



The Partition(s) that Formed the Nation of Bangladesh

Land of Bengal

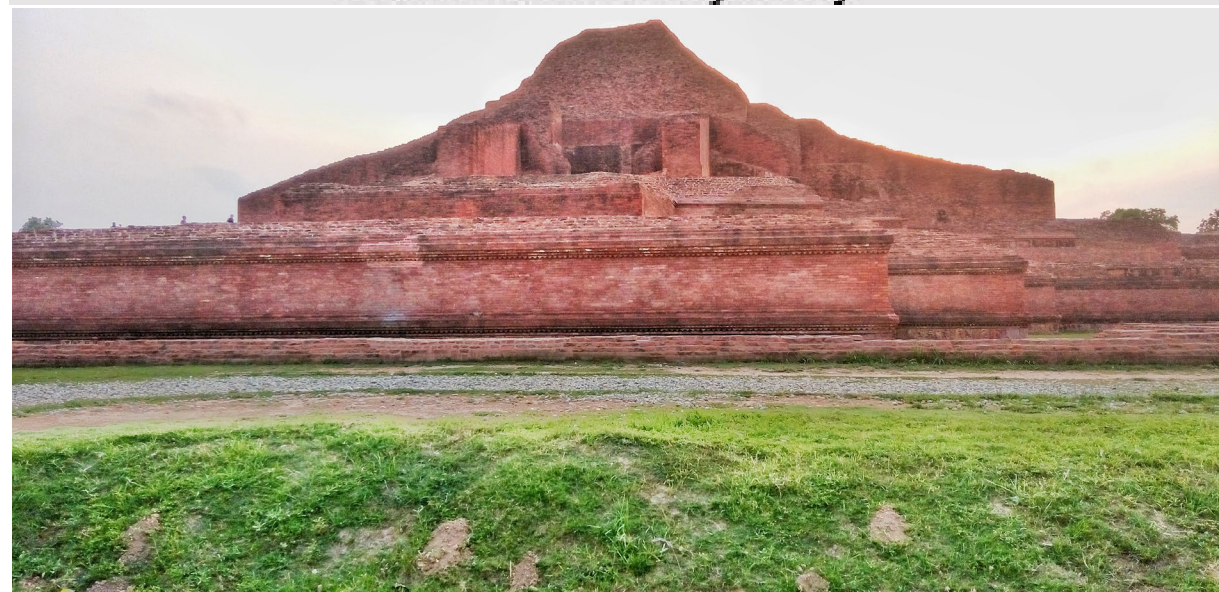
- History of Bangladesh dates back over four millennia
- Successions of Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms once ruled here
- Islam arrived during the 6th-7th century but became dominant in 13th century through Turko-Afghan conquests and saints
- Bengal then ruled by Sultanate from 14th century onward and then by Mughals, when Bengal generated 12% of world's GDP
- With decline of Mughal Empire in early 1700s, Bengal came under rule of Nawabs and then by British East India Company



Last Bengali Nawab Siraj ud-Daula



Coins of Sena Dynasty

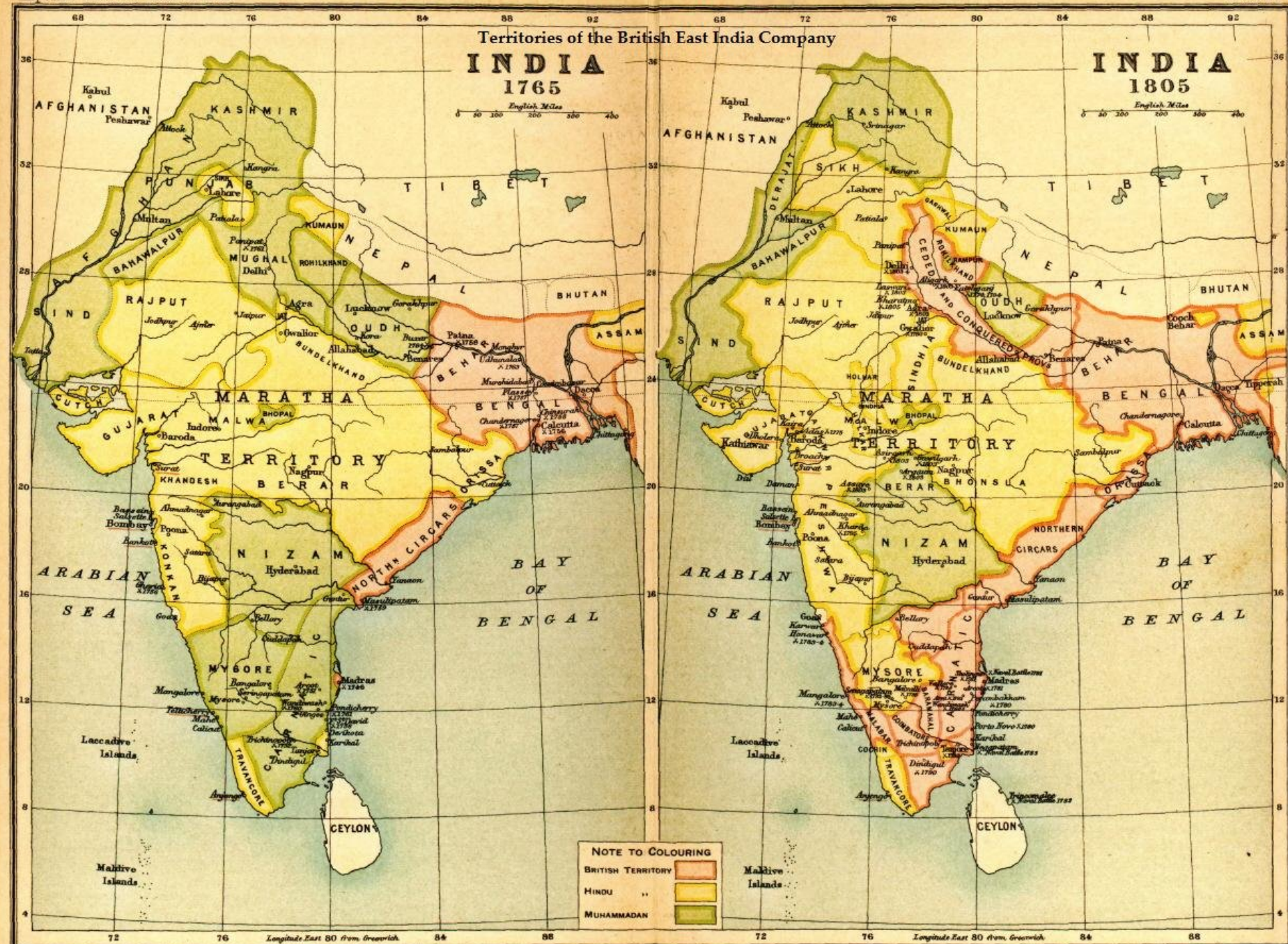


Somapura Mahavira, largest Buddhist Monastery in Subcontinent in 8th cent.

Mughal Emperor of India conferring upon East India Company the administration of the revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa



Initial British
territory in
India (in pink)
concentrated
in Bengal



Colonial Era

- British became de facto ruler after Mughal State disintegrated
- British goal was to increase productivity of Bengal economy
- Plunder of Bengal contributed to Britain's Industrial Revolution
- Continued heavy taxation during 1769 drought and floods caused a severe famine where 10 million people perished
- After famine, British introduced 'permanent settlement' which allowed further exploitation of peasants by *zamindars*

