Indian paratroopers closed in on Dhaka, General Yahya Khan in Islamabad was paralyzed by superstitious dread: a black vulture landed on the hood of his presidential staff car, which astrologers told him signaled the loss of an empire.

On the evening of December 15, as Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi desperately telephoned GHQ Rawalpindi pleading for ceasefire terms, Yahya Khan was heavily intoxicated, reportedly calling legendary singer Noor Jehan to sing him classical ghazals while eastern Pakistan collapsed.

The Signing of the Instrument of Surrender (December 16, 1971):

At 4:31 PM on Thursday, December 16, 1971, at the Dhaka Race Course Maidan (where Bangabandhu had delivered his 7th March address), Lieutenant General Amir Abdullah Khan (A.A.K.) Niazi, Commander of Eastern Command, signed the unconditional Instrument of Surrender before Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

Over 93,000 Pakistani soldiers and auxiliary personnel surrendered as prisoners of war—the largest military capitulation in the world since World War II.

The Absence of General M.A.G. Osmani (Classroom Insight: Saba Notes, p. 25; Faeiz Notes, p. 33): C-in-C Colonel M.A.G. Osmani was not present at the surrender table. Classroom lectures clarify that while en route from Sylhet, Osmani's helicopter was fired upon with blanks or diverted by Indian coordination officers due to airspace congestion and diplomatic protocols, leaving Major A.T.M. Haider (Sector 2) as the sole senior Bangladeshi military officer present beside Aurora and Niazi.

Bangladesh emerged on the world map as a free, sovereign, and independent nation!

CHAPTER 11: Constitution Making, State Principles & Institutional Design (1972–1973)

11.1 Introduction

The emergence of an independent Bangladesh on December 16, 1971, presented the formidable challenge of transitioning from an armed revolutionary movement into a functional constitutional democracy. Unlike many post-colonial African and Asian nations that remained paralyzed for decades without a constitutional charter (or Pakistan, which took nine agonizing years to frame its first constitution), Bangladesh drafted, debated, and promulgated one of the most progressive and egalitarian constitutions in modern history within less than ten months. Guided by the Four Fundamental Principles of State Policy ("Mujibbad") and drafted under the chairmanship of Dr. Kamal Hossain, the 1972 Constitution established a Westminster-style parliamentary republic committed to social transformation, while embedding complex institutional safeguards (such as Article 70) and reflecting contentious debates over national identity.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

- Jan 10, 1972: Bangabandhu Returns to Dhaka — (Flown via British RAF Comet from London & Delhi)
- ↓
- Jan 11, 1972: Provisional Constitution Order — (Transits from Presidential to Westminster Parliamentary System)
- ↓
- March-April 1972: Constituent Assembly Formed — (34-member Drafting Committee headed by Dr. Kamal Hossain)
- ↓
- The Four Fundamental Pillars of *Mujibbad* — (Nationalism | Socialism | Democracy | Secularism)
- ↓
- Institutional Safeguards & Debates — (Article 70 Floor-Crossing; M.N. Larma CHT Dissent)
- ↓
- Dec 16, 1972: Constitution Enacted — (Handwritten by Abdur Rouf; illustrated by Zainul Abedin)

NOTES & CITATIONS

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- Kamal Hossain, Ch. 9, pp. 16–17; Saba Notes, p. 10; Faeiz Notes, p. 41; Syllabus Topic 19

11.2 The Homecoming of Bangabandhu (January 10, 1972)

[1]

Release from Pakistan (January 8, 1972):

Under immense international diplomatic pressure (especially from the Soviet Union, India, and the United States), newly installed Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto unconditionally released Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from Mianwali prison in the early morning of January 8, 1972.

The Diplomatic Journey: London to New Delhi to Dhaka:

Bhutto attempted to orchestrate a handover via Iran, but Bangabandhu refused. Bhutto then secretly put Mujib aboard a commercial aircraft to London.

Preserving Sovereign Independence (Classroom Focus: Saba Notes, p. 28): In London, Bangabandhu held historic press conferences at Claridge's Hotel and met British Prime Minister Edward Heath. When Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi offered an Indian commercial airliner to fly him home, Bangabandhu politely declined, insisting on flying aboard a Royal Air Force (RAF) Comet jet provided by the British government. This was a calculated diplomatic move to demonstrate to the global community that the Father of the Nation was arriving in Dhaka as the sovereign leader of an independent republic, rather than an Indian protégé.

After a brief stopover at New Delhi on the morning of January 10 (where he was warmly received by President V.V. Giri and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi), Bangabandhu's RAF jet landed at Tejgaon Airport, Dhaka, at 2:30 PM on January 10, 1972. Over two million weeping citizens lined the roads to welcome him back to his liberated Sonar Bangla.

11.3 The Provisional Constitution Order (January 11, 1972)

[2]

Shifting to Parliamentary Democracy:

The Mujibnagar Proclamation of Independence (April 10, 1971) had established a presidential form of government. However, as Dr. Kamal Hossain analyzes in Chapter 9 of his memoirs, Bengali political aspirations had spent twenty-four years fighting against arbitrary executive Governor-Generals and dictatorial Presidents (Ghulam Muhammad, Iskander Mirza, Ayub Khan).

On January 11, 1972, Bangabandhu promulgated the Provisional Constitution Order of Bangladesh:

Transformed Bangladesh into a Westminster-style Parliamentary Democracy.

Executive authority was vested in a Cabinet of Ministers headed by a Prime Minister collectively responsible to the legislature.

The President became the titular, constitutional Head of State.

Swearing-In of State Leadership:

Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury (former Dhaka University Vice-Chancellor who had resigned in protest against Operation Searchlight and mobilized global diplomacy) was sworn in as President.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman resigned from the presidency and took oath as Prime Minister on January 12, 1972.

Dr. Kamal Hossain was appointed Minister of Law and Parliamentary Affairs, tasked with the historic mission of drafting the permanent constitution.

11.4 The 34-Member Constitution Drafting Committee

[3]

Promulgation of the Constituent Assembly Order (March 23, 1972):

President’s Order No. 22 of 1972 convened the Constituent Assembly of Bangladesh (Ganaparishad), comprising 403 living members elected in the December 1970 national and provincial elections.

Composition of the Drafting Committee (Formed April 11, 1972):

Chaired by Dr. Kamal Hossain (Minister for Law).

Total Members: 34 members:

33 members from the ruling Awami League (including Amir-ul Islam, Syed Nazrul Islam, Tajuddin Ahmad, Abdur Rouf).

01 opposition member: Suranjit Sengupta (representing the National Awami Party / NAP-Muzaffar).

01 female member: Begum Razia Banu.

The Legislative Miracle:

The committee convened 74 intensive sittings, reviewed hundreds of international constitutions, held public hearings, and submitted the draft Constitution Bill to the Assembly on October 12, 1972.

The Constituent Assembly formally passed the Constitution on November 4, 1972 (National Constitution Day).

The Constitution came into force on December 16, 1972—exactly on the first anniversary of Liberation Day.

Suranjit Sengupta’s Lone Dissent: Suranjit Sengupta signed the final document with notes of dissent regarding the socialist property clauses and executive emergency powers, while all 33 Awami League members signed unanimously.

Artistic & Calligraphic Heritage:

The Bengali text was calligraphed entirely by hand by Abdur Rouf, while every page was illuminated and illustrated under the supervision of Shilpacharya Zainul Abedin.

11.5 The Four Fundamental Principles of State Policy ("Mujibbad")

[4]

The Preamble and Part II of the 1972 Constitution established four foundational pillars, collectively termed Mujibbad (Mujibism):

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

The 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh — (Four Fundamental State Pillars / Mujibbad)

↓

1. NATIONALISM (Article 9) — Linguistic-Cultural Identity of Bengalis

↓

2. SOCIALISM (Article 10 & 13) — Exploitation-Free Society; Public Ownership

↓

3. DEMOCRACY (Article 11) — Universal Franchise; Human Rights; Separation of Powers

↓

4. SECULARISM (Article 12) — Elimination of Communalism & Political Abuse of Religion

Nationalism (Article 9):

The Constitutional Definition: Bengali nationalism was defined as unity derived from a shared language, secular culture, geography, and the common historical memory of the liberation struggle.

The Contested Debate on Indigenous Rights (Classroom Focus: Saba Notes, p. 1; Faeiz Notes, p. 25; Kamal Hossain, p. 9):

Article 6(2) originally declared: "The citizens of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangalees."

Manabendra Narayan Larma (M.N. Larma), an elected independent member from the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) representing the Chakma community, passionately protested on the Assembly floor on October 25, 1972:

"I am a Chakma. A Santhal can never be a Bangali; a Garo can never be a Bangali. I am a citizen of Bangladesh, but my ethnic identity is distinct. You cannot impose Bangali national identity upon non-Bangali indigenous peoples!"

Larma walked out of the Assembly. Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman dismissed these ethnic objections, telling tribal delegations: "Forget your tribal identities; you all become Bangalis!" This failure to accommodate ethnic minorities sowed the seeds of the subsequent armed insurgency in the CHT (led by the Shanti Bahini).

Socialism (Articles 10, 13, and 14):

The Vision: Building a just, egalitarian society free from the "exploitation of man by man."

Three Sectors of Ownership (Article 13): State ownership, cooperative ownership, and limited private ownership.

Ideological Clash: Democratic Socialism vs. Scientific Socialism (Saba Notes, p. 5, 16; Faeiz Notes, p. 37–38):

Bangabandhu advocated democratic socialism inspired by the British Labour Party, the welfare state, Soviet planning, and Fidel Castro—seeking economic redistribution through parliamentary legislation and state nationalization.

Conversely, radical dissident youth led by Sirajul Alam Khan, Col. Abu Taher, and Major M.A. Jalil broke away from the Awami League in late 1972 to form the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD), demanding "Scientific Socialism" (Baigyanik Samajtantra). JSD demanded a classless society, immediate abolition of private property, and a "people's army" without military ranks ("Sainik-Officer Bhai Bhai"). (Classroom note draws structural parallels between radical military abolition and Khmer Rouge / Pol Pot ideology).

Democracy (Article 11):

Guaranteed universal adult franchise, fundamental human rights, freedom of thought, conscience, speech, press, and assembly, and judicial review under Article 102. Mandated the progressive separation of the judiciary from the executive branch.

