

'Very well written' *The Mail on Sunday*

'Remarkable book'

Vivekananda International Foundation

'Painstaking excavation
and new light' *The Indian Express*

THE ♦ LAST Raja

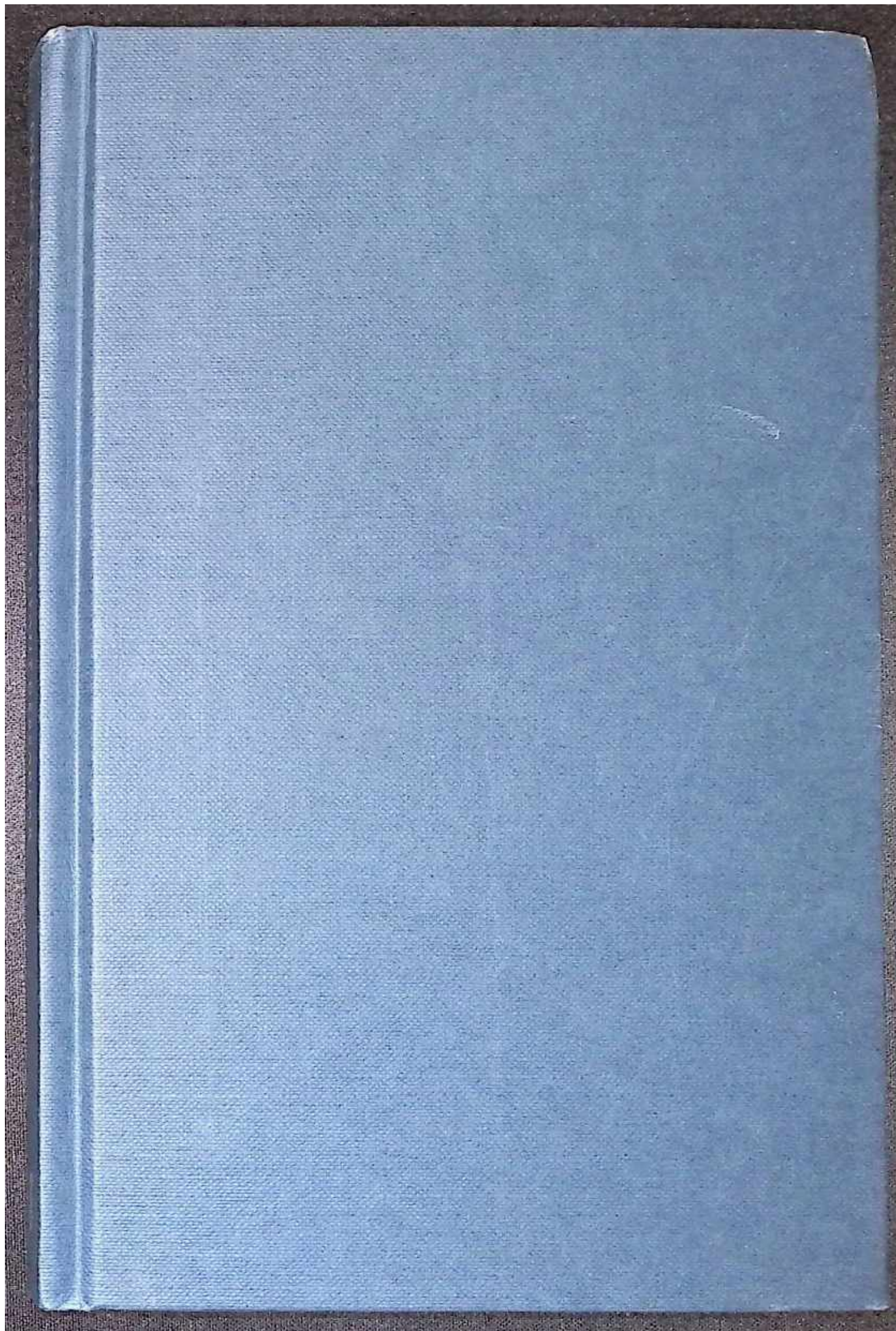
OF WEST PAKISTAN

PRIYAJIT DEBSARKAR



Quintus

The Last Raja of West Pakistan is primarily about the role, policies, politics and decisions of Raja Tridiv Roy, the monarch of the Chakma tribe of Chittagong area, now located in Bangladesh. Covering the period beginning with his coronation as king in 1953 up to the independence of Bangladesh in 1971-72 this book evaluates his decision to stay loyal to Pakistan till the end and contextualizes the political relationship between East and West Pakistan at that time. The decisions of Raja Tridiv Roy and the political context in which they were made had far-reaching consequences both for the Chakma people and the Raja himself. Raja Tridiv Roy was rightly the Last Raja of West Pakistan, a patriot who gave up his centuries-old kingdom for the love and loyalty for Pakistan but in return was neglected and discarded by his beloved land. He might have met a more glorious fate if in 1971 he had not chosen to abandon his people, his motherland and his kingdom. After his recent death in the year 2012 this illuminating research by the London-based author Priyajit Debsarkar re-evaluates Raja Tridev Roy, a monarch who lost his kingdom to self-interest and personal goals.