Rural East Bengal 1860

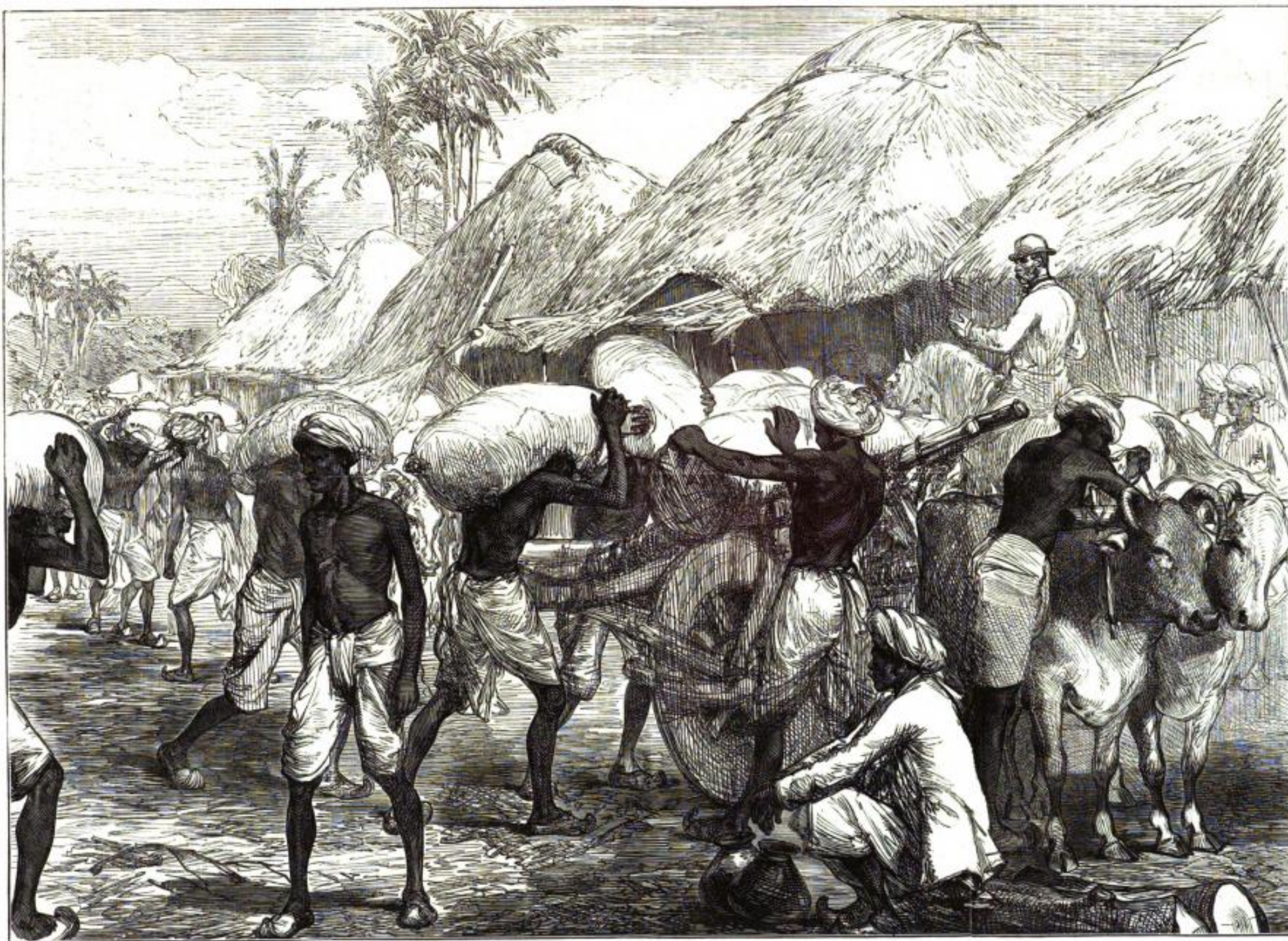




**East India Company factory in Sonargaon, Bangladeshi,
where the celebrated Dhaka muslins were produced 1872**

INDIA
814
USE

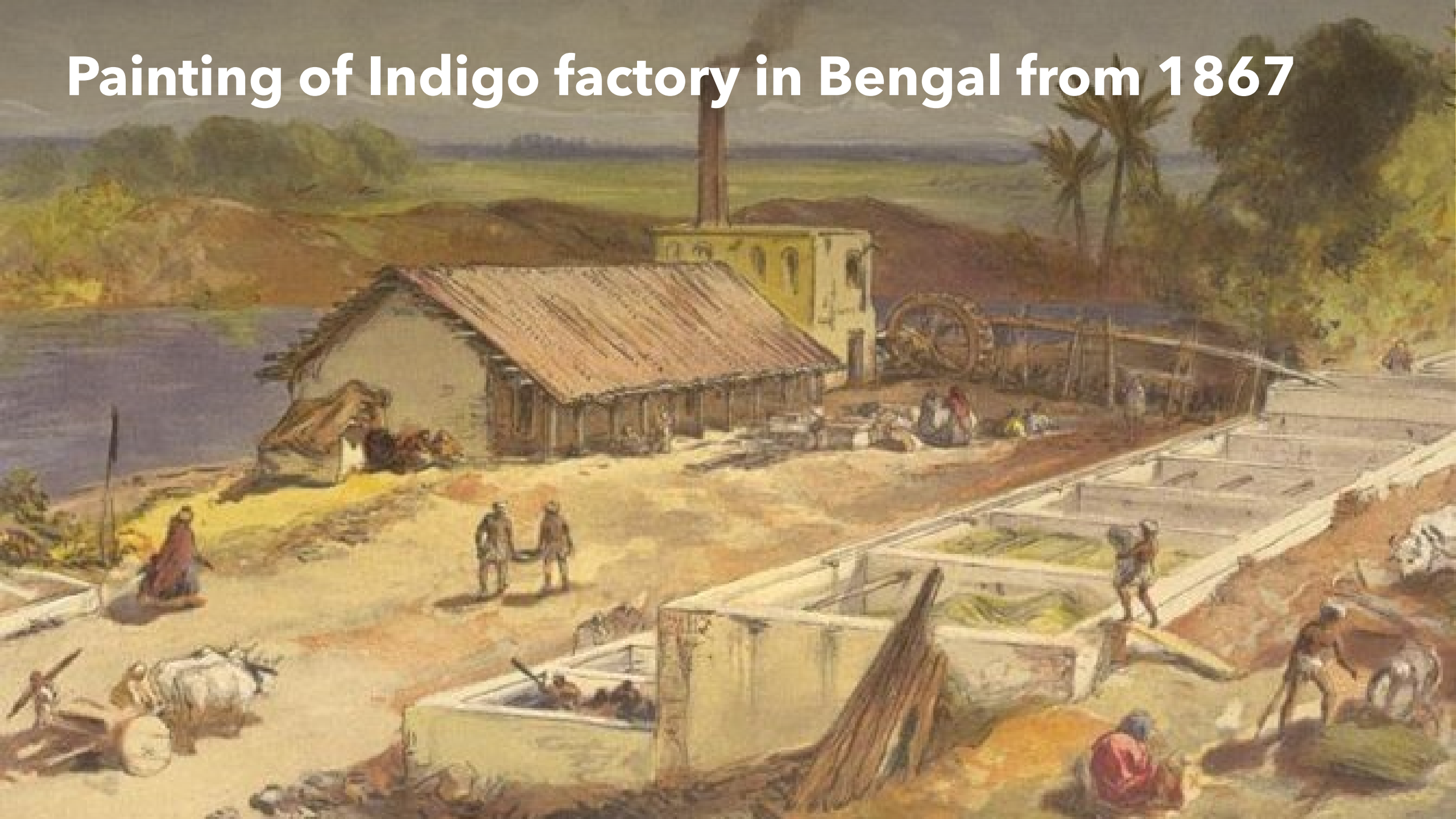
Loading grain
carts during
famine in
British ruled
Bengal (1874)



Exploitation of Bengali Peasants

- According to permanent settlement, *zamindars* (landowners) would develop agriculture in exchange for tax payment
- But a multilayered hierarchy of landholdings developed with remote *zamindars*; peasants were deprived of property rights
- In eastern Bengal, Hindu landlords presided over Muslim peasants – this would later become politically important
- British introduced cash cropping (e.g. jute, sugar, tobacco) for global markets – peasants became compelled by markets

Painting of Indigo factory in Bengal from 1867

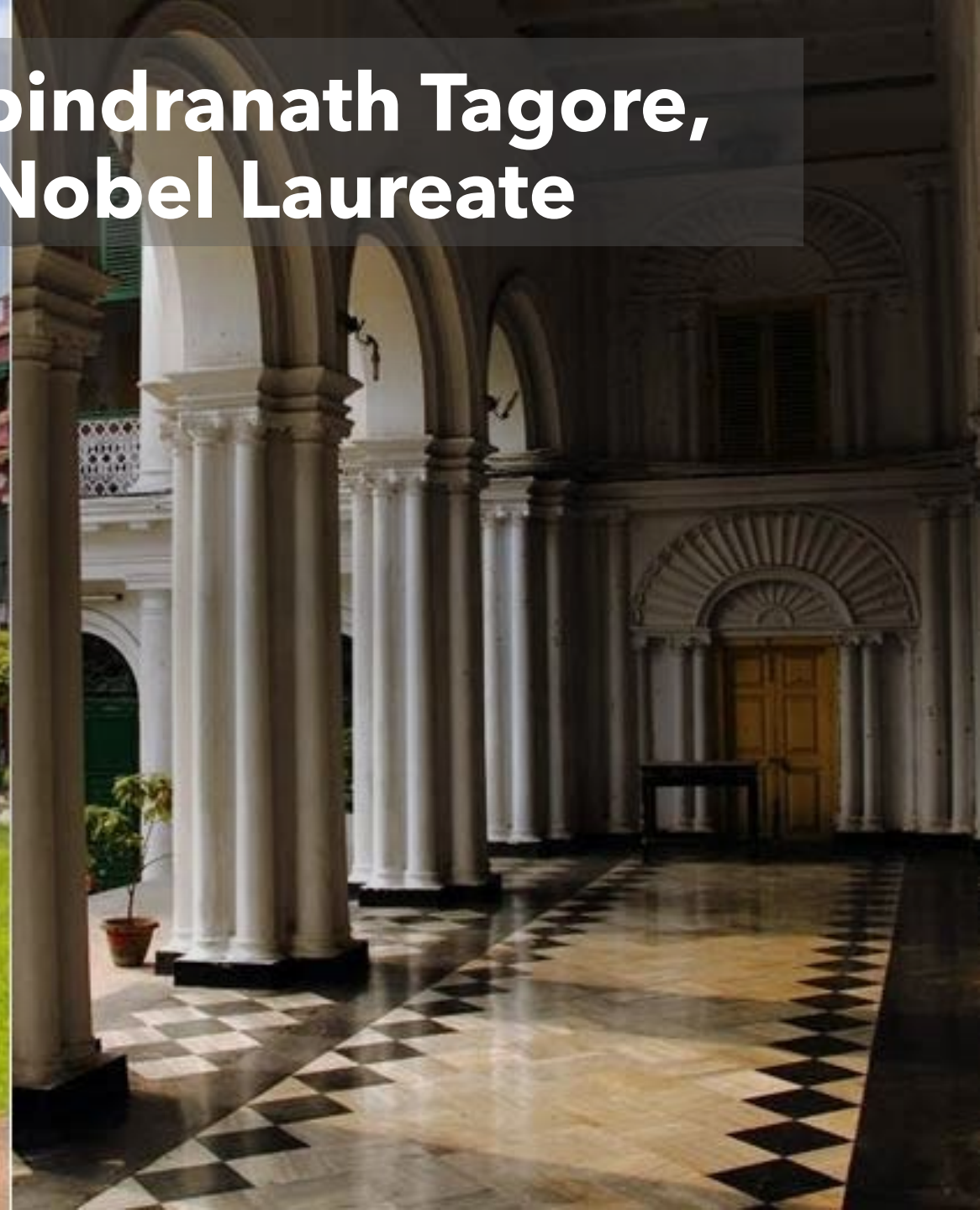




Jute, a widely produced cash crop under British rule, is still grown today.