Secularism (Article 12):

The Four Operative Tenets of Article 12:

- (a) Elimination of communalism in all its forms;
- (b) Prohibition of the granting by the state of political status in favor of any religion;
- (c) Elimination of the abuse of religion for political purposes;
- (d) Complete elimination of discrimination against persons practicing any particular faith.

Article 38 explicitly banned all political parties based on religion, disqualifying Jamaat-e-Islami, Muslim League, and Nizam-e-Islam from participating in democratic politics.

Bangabandhu's Defense to President Gaddafi (Algiers, 1973):

When Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi asked Bangabandhu at the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit why Bangladesh had embraced secularism instead of an Islamic republic, Bangabandhu eloquently replied:

"Our secularism is not anti-religious. Secularism means religious harmony and tolerance. The opening verse of the Holy Quran describes Allah as Rabb-al-Alamin (Lord of all Creation / all worlds), not Rabb-al-Muslimin (Lord of Muslims alone). This universal harmony is the true spirit of our secularism."

Diplomatic Realism & OIC Membership (1974): Despite secular constitutional provisions, Bangladesh's economic devastation required reconstruction capital and oil imports from the Middle East. Mediated by the Emir of Qatar, Bangabandhu attended the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Summit in Lahore in February 1974, securing diplomatic recognition from Arab nations and normalization with Pakistan.

11.6 Article 70: The Anti-Floor Crossing Mandate

[5]

The Constitutional Text of Article 70:

"A person elected as a member of Parliament at an election at which he was nominated as a candidate by a political party shall vacate his seat if he— (a) resigns from that party; or (b) votes in Parliament against that party; but shall not thereby be disqualified for subsequent election as a member of Parliament."

The Historical Rationale:

As Dr. Kamal Hossain documents, no article evoked more heated debate in the Drafting Committee. The clause was insisted upon directly by Bangabandhu based on the bitter parliamentary lessons of the 1950s:

Following the 1954 United Front election, corrupt horse-trading, bribery, and floor-crossing defections led to the rise and fall of five unstable provincial ministries in four years.

Bangabandhu recounted how in 1955–58, party leaders had to guard the front door of the MPs' hostel to prevent members from being bribed with ministerial portfolios by West Pakistani agents, while defectors slipped out the back door.

Exceptions to Article 70:

As detailed in classroom lectures (Saba Notes, p. 10; Faeiz Notes, p. 41):

Independent MPs (not nominated by any political party) are completely exempt.

If a political party has only one MP in Parliament, that single MP is exempt from floor-crossing penalties since no party caucus exists.

MPs who are critically ill or traveling abroad may abstain from voting with formal permission from the Speaker.

Critical Analytical Impact on Governance:

While Article 70 successfully guaranteed cabinet stability and prevented corrupt floor-crossing, it had a profound downside: it destroyed backbench parliamentary debate, eliminated intra-party dissent, concentrated absolute power in the hands of the Prime Minister, and transformed Members of Parliament into voting rubber-stamps for the executive.

CHAPTER 12: Early Days, Crises & Regimes (1972–1975)

12.1 Introduction

The newborn state of Bangladesh inherited a completely war-devastated territory characterized by massive infrastructure ruin, a depleted treasury, 10 million displaced returnees, armed political factions, and profound economic trauma. While the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman achieved remarkable immediate milestones—including the swift repatriation of refugees, rapid withdrawal of Indian military units, and international diplomatic recognition—the regime soon became entangled in deepening structural crises: civil-military factionalism, radical left-wing insurgencies, the controversial deployment of the Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini, the catastrophic 1974 famine, and endemic administrative corruption.

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

Jan-March 1972: Early Nation-Building Triumphs — (10M refugees resettled; Indian Army withdrawn by March 17)
↓
Civil-Military Frictions & Institutional Fractures — (Shafiullah over Zia; Muktijoddhas vs Repatriated officers)
↓
Rise of Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini (JRB) — (Parallel paramilitary; Indian-trained; human rights excesses)
↓
Radical Left Insurgencies — (Siraj Sikdar's Sarbahara & JSD's Biplobi Gonobahini)
↓
The 1974 Man-Made Famine — (Monsoon floods + Cuba jute dispute + US food aid cut off)
↓
Dec 1974 - Jan 1975: Descent into Authoritarianism — (Stage set for BAKSAL)

NOTES & CITATIONS

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5. BUX/Lecture11; WHATSAPP/PoliticalDevelopment19721975Slides; Saba Notes, p. 2; Faeiz Notes, p. 49; Fariha Notes, p. 3

12.2 Early Nation-Building Triumphs (1972–1973)

[1]

Refugee Resettlement:

Within five months of liberation, all 10 million refugees who had fled to India were successfully repatriated, transported to their home villages, and provided with emergency rations, averting a second humanitarian disaster.

Swift Withdrawal of the Indian Armed Forces:

In standard post-colonial and liberation history, foreign allied armies that liberate a territory frequently remain as occupying garrisons for years.

Indira Gandhi's "Birthday Gift": Following direct negotiations between Bangabandhu and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the entire Indian Armed Forces completely evacuated Bangladesh by March 12–17, 1972 (coinciding with Bangabandhu's birthday on March 17). This was a monumental triumph of sovereign foreign policy.

Infrastructure Reconstruction:

Restored the bombed-out spans of the historic Hardinge Bridge, Bhairab Railway Bridge, and cleared naval mines from Chittagong and Mongla ports with assistance from Soviet salvage flotillas.

Surrender of Arms by Freedom Fighters:

On January 17, 1972, Bangabandhu appealed to all Mukti Bahini fighters to surrender their arms.

On January 24, he traveled to Tangail to receive the formal surrender of weapons from Kader Siddique and his men. On January 31, a massive ceremonial arms surrender took place at Dhaka Stadium. Approximately 50,000 to 100,000 weapons were submitted. However, vast quantities of illegal weapons were retained by underground political factions.

Global Diplomatic Recognition:

Within twelve months, Bangladesh was formally recognized by 97 sovereign nations and secured membership in the World Bank, IMF, WHO, and UNESCO (though Chinese vetoes blocked UN membership until 1974).

12.3 Military Fractures & Civil-Military Tensions

[2]

From its inception, the Bangladesh Armed Forces suffered from deep ideological and structural divisions:

Bypassing Military Seniority (April 1972):

When appointing the first Chief of Army Staff, Bangabandhu bypassed the senior and immensely popular Major General Ziaur Rahman (Sector 1 & Z-Force Commander), appointing the junior Major General K.M. Shafiullah (S-Force Commander) as Army Chief, naming Ziaur Rahman as Deputy Chief.

The Fallout: Ziaur Rahman's followers within the officer corps and troops harbored deep resentment, creating an enduring faultline of factional loyalty inside the cantonments.

Muktijoddhas vs. Repatriated Officers:

In 1973, following the Delhi Agreement, thousands of Bengali officers and jawans who had been interned in West Pakistani cantonments during the 1971 war were repatriated to Bangladesh (including future military ruler H.M. Ershad).

The Friction: Freedom fighter officers (Muktijoddhas), who had endured nine months of guerrilla warfare, received accelerated two-year seniority jumps and dominated top commands. Repatriated officers felt discriminated against and sidelined, while freedom fighters viewed repatriates as ideologically compromised "collaborators" who had sat out the war in Pakistani barracks.

The Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini (JRB) as a "Parallel Army":

Distrusting the regular army cantonments, the Awami League government enacted the Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini Order (President's Order No. 21 of 1972) on March 7, 1972, creating an elite paramilitary force under Brigadier A.N.M. Nuruzzaman.

The Indian Connection: JRB officers wore distinctive olive-green uniforms and were trained for six months in India by the Indian Border Security Force (BSF) and RAW.

Legal Immunity & Human Rights Abuses: In 1974, the government amended the JRB Act, granting the force blanket legal immunity from judicial scrutiny or police arrest. The JRB was deployed to crush leftist political opponents, conducting arbitrary arrests, torture, and extrajudicial killings.

Military Outrage: The regular army deeply resented the JRB, viewing it as a heavily financed, politically favored private militia designed to emasculate and replace the national armed forces.

12.4 Specific Civil-Military Flashpoints (Classroom Anecdotes)

[9]

Student lecture notes preserve crucial classroom narratives highlighting the breakdown of civil-military discipline:

The Mozammel Haque Gazipur Rape & Bribe Incident:

An influential Awami League leader from Gazipur, Mozammel Haque, was accused of abducting and raping a young girl. A local military patrol commanded by a young army captain investigated the crime, raided the premises, and arrested Mozammel Haque.

Mozammel attempted to bribe the army captain with 5,000 Taka. The enraged captain slapped the politician and threw him into military custody.

Bangabandhu's Intervention: Influential party bosses intervened directly with Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Bangabandhu ordered the immediate release of Mozammel Haque and reprimanded and suspended the army officer! The incident sent shockwaves of fury through the officer corps, convincing them that the Awami League placed party corrupt elements above the law.

The Major Shariful Haque Dalim Incident (Dhaka Ladies Club):

In 1974, during the wedding reception of Major Dalim's cousin at the Dhaka Ladies Club, a violent altercation broke out between Major Dalim, his brother, and the sons of Gazi Golam Mostafa (Chairman of the Bangladesh Red Cross and powerful President of Dhaka City Awami League).

Mostafa's armed sons abducted Major Dalim, his wife Nimmi, and his mother from the club in microbuses and transported them to Mostafa's residence.

Army Retaliation: Officers and jawans from the 1st Bengal Lancers stormed out of Dhaka Cantonment, ransacked Gazi Golam Mostafa's house, and rescued Dalim's family. The military high command (including Ziaur Rahman) demanded Mostafa's arrest.

The Result: Bangabandhu mediated between the families but refused to punish Mostafa. When junior officers demanded justice, Bangabandhu ordered the dismissal and compulsory retirement of several decorated freedom fighter officers, including Major Shariful Haque Dalim, Major S.J. Noor, and Major Shahriar Rashid. These cashiered officers formed the core conspiratorial nucleus that would execute the August 15 coup. (Immortalized in Humayun Ahmed's historical novel *Deyal*).

12.5 Left-Wing Armed Insurgencies: Siraj Sikdar & The JSD

Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party (Siraj Sikdar):

Led by Marxist-Leninist ideologue Siraj Sikdar, the Sarbahara Party denounced the 1971 independence as an "incomplete bourgeois revolution" and characterized the Awami League government as an Indian puppet regime.

Terming themselves "Goner Robin Hood" (The People's Robin Hood), the party operated underground armed guerrilla cells, assassinating Awami League local chairmen, bombing police stations, and robbing state banks to redistribute wealth.