THE LAST RAJA OF WEST PAKISTAN

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

PRIYAJIT DEBSARKAR

Co-Edited by

Islam Khan

Barrister-at-Law of Inner Temple

Quintus
An imprint of EUSMAN Press

All rights reserved

Copyright © 2015 Priyajit Debsarkar

ISBN 978-93-83868-16-2

Typeset in Bembo Std

First published in 2015

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

The views and opinions expressed in this book are those of the authors and do not reflect the official policy or position or views of the publisher. Assumptions made within the analysis are not reflective of the position of the publisher. The publisher is not responsible for any controversial issues discussed or analysed in this book. The authors take all responsibilities for the views and opinions expressed in the book. All bibliographic references in 'Works Cited', 'Bibliography' or any other section have been created by the authors and the publisher is not responsible for any wrong or missing data. All data and/or examples mentioned in this book have been collected by the authors and the publisher is not responsible for wrong or missing data.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Publisher: Suman Chakraborty

Quintus

An Imprint of ROMAN Books

26 York Street, London W1U 6PZ, United Kingdom

Unit 49, Park Plaza, South Block, Ground Floor, 71, Park Street, Kolkata 700016, WB, India

2nd Floor, 38/3, Andul Road, Howrah 711109, WB, India

www.quintus-books.co.uk | www.quintus-books.co.in

This book is sold under the condition that it cannot be resold or lent or hired out in any form of cover or binding other than that in which it is originally published and no section of this book can be republished or reproduced in any form (photocopying, electronic or any other) without the written permission from the publisher. The same conditions are also imposed on the subsequent purchaser. Any violation of the above mentioned conditions might be considered as a breach of the Copyright Act and may lead the violator to face severe legal penalties. For more details please refer to the Copyright Act of your country

Printed and bound in India by
Replika Press Pvt Ltd

Dedicated to my Grandfather,

*Lt Mr Prabhat Debsarkar,
Author and Novelist*

Always alive in my aspirations

THE
LAW
OF
THE
STATE

BY
J. H. W. [Name]
OF THE
[Institution]

[Faint text, likely a preface or introductory paragraph]

[Faint text, likely a second paragraph or section header]

[Faint text, likely a concluding paragraph or page number]

Acknowledgements

This book is a result of a multinational research and fact finding team. The primary ground teams are as follows without whom the contents of the book could not have been put together.

ARGENTINA:

Ms Celina Andreassi, Editor of the *Argentina Independent*, Buenos Aires

BANGLADESH:

Mr Abu Sayed, Senior Editor of *Swapno 71*, News Publication, Dhaka

PAKISTAN:

Mr Bilal Qureshi, PhD (in perusal), Department of History, University of Karachi

SRI LANKA:

Mr Ganesh Kumar Waijantam, Independent Foreign Affairs Expert, Colombo

UK:

Bangladeshi Origin:

Barrister Mr Islam Khan, Independent Expert & Legal Counsel, London

Pakistani Origin:

Ms Umer Khairi, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Radio 3, London

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

OTHERS:

Argentina:

Mr Michael Soltys, Editor of Argentina Herald, Buenos Aires

Bangladesh:

Mr Muhammad Ahmedullah, Secretary of Brick Lane Circle, London UK

Pakistan:

Prof Dr J Ahmed, Director of Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi

Prof Dr TA Khan, Chairman of Mass Communication, Federal Urdu University of Arts Science and Technology, Karachi

Under Anonymity, a Retired Major of 20 Baluch & 31 Punjab Division of the Pakistan Army, Served in East Pakistan, Chittagong & Sylhet Sector 1971

Under Anonymity, a Captain of the Pakistan Army, Sialkot Sector, In Service 2015

UK:

Dr John Stevens, Post Doctoral Fellow at the School of Oriental and African Studies SOAS, University of London

NB: All interpretations and representations regarding the views and opinions of the contributors in various chapters and sub-sections are my own. The responsibility of representation and interpretation solely rests on my shoulders.