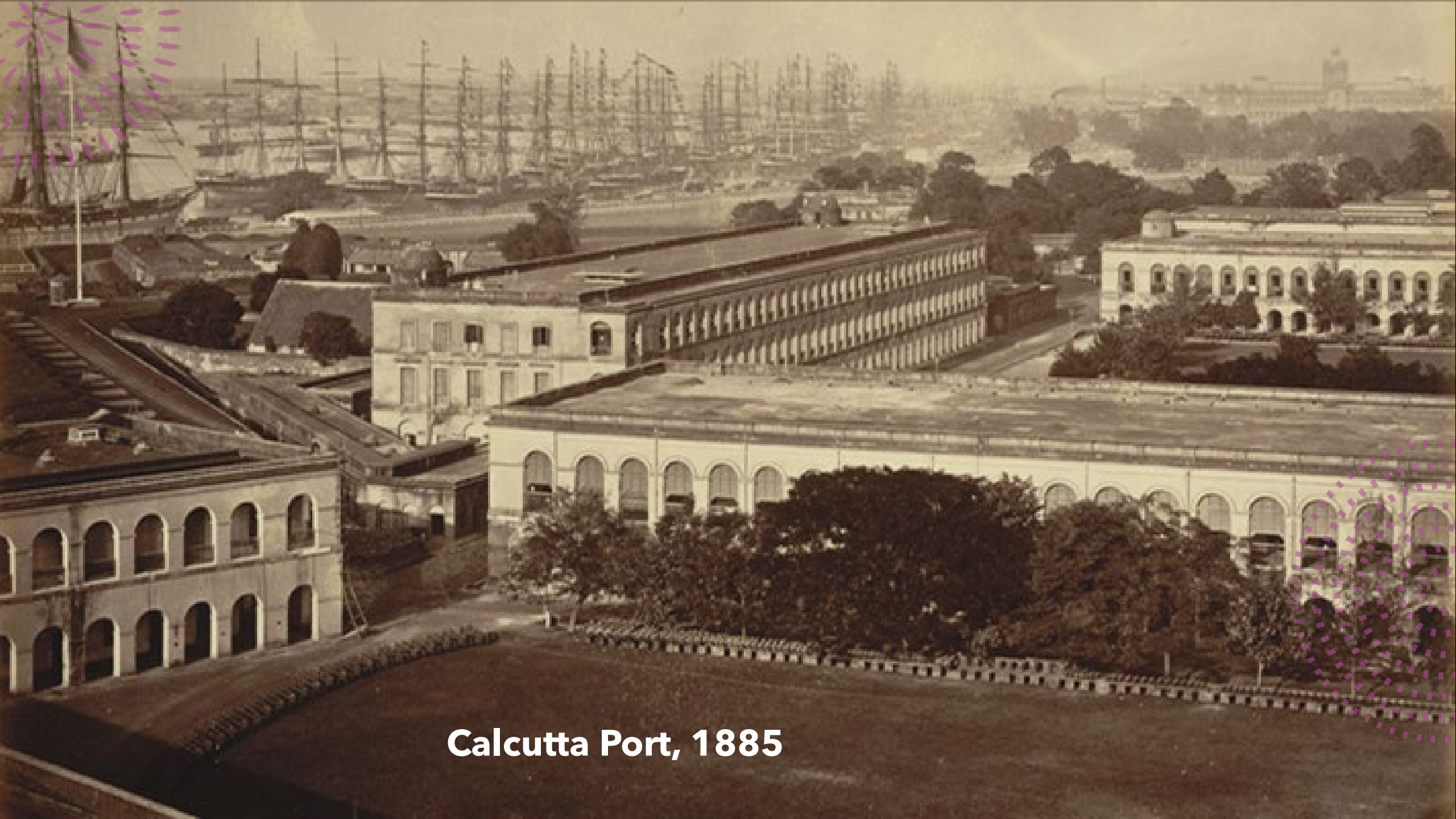
Right: laborers at jute mill in 1906

Zamindar palace of Rabindranath Tagore, first non-European Nobel Laureate



Rebellions in Eastern Bengal

- Old centers such as Dhaka and Murshidabad declined as west Bengal's Calcutta rose to political and cultural prominence (new capital of colonial India)
- As British took over Mughal infrastructure, Muslims were slower to adapt than Hindus educationally and commercially
- Rural rebellions against landlords were initially inspired by Muslim faith and triggered by notorious indigo industry
- Faraizi movement, rooted in Muslim orthodoxy, fought against permanent land rights (which were altering culture and society)



Calcutta Port, 1885



Haji Shariatullah, founder
of Faraizi movement



Titumir College in Dhaka

Titumir, an early peasant
leader remembered for
his bamboo fort against
British and landlord allies