The Arrest & Crossfire Death (January 1975):

In late December 1974, police tracked Siraj Sikdar through a female associate working at a telecommunications firm in Chittagong, arresting him in Halishahar.

Transported to Dhaka, Sikdar was offered a political deal to join the Awami League, which he defiantly refused. On the night of January 2, 1975, while being transported by police near Talbagh, Savar, Siraj Sikdar was shot dead in custody—the first famous extrajudicial "crossfire" killing in Bangladesh history.

The following day, Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman delivered his infamous roar on the floor of Parliament: "Kothay aj shei Siraj Sikdar?!" (Where is that Siraj Sikdar today?!), signaling an open warning to all armed opposition.

Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) & Biplobi Gono Bahini:

Formed in October 1972 under Major M.A. Jalil, A.S.M. Abdur Rab, and theoretician Sirajul Alam Khan, joined by 1971 war hero Colonel (Retd.) Abu Taher.

Operated an armed underground wing called the Biplobi Gono Bahini and a clandestine military network called the Biplobi Shainik Sangstha (Revolutionary Soldiers' Organization) inside the army.

March 17, 1974 Assault: JSD launched a massive march to gherao the official residence of Home Minister M. Mansur Ali in Dhanmondi. Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini troops opened fire on the crowd, killing over 20 JSD cadres.

The Samar Sen Kidnapping Plot (November 1975): JSD guerrillas (including DU student Nikhil) planned to kidnap the Indian High Commissioner in Dhaka, Samar Sen, to take him hostage and demand the release of detained JSD leaders; six JSD cadres were killed in the botched embassy assault.

12.6 The Catastrophic 1974 Famine: Convergence of Nature & Geopolitics

Between July and November 1974, Bangladesh was struck by a devastating famine that claimed between 27,000 (official government figure) and 100,000 to 300,000 lives (independent scholarly estimates):

Natural Disasters & Floods:

Severe monsoon floods in mid-1974 inundated 58% of the country's land area, drowning the standing Aus crop and destroying seedling beds for the winter Aman crop.

The Geopolitical Weapon: Henry Kissinger & The Cuba Jute Dispute:

The US Food Blockade: Desperate for food grain, Bangladesh requested the immediate shipment of food aid under the US PL-480 program.

However, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger deliberately withheld and delayed American food aid shipments, invoking a punitive statutory clause: under US law, food aid could not be provided to nations trading with communist Cuba. Bangladesh had signed a commercial contract exporting raw jute gunny sacks to Fidel Castro's Cuba.

By the time Bangladesh desperately canceled its export contract with Cuba to appease Washington, the food ships arrived months late, after tens of thousands of landless peasants had already starved to death along road embankments.

Internal Governance & Market Failures (Kombol Churi):

Massive smuggling of rice, relief goods, and jute across the porous border into West Bengal paralyzed domestic markets. Hoarders and grain merchants cornered supplies, causing rice prices to skyrocket.

Relief Corruption: International relief blankets, milk powder, and medicines were widely looted by local Awami League relief committees. Bangabandhu himself acknowledged the widespread rot in a despairing speech:

"The world gives me relief, but my corrupt people steal it! Seven crore blankets came for seven crore people, but where is my blanket?! Everyone finds gold mines; I have only found a mine of thieves!"

Public Outrage & The Ruling Family Weddings (Classroom Focus: Saba Notes, p. 2; Fariha Notes, p. 3):

Student notes record deep public resentment: at the absolute peak of the famine in mid-1974, when skeletal rural refugees were dying on Dhaka's sidewalks, extravagant, opulent wedding banquets were hosted at Ganabhaban for Bangabandhu's sons, Sheikh Kamal and Sheikh Jamal, featuring a lavish gold crown/tiara gifted to the bride. This public spectacle profoundly alienated urban intellectuals and the military.

CHAPTER 13: Constitutional Overhaul, BAKSAL & The 1975 Coups (1973–1975)

[1]

Between 1973 and 1975, the young republic experienced a catastrophic political and constitutional degeneration. Faced with mounting left-wing guerrilla insurgencies, devastating economic shocks, the 1974 famine, and endemic internal corruption, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman systematically dismantled the Westminster-style parliamentary democracy enshrined in the 1972 Constitution. Through a sequence of constitutional amendments culminating in the authoritarian Fourth Amendment and the establishment of the BAKSAL one-party state, executive power was completely centralized in the presidency. This institutional transformation alienated the armed forces, suppressed civil liberties, and precipitated the bloody coup of August 15, 1975, followed by the violent convulsions of November 3 and November 7.

13.1 The Constitutional Amendments (1st to 4th Amendments)

[2]

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

1972 Constitution — (Parliamentary Democracy)
↓
1st Amendment (July 1973) — War Crimes Prosecution
↓
2nd Amendment (Sept 1973) — Emergency & Detention
↓
3rd Amendment (Nov 1974) — Indo-BD Border Accord
↓
4th Amendment (Jan 1975) — BAKSAL One-Party Presidential State

NOTES & CITATIONS

1. BUX/ConstitutionalAmendmentsSummary; WHATSAPP/PoliticalDevelopment19721975Slides; BUX/Transcripts/Video07; Faeiz Notes, pp. 39–50; Saba Notes, pp. 16–17; Fariha Notes, pp. 1–5

2. BUX/ConstitutionalAmendmentsSummary, pp. 1–4; BUX/Transcripts/Video07; Faeiz Notes, p. 41

3. BUX/Transcripts/Video07; WHATSAPP/PoliticalDevelopment19721975Slides, pp. 25–26; Saba Notes, p. 16; Faeiz Notes, pp. 40, 50; Fariha Notes, p. 5

4. BUX/Transcripts/Video07; WHATSAPP/PoliticalDevelopment19721975Slides, pp. 25–27; Saba Notes, pp. 16, 26; Faeiz Notes, pp. 49–50; Fariha Notes, pp. 1–3

The progressive concentration of state power proceeded through four constitutional interventions:

The First Amendment Act (Passed July 15, 1973):

Legal Objective: Provided constitutional authorization for the detention, prosecution, and punishment of Pakistani military personnel and their local auxiliary collaborators accused of war crimes.

Constitutional Mechanism: Amended Article 47 by inserting clause (3), enabling the state to prosecute individuals accused of "genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other crimes under international law".

Exclusion of Fundamental Rights: Inserted a new Article 47A, specifying that individuals detained or prosecuted under war crimes legislation could not challenge their detention or trial on the grounds that it violated their fundamental rights (e.g., protection against retrospective penal laws or right to move the Supreme Court).

The Second Amendment Act (Passed September 22, 1973):

Legal Objective: Equipped the executive branch with extraordinary emergency powers to suppress internal civil unrest and political subversion without parliamentary deadlock.

Constitutional Mechanism:

Amended Articles 26, 63, 72, and 142; substituted Article 33.

Inserted an entirely new chapter: Part IXA (Emergency Provisions) into the Constitution.

Article 141A: Authorized the President, upon advice of the Prime Minister, to proclaim a State of Emergency if the security or economic life of Bangladesh was threatened by war, external aggression, or internal disturbance.

Articles 141B & 141C: Empowered the state to suspend fundamental human rights (such as freedom of speech, assembly, movement, and association) and strip citizens of the right to petition any court for their enforcement during the emergency.

Substitution of Article 33: Legalized Preventive Detention without trial for up to six months without prior judicial scrutiny, providing statutory cover for the Special Powers Act (SPA) of 1974.

The Third Amendment Act (Passed November 28, 1974):

Legal Objective: Gave domestic constitutional and legal effect to the bilateral Indo-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement (the Mujib-Indira Accord) signed on May 16, 1974.

Constitutional Mechanism: Amended Article 2 of the Constitution to enable the rationalization and demarcation of the international border between India and Bangladesh, providing for the reciprocal exchange of territorial enclaves (chhitmahals) and resolving the disputed transfer of the southern half of the South Berubari enclave to India in exchange for an unhindered corridor to Dahagram-Angarpota (Tin Bigha Corridor).

The Fourth Amendment Act (Passed January 25, 1975): The Structural Rupture:

The Legislative Farce: Introduced as a private member's bill, the monumental Fourth Amendment bill was rushed through the Jatiya Sangsad and passed in just eleven minutes without debate, discussion, or a recorded division vote.

Complete Regime Transformation:

Shift from Parliamentary to Presidential System: Substituted the Westminster cabinet model with an all-powerful executive presidency. The President was made the supreme executive authority of the Republic, head of state, and head of government. Prime Ministerial authority was abolished and converted into an advisory post appointed at the President's personal pleasure.

Abolition of Multi-Party Democracy (Part VIA, Article 117A): Mandated the dissolution of all existing political parties and authorized the President to establish a single, monolithic National Party—the Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (BAKSAL). All members of Parliament were legally required to join this single party or forfeit their seats.

Castration of the Jatiya Sangsad: The powers of Parliament were drastically curtailed. The President was granted absolute veto power over legislation and the authority to dissolve or prorogue Parliament at will. The tenure of the first Jatiya Sangsad was unilaterally extended by five years.

Subjugation of the Judiciary:

Deprivation of Fundamental Rights Jurisdiction: Substituted Article 44 and amended Article 102, stripping the Supreme Court of its constitutional writ jurisdiction to enforce fundamental rights.

Direct Executive Removal of Judges: Amended Article 95 and Article 96, eliminating the Supreme Judicial Council and granting the President unilateral power to remove High Court and Appellate Division judges on grounds of misbehavior or physical/mental incapacity without judicial inquiry.

Control of Subordinate Judiciary: Amended Article 115 and Article 116, transferring the power of appointment, posting, promotion, and discipline of lower court magistrates and judges from the Supreme Court to the direct discretion of the President.

13.2 The BAKSAL State: "The Second Revolution" & Monolithic Control

[3]

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman — (Supreme Executive President)
↓
BAKSAL Executive Committee — (Sole Permitted National Party)
↓
5 Compulsory Fronts — (Krishak, Sramik, Mahila, Juba, Chhatra)
↓
64 District Governors System — (BMA Trained, Joint Security Commands)
↓
Nationalized Monopolistic Media — (4 Permitted State Dailies)
↓
Mandatory Incorporation — (Civil Bureaucracy & Military Officers)

Following the Fourth Amendment, Bangabandhu promulgated the formal structure of BAKSAL on February 24, 1975, declaring it the institutional vehicle of his "Second Revolution" (Ditiyo Biplob):

Ideological Rationalization: The "Second Revolution":

Bangabandhu argued that Western parliamentary democracy was an expensive, colonial luxury that had degenerated into a playground for corrupt hoarders, black marketeers, and factional bickering.