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Foreword | 11 |
| Preface | 13 |
| A Sub-Continent Chronology | 17 |
| Chapter One: The Chakma Kings | 19 |
| Chapter Two: Partition and the Politics of Geopolitical Transfer of the Chittagong Hill Tracts 1947 | 27 |
| Chapter Three: Politics of Language 1952 – 1958 | 31 |
| Chapter Four: The Emergence of Military Might in West Pakistan 1957 | 37 |
| Chapter Five: The Politics of Displacement, Kaptai Dam 1957 Development through Displacement | 41 |
| Chapter Six: Elections of 1965 Pakistan and the Aftermath | 45 |
| Chapter Seven: Catalyst Cyclone Bhola in 1970 | 52 |
| Chapter Eight: Calm before the Storm | 56 |
| Chapter Nine: 1971 March to December | 63 |
| Chapter Ten: Raja in West Pakistan and United Nations General Assembly | 89 |

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

| | |
|--|-----|
| Chapter Eleven: Raja Ambassador at Large | 94 |
| Chapter Twelve: Conclusion: End of an Era | 97 |
| Epilogue | 99 |
| Annexures | 101 |
| Works Cited | 119 |
| Bibliography | 137 |
| Index | 155 |

Foreword

by Barrister Islam Khan

From the outset I commend this book for three reasons. Firstly, it collects large historical data that would be useful information for generations, historians and politicians to come that would shape future relationships in the South Asia.

Secondly, it creates an interest in the minds of diplomats, international political thinkers and commercial investors.

And lastly but not least, it engages the young generation of the region to read a historical fact that was so important in the strategy of the future of that region. It tells a story that has or will never be forgotten but in such a way that it only records the historical gap that perhaps may have been lost if this was not recorded.

This is an excellent story of a Raja whose historical background is very unique and dates back to centuries. A Raja whose Kingdom was lost in the middle of civil unrest between the East and West Pakistan. A Raja, who resided in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), and then migrated and settled in West Pakistan due to political differences.

In this book, the author has collected materials from a wide source in which it encapsulates the historical events of the 1971 civil war of East and West Pakistan. The facts are well referenced and the author has tried to provide a fair and balanced assessment of the events happening during that particular time. Mostly, I like the statistical information that has been provided about the election results between the East and West to be found in Chapter Eight.

It has become increasingly clear that whilst telling the story of Raja Tridev Roy, the author has also collected historical events that took place during that time, something that is the first of its kind. It is interesting to see that such a small Diaspora such as the Chakma people of the Chittagong Hill tracts in Bangladesh had such an input to the political social and cultural society in Pakistan during that period.

So far as possible the author has written a nuanced factual story that brings in together diplomacy, religion, politics, war and one can see the strategic movement during that period in that region. That is why this book is a unique read which tells a story of an individual who left his people, family, kingdom

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

and country (East Pakistan) to join, with his belief for the better, West Pakistan but during these events it also brings to light the political, strategic and economic situation of two countries who broke away from India to become better yet due to differences in opinion and suppression on the weaker side and not religion, they had yet to separate by a violent, bloody war.

A brief history of Bengal is an interesting account and whilst I had the privilege to author that section I thoroughly enjoyed writing it and am very pleased to see that the historical land agreement between India and Bangladesh which has now been signed between the countries has also been covered in this book.

I am proud of the author who brings these fascinating events to light. Well done Priyajit on your first book!

Preface

This book is primarily about the role, policies, politics and decisions of the 50th Chakma king, Raja Tridiv Roy, in the period beginning with his coronation as king in 1953 up to the independence of Bangladesh in 1971 - 72 and contextualising them in the political relationship between East and West Pakistan at that time. The idea of understanding and evaluating the decision of the Chakma king, Raja Tridiv Roy, to stay loyal to Pakistan till the end, struck me personally on my visit to Bangladesh in the year 2014. It is not often that we hear of a Buddhist King, carrying the historical and cultural burden of his ancient people dating back to a thousand years, opting to merge with and stay loyal to a newly-formed Islamic state that was set up only on the basis of religion. The decisions of Raja Tridiv Roy and the political context in which they were made had far-reaching consequences both for the Chakma people and the Raja himself. It was particularly this fascinating piece of history between East and West Pakistan that attracted my attention. Not only does this book identify the historical background of the Chakma people and its kingdom but also it exposes the political issues surrounding the region. As a result of my interest and research, I have turned what started as notes into a fully fledged book.