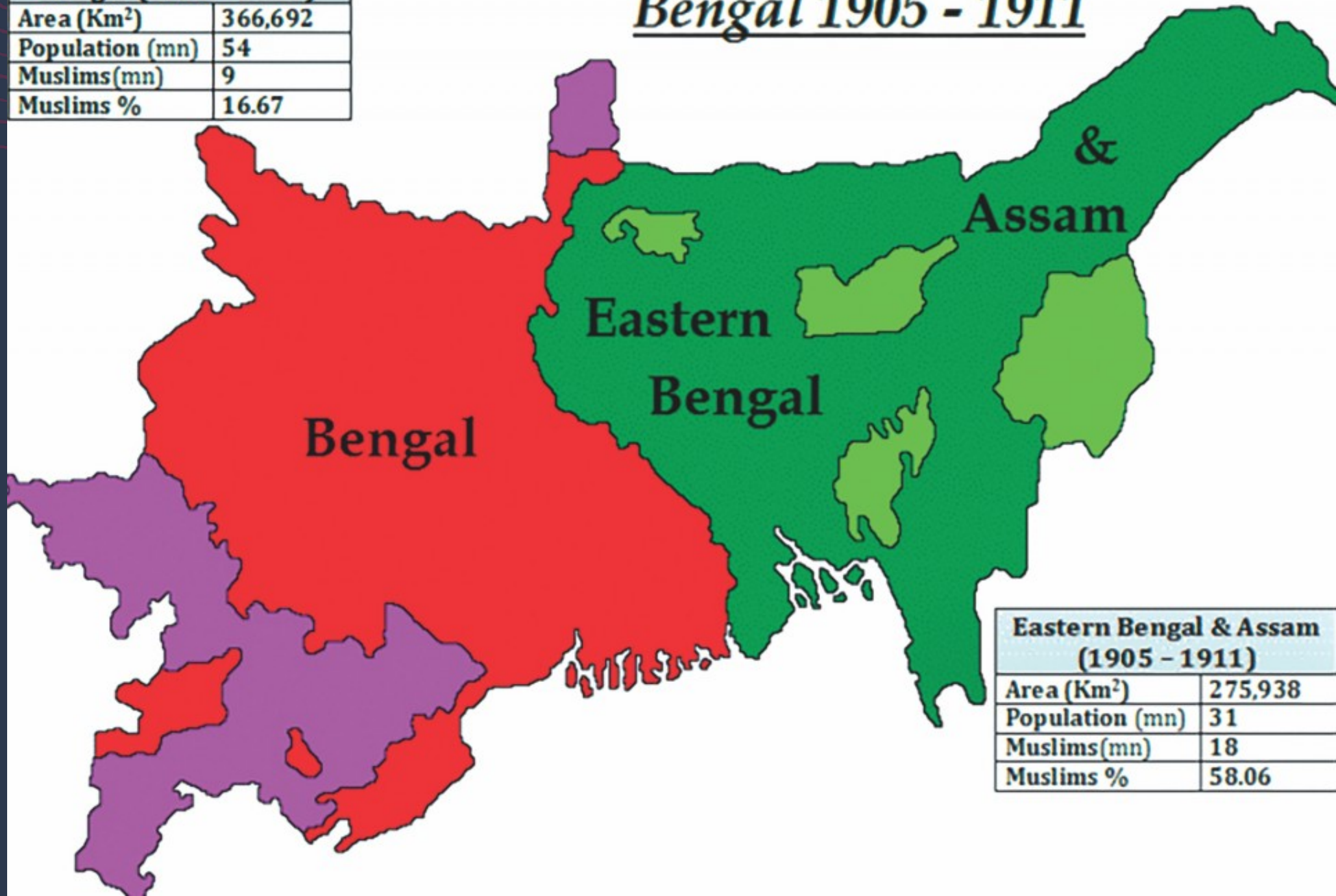


1905 (Aborted) Partition of Bengal

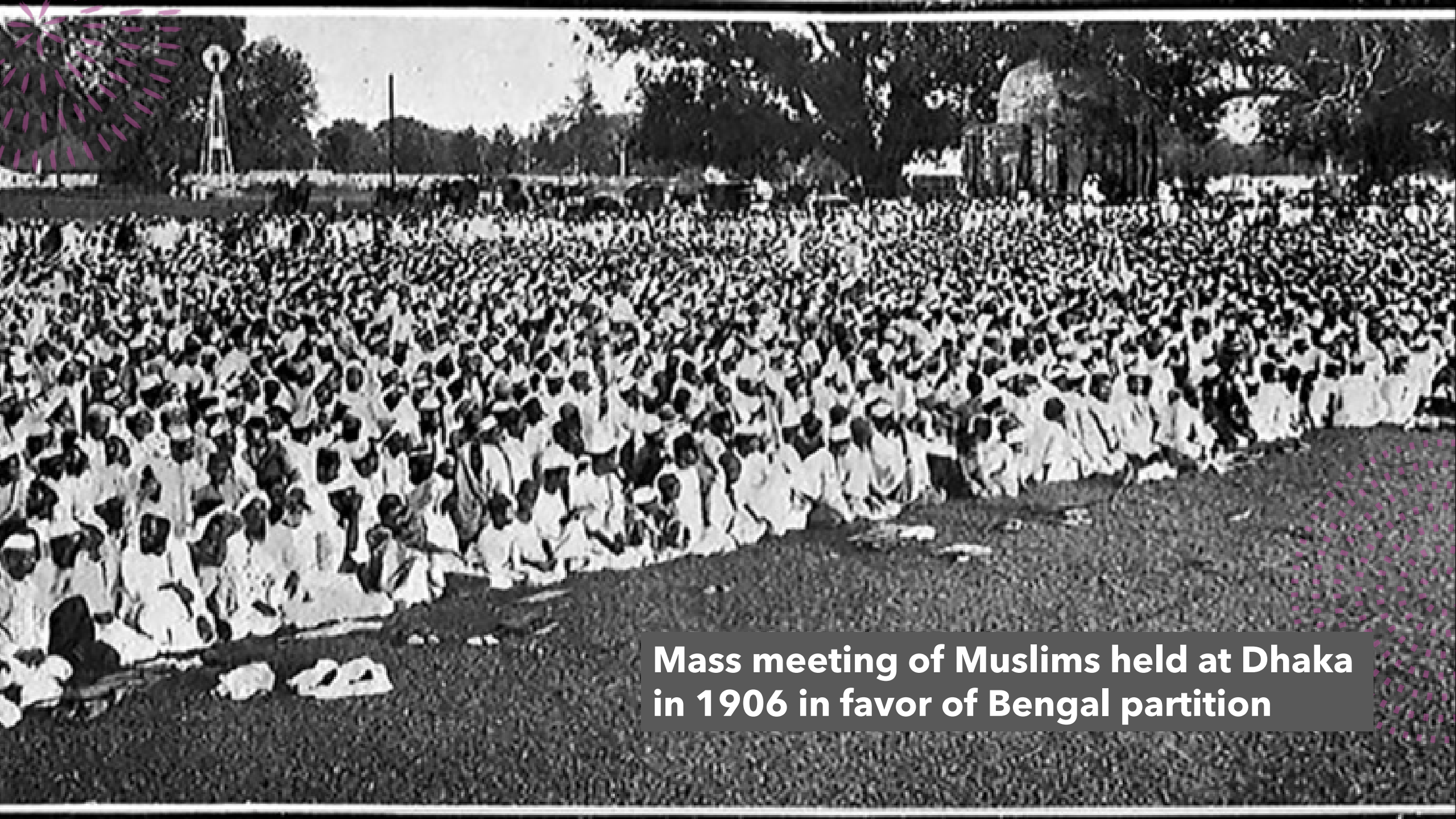
- Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, divided Bengal province between Muslim eastern areas and Hindu western areas
- Curzon believed eastern region was neglected and wanted to improve administration and opportunities there
- Hindus of west Bengal who dominated rural life opposed this policy and feared becoming a minority beside non-Bengalis
- Muslims, majority of new eastern province, approved; deterred by anti-partition campaign's Hindu revivalist tones
- After militant protests, British reversed partition in 1911

Bengal (1905 - 1911)	
Area (Km ²)	366,692
Population (mn)	54
Muslims (mn)	9
Muslims %	16.67

Bengal 1905 - 1911



Eastern Bengal & Assam (1905 - 1911)	
Area (Km ²)	275,938
Population (mn)	31
Muslims (mn)	18
Muslims %	58.06



**Mass meeting of Muslims held at Dhaka
in 1906 in favor of Bengal partition**



People of Dhaka waiting to welcome first Lieutenant Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in 1905

Growth of Political Consciousness

- Sectarian tone of 1905 Partition gave rise to Muslim League in Dhaka as counterpart to Congress (both products of colonial education and new civil service opportunities in British Raj)
- Muslim League and Congress were political parties that vied for seats in legislative bodies created by the British Parliament
- To broaden franchise, Muslim League and Congress Party established religious electorates in the *Lucknow Pact* of 1916
- A third party formed in Bengal - the Krishak Proja Party - to defend the interest of peasants who were exploited by landlords



First Muslim League meeting held in 1906 at Dhaka Nawab's Ahsan Manzil palace



Meeting of Lucknow Pact between Muslim League and Congress in 1916

Political Contention

- Krishak Proja Party (KPP) very briefly gained power; its leader A. K. Fazl ul-Huq helped to relieve the debt of farmers
- KPP was alt to Muslim League (ML), which represented interests of Muslim-minority regions and landed elite, but ML overtook KPP
- ML won vast majority of Muslim vote in 1946 elections – with most support in Bengal – interpreted as mandate for Muslim homeland
- East Bengal's peasantry saw Pakistan as end to feudal system
- The British, on their way out after WWII, proposed a loose union but Nehru rejected it and ML's Jinnah declared Direct Action Day



A. K. Fazl ul-Huq, famed Bengali lawyer and politician, stands next to Jinnah at the time of advancing the Lahore Resolution in 1940

1937

States shaded by largest party

- INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
- UNIONIST PARTY (Punjab)
- UNITED PARTY (Sindh)
- NO ELECTION HELD
- PRINCELY STATES (did not participate)

0 100 200 300 miles



1946

States shaded by largest party

- INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
- ALL INDIAN MUSLIM LEAGUE
- NO ELECTION HELD
- PRINCELY STATES (did not participate)

0 100 200 300 miles





Viceroy Mountbatten discloses plan to partition India in 1947 to Nehru and Jinnah

Dawn

Founded by QAED-E-AZAM JINNAH

Edited by ALTAF HUSAIN

DELHI: SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1946. 20 RAMAZAN, 1365 A.H.



MUSLIM INDIA OBSERVES DIRECT ACTION DAY

"Never, Never"

NO RUSSIAN SHARE IN THE STRAITS

ANKARA, Thursday.

SHOUTS of "never, never," from Deputies greeted the announcement in the Turkish Assembly of the Soviet request for a direct share in the defence of the Dardanelles.

The terms of the Russian note requesting revision of the 1936 Montreux Convention which governs the status of the Straits were read by M. Recep

90 DEAD, 900 INJURED IN CALCUTTA CLASHES

MILITARY CALLED OUT IN BENGAL CAPITAL & BOMBAY

TRAFFIC IN BOTH THE CITIES PARALYSED

LIAQUAT ALI'S PAKISTAN-EFFORT CALL

M. R. Liaquat Ali Khan in an after-Juma written appeal called on the Muslims to be prepared "to resist by every means the Government imposed against our will".

A large gathering heard local Muslim League leaders explain the background to the League's Bombay resolution. League's green flag and placards calling on the Muslims to be ready for the fight adorned the walls of the mosque, and the Muslim League war cries frequently interrupted speeches from the leaders.

Liaquat Ali Khan asked "Never

PT. NEHRU THREATENS TO SUPPRESS MUSLIM

LEAGUE'S DIRECT ACTION CONGRESS DETERMINED TO FORM INTERIM GOVT.

BOMBAY, Friday.

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress, issued a threat to the Muslim League at a Press conference in Bombay this morning saying: "If the League starts some kind of Direct Action, obviously the Government will face that Direct Action—either come to terms with it or oppose it as there is

Second Partition of Bengal

- Riots in Bengal and Punjab after Direct Action Day (to demand a Muslim homeland) showed that a loose union is untenable
- Congress conceded to Partition. Muslim League wished to keep united Bengal within Pakistan, but Congress wished to keep part of Bengal. Also, Bengali Hindus did not wish to join Pakistan, fearing Muslim dominance. Few leaders, (Gandhi, Jinnah) supported independent united Bengal but this view did not prevail.
- Assam's Muslim area opted for Bengal; Buddhist majority Chittagong Hill Tracts and Hindu majority Khulna remained in Pakistan; Muslim majority Malda and Murshidabad went to India



Hindusthan
Standard dated
17 May 1947,
showing the
various demands
regarding the
Partition of
Bengal



Hindu-Muslim riots in Calcutta 1946

From East Bengal to East Pakistan

- Immediately after Partition, ~5m Hindus left East Bengal for the west and ~2m Muslims left West Bengal for the east
- East Bengal lost all coal mines, most industrial plants and commercial hub and port of Calcutta to West Bengal
- East Bengal became eastern wing of a disconnected Pakistan (55% of Pakistan resided there, but west had larger land mass)
- Two wings of Pakistan split along cultural and linguistic lines



Boundary of British Indian Empire (1939)

Union of India

Pakistan (1948)