The Second Revolution promised a four-fold structural overhaul:

Total eradication of political and bureaucratic corruption.

Compulsory agricultural production through village multi-purpose cooperatives (Bodh-mukh Somobay).

Family planning and nationwide birth control.

Administrative decentralization bringing the judicial and executive apparatus directly to the rural masses.

The Monolithic Structure of BAKSAL:

The party was headed by a 15-member National Executive Committee, an 81-member Central Committee, and five auxiliary wings (fronts):

Jatiya Krishak League (National Peasants' League).

Jatiya Sramik League (National Workers' League).

Jatiya Mahila League (National Women's League).

Jatiya Juba League (National Youth League).

Jatiya Chhatra League (National Students' League).

Forced Politicization of Civil and Military Officers: In radical violation of traditional civil-military neutrality, all government civil servants, magistrates, police personnel, and military officers were legally compelled to become members of BAKSAL. Even Deputy Army Chief Major General Ziaur Rahman joined the party out of professional necessity.

Press Elimination & The Four State Newspapers (June 16, 1975):

Under the Newspaper (Declaration and Annulment) Ordinance of 1975, the regime struck a fatal blow to freedom of the press.

All private newspapers and periodicals across Bangladesh were shut down overnight. The government confiscated printing presses, leaving thousands of print journalists and press employees abruptly jobless.

Only four state-run daily newspapers were permitted to operate under direct Ministry of Information censorship:

Two Bangla dailies: *Dainik Bangla* and *Dainik Ittefaq*.

Two English dailies: *The Bangladesh Observer* and *The Bangladesh Times*.

The 64 District Governors (Jela Governor) System (Class Note Focus: Saba, p. 3; Faeiz, p. 50):

To shatter the traditional British colonial administrative hierarchy dominated by the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP) and District Commissioners (DCs), the country was redivided into 61 newly created administrative districts (projected to reach 64).

On July 16, 1975, Bangabandhu announced the appointment of 61 District Governors:

33 were incumbent Awami League / BAKSAL Members of Parliament.

13 were senior civil bureaucrats (former DCs / magistrates).

1 was a serving military officer.

The remainder were senior party activists and public figures.

Paramilitary & Cooperative Mandate: Each Governor was sent to the Bangladesh Military Academy (BMA) in Comilla for intensive civil-military training. Each was assigned an armed unit composed of regular police, JRB cadres, and armed party volunteers, effectively transforming each district into a political fiefdom directly loyal to the presidency.

The Coup Trigger: The newly appointed District Governors were scheduled to take their formal constitutional oath of office on September 1, 1975, and assume full command of all administrative and security apparatuses in their districts. This rapidly approaching deadline created immense panic and resentment inside the regular military cantonments, accelerating the conspiracy to overthrow the regime.

13.3 The Coup of 15 August 1975: Bloody Regicide & The Fall of Bangabandhu

[4]

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence



In the pre-dawn darkness of August 15, 1975, a bloody military coup struck the heart of Dhaka, decapitating the civilian leadership of Bangladesh:

The Conspiratorial Network & Grievances:

Operational Leadership: The coup was organized and led by mid-level army officers belonging to two elite armored and artillery units: Major Syed Farook Rahman (second-in-command of the 1st Bengal Lancers tank battalion) and his brother-in-law Major Khandaker Abdur Rashid (commanding the 2nd Field Artillery Regiment).

Dismissed and Aggrieved Officers: Joined by Major Shariful Haque Dalim, Major S.H.M.B. Noor Chowdhury, Major Mohiuddin Ahmed, Major Bazlul Huda, and Lt. Col. Sultan Shahriar Rashid Khan.

The Grievance Nexus:

Resentment over the privileged funding, Indian weaponry, and immunity granted to the Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini at the expense of the impoverished regular armed forces.

Bitterness over the dismissal of Major Dalim and his fellow officers following the Dhaka Ladies Club brawl with Red Cross Chairman Gazi Golam Mostafa.

Anger over the Mozammel Haque incident in Gazipur, where an Awami League leader accused of rape and bribery was released while the arresting army officer was punished.

Dread that the imminent implementation of the BAKSAL District Governor system on September 1 would permanently subordinate the military to party commissars.

The Political Axis: Khondaker Mostaq Ahmad:

The civilian mastermind of the plot was Khondaker Mostaq Ahmad, Commerce Minister in Bangabandhu's cabinet, hailing from Daudkandi, Comilla.

Mostaq represented the conservative, right-wing, anti-socialist, and pro-Western faction within the Awami League. He had harbored deep resentment against Tajuddin Ahmad and the progressive leadership since 1971, when Mostaq attempted to establish clandestine backchannel contacts with US diplomats in Calcutta to derail the independence war in favor of a confederate Pakistan settlement.

The Triple Execution Strikes (Pre-Dawn, August 15):

Target 1: Dhanmondi Road 32 (Residence of Bangabandhu):

Under command of Major Farook and Major Bazlul Huda, armored personnel carriers and tanks surrounded the residence.

Sheikh Kamal came downstairs upon hearing gunfire and was immediately shot dead by Major Bazlul Huda.

Soldiers ascended the stairs and encountered Bangabandhu, who confronted them with thunderous authority: "What do you want? Where are you taking me?"

Major Noor Chowdhury and Major Mohiuddin opened fire with automatic weapons, shooting Bangabandhu multiple times on the staircase.

The assassins then systematically executed the entire household: Begum Fazilatunnesa Mujib, Sheikh Jamal and his wife Rosy Jamal, Sultana Kamal (Khuki), Bangabandhu's brother Sheikh Abu Naser, and ten-year-old Sheikh Russell, who begged the soldiers to spare him and return him to his mother, only to be dragged into a bathroom and shot point-blank.

Bangabandhu's Military Secretary, Brigadier Jamil Uddin Ahmad, who was rushing to the residence in his civilian car after receiving a distress telephone call from Bangabandhu, was intercepted and shot dead at Sobhanbagh, near Dhanmondi 32.

Target 2: 13/1 Dhanmondi (Residence of Sheikh Fazlul Huq Moni):

Soldiers stormed the home of Bangabandhu's influential nephew and Jubo League founder Sheikh Fazlul Huq Moni, executing him alongside his pregnant wife, Begum Arzu Moni.

Target 3: 27 Minto Road (Residence of Abdur Rab Serniabat):

Troops led by Major Shahriar Rashid attacked the home of Land Administration Minister Abdur Rab Serniabat (Bangabandhu's brother-in-law), murdering Serniabat, his 13-year-old daughter Baby, 10-year-old son Arif, 4-year-old grandson Sukanto, and several domestic staff members.

The Miracle of Survival:

Bangabandhu's two daughters, Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana, miraculously survived the regicide because they were abroad in West Germany, staying as guests of Bangladesh Ambassador Humayun Rashid Choudhury alongside Hasina's husband, eminent nuclear physicist Dr. M.A. Wazed Miah.

The Post-Coup Maneuvers & The Indemnity Ordinance:

Khondaker Mostaq Ahmad declared himself President of the Republic and imposed nationwide Martial Law, broadcasting to the nation: "The armed forces have taken this step for the supreme welfare of the country."

Army Chief Paralysis: Army Chief Major General K.M. Shafiullah was paralyzed by indecision and failed to deploy troops to protect the head of state; on August 24, 1975, Mostaq removed Shafiullah and appointed Major General Ziaur Rahman as Chief of Army Staff.

The Indemnity Ordinance (Ordinance No. 50 of 1975): On September 26, 1975, President Khondaker Mostaq promulgated the notorious Indemnity Ordinance, which legally barred any court or tribunal in Bangladesh from entertaining cases against, prosecuting, or punishing the military officers and individuals

involved in the overthrow and assassination of Bangabandhu and his family.

CHAPTER 12: The November 1975 Coups, Jail Killings & Sepoy-Janata Revolution (Late 1975)

13.4 The Counter-Coup of 3 November 1975 & Dhaka Central Jail Killings

[1]

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

Killer Majors with Tanks — Entrenched at Bangabhaban
↓
3 November Counter-Coup — Brig. Khaled Mosharraf & Col. Shafaat Jamil
↓
House Arrest of Army Chief — Ziaur Rahman at Moinul Road
↓
Death Squad Dispatched — to Dhaka Central Jail
↓
Jail Killings (Night of 3 Nov) — Execution of Four National Leaders
↓
Safe Air Passage Deal — Killer Majors Flown to Bangkok
↓
4-7 November Power Vacuum — (Zero Effective Government)

NOTES & CITATIONS

1. Fariha Notes, pp. 1, 4; Faeiz Notes, pp. 46-47; BUX/Transcripts/Video07
2. Fariha Notes, pp. 1, 4; Faeiz Notes, pp. 39, 47; Saba Notes, p. 16

The military hierarchy was shattered into rival factions. The junior "killer majors" remained stationed inside Bangabhaban with their tanks, bypassing regular army command and dictating orders to President Mostaq:

The Counter-Coup of Brigadier Khaled Mosharraf (3 November 1975):

Outraged by the complete breakdown of chain of command and the usurpation of military authority by junior officers, Brigadier Khaled Mosharraf (Chief of General Staff / CGS), supported by Colonel Shafaat Jamil (Commander of the 46 Infantry Brigade in Dhaka), launched a bloodless counter-coup on November 3.

Mosharraf's forces surrounded Bangabhaban, grounded the air force, and isolated Mostaq.

House Arrest of Ziaur Rahman: Suspecting Army Chief Ziaur Rahman of harboring ambiguous sympathies toward the killer majors or lacking the resolve to disarm them, Khaled Mosharraf placed Zia under strict house arrest at his official residence on Moinul Road in Dhaka Cantonment, cutting off his telephone lines and posting guards. Zia was coerced into signing a letter of resignation as Army Chief.

The Dhaka Central Jail Killings (Night of 3 November 1975):

Sensing that their control over Bangabhaban was disintegrating, Khondaker Mostaq and the killer majors executed a horrifying contingency plan to permanently eliminate any possibility of a secular Awami League restoration.

The Execution Squad: Under direct authorization telephoned from Bangabhaban, an armed military hit squad led by Risaldar Moslemuddin entered Dhaka Central Jail at 2:00 AM on November 3.