This book starts with a brief historical narrative about the Chakma Rajas and then explores the politics of that period. It examines briefly the decision of Raja Nalinaksha Roy, to merge with Pakistan in 1947 (after the independence of India and Pakistan) as a backdrop to the more controversial decisions and politics of Raja Tridiv Roy. The language movement of 1952 and the elections of 1954 were watershed events in the modern history of Bangladesh's evolution as a sovereign nation-state. The book explores the Raja's role and politics in that period after his coronation in 1953 all the way through key episodes in the restive 1960s till his abdication and fleeing to West Pakistan in 1971 - 72. It has been interesting to explore the contestation for power between the East and the West Pakistan in the 1950s and 1960s leading up to the war for independence in 1971 - 72 through a critical evaluation of choices and decisions made by Raja Tridiv Roy.

Much of this book is about raising the question as to why Raja Tridiv Roy chose to adopt a maximalist policy when engaging with the military-bureaucratic establishment in West Pakistan after becoming king in 1953 and continued with that policy prior to, during and well after the 1971 - 72 war. Conversely, it also raises the corollary question as to why the Raja was never interested in adopting even a minimalist engagement policy with the newly formed democratic nationalist parties in the East and always viewed such engagement policy as a zero-sum game for himself. The complexity of this period in the history of the two nations, Pakistan and Bangladesh, throws me into an inter-disciplinary vortex of conflicts, questions, and an unending search for answers. This book, in this context, is the first of its kind in that it briefly explores the history of Bengal, exposes the issues surrounding the region and goes back to the roots of the Chakma people and its monarchy.

The book's uniqueness lies in its ability to identify and plug a crucial gap in the modern history of the Indian sub-continent through new insights of Raja Tridiv Roy as a fundamentally important character who played his part fully in trying to chart an alternative pro-Pakistani path for Bangladesh between 1953 - 72 and his reasons for choosing to side with West Pakistan.

My research during the writing of this book led me to retrace the footprints of Raja Tridiv Roy in that tumultuous period of Bangladesh's history which took me across the globe. It started from Rangamati, Chittagong in East Pakistan, crossed over to Islamabad in West Pakistan, Bangkok in Thailand, Colombo in Sri Lanka, and then spread well over to Buenos Aires in Argentina, and numerous other countries in Latin America. It was impossible to cover all that expanse of time and space by myself and that made me put together a multinational research team for sourcing primary and secondary data to aid my research. I wanted to visit Pakistan as part of my research but was constrained from doing so due to a rigorous visa regime. My research team, therefore, played a critical role in sourcing sensitive data, tracing people involved in or having specific knowledge of the various key events at that time, organising interviews and meetings with them and helping me plan my programmes and interviews with them. The research unveiled remarkable details about the Raja's policies and politics and offered me new insights into how the Raja operated during this momentous period. My research team's contribution is invaluable in the writing of this book and I thank them many times over.

The limitations that I have faced in writing this book arise mainly from the lack of primary sources on Raja Tridiv Roy's side. I have tried to compensate for that limitation by careful analysis of all materials about Raja Tridiv Roy that I could lay my hands on: those in the public domain as also the memory of various people involved at different stages and levels and associated with key events in that period. There were quite a few who spoke to me on the condition of strict anonymity, as is so often the case when writing a book about the recent past. I have respected their request in the book. Overall, the sources and the information are both considerable, in terms of materials in books, newspapers, journals, magazines, periodicals, both conventional and

Preface

online, as well as conversations under anonymity. Last but not the least, an added challenge was to get documents in regional languages like Bengali, Sinhala, Spanish and Urdu translated to the exact possible context within a specific deadline, given the huge amount of material I had to filter through.

The book presents a set of fresh critical perspectives when evaluating the policies, choices and decisions made by Raja Tridiv Roy in the context of the competing nationalisms based on language and ethnicity and contestation of power between the main political players between the East and the West. The relevance of the book lies in the fact that the choices and decisions a king or ruler in a small country has to make is becoming more and more relevant in today's world given the competing nationalisms based on religion, language, ethnicity and culture across the world.

This book would not be complete without the unconditional and continuous support of my family, especially my loving wife, who uncomplainingly sat through long hours, proof-reading my endless drafts. Without her understanding, co-operation and willingness to take over day-to-day family responsibilities in the last year or so, this book would never have been written. Also, my gratitude goes to my publisher for being so patient with me and for bearing with me in difficult times. Finally a big thank you to each of my friends and well-wishers without whose constant encouragement the writing of this book may not have been possible, especially Barrister Islam Khan for intensively commenting and constructively criticising contexts whilst editing this book. He has also co-authored vital sections, at its final stages whilst maintaining his busy practice. All the contributors deserve an equal share of credit if any credit is due; as regards any shortcomings in this book, the responsibility rests solely on my shoulders.

The first of these was the... the second was... the third was... the fourth was... the fifth was... the sixth was... the seventh was... the eighth was... the ninth was... the tenth was...