Large princely states not acceding to either country upon independence

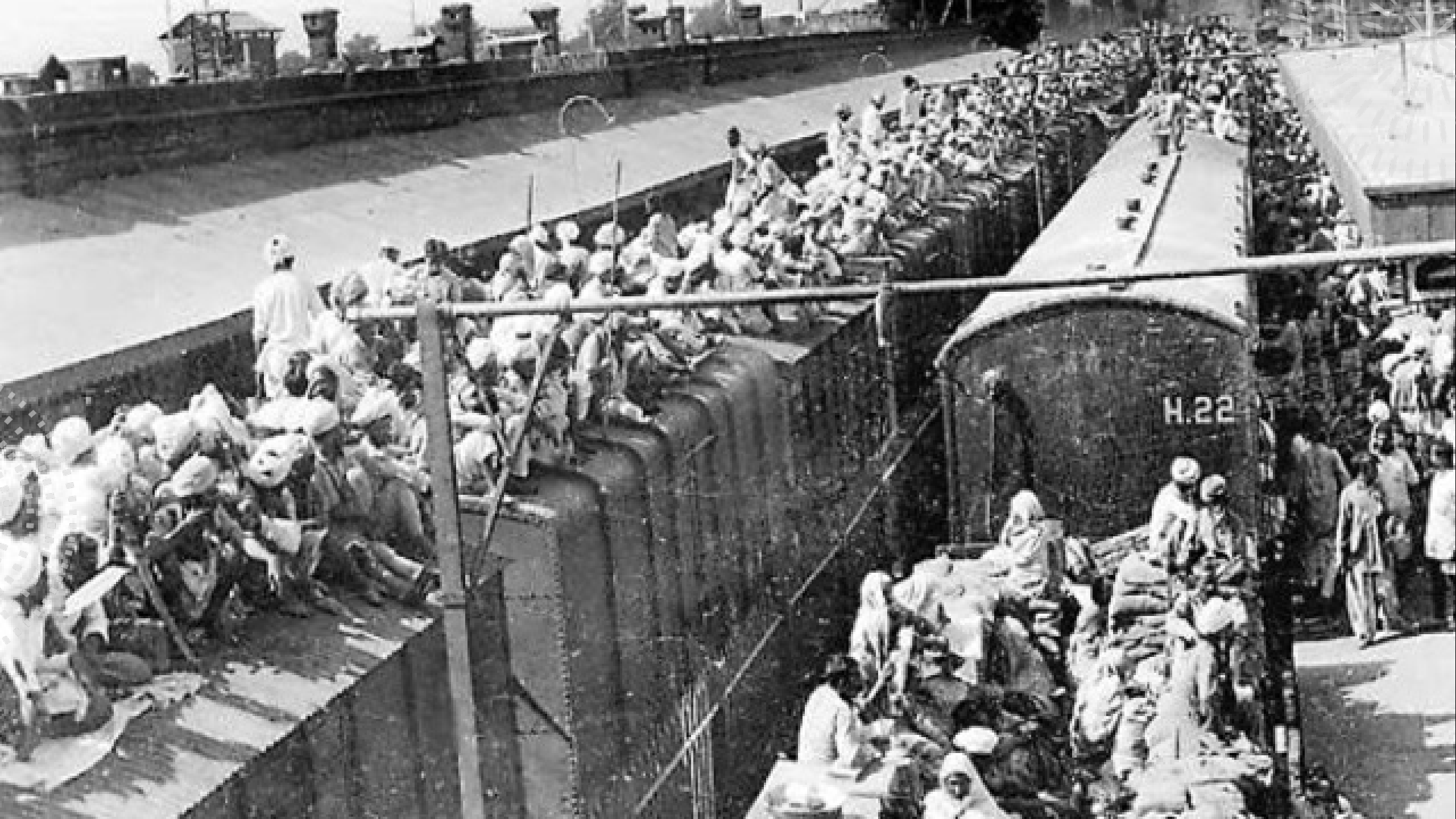
Inter-communal conflict

Movements of Hindu and Sikh refugees

Movements of Muslim refugees



Mass migrations occur at the time of Partition between east and west Bengal



Bengali Nationalism

- Pakistan declared Urdu as official national language for unity; sparked protests among Bengalis, then majority of Pakistan
- Resentment also fueled by discrimination in gov't and industry
- Pride in literary heritage and secular culture gave rise to Bengali nationalism
- Bengali nationalists left Muslim League to form Awami League
- Awami League played instrumental role in Bengali Language Movement, when Pakistani forces famously killed students

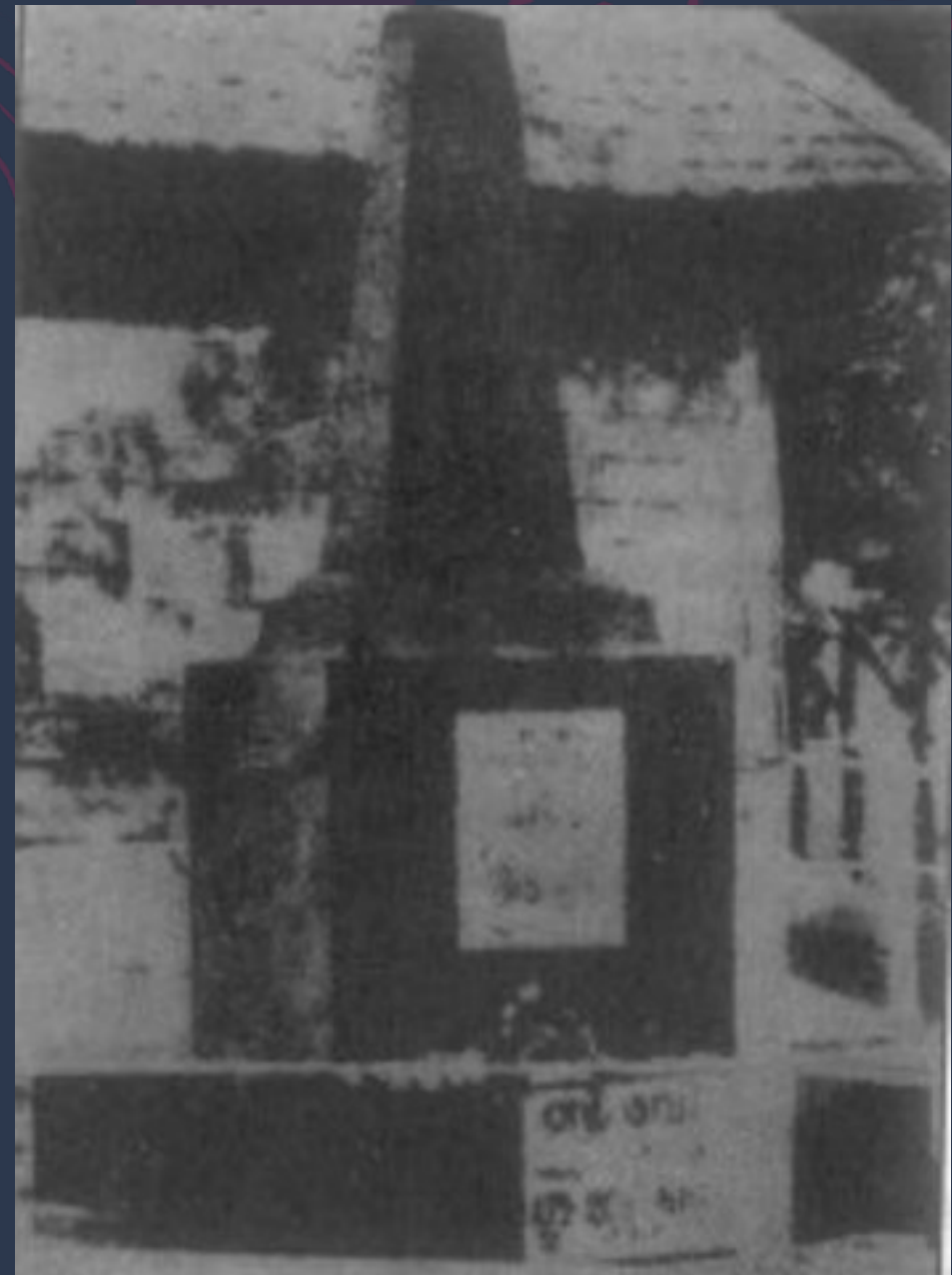


Jinnah declares
Urdu as official
language of all
of Pakistan at
Dhaka University



Fazl ul-Huq had
proposed
Urdu/Arabic script
for Bengali

[illegible]



Language processions in 1952, monument erected for slain student activists

Nationalist Movement Intensifies

- 1952 killings a turning point – nationalist struggle takes off
- Awami League (with KPP) formed a pan-Bangla United Front
- United Front's 21-point charter demanded more rights in East Pakistan – adopted traditional Bengali boat as election symbol
- United Front coalition swept into power in 1954 election – ML out – student activists (Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) enters cabinet
- New provincial gov't demand recognition of Bangla and greater autonomy, but Bengali cabinet rejected by Ghulam Muhammad



Fazl ul-Haq's 1954 Cabinet with Awami League members (Sheikh Mujib ur-Rahman)



Ghulam Muhammad (in felt cap, whom United Front opposed, tours training camp

CUT IN RENT
A First class suit
at the reasonable
price of twenty
dollars, all goods
about \$100.00

CUT IN 106

Francisco-Camacho, 2nd wife
name of Mrs. Camacho, subject
is subject's father-in-law
now living in New York.

30411 High Road, Finchley, London, N. 12, EN
 Agents solicited from suitable firms to pass
 the distribution of British built light earth
 equipment including Hydraulic Angledrums,
 Mixers, Hydraulic Scrapers, Rippers, etc.
 Correspondence to be accompanied by an
 commercial references.



KARACHI

12 *Kajih* 1373

Editor: ALTAJ VOJNAM



UNITED

FRONT SWEEP
POLLS CONTINU

35 more seats
Total 8

FAZLUL HUQ
EX-MINISTER

ELICA, March 17: The United Nations held its first meeting in the East Palace to the South Sea of the morning, and with the British League and the United Nations with them.

Two more Ministers in the last
Mr. A. N. Patel (C-1) Minister, and
Ministers were selected. He is
the United Front. Mr. A. N. Patel is
Mr. Patel has called (1970) was a
Mr. Patel, all was arranged with
to the United Front, from London
A. N. Patel.

Mr. B. A. McGee, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, advised that the Treasury is not planning to issue any new bonds for the purpose of raising money to pay the interest on the existing bonds. He said that the Treasury is planning to issue new bonds for the purpose of raising money to pay the principal of the existing bonds.

NEW EDITORIAL: "The work

LEAGUE HIGH COMMAND IN LONG SESSION

The Down Staff Correspondent

The President Martin Luther King Working Committee said another life would not matter.

The morning begins at 11:30 a.m. as we see the participation of President Bush, Vice President Al Gore, and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and other world leaders.

Source: The above information was obtained from the Bureau of Census, and is subject to the usual caveats of the Bureau of Census. The information is not intended to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was collected.

The "Super High" continued to perform in 1964, and by the year's end, the company was producing 100,000 units of the new model.

