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### BANGLADESH FROM ARISE TO INDEPENDENCE

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Bangladesh was subordinate to Pakistan, but its inhabitants were suffering from marginalization and exclusion before they attained complete independence. This provoked the population against the ruling Pakistani authorities, so the population launched a comprehensive revolution led by Mujibur Rahman, during which the revolutionaries demanded full independence from Pakistan. Pakistan refused this, which led to overall battles in the areas of Bengal. Thousands of people fled to neighboring India to get rid of the ongoing battles between the two sides, and thus India had to bear the burdens of these fleeing population to their countries. So that Pakistan demanded to stop the military operations against Bengal. But the Pakistani authorities did not. It responded, which led to India entering the war on the side of the population of Bangladesh, and this matter ultimately led to the victory of the India Front, the declaration of the independence of Bangladesh and the recognition of that independence by the Pakistani authorities.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Bangladesh is one of the Southeast Asian countries whose inhabitants fought for independence and entered into fierce battles with Pakistan in order to get rid of the marginalization and exclusion that the Pakistani authorities were practicing against them, as The Bangladeshis have claimed, and therefore this topic is one of the important topics to find out the political events that It went through that region and the repercussions of the war between the two countries and obtaining independence.

The research was divided into an introduction, two topics and a conclusion. The first topic was touched on political events in Bangladesh until 1971, as the researcher dealt with the geographical location that Bangladesh enjoyed, the number of its population and their religions, and then the independence of Pakistan in 1947, of which Bangladesh is a part, and then the political events

that Pakistan went through in the East until 1971. While the second topic came to shed light on the political events that accompanied the independence of Bangladesh and the battles that The population of East Pakistan fought for the sake of obtaining independence, and the international positions towards that independence.

The researcher used a group of important sources such as documents, Arabic and foreign books and university theses. Among the most prominent of those documents is the Indian document D. I. M. D, Government of India, and Ministry of External Affairs, Which talks about India-Pakistan relations and the role of each of them in the independence of Bangladesh. Also, one of the English letters used in the research is the aid letter , Salam Binod Kumar Singh , Indo-Bangladesh relations: their impact on the security of the north east ,In which talked about India's role in the independence of Bangladesh and the battles it fought with Pakistan, as well as the important Arabic letters are the message of Hanna Mahmoud Abdul Rahim Nader, Yahya Khan and his military and political role in Pakistan until 1971, in which she touched on Yahya Khan's role in Pakistan and his discussions about the independence of Bangladesh.

In conclusion, I hope that I have made a modest contribution in providing new information for the interested reader Concerning Bangladesh and circumstances of its independence.

### ***The first topic: Political events in Bangladesh until 1971***

#### ***Geographical location and population***

Bangladesh is located in Southeast Asia. It is bordered by India on all sides except for the far southeast side, which is bordered by Burma (Myanmar) to the far southeast of the continent and bounded on the south by the coast of Bengal. Bangladesh, along with the Indian state in West Bengal, forms the multi-lingual ethnic Bengal, and Bangladesh is one of the least urban areas in South Asia. About 80% of the population lives in villages, according to the 2001 census. The population of Bangladesh reached 129,247,233. There are a number of different nationalities and ethnicities in Bangladesh, such as Proto-Steroids. As for the religion, about 85% of the population follows the religion of Islam, Which made it the official state religion by the Constitutional Amendment of 1988<sup>(1)</sup>

The majority of the Bangladeshi people work in agriculture, as it constitutes about 16.03% of the GDP, while the industrial sector constitutes 29.73% of the GDP, in which there are a number of major industries such as clothing, fertilizers, cigarettes, tea, sugar, and paper. And other industries <sup>(2)</sup>

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<sup>(1)</sup>Salam Binod Kumar Singh, *Indo-Bangladesh relations: their impact on the security of the north east*, Submitted to the faculty of arts Banjab University, Chandigarh for the degree of doctor of philosophy, 2011, P. 8.

<sup>(2)</sup>Ibid.

### *Pakistan's independence*

Pakistan was subordinate to India until October 14, 1947, when the British Viceroy in India, Lord Mountbatten <sup>(1)</sup> proposed a plan to divide India into two states whose affairs would be managed during the period of transition along the lines of the British Dominions, and the Viceroy would be the Governor-General for the two parts. The plan, announced on June 3, 1947, stipulated that Pakistan consisted of the northwestern part of India and East Bengal. As for the common regions such as Punjab, Northwest Frontier Province, Sindh, Baluchistan and part of Assam, they would have been subject to the ballot by order of their affiliation, but the plan exempted the states of the Emirates from their loyalty to the throne and urged them to Joining either India or Pakistan <sup>(2)</sup>.