The first of these was the... the second was... the third was... the fourth was... the fifth was... the sixth was... the seventh was... the eighth was... the ninth was... the tenth was...

The first of these was the... the second was... the third was... the fourth was... the fifth was... the sixth was... the seventh was... the eighth was... the ninth was... the tenth was...

A Sub-Continent Chronology

- 1947 : Partition of the Indian Sub Continent and emergence of the States of India and Pakistan
- 1949 : Objectives Resolution passed in Pakistan
- 1952 : Language Movement in East Bengal
- 1953 : Raja Tridiv Roy formally crowned as 50th Chakma King
- 1952 - 53 : Great Famine in East Bengal
- 1954 : First Elections in East Bengal
- 1955 : One Unit creation in West Pakistan
- 1958 : Ayub Khan Military Coup
- 1960 : Second Elections in Pakistan
- 1960 : Construction of Kaptai Dam in East Pakistan
- 1961 : Great decade of West Pakistan
- 1965 : Operation Gibraltar
- 1965 : Third Elections of Pakistan
- 1966 : Six Points Agenda of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman
- 1968 : Agartalla Conspiracy Case
- 1969 : Unrest in East Pakistan
- 1970 : Legal Framework Order in Pakistan
- 1970 : Cyclone Bhola in East Pakistan
- 1970 : First Direct Election in Pakistan
- 1971 : Operation Searchlight
- 1971 : Bangladesh Liberation War
- 1971 : Pakistan Military Surrender
- 1971 : Bangladesh emerges as an Independent Nation
- 1971 : Raja Tridiv Roy abdicates his Kingdom and flees to West Pakistan
- 1972 : Raja Tridiv Roy named in Official Collaborator Act Bangladesh
- 1972 : Simla Accord India
- 1972 : Raja Tridiv Roy in United Nations General Assembly
- 1981 : Raja Tridiv Roy Ambassador of Pakistan for Latin America

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- 2000 : Raja Tridiv Roy Ambassador at large
- 2012 : Raja Tridiv Roy passes away in Islamabad Pakistan
- 2015 : Historic Land Border Agreement between India and Bangladesh

Chapter One

THE CHAKMA KINGS

INTRODUCTION

Historically, the Chakma people identify themselves to be from the Changma race. It is suggested that the Changma race originated from the Saka race in present day Nepal. The Saka clansmen came from Kapilavastu and traditionally the Chakma people have identified themselves with the Buddhist religion dating back to Lumbini Nepal.

The Chakma Kingdom was established in the 11th century (T-Sak-Ma as it is originally pronounced) and existed by the name of Champoknagar. The exact location of the Kingdom of Champoknagar is debatable but the existence of the reference of the Saks people goes back to the Arakan region of present day Myanmar (Burma). The present day Chakma people also lived and ruled in the Arakan region. It is believed that the Chakma people are of Indo-Tibetan or Mon-Khmer descent.

It is believed that Gautama Buddha visited the Arakan region and in his honour a monastery by the name of Mahamuni was built. A Buddhist learning centre Vikramsila was also built in Champoknagar Kingdom around the 13th century on the banks of the River Ganga which was the direct sea route for the Arakan Kingdom. The Arakan Kingdom was located between the *Yun-Nan* (present day China), *Shan* (present day Myanmar) and *Singpho* (present day India). The Arakanese people referred to the Chakma people as *Sak / Theks*.

In AD 1546, the King of Arakans, Meng Beng, was engaged in a battle with the Burmese; the Sak King (Chakma King) had attacked simultaneously from the northern direction on the Arakan King Meng Beng. After a bitter battle, the Sak King emerged victorious and the Chakma King occupied the region of *Ramu* (present day Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh). The Arakans never forgot the defeat and in around AD 1612, the Arakan King Meng Rajagri defeated the Sak people (Chakma) and reclaimed the territory. Defeated by the Arakans, the Chakma people moved to the present day location of Chittagong Hill Tracts (Bangladesh). A map published by a Portuguese journal in 1617 refers to a place called Chacomias on the eastern banks of the river *Karnafuli* (present

day Bangladesh) where the Chakma people supposedly lived after their defeat by the Arakans. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts the Chakmas established their capital at *Alekyangdong* (Present day Alikadam, Bangladesh). From Alikadam the Chakma people moved north towards the areas of present day Rangunia, Rauzan and Fatikchari in Bangladesh.

The languages of the Chakmas perhaps have similarities with the Parakritic origins, with the written language very similar with the present day *Khmer* script (the official language of Cambodia). Its roots lie in the Pali language. It was adapted from the Pallava script, a variant of the Grantha alphabet descended from the Brahmi script, which was used in Southern India and South East Asia during the AD 5th and 6th centuries.