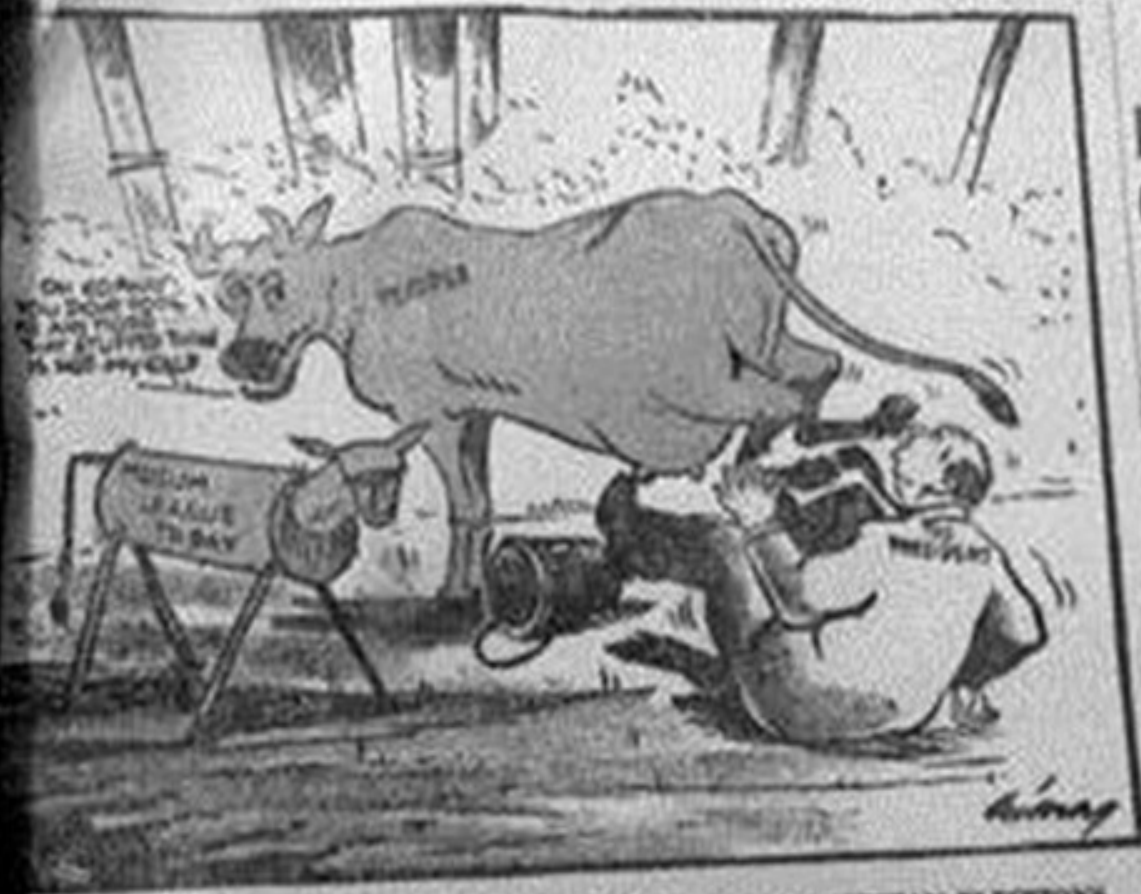
It is contended that the right of the owner of the stream, to carry sewerage into the same from his premises, is a right which is not a public use.

The statements of Mr. T. A.

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Journal of Internal Medicine 275: 1-12

[illegible]

The two federal agencies responsible for the program are the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco.



THE MUSLIM LEAGUE HAS BEEN ROUTED IN THE EAST PAKISTAN ELECTIONS

Zafullah opens C'wealth

Pakistan Regime Grows Unpopular

- West had less population yet more share of revenue allocation
- Industrial, agricultural and civil development in west
- Awami League (AL) back to power in 1956 election; Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy pursue reforms to reduce disparity
- AL deepened relations with U.S. for aid to lift hunger in east
- Karachi's business lobby angry; force Suhrawardy to resign
- In 1958 Gen. Ayub Khan deposed the civil gov't in an army coup

Table 1: Per capita income in East and West Pakistan
(1959–60 prices, in Rupees)

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

Source: Third Five Year Plan of Pakistan, p. 11, and Report of the Panel of Economists on the Fourth Year Plan (1970–75), p. 132.

Year	Spending on West Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Spending on East Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Amount spent on East as percentage of West
1950–55	11,290	5,240	46.4
1955–60	16,550	5,240	31.7
1960–65	33,550	14,040	41.8
1965–70	51,950	21,410	41.2
Total	113,340	45,930	40.5

Source: Reports of the Advisory Panels for the Fourth Five Year Plan 1970–75, Vol. I, published by the planning commission of Pakistan.

Prime Minister Suhrawardy
(middle) with American
President Eisenhower in 1957





Young Sheikh Mujib ur-Rahman ('founding father of Bangladesh') with mentor Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (1956)

Military Rule Under Ayub Khan

- Ayub Khan banned political parties, curtailed elective democracy
- Bengali leaders took part in failed efforts to restore democracy
- University of Dhaka became hotbed for activism advocating more Bengali rights and restoring democracy in Pakistan
- Suhrawardy's death in a Beirut hotel room stirred suspicions
- In 1965 Pakistan war with India, East Pakistan felt defenseless
- Pakistan Army dominated by Punjabis (relic of British policies)

DAWN

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COLONY
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luxury feel
A New Series
Light Colour
OVER 100 COLOURS
TO CHOOSE FROM

CONSTITUTION ABROGATED



PRESIDENT MIRZA
ALL GOVERNMENT
OFFERS REJECTED
1,500 more to join

Martial Law all over the country

POLITICAL PARTIES ABOLISHED

Parliament, legislatures and cabinets dismissed



GEN. AYUB
Martial Law
Administrator's
proclamation
By Dawn Staff Correspondent
The following proclamation
of Martial Law was issued
by General Muhammad

DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS ORDERED

President's directive to meet food shortage

By Dawn Staff Correspondent
President Iskander Mirza has directed the Government of West Pakistan to complete the distribution of all lands for which irrigation is available within a period of three months from the receipt of these directions.

The directive has been given to ensure the prompt action to the various districts of Pakistan in view of the acute shortage of foodgrains.

The President has also ordered the Government of West Pakistan to appoint not less than six committees, one for the Punjab, one for the Sindh, one for the Baluchistan, one for the North-West Frontier Province and one for the Federated States of India.

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First priority to agriculture

RECOMMENDATION OF NEC

By Dawn Staff Correspondent
The National Economic Council (NEC) has recommended that the Government should take steps to increase the production of foodgrains and other essential commodities.



President Ayub Khan visits Kaptai dam in East Pakistan



পূর্বসারি
গোষণকরা

চল বন্ধ

পূর্বসারি
সংগঠিত
জাতিমত
স্ব স্ব
সংগঠিত
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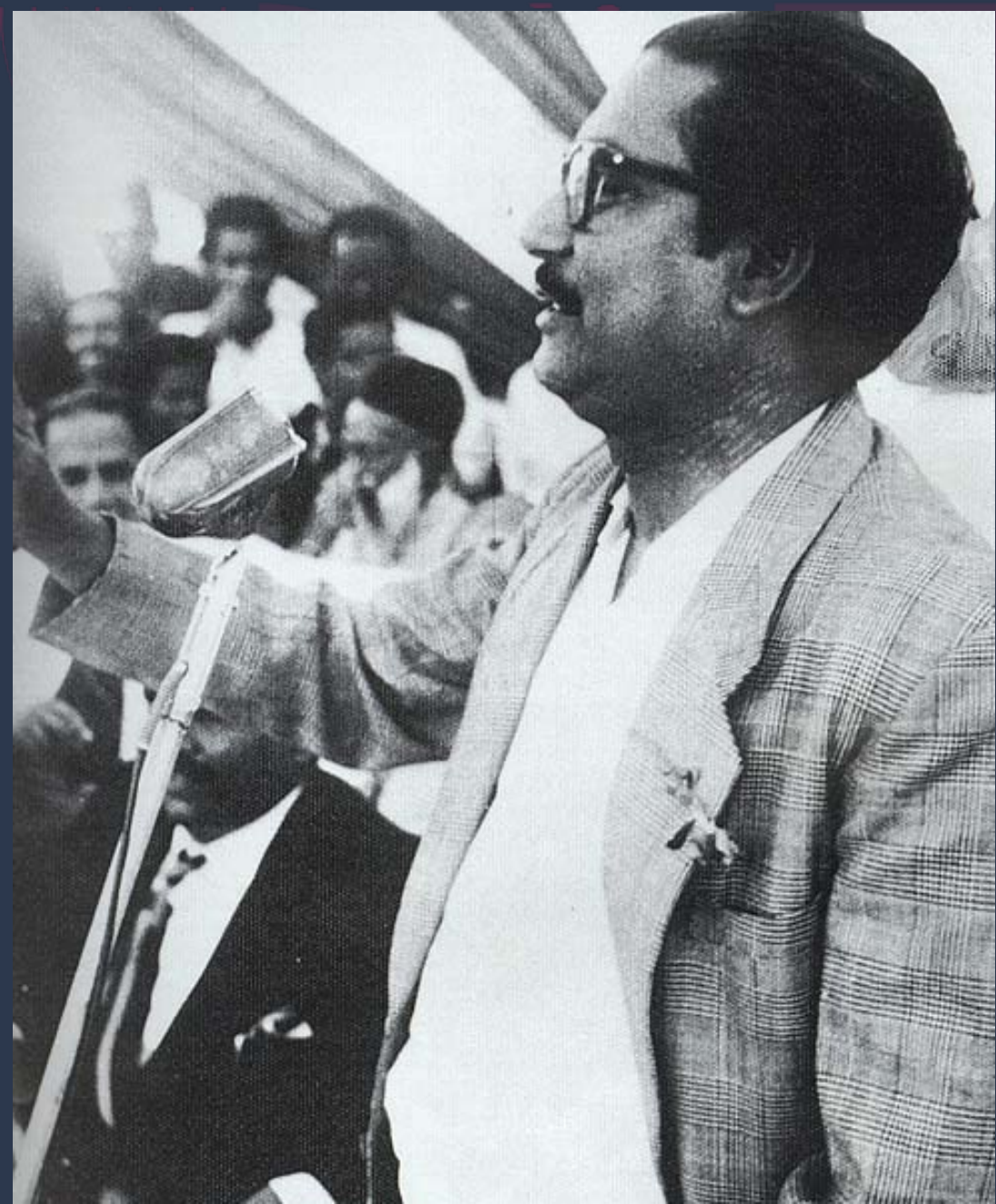
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Resurgence of Bengali Nationalism