Martyrdom of the Four National Leaders: The prison authorities were ordered to bring the four imprisoned titans of the 1971 Mujibnagar Government into a single collective cell:

Syed Nazrul Islam (Vice-President / Acting President in 1971).

Tajuddin Ahmad (First Prime Minister and architect of the Liberation War).

Captain M. Mansur Ali (Finance Minister in 1971 and Prime Minister in 1975).

A.H.M. Qamruzzaman (Relief and Rehabilitation Minister in 1971).

The four leaders were sprayed with automatic gunfire and repeatedly stabbed with bayonets inside the jail cell, extinguishing the core intellectual and administrative architects of the Liberation War.

The Compromise & The Four-Day Power Vacuum (4–7 November 1975):

Reluctant to initiate a civil war inside Dhaka between rival army units, Khaled Mosharraf negotiated a peaceful exit for the killer majors: Majors Farook, Rashid, Dalim, and their core conspirators were granted safe air passage to Bangkok on a special flight on November 4.

On November 6, Khondaker Mostaq was forced to resign the presidency. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem, was installed as the new President.

Khaled Mosharraf was promoted to Major General and appointed Chief of Army Staff.

However, during the chaotic interval between November 4 and November 7, 1975, Bangladesh had effectively no functioning government (Fariha Notes, p. 4). Rumors swept the cantonments that Khaled Mosharraf was an Indian-backed agent seeking to disarm the Bangladesh Army and reverse the revolution, creating explosive unrest among common soldiers.

13.5 The Sepoy-Janata Revolution of 7 November 1975 (Sipahi-Janata Biplob)

[2]

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

JSD Biplobi Shainik Sangstha — (Led by Col. Abu Taher)

↓

Subversive Agitation & Slogans: — *Sainik-Officer Bhai Bhai, Shubeji-r Rakto Chai*

↓

Sepoy Mutiny: Midnight 6/7 Nov — Soldiers Seize Dhaka Cantonment

↓

Murder of Maj. Gen. Khaled Mosharraf, — Col. Huda & Lt. Col. Haider

↓

Rescue of Ziaur Rahman — from Moinul Road Residence

↓

Taher Demands 12-Point Socialist Army — Zia Rejects Anarchy & Restores Discipline

↓

Arrest of Col. Taher (Nov 24, 1975) — Military Trial & Hanging (July 21, 1976)

The Catalyst: Col. Abu Taher & The Biplobi Shainik Sangstha (BSS):

The underground political party Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) had established a clandestine military branch known as the Biplobi Shainik Sangstha (BSS), organized by 1971 sector commander Colonel (Retd.) Abu Taher.

The BSS capitalized on deep-seated grievances among ordinary non-commissioned soldiers (sepoys): low pay, abysmal living conditions, the humiliating British colonial "batmen" orderly system, and resentment against officer privileges.

Distributed leaflets calling for a classless, rankless "people's army" under radical slogans:

"Sainik-Officer Bhai Bhai, Shubeji-r Rakto Chai!" (Soldiers and officers are brothers, but we demand the blood of the oppressors!)

"Officer-der matha katar somoy esheche!" (The time has come to sever the heads of the officers!).

The Midnight Soldier Mutiny (Night of 6/7 November 1975):

Around midnight, sepoy across Dhaka Cantonment broke open armories, seized assault rifles and machine guns, and took to the streets in trucks, firing thousands of rounds into the night sky.

The Tragic Murder of Khaled Mosharraf: Maj. Gen. Khaled Mosharraf, Colonel Nazmul Huda, and Lt. Col. A.T.M. Haider (all decorated 1971 Bir Uttam freedom fighters) sought shelter at the headquarters of the 10th Bengal Regiment at Sher-e-Bangla Nagar. Mutinous sepoy loyal to the BSS surrounded the officers, engaged in a violent shootout, and ruthlessly executed Khaled Mosharraf, Huda, and Haider. Their bodies were abandoned in the camp before being dumped inside the cantonment (Fariha Notes, p. 4).

The Rescue of Ziaur Rahman from Moinul Road:

A detachment of mutinous soldiers marched to Ziaur Rahman's official residence on Moinul Road. Sepoy broke through the cordons, freed Zia from house arrest, and carried him triumphantly on their shoulders through the streets, chanting:

"Ziaur Rahman Zindabad! Sepoy-Janata Biplob Zindabad!"

Colonel Abu Taher arrived at the cantonment and met Zia, believing he could utilize Zia's immense popularity among soldiers as a figurehead while the BSS transformed the army into a revolutionary socialist force.

Ziaur Rahman Consolidates Power & Crushes the Insurgency:

Zia quickly grasped that the mutiny threatened to descend into total anarchy, which would invite immediate foreign military intervention.

He strategically declined Taher's radical 12-point political demands, refusing to abolish military ranks or dismantle the conventional chain of command. Zia addressed the soldiers over state radio, calling for calm, discipline, and national unity.

Supported by senior non-socialist officers, Zia systematically restored cantonment discipline, rounded up rebel mutineers, and banned the JSD.

The Arrest, Secret Trial & Hanging of Colonel Abu Taher (July 1976):

On November 24, 1975, Colonel Abu Taher was arrested at his residence.

Taher and 33 civilian and military leaders of JSD were tried in a secret military court (in camera military tribunal) held inside Dhaka Central Jail, presided over by Colonel Yusuf Haider.

Taher was charged with sedition, mutiny, subverting the armed forces, and attempting to establish a classless Marxist state through violent insurrection.

On July 17, 1976, the tribunal sentenced Taher to death. In the early morning hours of July 21, 1976, Colonel Abu Taher was executed by hanging in Dhaka Central Jail.

(Dialectical Note: In March 2013, the Bangladesh High Court declared the 1976 military trial of Col. Taher illegal, unconstitutional, and a "pre-planned judicial murder" executed by the Zia regime).

CHAPTER 14: Constitutional Trajectory, Caretaker Governance & Contemporary Relevance (1975–2024)

[1]

The period from 1975 to 2024 constitutes a cyclical battle over constitutional legitimacy, national identity, and electoral mechanics in Bangladesh. The state oscillated between military rule, flawed democracy, caretaker intervals, and protracted autocratic consolidation, culminating in the historic July 2024 Mass Uprising. '=== 14.1 The Long March of Amendments (5th to 15th Amendments) [2]

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence
5th Amendment (1979 - Zia) — Bismillah, Indemnity & Bangladeshi Nationalism ↓ 8th Amendment (1988 - Ershad) — Islam as State Religion & Judiciary Decentralization ↓ 12th Amendment (1991 - Consensus) — Restoration of Parliamentary Democracy ↓ 13th Amendment (1996 - CTG) — Non-Party Caretaker Government System ↓ 14th Amendment (2004 - 4-Party) — Judicial Retirement Age Extended to 67 ↓ 15th Amendment (2011 - Hasina) — Abolition of CTG, Articles 7A/7B, <i>Bangalees</i> Nation

NOTES & CITATIONS
1. BUX/ConstitutionalAmendmentsSummary; WHATSAPP/PoliticalDevelopment19721975Slides, pp. 12–13, 28; Faeiz Notes, pp. 41–43, 50; Saba Notes, p. 17; Fariha Notes, pp. 6–7
2. BUX/ConstitutionalAmendmentsSummary, pp. 1–4; Faeiz Notes, pp. 41–43
3. BUX/ConstitutionalAmendmentsSummary; Faeiz Notes, pp. 42–43, 50; Saba Notes, p. 17
4. Fariha Notes, p. 7; WHATSAPP/PoliticalDevelopment19721975Slides, p. 28; Faeiz Notes, pp. 39–40

Amendment & Year	Enacting Regime	Core Constitutional Modifications	Long-Term Political & Institutional Impact
5th Amendment + (6 April 1979)	Major General Ziaur Rahman (BNP)	- Added paragraph 18 to Fourth Schedule, validating all martial law proclamations, regulations, and orders from 15 Aug 1975 to 9 April 1979. - Inserted "Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim" above the Preamble. - Substituted "Secularism" with "absolute trust and faith in Almighty Allah" in Article 8. - Shifted identity from "Bengali" to "Bangladeshi" nationalism in Article 9/6. - Repealed Article 12 ban on religious political parties.	Granted constitutional protection to the 1975 Indemnity Ordinance shielding Bangabandhu's assassins; rehabilitated Jamaat-e-Islami and Muslim League into mainstream politics. Struck down as illegal by Supreme Court in 2010.
8th Amendment + (7 June 1988)	Lt. Gen. Hussain Muhammad Ershad (Jatiya Party)	- Inserted Article 2A, declaring Islam as the State Religion of the Republic. - Decentralized High Court by setting up 6 permanent benches outside Dhaka. - Replaced English spellings: "Bengali" with "Bangla" and "Dacca" with "Dhaka" in Article 5.	Institutionalized religious identity into state structure to gain political legitimacy. In Anwar Hossain Chowdhury vs. Bangladesh (1989), the Supreme Court struck down the judicial benches, establishing the Basic Structure Doctrine.
12th Amendment + (6 August 1991)	5th Jatiya Sangsad (All-Party Consensus: BNP & AL)	- Historic repeal of the presidential system created by the 4th Amendment. - Restored Parliamentary Democracy (Westminster model). - Prime Minister restored as the executive head of government responsible to Parliament. - President reduced to constitutional titular head. - Abolished Vice-President.	Consolidated the post-Ershad democratic transition; restored parliamentary supremacy and institutionalized local government under Article 59.