ADVENT OF MUSLIM RULE: 1574 – 1782

During the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar the conquest of Bengal was undertaken in 1574. Emperor Shahjahan's son, Shah Shuja, was appointed the Governor of Bengal in 1639. Shaista Khan was the Mughal Governor for Bengal in between 1664 and 1688. He, however, was looking to regain lost glory as he was defeated by the Maratha King Shivaji (of present day Maharashtra, India). On 5th April 1663, he had a crushing defeat at the hands of Maharaja Shivaji and had to cede the city of present day Pune, India. He lost his son and some of his fingers in the encounter. He was appointed the Subahdar (Governor) of Bengal in 1663 and he embarked on construction projects such as the Saat Masjid Mosque that lies in present day city of Dhaka (Bangladesh).

He focused his attention towards the Arakan Kingdom and began military operations. He had negotiated Portuguese help in this campaign of the Arakan and in December 1665 he successfully captured the city of Chittagong (present day Bangladesh). Upon capturing Chittagong he renamed it 'Islamabad'; interestingly the present day Capital of Pakistan is called Islamabad as well and was founded in 1960.

Under the Mughal Rule from AD 1526 - 1803 there had been many clashes and skirmishes with the Chakma Kings. In AD 1713, the disputes of the border issues between the Mughal Governor of Bengal and the Chakma King resulted in the capture of two heavy cannons of the Mughal Governors named Kalu Khan and Fateh Khan. The Chakma Kings were determined not to accept the supremacy of the Mughal Governor at that time and again engaged with the Mughals.

In the year AD 1713 the Chakma King Fateh Khan made a peace treaty with the Mughal Emperor Farruk Shiyar to allow trade between the two. Cotton was mostly produced in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and was traded with salt and dry fish. The trade route was the historic river of Karnafuli. One of the cannons captured by the Chakma King is still on display at the Royal Chakma Palace, Rangamati. The Chakmas had a successful trading relation with the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah till 1748. Disputes regarding the amount

The Chakma Kings

of cotton to be paid as tax persisted. Cotton was the major item of barter; however, in 1776, the Chakma King Shair Daulat withheld the tributes. He also embarked upon a campaign to raid the storehouses of the Mughal Emperor in which cotton were stored. In 1782 Jan Bux Khan became the new Chakma Raja at a crucial point in history with the arrival of the East India Company in Bengal.

THE CHAKMA KING AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The title *Khan* used by the Chakma Kings is of Asian origin, a legacy from their ancestral roots (probably from a theory that the Chakma race originated from Mongolia, the new born had the Mongol birth mark). The Chakma King was again engaged in territorial disputes with the East India Company and there were a few skirmishes from 1782 to 1784. The Chakmas and the East India Company made a formal truce in 1784 with the promise of 500 bales of premium hill cotton as an annual tribute to the British. There was relative peace after the treaty of annual cotton exchange and the Chakmas enjoyed relative independence. In 1812, Raja Dharam Bux Khan successfully introduced ploughing and agriculture in the hill tracts. He reclaimed and initiated cultivation in the virgin valley land on Chengi right upto the mouth of the river Karnafuli. He was one of the first Rajas to die in the historic Chakma palace of Rangamati as well.

In the year 1844 (there were various caretakers in the span of 12 years in between 1812 and 1844 due to lack of male heir to the throne), Queen Kalindi Rani became the leader of the Chakma People. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, she stood side by side with the British when the whole Indian Subcontinent was up in armed rebellion. She had allocated the Chakma guards alongside the border to help and support the British and to ensure the mutiny did not reach the barracks of Chittagong. One of the primary reasons for her action was the fear of a mutiny that would destabilise the rule of the Chakma Kings and a rebellion amongst the masses for more autonomy.

The British had great admiration for her and in return they protected the Queen and her people against any possible adventure by their old adversary, the Arakans. The British saw the Chakma Kingdom as a friendly buffer state in the curtail geography of the region (the fringes of India and start of the Burmese States). The Rani was adored widely by her people as well, especially for the reforms in the Buddhist monasteries. It was under her, that the first translation of Buddha's preachings in Bengali (*Buddharajanika*) was successfully done. She also established the famous temple of Mahamuni in the hill tracts. The British Crown formally annexed the Chakma Kingdom in 1860. However, the Chakma King and the people enjoyed considerable autonomy as the British did not consider them subjects but a mere ancillary buffer. The Chakma Kingdom in the British period was between the Feni River in the North and Naf River in the south which was officially recognised as the border between the Chakmas and the Arakans.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

In 1869 the Capital of the Chakma Kingdom was formally transferred to Rangamati. After the formal annexation, the Chittagong Hill Tracts were awarded an excluded area status. It had its own administration, law enforcement and revenue collection. Tax sought by the British Crown was between Rs 5.00 per square acre of premium cultivated land (paddy and cotton) to 0.4 annas per acre of barren land in 1870.