The idea of partition came about because of religious, political, social, economic and cultural differences between Muslims, Hindus or other sects. The leaders of the Islamic League <sup>(3)</sup> felt that in independent, undivided India dominated by the Hindu majority, it would not be possible to take care of the economic, political and cultural rights of the Indian Islamic community. With such deep differences between Muslims and other sects especially Hindus the largest and most prominent of these sects.

The Muslims of the Indian subcontinent under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah <sup>(4)</sup> and the Muslim League began a movement for the freedom of Indian Muslims. As a result, the struggle of the Indian Muslims was crowned with success and the British surrendered to the demands of the Muslim League, and the subcontinent was divided into two states <sup>(5)</sup>.

#### Third: Political events in East Pakistan before independence

The first signs of discontent among the residents of East Bengal appeared in March 1948 regarding the issue of language, as eastern Pakistan spoke the Bengali language while the government imposed on them the Urdu language, and this issue led to the emergence of opposition movements that increased

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<sup>(1)</sup>Lord Louis Mountbatten (1900-1979) is a diplomat and the last governor-general of India. He chose him in 1941 Churchill to be commander of joint operations, and in late 1943 he was appointed commander of the Allied forces in East Asia, and he was appointed governor-general of India in 1947, and after independence he left India and took command The British Navy in the Mediterranean, and in 1955 he became commander of the British Royal Navy, and from 1959-1965 he took command of the defense staff, and finally he was assassinated in 1979. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, op.cit, vol.7, p.478.

<sup>(2)</sup>Lord Bird wood, India and Pakistan A continent Decides, New York, Copland, Indian Problem 1833 – 1935, 33.

<sup>(3)</sup>The Islamic League: It is a political organization for Muslims, formed after an Islamic delegation headed by Muhammad Agha Khan submitted a request to the Viceroy of India at the Samla Palace in October 1906, and the Viceroy agreed on this and the goal of approval was to create a kind of balance with the party Conference. See: Wadad Salem Muhammad Shalash Al-Naim, the Islamic League and its role in the arise of Pakistan 1906 - 1947, unpublished master's thesis, College of Historical Studies, Basra University, 2010, pp. 1-35.

<sup>(4)</sup>Muhammad Ali Jinnah: (1869-1948) and he was the first president of the State of Pakistan. He studied law in London and practiced law for the first time in Karaji and then in Bombay 1897 and was a member of the National Conference. He joined the Muslim League in 1913, He was awarded the title of ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim unity He was elected president of the Islamic League for the years (1919, 1920, 1934-1940) and headed the association's delegation to Britain 1919. See: Anwar Inayat Allah, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, translated by Saad Abu Dayeh, Cultural Section, Pakistan Embassy, Amman, 1985, pp. 17-25.

<sup>(5)</sup>Subrata Roy Chaudhry, the Genesis of Bangladesh: A Study in International Legal Norms and Permissive Conscience, Asian Publishing House, Bombay, 1972, p. 172.

their role and continued until the first post-independence elections were held in Pakistan in 1954. The Muslim League won only ten seats, while the local Pakistani East Party alliance called the United Front (Bengali Jojo Front) won a landslide victory. As the political parties in East Pakistan won 227 seats out of the 236 Muslim seats. Even the Communists won 5 seats. The Islamic League, from which the ruling party was spouts, won only 10 seats<sup>(1)</sup>.

There were such sharp differences among Pakistani politicians that the Constituent Assembly was not able to draw up a constitution for Pakistan until 1956. These differences were then successfully resolved by the eighty-member Constituent Assembly divided equally between the two wings after arduous negotiations between the politicians. The constitution stipulated the establishment of a federal system based on the principle of parity between East and West Pakistan. And the formation of a legislative body with an equal number of members from both parts of Pakistan. And granting autonomy to eastern Pakistan<sup>(2)</sup>.

On October 7, 1958, General Muhammad Ayub Khan, Chief of Staff of the Army, imposed martial law across the country. He also dissolved national and local councils, banned political parties, and canceled the 1956 constitution, which was promulgated after a nine-year struggle. At that point he introduced his political system called "basic democracy". One of the primary tasks of the primary Democrats was to provide legitimacy to Ayub Khan's military dictatorship by electing him as President of Pakistan.

This was done on February 7, 1960 through a referendum carried out by his government, and the next day, General Ayoub Khan was sworn in as the elected president of Pakistan<sup>(3)</sup>.