Amendment & Year	Enacting Regime	Core Constitutional Modifications	Long-Term Political & Institutional Impact
13th Amendment + (26 March 1996)	6th Jatiya Sangsad (BNP under mass pressure)	• Institutionalized the Non-Party Caretaker Government (NCTG) system. • Interim administration headed by a Chief Adviser (status of PM) and up to 10 non-party Advisers (status of Ministers). • Sole mandate: aid Election Commission to conduct free, fair, and peaceful parliamentary elections within 90 days. • Strict succession formula based on retired Chief Justices.	Produced three credible, peaceful, and universally accepted democratic transfers of power in 1996, 2001, and 2008.
14th Amendment + (16 May 2004)	8th Jatiya Sangsad (BNP-Jamaat 4-Party Alliance)	• Extended retirement age of Supreme Court Judges from 65 to 67 years (Article 96). • Inserted Article 4A for mandatory display of President and PM portraits. • Reserved 45 parliamentary seats for women for 10 years (Article 65).	Widely perceived as partisan manipulation to ensure former BNP leader Chief Justice K.M. Hasan became the next Caretaker Chief Adviser in late 2006, triggering violent street clashes (Logi-Boitha).
15th Amendment + (30 June 2011)	9th Jatiya Sangsad (Sheikh Hasina / Awami League)	• Abolished the Caretaker Government system entirely; mandated elections under the incumbent ruling party. • Inserted Article 7A & 7B, declaring extra-constitutional takeover punishable by death and rendering basic provisions permanently unamendable. • Maintained Islam as state religion while reinstating Secularism (Article 12). • Declared people of Bangladesh shall be known as "Bangalees" as a nation. • Expanded women seats to 50.	Disenfranchised the electorate; enabled 15 years of uninterrupted authoritarian rule via uncontested elections (2014), midnight ballot-stuffing (2018), and dummy candidate elections (2024), culminating in the 2024 Revolution.

14.2 Comparative Governance: Constitutional Caretaker vs "3-U" Government vs 2024 Interim Government

In viva examinations and broad essay evaluations, students are frequently tested on the constitutional and operational distinctions between the three historical models of non-elected transition regimes in Bangladesh:

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence
Models of Non-Elected Interim Governance ↓ 1. Constitutional Caretaker Government — (13th Amendment: 1996, 2001, 2006) ↓ 2. The 3-U Emergency Regime — (1/11 Military-Backed: 2007–2008) ↓ 3. Post-Uprising Interim Government — (Revolutionary Mandate: Dr. Yunus 2024) ↓ • Strict 90-Day Mandate — • Retired Chief Justice Head — • Routine Caretaker Only ↓ • 2-Year Extra-Constitutional Rule — • Backed by Gen. Moeen U Ahmed — • <i>Minus-Two Formula</i> & NID Roll ↓ • Open-Ended Revolutionary Mandate — • Advisory Council with Students — • 6 Structural Reform Commissions

Detailed Comparative Governance Matrix:

Operational Dimension	1. 13th Amendment Caretaker Government (1996, 2001, 2006)	2. The "3-U" Military-Backed Government (1/11 Regime: 2007–2008)	3. Post-Uprising Interim Government (Dr. Muhammad Yunus: August 2024)
Constitutional Basis	Fully constitutional (Chapter IIA, Article 58B–58E inserted via 13th Amendment).	Extra-constitutional emergency regime backed by military high command under a State of Emergency.	Revolutionary mandate arising from the July 2024 Mass Uprising; validated through Supreme Court Appellate Division reference under Article 106 (advisory jurisdiction).
Executive Leadership	Headed by the immediate past retired Chief Justice (e.g., Justice Muhammad Habibur Rahman, Justice Latifur Rahman) as Chief Adviser.	Popularly termed the "3-U" Government (Faeiz Notes, p. 50), referring to: (1) Fakhruddin Ahmed (Chief Adviser), (2) General Moeen U Ahmed (Army Chief), and (3) Moinuddin Khan Abdul Jalil / civil-military axis.	Headed by Nobel Laureate Dr. Muhammad Yunus as Chief Adviser; advisory council comprises civil society luminaries, legal experts, and key student coordinators (Nahid Islam, Asif Mahmud).
Tenure & Time Limits	Strictly limited to 90 days; automatically dissolved once the newly elected Prime Minister assumes office.	Unconstitutionally extended to two full years (January 11, 2007 to January 6, 2009) under the cover of emergency regulations.	Open-ended / flexible mandate; tenure tied to the completion of structural reforms rather than a strict 90-day electoral calendar.

Operational Dimension	1. 13th Amendment Caretaker Government (1996, 2001, 2006)	2. The "3-U" Military-Backed Government (1/11 Regime: 2007–2008)	3. Post-Uprising Interim Government (Dr. Muhammad Yunus: August 2024)
Institutional Mandate	Strictly non-partisan routine caretaker function; prohibited from making policy decisions; sole role was logistical aid to the Election Commission.	Radical political and structural intervention: attempted the "Minus-Two Formula" (purging both Sheikh Hasina and Khaleda Zia from national politics via anti-corruption trials).	Comprehensive state reconstruction: formed Six Major Reform Commissions (Electoral System, Constitution, Judiciary, Police, Anti-Corruption, and Public Administration).
Electoral Legacy	Conducted three universally acclaimed, credible general elections: June 1996 (Awami League won), October 2001 (BNP alliance won), and December 2008 (Awami League won).	Successfully created Bangladesh's first transparent, biometric National Identity Card (NID) voter database, eliminating over 12 million fake voters ahead of the 2008 election.	Tasked with dismantling 15 years of institutional rot, abolishing partisan police enforcement, and designing a new constitutional framework before holding general elections.

14.3 The July 2024 Mass Uprising & Viva Voce Synthesis

[4]

The climax of Bangladesh's modern political trajectory occurred in July–August 2024, when a student-led nationwide mass uprising toppled the 15-year autocratic regime of Sheikh Hasina. In final exams and viva voce, students are expected to connect this contemporary revolution to the historical themes of EMB 101.

1. Generational Parallels: 1969 Mass Uprising vs. July 2024 Mass Uprising:

The Student Vanguard: Just as the Student Action Committee (SAC) catalyzed the 1969 uprising by formulating the Eleven-Point Programme, the Anti-Discrimination Student Movement (Boishombo Birodhi Chhatra Andolon) mobilized the youth against discriminatory 30% freedom-fighter civil service quota reservations.

Transformation of Demands: In 1969, an educational and economic agitation escalated into the complete overthrow of Field Marshal Ayub Khan; in 2024, the quota movement transformed into a One-Point Demand (Ek Dofa): the immediate, unconditional resignation of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and the complete dismantling of her autocratic state.

The Catalyst of Martyrdom:

In 1969, the martyrdom of DU student leader Asaduzzaman (Asad), schoolboy Matiur Rahman, and Rajshahi University proctor Dr. Shamsuzzoha ignited an uncontrollable popular revolt.

In July 2024, the heroic stand of Abu Sayeed at Begum Rokeya University in Rangpur (standing arms outstretched before being shot dead by police) and the death of Mir Mahfuzur Rahman Mugdho in Uttara (shot while distributing water to protesters with the words "Pani lagbe, pani?") transformed an elite university movement into an all-out popular insurrection.

Regime Collapse: On August 5, 2024, as hundreds of thousands of citizens marched across Dhaka toward Ganabhaban (Long March to Dhaka), the army high command refused to fire on the populace. Sheikh Hasina tendered her resignation and fled the country to India via military helicopter—mirroring Ayub Khan's unceremonious transfer of power in March 1969.

2. Fariha's Conceptual Relevance Tree (Fariha Notes, Page 7):

Handwritten student notes (Fariha Notes, p. 7) provide a profound analytical schematic linking the 1972 Constitution to the 2024 collapse:

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence

1972 Constitutional Framework — (Pillars & Inherent Compromises)

↓

Outside the Box Critical Distortions

↓

Pillar 1: Democracy

↓

Pillar 2: State Integrity & Corruption

↓

Pillar 3: Nationalism

↓

Judicial Compromise & Politicization

↓

Autocratic Centralization & Disruptions — • 1975: BAKSAL 4th Amendment — • 2011–2024: Era of Sheikh Hasina (15th Amendment)

↓

Historical Inception (1972–1975): — • Relief Diversion (*Kombol Churi*) — • Civil-Military Friction (Major Dalim Incident) — • Paramilitary Impunity (Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini)

↓

Modern Parallel (2009–2024): — • Dynastic Mega-Project Graft & Bank Looting — • RAB & DGFI Disappearances (*Aynaghor*) — • Civil Service Partisan Capture

↓

Evolution of Identity: — • 1952–1971: Ethno-Linguistic Bengali Hegemony — • 1975–1990: Territorial Bangladeshi Islamization — • 2024: July Revolution Civic Pluralism

Democracy → Disruption: The concentration of supreme authority in the executive branch without parliamentary checks (institutionalized by Article 70) enabled Sheikh Hasina to create a single-party de facto dictatorship under the facade of multi-party elections.

Corruption → Institutional Decay: Fariha explicitly maps historical corruption (the 1974 famine relief scandals, the Dalim-Mostafa cantonment friction, and JRB extra-judicial killings) to modern authoritarian mechanisms: enforced disappearances (*Aynaghor* run by DGFI), paramilitary brutality (RAB sanctions), and monumental capital flight by oligarchs (S. Alam, Summit, Beximco).

Nationalism → July Revolution: The transition from mono-linguistic Bengali chauvinism (which alienated indigenous minorities in 1972) to an inclusive, rights-based citizenship where all ethnic and religious communities share equal sovereignty.

3. Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities & The Evolution of Citizenship:

In academic vivas, examiners evaluate students' theoretical understanding of nationhood using Benedict Anderson's concept of "Imagined Communities":

A nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group.

Phase 1 (1952–1971): Linguistic Secular Nationalism: Built around Bangla vernacular literature, songs (Rabindranath, Nazrul), and resistance against West Pakistani cultural imperialism. Reached its peak during the 1971 Liberation War.

Phase 2 (1975–1990): Territorial Religious Nationalism: Ziaur Rahman and Ershad redefined the nation as "Bangladeshi", incorporating Islamic identity to differentiate the state from neighboring secular India.

Phase 3 (2009–2024): Dynastic Mythological Hegemony: The Awami League regime weaponized the 1971 war narrative as a tool of political exclusion, labeling all opposition critics, journalists, and dissenting youth as "Razakars", while monopolizing state benefits through dynastic worship.

Phase 4 (July 2024 Uprising): Civic Democratic Citizenship: The generation of 2024 redefined the "imagined community" away from dynastic bloodlines or linguistic dogma toward civic democracy, human dignity, justice (Insaaf), and economic fairness. When Sheikh Hasina condescendingly asked in a press conference whether quota benefits should go to the grandchildren of Razakars, students reclaimed the slur with the thunderous campus chant:

"Tumi ke? Ami ke? Razakar! Razakar! Ke bolechhe? Ke bolechhe? Shoirachar! Shoirachar!" (Who are you? Who am I? Razakar! Razakar! Who said it? Who said it? The Autocrat! The Autocrat!), turning the regime's ideological weapon back upon itself and fracturing the ideological monopoly of the ruling elite.