From Raja Harish Chandra Roy onwards all forthcoming Chakma kings dropped their Central Asian Surname 'Khan' and adopted 'Roy' instead (the most possible reason being end of the Muslim rule and a creation of the identity of being Buddhists). High School facilities at Rangamati were set up by Raja Bhuvan Mohan Roy in 1880. In 1881 the British decided to divide the Chittagong Hill Tracts into three areas; they were placed under three different chiefs—Chakma Circle, Bohmong Circle and the Mong Circle. Raja Bhuvan Mohan Roy is credited with the advent of the modern British education system in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He was the Chakma kingdom representative in the Delhi Durbar of 1911, for the coronation of King George V.

In 1935, Raja Nalinaksha Roy was the Chakma Raja, and his son Raja Tridiv Roy became the 50th Raja of the Chakma people on 2nd March 1953. Raja Tridiv Roy had an influential family background. His father was Raja Nalinaksha Roy who was born on 6th June 1902 and was formally installed as the King of the Chakma people on 7th March 1935. His mother Rani (Queen) Benita Roy was from an influential family in Calcutta, India. And her grandfather was Keshab Chandra Sen, the legendary religious reformer of Bengal. Also her father Purna Chandra Sen was a Barrister-at-Law and served as the Advocate General of Burma (present day Myanmar). One of her younger brother was Justice AK Sen of the Calcutta High Court. It is believed that the Sens were the descendents of the Kings of Bengal (Balla Sen and Lakshman Sen).

Lakshman Sen was defeated by the Turk-Afghan invader Bakhtiar Khilji. Benita Roy was born in Surrey, England on 18th August 1907. She was also related to the Princely house of Mayurbhanj in Orissa (India) whose head is known as the Maharaja of Coochbehar (India). Cooch Behar, also known as Koch Bihar, was a princely state in India during the British Rule. The state was placed under the Bengal States Agency, part of the Eastern States Agency of the Bengal Presidency. It is located south of the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan, in present-day West Bengal, India. Her cousin, Sucharu Devi, was married to the Maharaja of Coochbehar (India) and it was their daughter Princess Ayesha who later became the legendary and well accomplished Maharani (Queen) Gayatri Devi of Jaipur (Rajasthan India). Following India's independence and the subsequent abolition of the princely states, she became an extremely successful politician. Gayatri Devi was also celebrated for her classical beauty and became something of a fashion icon in her adulthood. Gayatri Devi was once included in *Vogue* magazine's 'Ten Most Beautiful Women' list.

RAJA TRIDIV ROY

Tridiv Roy was born on 14th May 1933 at approximately 07:00 hours (Local Time). His birth was celebrated by the ceremonial firing of the cannons and celebrations in the Chakma Palace. Royal celebrations were announced on the birth of the male heir and the Chakma Raja announced gifts and bonus for his subjects. He was raised in the traditional Chakma way as a young prince. His upbringing included the learning of different royal activities like Horse riding, Polo and articulate skills as a Raja should accomplish himself with. However, at the same time the unfortunate events of World War II resulted in the young prince and his family having to relocate to Calcutta, India, a safer place for protection and wellbeing.

Tridiv Roy began his schooling at St Scholastica's Convent Chittagong, current day Bangladesh. He further continued his education in St Xavier's Collegiate School, Calcutta, and then Victoria School, Kurseong, India. His time in Kurseong was filled with activities and in the serene environment of the majestic Himalayas and tea gardens he enjoyed himself thoroughly. As he belonged to a mountainous region the Himalayas were a welcome relief for him. The sights of Mount Everest and Mount Kanchenjunga left him mesmerised. Tridiv Roy was very keen in Scout and Boxing as extracurricular activities. He became the Hill Tracts Troop Leader under Rev FW Smith, the Baptist mission head at Rangamati, Bangladesh. He studied Science, Arts and Higher Bengali at High School. At a young age of 20, he successfully gained admission to study Law at the Inns of Court School of Law in London, was a member of Lincoln's Inn and was named as a Barrister-at-Law in 1953.