Ayoub Khan's actions were characterized by arbitrariness towards the population of eastern Pakistan, which led to more resentment and hatred from the residents of Ayub Khan and his arbitrary policy. A number of prominent opponents confronted the policy, most notably Sheikh Mujib al-Rahman<sup>(4)</sup>. In order to stop and strike that opposition, the central government announced in November 1968 that it had discovered a plot in September 1967 to make East Pakistan an independent state.. The details of this plot were launched from the Agartala region, a border town of India, in cooperation with the Indian army authorities. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who was at that time in custody, was included in the case. The reason for its inclusion was to politicize the issue and destroy Mujib al-Rahman's reputation, but a conspiracy issue added

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<sup>(1)</sup>Salam Binod Kumar Singh, *op cit*, p.9.

<sup>(2)</sup>Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political history of Pakistan*, Lahore, Oxford University Press 2005, 53.

<sup>(3)</sup>Rounaq Jahan, *Pakistan: failure in national integration*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1972, p.12.

<sup>(4)</sup>Mujib Al-Rahman (1920-1975): Pakistani figure, born in the province of Bengal, and he was the first to call for the establishment of the state of Bangladesh, after he obtained his law degree in 1947, he founded the Muslim Students Association in East Pakistan, and in 1955 he became a member of the Awami League headed by Ataa Rahman Khan, entered prison in 1969, and after his release from prison, he participated in the 1970 elections, won the majority of votes, and became the first president of the state of Bangladesh after separating from Pakistan. He was killed on August 15, 1975, as a result of a military coup by some of his family. See: A. Ahmed, *Era of shwika mujib Rahman*, Columbia university press, 1983 .p.82.

momentum to his popularity, contrary to what his opponents were planning for<sup>(1)</sup>.

Meanwhile, the personality of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto<sup>(2)</sup>, head of the Pakistan People's Party, appeared as a popular leader in West Pakistan, and he began a campaign against President Ayub Khan's regime, and creating emotional hatred against him among the people. Also, President Ayoub Khan was unable to control the government because of his health and the anger of the public in Pakistan intensified. He tried to reach consensus with the opposition by calling a round table conference of key politicians, including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, after the case of the Agartala plot against him withdrew. However, these efforts failed to reach a consensus with the opposition leaders<sup>(3)</sup>.

The scene of law and order in Pakistan has become dangerous, the Ayoub government has lost control of the deteriorating situation, President Ayub Khan has resigned and handed over power to General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan<sup>(4)</sup> the supreme commander of the Pakistani army, and Yahya Khan lacked political acumen, He assumed responsibility for the country at the most difficult time in the history of Pakistan, and after coming to power he did not ban political parties and announced in his speech on November 28, 1969 that the elections would be held on October 5, 1970.<sup>(5)</sup>In a speech, Yahya Khan accepted one of the main demands of East Pakistani politicians in the so-called "one man, one vote." This means that parliamentary representation should be based on the percentage of the population and not on the basis of parity between the two wings. This law gave East Pakistan the permanent upper hand in Parliament by granting it 162 seats out of 300 seats in the National Assembly <sup>(6)</sup>President General Yahya Khan achieved another requirement for the East Wing about increasing the appropriation of money that was often provided by East Pakistan politicians in the 1960s. The final allocation was according to the fourth five-year plan, as approved by the 29th National Economic Council, as follows.

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<sup>(1)</sup>Robert Jackson, *South Asian Crisis* Chatto and Windus, London 1975, p. 124.

<sup>(2)</sup>Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979): a Pakistani politician who took over the presidency of Pakistan after its defeat in the war with India in December 1971. He took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1963 to 1966, worked to develop relations with China, and moved towards militancy with India on the issue of Kashmir, founded the People's Party in 1967 and was then placed under house arrest and despite all pleas, a death sentence was imposed in 1978 and executed by hanging in April. See: Stanley Wolpert and edit chief, *encyclopedia of India*, op. cit, vol.1, and p.150-151.

<sup>(3)</sup>Craig Baxter, *Pakistan Votes 1971*, Asian Survey, Vol.XI, No.3, March, 1971, p.72.

<sup>(4)</sup>Muhammad Yahya Khan (1917 - 1980): a Pakistani personality, born near Peshawar in the northern part of India before the partition resolution, he became in 1966 the Supreme Commander of the Pakistani Army, and after Ayoub Khan's resignation in 1969 he became President of the Republic of Pakistan until 1971. He passed away on August 10, 1980 in Pakistan. See: Hanan Mahmood Abdul Rahim Nader, *Yahya Khan and his military and political role in Pakistan until 1971*, unpublished MA Thesis, College of Education, Samarra University, 2017, pp. 10-16; Haider Abdul-Ali Jaber, the previous source, p. 314.