APPENDIX A: Master Historiographical Reconciliation Matrix (Dialectical Clashing Claims)

(Cross-Source Dialectical Synthesis: Resolving Conflicting Perspectives Across Course Materials)

To achieve the highest academic standard in broad essay writing and viva voce, students must never unilaterally discard or dogmatically prioritize one narrative over another. The following master matrix resolves the central historiographical debates of the course by presenting conflicting evidence side-by-side alongside primary documentary reconciliation:

Historical Flashpoint	Narrative A: Official / Traditional / Nationalist	Narrative B: Critical / Revisionist / Alternative	Primary Source Evidence & Dialectical Academic Synthesis
1. 1940 Lahore Resolution: One State or Two?	The Lahore Resolution was always intended to establish a single sovereign Pakistan; the word "States" was an accidental clerical typographical error (formalized at 1946 Delhi Legislators' Convention).	A.K. Fazlul Huq and East Bengal Muslim Leaguers drafted the resolution deliberately to demand two autonomous, sovereign Muslim-majority states: one in the North-West and one in Eastern Bengal.	Reconciliation: The original 1940 text explicitly states: "the areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority... should be grouped to constitute <i>Independent States</i> in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign." Jinnah unilaterally amended the plural to singular "State" in 1946 to consolidate bargaining power, but the original text provided the foundational constitutional justification for Bangladesh's 1966 Six Points and 1971 independence.
2. Etiology of 1943 Bengal Famine	A natural ecological disaster caused by severe cyclones, brown spot fungal disease, and Japanese military advances cutting off Burmese rice imports.	A man-made imperial crime orchestrating mass starvation: Churchill's British War Cabinet enforced the scorched-earth "Denial Policy", seized 66,000 boats, prioritized European stockpiles, and rejected international food aid shipments.	Reconciliation (Amartya Sen thesis): Absolute food grain availability was only ~5% lower than normal. Starvation was driven by catastrophic exchange entitlement failure: war expenditure, wartime hyper-inflation, imperial boat confiscation, and speculative grain hoarding by colonial cartels (e.g. Ispahani) made rice unaffordable to landless agricultural laborers.

Historical Flashpoint	Narrative A: Official / Traditional / Nationalist	Narrative B: Critical / Revisionist / Alternative	Primary Source Evidence & Dialectical Academic Synthesis
3. Agartala Conspiracy Case (1968)	A complete, fabricated, and fraudulent frame-up concocted by the Ayub Khan military junta to destroy Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and delegitimize the Six-Point autonomy movement.	The clandestine conspiracy was historically real: Bengali military officers, civil servants, and politicians did hold secret planning sessions in Agartala (Tripura, India) with Indian authorities to organize an armed separation from Pakistan.	Reconciliation (Col. Shawkat Ali admission): Accused No. 26, Colonel Shawkat Ali, confirmed in his memoir <i>Satya Mamla Agartala</i> that the underground revolutionary meetings in India did take place. However, the Ayub regime exaggerated the operational readiness, framed Bangabandhu as the sole architect, and used state torture to manufacture evidence, inadvertently turning the defendants into national martyrs.
4. Bangabandhu's Actions on March 25, 1971	A conscious, heroic act of supreme personal sacrifice: Bangabandhu refused to go underground to prevent the Pakistan Army from destroying Dhaka city in search of him, submitting to arrest as the lawful undisputed national leader.	An operational abandonment of leadership: Tajuddin Ahmad and student leaders pleaded with Mujib to go into hiding, sign a pre-drafted declaration of independence, and guide the resistance; Mujib refused, had his bags pre-packed, and left no operational war directive (Sharmin Ahmad, <i>Neta O Pita</i>).	Reconciliation: Both dimensions reflect genuine historical realities. Politically and symbolically, Mujib's surrender maintained the moral high ground of a non-violent constitutional movement facing an illegitimate military junta, preventing Yahya from labeling the Bengalis "runaway terrorists." Operationally, however, it created an acute command vacuum on the ground, placing the terrifying burden of organizing the Mujibnagar Government entirely upon Tajuddin Ahmad.

Historical Flashpoint	Narrative A: Official / Traditional / Nationalist	Narrative B: Critical / Revisionist / Alternative	Primary Source Evidence & Dialectical Academic Synthesis
5. Declaration of Independence	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the sole, exclusive proclaimer of independence, having transmitted the formal declaration via EPR wireless minutes after midnight on March 25/26, 1971.	Major Ziaur Rahman proclaimed the independence of Bangladesh from the Kalurghat Free Radio Station (Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra) in Chittagong on March 26 and 27, 1971.	Chronological & Functional Synthesis: Mujib made the primary political declaration on the night of March 25/26 via EPR wireless, which was subsequently read by Chittagong Awami League leader M.A. Hannan on March 26. Major Ziaur Rahman's radio broadcast on March 27—specifically declaring independence “in the name and on behalf of our great national leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman”—provided indispensable operational legitimacy, proving to the bewildered nation and the international community that the regular Bengali armed forces were actively revolting.
6. 1971 Genocide Casualty Toll	Official Bangladesh state consensus: 3,000,000 martyrs killed and 200,000 to 400,000 women violated by Pakistani forces and auxiliary militias.	Pakistani military sources (Hamoodur Rahman Commission): 26,000 to 50,000 casualties; Revisionist / Western scholarly estimates (Sarmila Bose, R.J. Rummel): 300,000 to 1,500,000 deaths.	Legal & Sociological Synthesis: Regardless of demographic disputes over census calculations, the massacre fully satisfies Article II of the 1948 UN Genocide Convention. As sociologist Rounaq Jahan documents, the Pakistani military exhibited clear intent to destroy in whole or in part Bengali intellectuals, youth, and the Hindu minority through systemic massacres, targeted executions, weaponized rape, and the forced displacement of 10 million refugees.

Historical Flashpoint	Narrative A: Official / Traditional / Nationalist	Narrative B: Critical / Revisionist / Alternative	Primary Source Evidence & Dialectical Academic Synthesis
7. Nature of Collaborator Forces & Peace Committees	Monolithic traitors, fanatic Islamic fundamentalists, and ruthless war criminals uniformly committed to crushing Bangladesh.	Many rural Peace Committee members were terrified villagers, landlords, or local elders coerced into joining by Pakistani camp commanders to prevent the destruction of their villages; several served as clandestine double agents aiding the Mukti Bahini (Saba Notes, p. 28).	Reconciliation: Distinguish between the ideological shock troops—the Al-Badr and Al-Shams (commanded by Islami Chhatra Sangha cadres like Ali Ahsan Mohammad Mojaheed and Motiur Rahman Nizami), who methodically executed intellectuals—and local rural Peace Committees (Shanti Committee), which contained both opportunistic collaborators and reluctant double agents who secretly sheltered Muktiyoddhas.
8. Armed Resistance: Guerrillas vs. Regular Forces	The war was won primarily by the political leadership of the Awami League Mujibnagar Government and the 11 conventional military sectors (Mitro Bahini blitzkrieg).	Grassroots "romantic guerrillas", radical leftist youth, and independent peasant militias (e.g., Kaderia Bahini, Hemayet Bahini) formed the true backbone of the resistance (Talukder Maniruzzaman).	Reconciliation: The Liberation War was a multi-tiered struggle. The regular conventional brigades (Z-Force, K-Force, S-Force) engaged Pakistani forces along border strongpoints; the urban Crack Platoons demoralized the occupation in Dhaka; and tens of thousands of rural peasant guerrillas (Gonobahini) systematically destroyed Pakistani logistics and communication networks, enabling the final 13-day joint Indian-Bangladeshi blitzkrieg.
9. Causes of the 1974 Famine	A devastating natural catastrophe triggered by historic monsoon floods that inundated 58% of the country, compounded by global oil shocks and post-war transport paralysis.	A man-made geopolitical blockade: US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger deliberately withheld PL-480 food ships because Bangladesh traded jute with Cuba, while rampant domestic hoarding, cross-border smuggling, and Awami League relief looting (kombol churi) starved the countryside.	Synthesis: A multi-causal convergence. Natural flood devastation crippled domestic crop production, but the crisis was elevated to fatal starvation by American imperial food diplomacy (Kissinger's Cuba embargo) and catastrophic internal governance failures (smuggling, relief diversion, and black-market cartels).

Historical Flashpoint	Narrative A: Official / Traditional / Nationalist	Narrative B: Critical / Revisionist / Alternative	Primary Source Evidence & Dialectical Academic Synthesis
10. Assessment of the BAKSAL System (1975)	A patriotic, socialist "Second Revolution" designed to break the colonial bureaucracy, unify the working classes, eradicate corruption, and achieve economic self-reliance.	A desperate, totalitarian autocracy enacted to suppress mounting public discontent, eliminate political rivals (JSD, Sarbahara), shut down free press, and enforce dynastic executive rule.	Synthesis: While Bangabandhu envisioned BAKSAL as a mechanism to mobilize rural production through compulsory cooperatives, its institutional implementation destroyed fundamental human rights, stripped the Supreme Court of its independence, criminalized legitimate political opposition, and alienated the regular armed forces, establishing the structural precedent for future authoritarian regimes.
11. The 7 November 1975 Uprising	A glorious "Sepoy-Janata Revolution" (Sipahi-Janata Biplob) uniting progressive soldiers and the public against officer aristocracy and Indian hegemony.	A chaotic, violent, and mutinous insurrection led by radical JSD Marxist cadres that resulted in the cold-blooded murder of decorated freedom fighters (Khaled Mosharraf, ATM Haider) and threatened to disintegrate the Bangladesh Army into anarchic mob rule.	Synthesis: The uprising was powered by authentic, profound grievances among lower-ranked soldiers against British-style colonial hierarchy and officer privileges. However, its radical Marxist leadership under Col. Taher was outmaneuvered by Major General Ziaur Rahman, who channeled the anti-hegemonic sentiment of the sepoy to restore command discipline, crush the socialist cells, and consolidate state power.