- By mid 1960s, East Pakistanis adamant on autonomy
- Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced 6-point charter for greater autonomy in East Pakistan in 1966
- Case lodged against Mujib for secession but growing popular
- Ayub Khan resigned, and Gen. Yahya Khan became top leader
- Yahya Khan permitted popular representation and election
- In 1970, Awami League won East Pakistan seats and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto won West Pakistan



Sheikh Mujib ur-Rahman announces 6 points in 1966; Campaigns for 1970 election





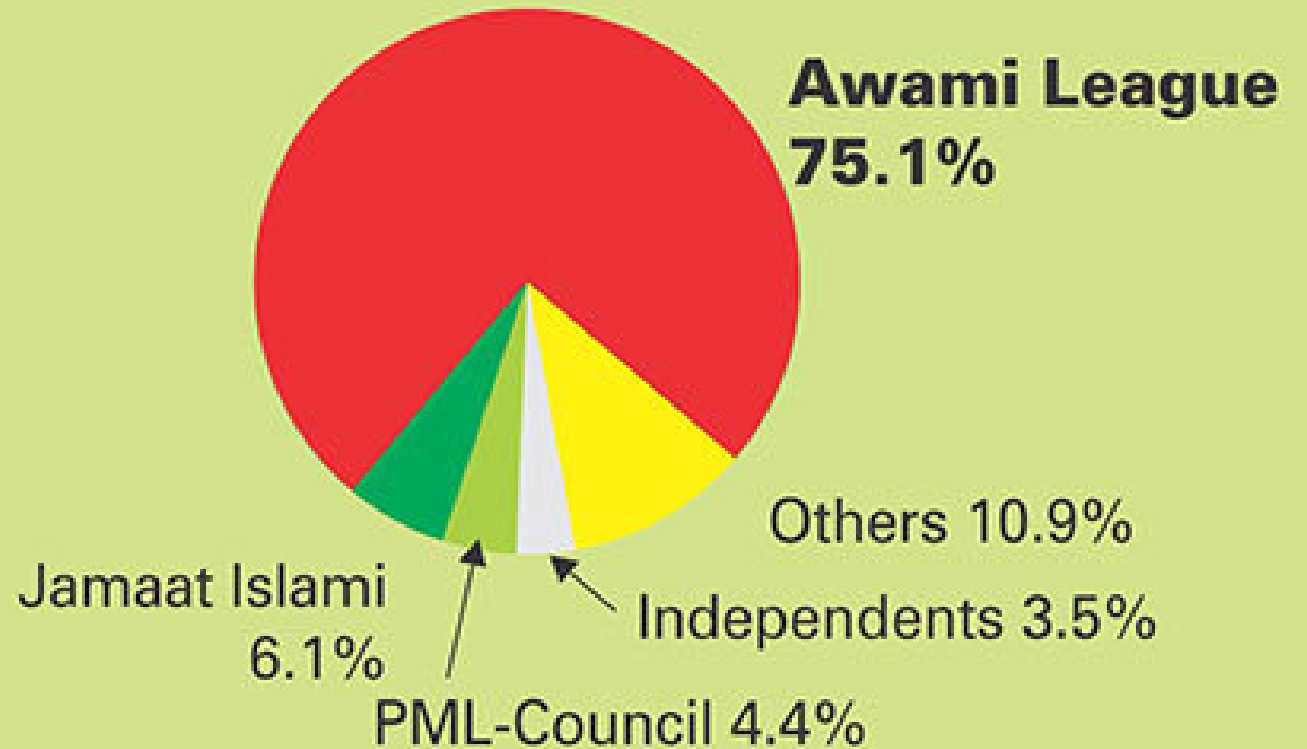
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Sheikh Mujib's rival, campaigning in 1970 election

Party position in National Assembly

Awami League	160+7*
People's Party	81+4*
PML-Qayyum	9+1*
PML-Council	7
Jamat-e-Islami	4
Other parties	23+1*
Independents	16
Total	313

* Seats reserved for women

Party shares in votes in East Bengal





Disastrous typhoon hits East Pakistan during 1970 election year

Contestation Over 1970 Election

- AL had a healthy majority to establish a national government, but W Pakistan feared AL's charter would break up Pakistan
- Mujib wanted to base new constitution on AL 6-point charter (giving East Pakistan economic, military, political autonomy)
- Yahya organized talks between Bhutto and Mujib – failed
- Bhutto convinced Yahya Khan to delay Assembly session and protests broke out in E Pakistan, wanting independence
- Mujib in talks with Bhutto and Yahya, cautious with language



Awami League
candidates
celebrate after
election victory



Sheikh Mujib (left) and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (right) in talks

Six Points

1. The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in its true sense on the Lahore Resolution, and the parliamentary form of government with supremacy of a Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.
2. The federal government should deal with only two subjects: Defence and Foreign Affairs, and all other residuary subjects shall be vested in the federating states.
3. Two separate, but freely convertible currencies for two wings should be introduced; or if this is not feasible, there should be one currency for the whole country, but effective constitutional provisions should be introduced to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. Furthermore, a separate Banking Reserve should be established, and separate fiscal and monetary policy be adopted for East Pakistan.
4. The power of taxation and revenue collection shall be vested in the federating units and the federal centre will have no such power on the issue. The federation will be entitled to a share in the state taxes to meet its expenditures.
5. There should be two separate accounts for the foreign exchange earnings of the two wings; the foreign exchange requirements of the federal government should be met by the two wings equally or in a ratio to be fixed; indigenous products should move free of duty between the two wings, and the Constitution should empower the units to establish trade links with foreign countries.
6. East Pakistan should have a separate militia or paramilitary force.

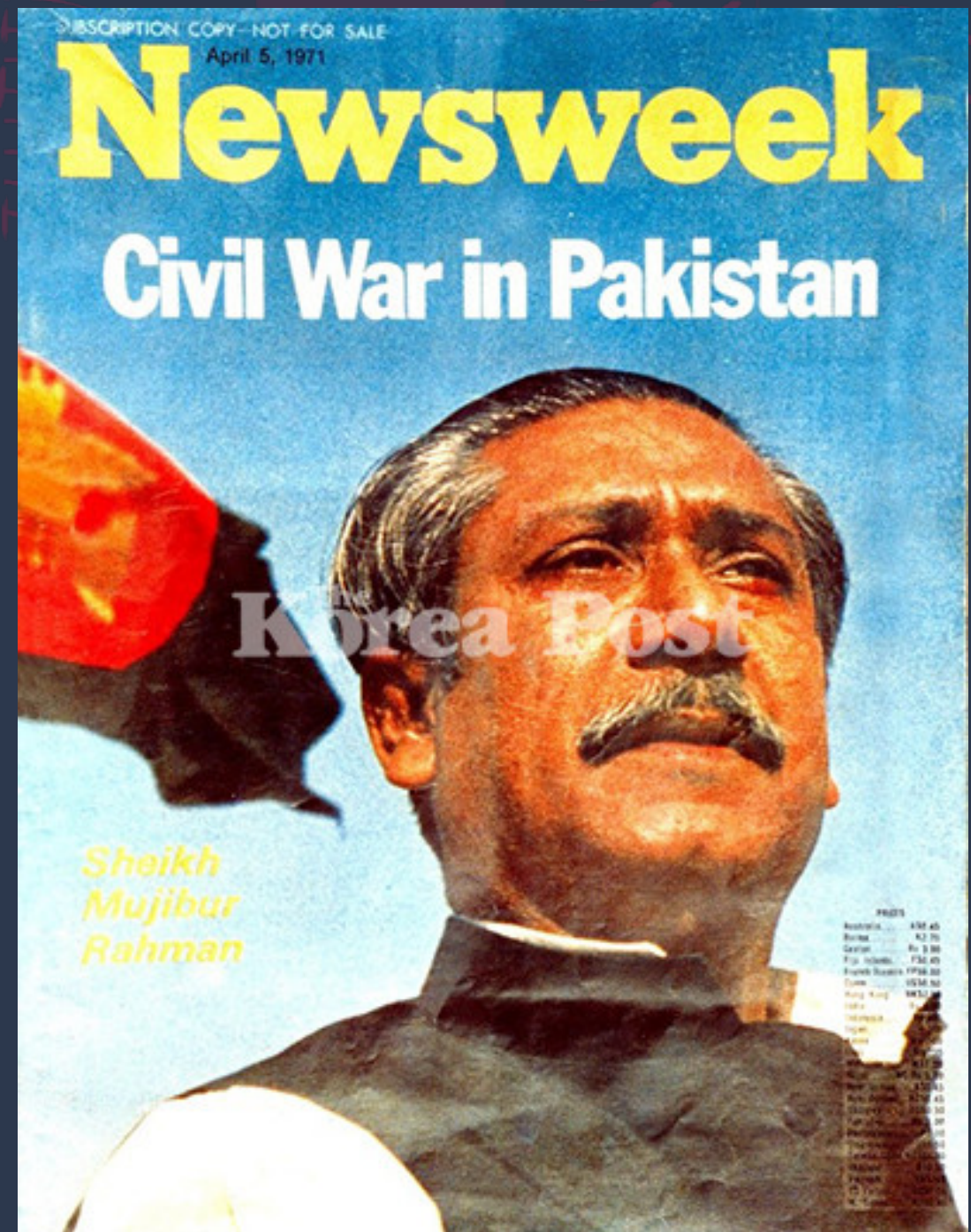


From Autonomy to Independence

- Mujib refused to share power with Bhutto; Yahya Khan willing to accept Six Points and let Mujib lead, but Bhutto refused
- AL told Yahya regional autonomy in 2 days or turn lawless
- While talks under way, Yahya secretly commanded the arrest of Mujib, who then gave cue for independence with a note
- Mujib's note (Declaration of Independence) circulated widely - Bengali Army officer Major Ziaur Rahman read it on radio