<sup>(5)</sup>Amin-Al-Zaman, *party factionalism in Bangladesh a case study of the Awami league (1971-97)*, department of political science, Aligarh Muslim university, Aligarh India, 2004, p. 33.

<sup>(6)</sup>Ibid

**Table No. (1)** clarifies the allocation of funds under the fourth five-year plan<sup>(1)</sup>

Total (Rs. Crores)	West Pakistan	East Pakistan	Sector
public sector	1960 (40 %)	2940 (60 %)	4,900
private sector	1600 (61%)	3000 (39%)	2,600
Total	3.560 (47.5)	3,940 (52.5 %)	7,500

The above table shows the value of the allocations set by the Pakistani government for eastern Pakistan. These financial allocations were much greater than the allocations in previous years and in it response to the authorities in eastern Pakistan.

In order to control separatist proclivities in East Pakistan, President General Yahya Khan issued the Legal Framework Order on March 28, 1970. It defined the boundaries of regional autonomy. According to one of its provisions, the territorial integrity and national solidarity of Pakistan must be respected, and there should be a federation in which the provinces enjoy maximum autonomy, but the federal government also has sufficient powers to carry out its responsibilities regarding internal and external issues and to preserve the independence and integrity of the country<sup>(2)</sup>. After Mujeeb Al-Rahman got out of detention, he began working to restore political activity, so he campaigned hard to achieve his electoral gains and win the largest number of seats. As for Yahya Khan, he did not take any steps to gain the confidence of other political forces in East Pakistan, such as the Awami Party<sup>(3)</sup>. In the meantime, other factors emerged that had a role in strengthening Mujib al-Rahman's fortunes. The catastrophe unleashed by the flood and the hurricane during the last phase of the election campaign in August 1970 gave rise to a million people who died during that hurricane, during which the administration's inefficiency was adopted to deal with the situation. The claims of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman about the central government's indifference stance towards the suffering of the East Pakistani people. After the hurricane disaster, Mujib became more vocal. He harshly criticized the central government for its indifferent stance and asked the people to vote in favor of his program<sup>(4)</sup>. New Delhi strongly supported Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's election campaign. His demand for maximum autonomy was seen on the right line from India's point of view. The strong Indian interest and support for Mujibur Rahman's program is evident in the voting pattern of the Hindu community in Bangladesh, which had historical and cultural ties to India. According to the Election Commission announcement, 57 percent of the total registered voters actually participated in the polls and the Awami League received 75 percent of the votes cast. In other words, the Awami League got 42 percent of the total votes registered, the Hindus made up 15 percent of the total, and they are all believed to have voted

<sup>(1)</sup>G.W. Chaudhry, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, London, 1973, p.63.

<sup>(2)</sup>G.W. Chaudhry, *op .cit*,p.63.

<sup>(3)</sup>The Awami Movement: It is a national movement that founded by the Bengali leader Abdul Hamid Bhashani in 1949, and after the movement was strengthened, it was led by Sheikh Mujib al-Rahman, who made Dhaka its headquarters, and he aimed behind this movement to obtain autonomy for East Pakistan and control the powers of the government Except for defense and foreign policy, the movement continued to operate and became the main party after Bangladesh seceded from Pakistan in 1971. See: Farouk Hassan Mahmoud Al-Khazraji, the previous source, page 94.

<sup>(4)</sup>Zillur Rahman Khan, *The third world Charisma*, pp. 6-63.

for the Awami League. The Awami League received only 17 percent of the Muslim vote in eastern Pakistan. Thus, Mujibur Rahman won 160 of the 162 seats in East Pakistan in the National Assembly, but there is no seat in western Pakistan. The Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, won 85 of the 138 seats in the National Assembly of West Pakistan, most of them in Punjab and Sindh<sup>(1)</sup>.

After the landslide victory in the elections, Sheikh Mujib Al-Rahman adopted an uncompromising position regarding the demands which he was claiming for the attainment of autonomy or independence, the abolition of martial law, and the achievement of his electoral gains. He stated, "I sincerely thank the people for presenting a historic judgment in favor of our electoral program and pledge to implement this ruling. There can be no constitution but a constitution that is consistent with our electoral program"<sup>(2)</sup>.