APPENDIX B: Complete 46-File Primary Source Verification & Extraction Audit

(Verification Audit: 100% Comprehensive Coverage of Every Extracted Asset)

To guarantee zero blindspots across all course documentation, the following verification audit traces how every single file in the `./extracted` directory was synthesized into this Master Note:

Structural Flowchart & Historical Sequence			
./extracted Directory Structure ↓ BUX / Online Portal (21 Assets) ↓ MAIL / Course Packs (7 Assets) ↓ Notes / Student Scans (13 Assets) ↓ WHATSAPP / Readings & Slides (5 Assets)			
#	File Relative Path in <code>./extracted</code>	Asset Description & Core Course Content	Exact Chapter Synthesized
1	BUX/Badruddin_Umar_Emergence_of_Bangladesh_Ch05_Language_Movement_1948.txt	Monograph Chapter 5 on early Language Movement, Dhirendranath Datta's Feb 1948 motion, Jinnah's Curzon Hall speech.	Chapter 1
2	BUX/Badruddin_Umar_Emergence_of_Bangladesh_Ch20_21_Language_Movement.txt	Academic Essay on February 1952 killings, Section 144 defiance, martyrdom of Barkat, Rafiq, Salam, Jabbar.	Chapter 2
3	BUX/Class_07_Language_Movement.txt	PowerPoint presentation slides detailing 1948-1952 cultural oppression, Arabic script plans, Shaheed Minar construction.	Chapter 2
4	BUX/Class_09_Dictatorship_and_Struggles.txt	Official BUX issue slides on 1958 military coup, Basic Democracy order, 1962 Constitution, 1965 Kashmir war exposure.	Chapters 3, 4
5	BUX/Class_11_The_War_of_Independence.txt	Official BUX lecture slides detailing 1970 elections, 7th March speech, Operation Searchlight, Sector commanders.	Chapters 7, 8, 10

#	File Relative Path in ./extracted	Asset Description & Core Course Content	Exact Chapter Synthesized
6	BUX/Constitutional_Amendments_Summary.txt	Exhaustive constitutional legal summary of all 1st to 15th Amendments of the Bangladesh Constitution.	Chapters 11, 13, 14
7	BUX/Kamal_Hossain_Making_of_the_Constitution_Ch09	Primary source document: Committee Chairman Dr. Kamal Hossain detailing the formulation of 1972 Constitution.	Chapter 11
8	BUX/Lecture_11_Early_Days_of_Bangladesh_Slides.txt	1972-1975 post-war challenges, Indian army withdrawal, left insurgencies, 1974 famine, 1975 coups.	Chapters 12, 13
9	BUX/Lecture_Capitalist_Development_and_Regional_Disparity_in_Pakistan_2025.txt	slides on Two Economies thesis, foreign exchange drain, industrial monopolies, the 22 Families.	Chapter 5
10	BUX/lecture_video_links.txt	Reference directory containing YouTube video links and metadata for Shamsuddoha Moni's instructional lecture series.	Chapters 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13
11	BUX/Lesson_Summary_The_War_of_Independence.txt	Comprehensive course summary covering the diplomatic and military history of the 1971 War of Independence.	Chapters 8, 10
12	BUX/Rounaq_Jahan_1973_Bangladesh_in_1972_Nation_Building	post-independence nation-building, institutional friction, and early political dilemmas.	Chapters 1, 12
13	BUX/Talukder_Maniruzzaman_The_Bangladesh_Revolution_and_Its_Aftermath_1988.txt	examining the social forces, guerrilla mobilization, and ideological tensions of the 1971 revolution.	Chapter 10, 12

#	File Relative Path in ./extracted	Asset Description & Core Course Content	Exact Chapter Synthesized
14	BUX/Transcripts/Video_01	Transcript covering the Capitalist Development and Regional Disparity. Moni's lecture on economic disparity, revenue diversion, and the Two Economies thesis.	Chapter 5
15	BUX/Transcripts/Video_02	Transcript covering the Dictatorship and Struggles, Part 1. United Front, 1958 military coup, Basic Democracy pyramid, and 1962 Sharif Commission.	Chapter 3, 4
16	BUX/Transcripts/Video_03	Transcript covering the Dictatorship and Struggles, Part 2. Six-Point Movement, 1968 Agartala Conspiracy Case, and 1969 Mass Uprising.	Chapter 2
17	BUX/Transcripts/Video_04	Transcript covering the War of Independence, Part 1. Elections, Bhola Cyclone disaster, Non-Cooperation Movement, and 7th March Address.	Chapter 7, 8
18	BUX/Transcripts/Video_05	Transcript covering the War of Independence, Part 2. Operation Searchlight, 1971 Genocide, Mujibnagar Government, and 11 Military Sectors.	Chapter 8, 9, 10
19	BUX/Transcripts/Video_06	Transcript covering the Early Days of Bangladesh. Bangabandhu's return, 1972 Constitution making, Four State Principles, and Article 70.	Chapter 1
20	BUX/Transcripts/Video_07	Transcript covering the Early Days of Bangladesh. insurgencies (JSD/Sarbahara), 1974 famine, 4th Amendment, BAKSAL, and 1975 coups.	Chapter 12, 13
21	BUX/visuals/.../per_capita_income_disparity_table	Extracted visual asset containing the complete longitudinal Per Capita Income Disparity Table (1949/50-1969/70).	Chapter 5
22	MAIL/Final_Exam_and_Viva_Topics_Syllabus	Topics syllabus listing all 22 exam and viva topics, grading criteria, and broad question requirements.	Frontmatter & All Chapters

#	File Relative Path in ./extracted	Asset Description & Core Course Content	Exact Chapter Synthesized
23	MAIL/Genocide_1971_Lecture_Slides.txt	Faculty lecture presentation detailing UN Genocide Convention, targeted massacres, rape camps, and collaborator forces.	Chapter 9
24	MAIL/operation_searchlight_the_dhaka_star.txt	Interactive investigative article documenting hour-by-hour assault plans on Dhaka on March 25, 1971.	Chapter 8
25	MAIL/operation_searchlight_link.txt	External URL link and citation metadata for the Operation Searchlight interactive archive.	Chapter 8
26	MAIL/Rehman_Sobhan_From_Two_Economies_to_Two_Nations.pdf	Foundational economic treatise establishing the Two Economies framework, foreign exchange drain, and regional disparity.	Chapter 8
27	MAIL/Rounaq_Jahan_1971_Genocide_in_Bangladesh.txt	General analysis of the 1971 genocide, elite dehumanization, gendered violence, and refugee displacement.	Chapter 9
28	MAIL/Rounaq_Jahan_1973_Bangladesh_in_1972_Nation_Building.txt	Duplicate faculty reading pack copy analyzing the transition from national liberation to state governance in 1972.	Chapters 19, 12
29	Notes/FAEIZ/Faeiz_Lecture_Notes.txt	Complete transcript of Faeiz's 50-page classroom notebook.	All Chapters
30	Notes/FAEIZ/Faeiz_Notes_Part1.txt	Notes pp. 1-13: British colonial era, 1905 Partition, Lahore Resolution, 1943 Famine, 1947 Partition.	Chapter 1
31	Notes/FAEIZ/Faeiz_Notes_Part2.txt	Notes pp. 14-26: Language Movement, 1954 United Front, 1958 Martial Law, Basic Democracy, Sharif Commission.	Chapters 2, 3, 4

#	File Relative Path in ./extracted	Asset Description & Core Course Content	Exact Chapter Synthesized
32	Notes/FAEIZ/Faeiz_Notes_Part3.txt	Part 3 Notes pp. 27-38: Six Points, Agartala Case, 1969 Uprising, 1970 Elections, Operation Searchlight, Sectors.	Chapters 6, 7, 8, 10
33	Notes/FAEIZ/Faeiz_Notes_Part4.txt	Part 4 Notes pp. 39-50: Constitution principles, amendments, Siraj Sikdar, JSD, 1974 famine, BAKSAL, 1975 coups.	Chapters 11, 12, 13, 14
34	Notes/FAEIZ/visuals/.../basic-democracy-electoral-system.md	Extracted visual asset of Faeiz's handwritten flowchart illustrating the 5-tier Basic Democracy pyramid.	Chapter 4
35	Notes/FAEIZ/visuals/.../basic-democracy-electoral-system.png	Cropped high-resolution photographic snippet of Faeiz's Basic Democracy diagram.	Chapter 4
36	Notes/FARIHA/Fariha_Lecture_Notes_Transcript.txt	Consolidated transcript of Fariha's high-yield lecture notes (7 pages).	Chapters 11, 12, 13, 14
37	Notes/FARIHA/visuals/.../constitution-relevance-tree.md	Extracted visual asset of Fariha's conceptual flowchart connecting constitutional pillars to the July 2024 Uprising.	Chapter 4
38	Notes/FARIHA/visuals/.../constitution-relevance-tree.png	Cropped high-resolution photographic snippet of Fariha's Constitution Relevance Tree.	Chapter 4
39	Notes/SABA/Saba_Lecture_Notes_Transcript.txt	Consolidated transcript of Saba's 28-page classroom notebook.	All Chapters
40	Notes/SABA/Saba_Notes_Part1.txt	Part 1 Notes pp. 1-14: Exam guidance, 1974 famine weddings, Mozammel Haque bribe, Dalim incident, JSD, 1971 war.	Frontmatter, 9, 10, 12

#	File Relative Path in ./extracted	Asset Description & Core Course Content	Exact Chapter Synthesized
41	Notes/SABA/Saba_Notes_Past.txt	Saba Notes pp. 15–28: Niazi surrender, Yahya calling Noor Jehan, Basic Democracy rigging, 1952 martyrs, 1972 return.	Chapters 2, 4, 10, 11, 13, 14
42	WHATSAPP/EMB_Reading_Materials_Compilation_Scan.txt	Reading pack containing Enayetur Rahim's "Prelude to War of Liberation" on 1950s/1960s political crises.	Chapters 3, 4, 6
43	WHATSAPP/History_of_Bangladesh_Language_Movement_Scan.txt	Supplementary reading on the cultural, literary, and sociolinguistic evolution of the Bangla Language Movement.	Chapter 2
44	WHATSAPP/Kamal_Hossain_Constitution_Excerpts_Scan.txt	Scanned excerpts of Dr. Kamal Hossain's legal writings on Article 70, parliamentary sovereignty, and secularism.	Chapter 11
45	WHATSAPP/Political_Development_1972_1975_Slides.txt	Comprehensive 75-slide deck detailing 1972–1975 politics, Siraj Sikdar, JSD, JRB, 64 Governors, BAKSAL, and July Rev.	Chapters 11, 12, 13, 14
46	WHATSAPP/Six_Point_Programme_Chapter_14_Scan.txt	Scanned historical chapter detailing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's 1966 Lahore presentation of the Six Points.	Chapter 6

End of Master Note Reference Document — EMB 101: Emergence of Bangladesh (BRAC University)

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