Sheikh Mujib arrested by Yahya Khan





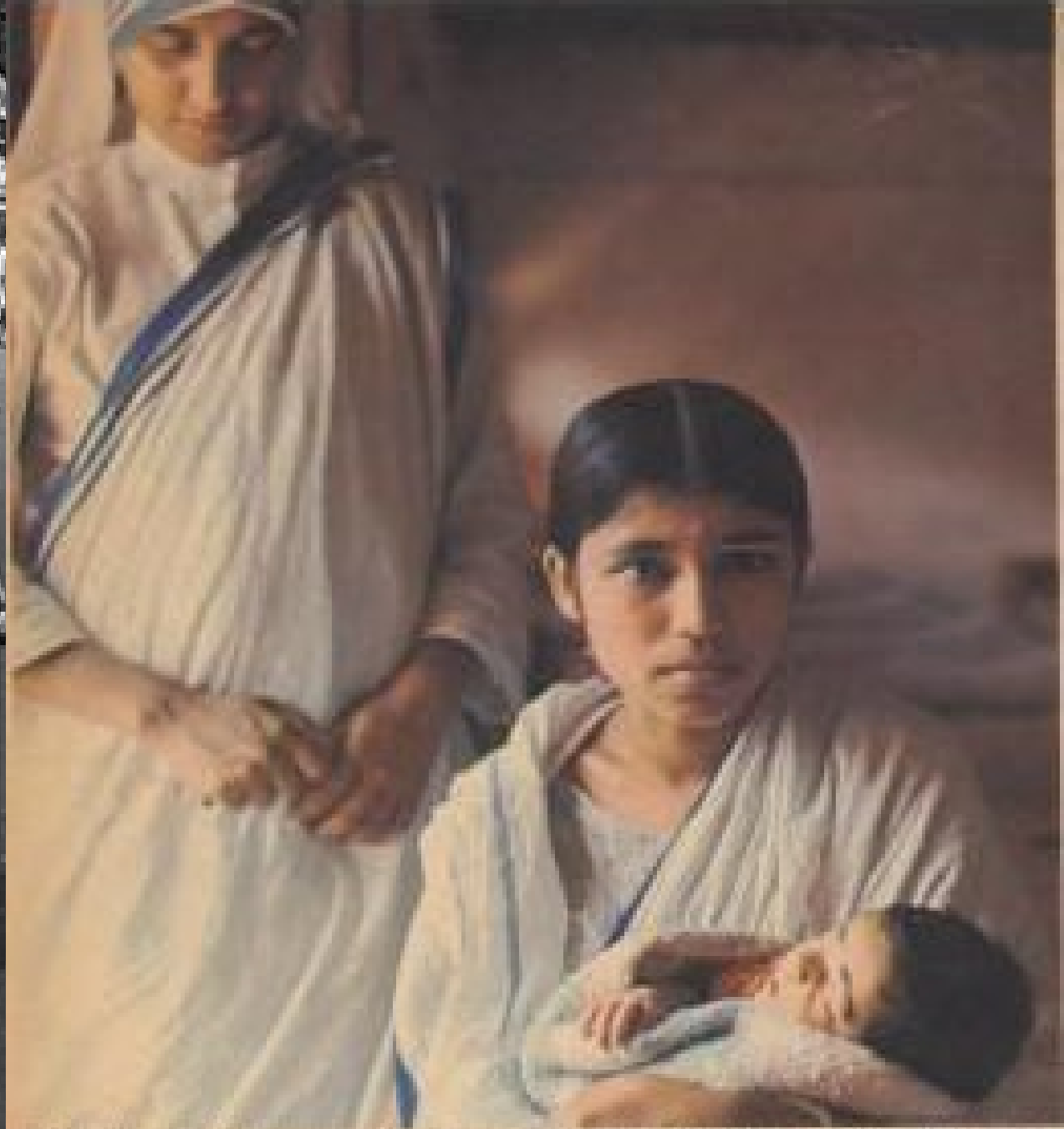
Major Zia of Bengali Army declares independence of Bangladesh on radio

Birth of a New Country (Bangladesh)

- Provisional Government of Bangladesh formed with Mujib as head of state – made a war plan with muktibahini (fighters)
- Fighting grew between Pakistan Army and Muktibahini – 10 million Bengalis, mostly Hindus, sought refuge in India
- Pakistan recruited Biharis and anti-separation Bengalis to their cause, but Muktibahini had edge when India joined their side
- Pakistan surrendered on Dec 16, 1971 in Dhaka. East Pakistan adopted name “Bangladesh” with parliamentary democracy
- Most UN members accepted BD except China (Pakistan ally)



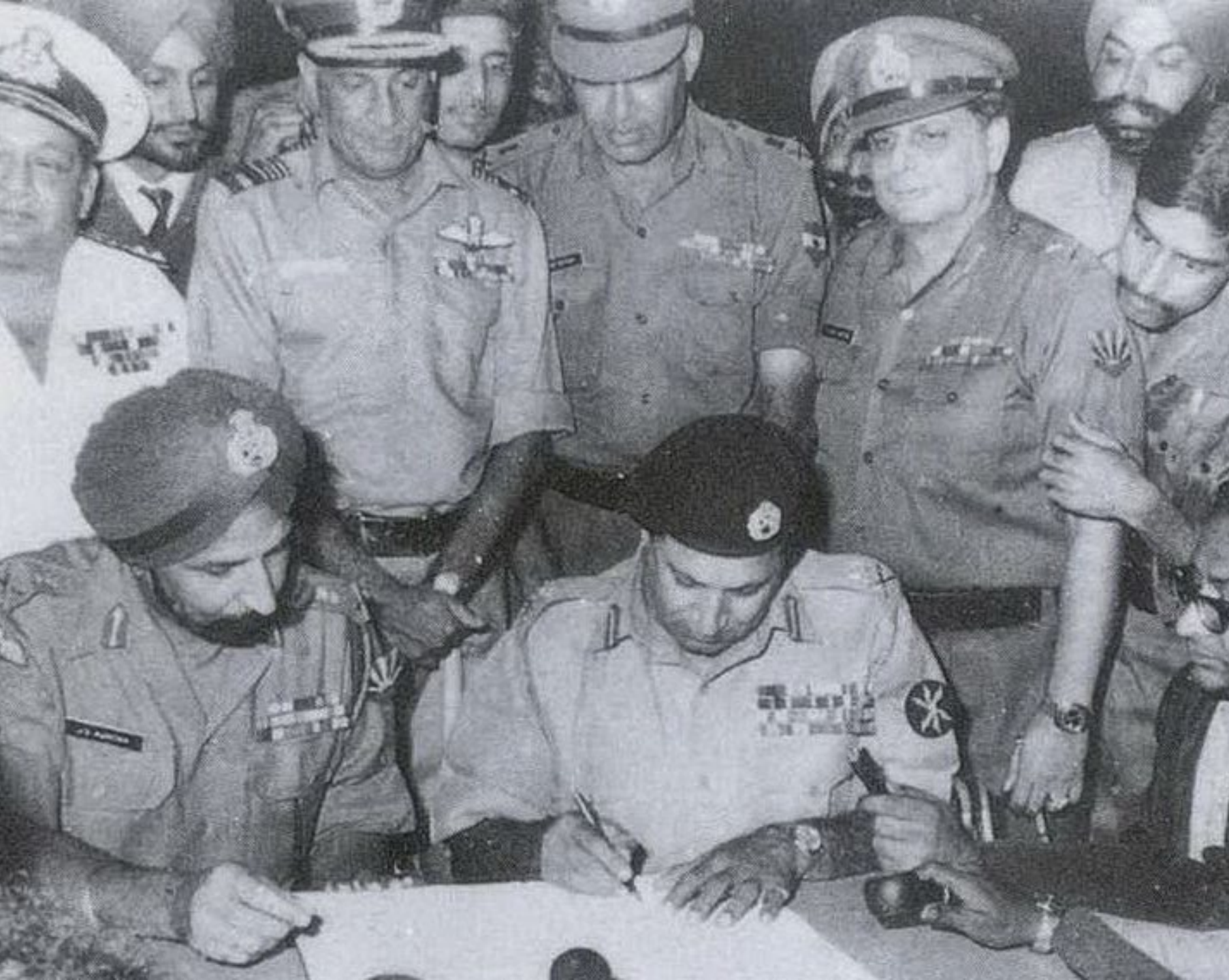
London



Raped and made pregnant by a Pakistani soldier, this teen-age girl will leave her new-born baby for adoption at Mother Teresa's Home.



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto talks to the media after releasing Sheikh Mujib from jail



Pakistan
surrenders to
India on
December
1971, leading
to Bangladesh
secession



Sheikh Mujib and Indira Gandhi (of India) signing treat of friendship

FREEDOM OF PRESS

AFP

DEAR BANGLADESHI'S

SORRY FOR 71, GENOCIDE

FROM PAKISTANI MEDIA AND LAWYERS