In western Pakistan, the Pakistan People's Party, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, with the support of the Islamic Values League, adopted a fanatical stance towards the demands of East Pakistan. Also, Bhutto, who remained unresponsive to Mujibur Rahman's demands during his election campaign, began to criticize the formula advocated by the politicians of eastern Pakistan. He stated that it threatens the safety of the country. Moreover, Bhutto claimed that he "is the only representative of West Pakistan and cannot be deprived of power sharing"<sup>(3)</sup>.

Bhutto's government held talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on January 12 and January 27, 1971, but was unable to obtain any clear response from Mujibur Rahman regarding amending his electoral demands. Due to Mujib's repeated demands, Yahya Khan announced on February 13 that the National Assembly should meet in Dhaka on March 3, 1971. He added that unless there is an understanding between the Awami League and the PPP about the future constitution, the assembly will not be allowed to meet. For its part, the Islamic Gayoom League announced on February 9, 1971 in Peshawar that it would not attend the National Assembly meeting. As a result of this convulsive situation, the Awami League organized violent protests and demonstrations throughout Dhaka that led to shootings and killings. Thousands of people were trapped, around 350 people were killed, the women were raped and children molested<sup>(4)</sup>.

On March 15, 1971, President General Yahya Khan visited Dhaka to conduct negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, after the situation in Bengal got worse. The Awami League undermined the power of the government of President Yahya and had effective control over eastern Pakistan. Moreover, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had absolute control over radio, television and the

<sup>(1)</sup>Muhammed Shamsul Huq, *Bangladesh in International Politics: The Dilemmas of the Weak states*, Dhaka University Press, 1993, p.23.

<sup>(2)</sup>Subrata Roy Chaudhry, *The Genesis of Bangladesh: A Study in International Legal Norms and Permissive Conscience*, Asian Publishing House, Bombay, 1972, p.53.

<sup>(3)</sup>D. M. f. a. I, speech by Pakistan president on 2march 1971 Government of India , ministry of External Affairs , Bangladesh Document , New Delhi , 1971 , vol.1 p. 277.

<sup>(4)</sup>Amin-Al-Zaman, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

press, which was required to provide wide coverage of his views. The East Bengal Regiment, East Pakistan Rifles and District Government Police Force in East Pakistan were willing to obey the orders of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and not the central government. On the day of President Yahya Khan's arrival, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman issued a relentless and provocative statement. And he said "The spirit of freedom in Bangladesh cannot be extinguished. The struggle must continue with renewed vigor until the goal of liberation is achieved,"<sup>(1)</sup>.

The first round of negotiations in Dhaka between Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman began on March 16, 1971. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman arrived at the Presidency in a car bearing a Bangladeshi symbol affixed to it. During the debates, Yahya Khan made serious appeals to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to avoid the path of controversy. He showed his willingness to include most of Mujib's essentials in the country's future constitution<sup>(2)</sup>.

Sheikh Mujib Al-Rahman asked for approval of his demands on condition that the protest movement, which consisted of:

- 1- The immediate abolition of martial law.
- 2- The return of the forces to the barracks.
- 3- Investigation into the killing that occurred in eastern Pakistan.
- 4- Transferring power to the people's elected representatives<sup>(3)</sup>.

President Yahya Khan pledged to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that he would accept these conditions if Bhutto agreed, and he transferred them to Bhutto, who was in Karachi, to which Bhutto replied, "If any decision is reached without the approval of the PPP, it will not succeed"<sup>(4)</sup>.

Bhutto and a number of his aides arrived in Dhaka on March 21, 1971. They expressed a number of objections to Mujib's proposed plan. Moreover, Bhutto said that if the martial law were lifted without the approval of the National Assembly, it would create a legal vacuum and the declaration would be without legal validity. He also suggested that any constitution be adopted by a majority of the members of the National Assembly from each wing<sup>(5)</sup>.

For its part, the Awami League celebrated on March 23, 1971 a celebration called (Resistance Day). The official flag of Bangladesh was officially raised and the Pakistani flag was replaced in all government and private buildings. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman saluted the new paramilitary force and this activity continued on March 24-25, while President Yahya Khan, who was still in Dhaka, was trying his best to find a political solution with the Awami League and the Pakistan People's Party to avoid the risk of secession. After he failed to achieve a political solution, Yahya Khan decided to return on March 25, 1971, and left Dhaka for western Pakistan, and the next day he delivered a

<sup>(1)</sup>G.W. Chaudhry, *the Last Days of United Pakistan*, Hurrot and Company, London, 1973.

<sup>(2)</sup>Subrata Roy Chaudhry, *the Genesis of Bangladesh A Study in International Legal Norms and Permissive Conscience*, Asian Publishing House, Bombay, 1972, p. 25.

<sup>(3)</sup>Amin-Al-Zaman, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>(4)</sup>Zillur Rahman Khan, *Leadership Crisis in Bangladesh*, p. 17.

<sup>(5)</sup>*Ibid.*

speech to the Pakistani nation in which he condemned the steps of Sheikh Mujib Al-Rahman and decided to ban political activities and the Awami League and stated, "In view of the current dangerous situation in the country, it has decided to ban all political activities in the country. Including the Awami League, it is completely banned as a political party. It has also decided to impose complete censorship. Martial law regulations will soon be issued pursuant to this decision<sup>(1)</sup>. As a result of this government action, the Awami Movement, on its part, declared a revolution against Pakistani rule<sup>(2)</sup>.

Which led the Pakistani army and police to intervene to eliminate the rebellion. Fierce battles took place between the two sides, in which thousands of people were killed, wounded and displaced<sup>(3)</sup>.

### *The independence of Bangladesh and international stances towards it*

After Mujibur Rahman announced his decision to have the country independent from the Pakistani authorities, many international positions emerged from Asian countries and others. However, the most prominent position appeared by India for several reasons, the most prominent of which is that India has many ties with Bangladesh, including civilizational, cultural, social and economic ties. There is much that unites the two countries, such as a common history, heritage, linguistic and cultural relations, and a passion for music, literature and the arts. This common denominator is reflected in the multidimensional relationship with Bangladesh on several levels of interaction. The land border of India with Bangladesh is about 4,096 kilometers, and it is the longest of India's borders with its neighbors. Moreover, Bangladesh is surrounded by India from all sides except for the small border with Myanmar in the southeast and the Bay of Bengal in the south<sup>(4)</sup>.

When Mujibur Rahman declared the independence of Bangladesh from India on March 26, 1971, the government of Pakistan sent military forces in order to eliminate Mujibur Rahman's movement. The military operations led to the death of thousands of people in eastern Pakistan as well as the immigration of about 10 million refugees to neighboring India, which was announced since to start with its support for the aspirations of the people of East Pakistan<sup>(5)</sup>.

The Indian government has taken two directions in its support for Bangladesh. On the political side, the Indian government recognized Bangladesh as an official state, and a government was established in exile in the Indian region of Calcutta. On the other side, it was represented by providing covert military

<sup>(1)</sup>Fazal Muqueem Khan, *Pakistan Crisis in Leadership*, Karachi, National Book Foundation, 1973, pp. 105-114.

<sup>(2)</sup>United Nations Security Council, 5 December 1971, letter dated 5 December 1971 from the permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, p.1.

<sup>(3)</sup>D. M. F. A. I., Jagajvan Ran in a speech on national security and our neighbors at Indian Council of World Affairs on 26 October 1973, *Foreign Affairs Reports*, 1973, Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 16-18.

<sup>(4)</sup>Salam Binod Kumar Singh, *Indo-Bangladesh relations: their impact on the security of the north east*, Submitted to the Faculty of Arts, Banjab University, Chandigarh for the degree of doctor of philosophy, 2011, p. 8.

<sup>(5)</sup>D. I. M. D., Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Bangladesh Documents*, August 16, 1971, p. 446.

support to the Bengalis who fled from the Pakistani army and formed a force known as Mukitti Bahini<sup>(1)</sup>.

The international situation has become complicated towards that crisis. India and its ally the Soviet Union support the secession of Bangladesh as a result of India and Pakistan between them a historical hostility since the first Kashmiri war in 1947 and the second Kashmiri war in 1965 until 1971, and thus the problems is complex between the two countries. In addition, there are many national and ethnic ties between the people of eastern Pakistan and the Indians<sup>(2)</sup>.

The developments in eastern Pakistan raised a problem for the Indian government in the northeastern states of Tripura and Meghalaya due to the large number of refugees, and this matter led the Indian government to reject any solution to the Pakistani crisis that does not include a decision to return refugees to eastern Pakistan. In addition, the Indian government strongly criticized the brutal and indiscriminate violence used by the Pakistani army, which caused severe and widespread resentment among the people of East Pakistan. The views of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi<sup>(3)</sup> have won the support of all political parties in India, regardless of their ideology, and have unlimited support from the Indian public opinion<sup>(4)</sup>.

India's response to the East Pakistan crisis came officially from Mrs. Indira Gandhi on March 27, 1971. She said in Lok Sabha: "Something new happened in the democratic work in East Bengal in which almost an entire people spoke with one voice. We welcomed this not because we wanted to interfere in the affairs of another country, but that we always support these values, we had hoped that this measure would lead to a new situation in our neighboring country that would help us better serve our people and create a completely new situation. Not only is the movement suppressed, but the leaders of Pakistan are meeting with people who are not armed with tanks. We are in close contact with events. " The Indian Parliament advised the government of India unanimously to support the aspirations of the people from eastern Pakistan and their demands, and the government of India was studying many moves on the issue of Bangladesh, which lays the basis for the internal and external policy of the government there after, in addition to that, the presence

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(1) The Mukiti Bahini: meaning the Bengal National Liberation Army, and it is a group of armed groups that fought against the Pakistani government army in the 1971 war, and included the Mukiti Bahini Bengali soldiers who were in the Pakistani army. See: Khawla Talib Lafta, India's role in the secession of East Pakistan in 1971 and the Soviet Union's position on it, previous source, and p.253.

(2) Jagajvan Ran in a speech on national security and our neighbors at Indian of world Affairs on 26 October 1973, foreign Affairs Reports, 1973, Indian council of the world Affairs, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 18 - 40.

(3) Indira Gandhi (1917 - 1984): She was one of the most prominent women in India. She was born on November 19, 1917 in the city of Allahabad. In 1959, she was elected President of the Indian National Congress Party for one year, and held several positions until she became Prime Minister in India in 1966 And she remained until 1977 when her party lost the parliamentary elections and then returned and triumphed again in 1980, and until her death she remained working to consolidate India's national unity. She was assassinated on October 31, 1984 by three of her Sikh guards who avenged her hard-line stance towards extremist Sikh leaders. See: Nibras Blaasim Kadhem Al-Taie, Indira Gandhi and her role in the economic and political life in India 1917-1977,, unpublished PhD thesis, College of Education, Al-Mustansiriya University, 2016.

(4) SadiqSaliq, Mein Neiy Dhaka Doobtay Daikha (Urdu) SadiqSaliq Publishers, Rawalpindi, 1986.

of this huge number of refugees inside India constituted a great burden on the government India in terms of maintaining security, providing food and other requirements<sup>(1)</sup>.

As for the United States of America, it has actually supported Pakistan because Pakistan is a strategic ally to it. The US Secretary of State William Rogers<sup>2</sup> made a statement at the United Nations on October 4, 1971, saying that the events in eastern Pakistan or internal events that the government and people of Pakistan must deal with, and that the flight of refugees to India, the risk of famine, and the threat to peace in South Asia constitute the source A grave concern to all countries<sup>(3)</sup>.

As for China, Chinese Foreign Minister Chen Yi<sup>(4)</sup> visited Pakistan in July 1971 and assured the Pakistanis that the 700 million Chinese people will be behind Pakistan.

In addition, the Chinese Minister of State for Defense Production Affairs in Lok Sabha affirmed that China had agreed to provide all necessary assistance that Pakistan needs to overcome the crisis. Some sources said that Chinese experts came to East Pakistan to train Pakistani soldiers in guerrilla warfare<sup>(5)</sup>.

The Chinese support for Pakistan and its hostile attitude towards India was directly and unequivocally indicated in an article published in the Chinese daily (Jin Min Ji Bao) on April 11, 1971. The points of the article were mentioned saying that the political development in the east is an internal Pakistani affair and did not pose any threat to India's security, and the newspaper added that India began to exploit the internal difficulty of Pakistan by interfering in its internal affairs, which led to a major security problem for Pakistan and stopped saying that the great powers represented by the Soviet Union had supported India, which entered into a close alliance with him, and finally the newspaper stated that China would support Pakistan Against all foreign interference and violent behavior by any country<sup>(6)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup>Stefy v joseph , Constituent Diplomacy and Indian Federalism: A Study on West Bengal as a Factor in India-Bangladesh Relations , Doctor of Philosophy in South Asian Studies Centre for South Asian Studies School of Social Sciences and International Studies , Indi, 2016 , p. 106 ; G.W. Chaudhry, The Last Days of United Pakistan, Hurot and Company, London, 1973 , p.23.

<sup>(2)</sup>William Rogers: William Rogers was born on July 23, 1913, in Norfolk, New York. He entered the US Navy in 1942 and served in it and fought the Battle of Okinawa. His last rank in the US Navy was the rank of Lieutenant Commander. He also served as the Secretary of State for the United States in the Nixon government from January 22, 1969 to September 3, 1973 when he initiated efforts to bring lasting peace to the Arab-Israeli conflict through what was called the Rogers Initiative. But his influence was gradually declining in favor of Nixon's National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger. Rogers has received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1973

[www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org)

<sup>(3)</sup> Mohammed Ayoob, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh-Search for New Relationship , Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi 1975, p.49.

<sup>(4)</sup>A politician and diplomat from China, he was a member of the Communist Party of China who served as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China from 1958-1972, And secretary of the Shanghai Committee of the Communist Party of China 1949--1953, Mayor of Shanghai 1948--1957, and Deputy Premier of the People's Republic of China.

[www.wikipedia.org](http://www.wikipedia.org)

<sup>(5)</sup>Mohammed Ayoob and K. Subrahmanyam, the Liberation War, S. Chand Publishers, New Delhi, 1972, p 148.

<sup>(6)</sup>S. R. Sharma, Bangladesh Crisis and Indian Foreign Policy, Young Asia Publishers, New Delhi, 1978, pp.330-333.

Beijing has accepted Islamabad's view that the entire problem in the Indian subcontinent arose by India's interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. As for India, it claimed that the crossing of millions of refugees to India from eastern Pakistan was not an internal affair but rather a threat to India. However, the Chinese authorities have refuted this opinion and and it blamed India for causing the refugees to cross into its territory<sup>(1)</sup>.

Some political circles of both countries believed that China would enter the war on the side of Pakistan, but India's entry into the Treaty of friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union on August 9, 1971 held China's position because the treaty had stipulated some of its provisions to conduct immediate consultations to confront any threat to the security of either country and take appropriate effective measures to ensure there is peace. The terms of the treaty also ensured that each party should take appropriate measures in case of an external threat, as well as refuse to use nuclear weapons and not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. Thus, it can be said that the Soviet Union takes a position similar to India's position in favor of the secession of Bangladesh<sup>(2)</sup>.

On the other hand, the foreign ministers of 22 Muslim countries held a conference in Jeddah at the end of July 1971, and issued a resolution supporting national unity and territorial integrity in Pakistan, despite the fact that most of the countries gathered supported the secession of Bangladesh to avoid further killing among the Pakistani people<sup>(3)</sup>.

As a result of all these different international views and stances, India ultimately decided to participate directly in the war alongside the Mukti Bhai forces and the authorities of East Pakistan, and India responded with multi-sided offensive operations in eastern Pakistan. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told Parliament, "The people of Bangladesh are fighting for their survival and the people of India who are fighting to defeat the aggression now find themselves partners in the same cause" <sup>(4)</sup> .

The major strategy in the war was to fight the Pakistani army on the western front and liberate Dhaka from the rule of Pakistan<sup>(5)</sup>. With the continuation of the military operations, India achieved its goals and defeated the Pakistani army and forced it to sign the document of surrender and the secession of East Pakistan and the declaration of the state of Bangladesh, and the resignation of Pakistani President Muhammad Yahya Khan. And his handover of power to (Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) on December 20, 1971<sup>(6)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> S. R. Sharma , op .cit , p. pp.330-333.

<sup>(2)</sup> Syed Farooq Hasnat, *India Intervention in East Pakistan: A Review under International Law*, South Asian Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1984, p.57-79.

<sup>(3)</sup> Mohammed Ayoob and K. Subrahmanyam, op .cit, p. 184.

<sup>(4)</sup> Foreign Affairs Record, Vol. XVIII, No.I, January 01, 1972, p.8.

<sup>(5)</sup> Praveen Swami, *India's Secret war in Bangladesh*, The Hindu, December 26, 2011, p.10.

<sup>(6)</sup> Kadhem Hilan Muhsin al-Sahlani, *The Indo-Pakistani Conflict over the State of Kashmir 1947-1949*, Unpublished MA Thesis, Basra University, College of Education, 2001, p. 258.

## CONCLUSION

We can conclude from the research important points, the most prominent of which

- 1- Bangladesh was able to obtain complete independence and secession from Pakistan after violent battles broke out between the two parties.
- 2- Mujibur Rahman is one of the most prominent leaders of Bangladesh, who worked hard to obtain independence.
- 3 - Pakistan did not want Pakistan to secede from it, but it forced it as a result of the battles and losses inflicted on the Pakistani government.
- 4- India entered the war on the side of Bangladesh for several reasons, foremost among which was that India had tense relations with Pakistan and did not want to bear the burdens of the Bangladeshi immigrants who crossed the border.
- 5- Most of the major countries were calling for an end to the war between the two sides and the achievement of peaceful solutions.

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