On 7th October 1951 Raja Nalinaksha Roy, the 49th Raja of the Chakma People suddenly died of a fatal cerebral haemorrhage. He was only 49 years old when he died and on 2nd March 1953 Raja Tridiv Roy formally acceded to the throne of the Chakma Kingdom and became the 50th Chakma King. Subsequently, Raja Tridiv Roy got married to Rani (Queen) Arati Roy the same year. Raja Tridiv Roy soon became very popular with the West Pakistani political and military establishment. He was popular with his charming personality and was considered a friend by the Pakistani Military Establishment. One reason was that he represented an ethnic minority in the mostly Bengali majority of East Pakistan. On the occasion of Independence Day 14th August 1953 Raja Tridiv Roy was granted an honorary commission to the Pakistan land forces and also made an Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Governor General of Pakistan. He was not only the first person in the entire history of East Pakistan to receive this honour but also the only person to do so. This honour bestowed upon him was considered extremely rare as he was selected from a minority background over the other popular Bengali elites of East Pakistan.

Meanwhile May 1956 marked the 2500th year of passing away of the Great Gautama Buddha. An extravagant ceremony was organised in Delhi, India to mark this occasion. Raja Tridiv Roy was personally invited to attend the ceremony by the Indian High Commissioner of East Pakistan. He attended

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

the ceremony representing Pakistan and conveyed messages of peace and goodwill between the neighbours.

STATISTICAL DATA

As per East Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers (*Statistical Account of Bengal* by Hunter 1991):

| No | Year | Indigenous People | | Bengali | | Total |
|----|------|-------------------|---------------------|------------|---------------------|---------|
| | | Population | Percentage of Total | Population | Percentage of Total | |
| 1 | 1872 | 62000 | 98% | 1000 | 2% | 63000 |
| 2 | 1901 | 116000 | 93% | 8500 | 7% | 125000 |
| 3 | 1959 | 261000 | 91% | 26000 | 9% | 280000 |
| 4 | 1981 | 441000 | 59% | 30000 | 41% | 750000 |
| 5 | 1991 | 500000 | 51% | 47000 | 48% | 1063000 |

Figures in Approximation

Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics:

| Year | Tribal (T) | Non-Tribal (N/T) | Ratio (T:N/T) | Total |
|------|------------|------------------|---------------|----------|
| 1951 | 2,60,000 | 26,000 | 91:09 | 2,85,000 |
| 1974 | 4,50,000 | 58,000 | 88:12 | 5,10,000 |

Figures in Approximation

Historical Lineage and list of Chakma Rajas:

- Raja CHAMAN KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1650 - 1700
- Raja JALOL KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1700 - 1715
- Raja FATEH KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1715 - 1737, married and had an issue
 - Raja Shermust Khan

The Chakma Kings

- Raja SHERMUST KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1737 - 1757
- Raja SUKHDEV,
Chakma Raja 1757 - 1776, married and had an issue.
- Raja SHERDOULAT KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1776 - 1782, married and had an issue. He was assassinated in 1782.
 - Raja Janbux Khan
- Raja JANBUX KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1782 - 1800, married and had two issues
 - Raja Tabbar Khan
 - Raja Jabbar Khan
- Raja TABBAR KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1800 - 1801
- Raja JABBAR KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1801 - 1812
- Raja DHARAM BUX KHAN,
Chakma Raja 1812 - 1832, he was confirmed in his title of Raja by the British Government; married Rani Kalindi, he died 1832.
- Shuklal Dewan, appointed Manager in 1832, but was deposed of later the same year.
- Rani KALINDI,
Chakma Rani 1832 - 1874, a great ruler, she was considered perhaps the greatest Chakma queen, married Raja Dharam Bux Khan. She died 1874.
- Raja HARISH CHANDRA ROY,
Chakma Raja 1874 - 1885, married and had an issue. He died in 1885.
- Raja BHUVAN MOHAN ROY,
Chakma Raja 1885 - 1934, born 1876, died 1934
- Raja NALINAKSHA ROY,
Chakma Raja 1934 - 1952, born 1902, died 1952
- Raja TRIDIV ROY,

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

Chakma Raja 1952 - 1971, born 14th May 1933, married 1953, Rani Arati Roy, and had issues, three sons and two daughters. Died in 2012.

- Raja DEVASISH ROY, born 9th April 1959 (Present Chakma Raja)
- Rajkumar Trivhuvan Aryadev Roy born in 1990 (Crown Prince declared in 2003)

GEOGRAPHY

The Chakma territory in 1972 comprised 20,000 sq kilometres in Mizoram, India, 25,000 Sq kilometres in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. In 1971 the estimated population of the Chakmas was around 4,00,000. Present day Chittagong Hill Tracts cover around 10% of Bangladesh landmass. The Chakmas according to the 1981 Census by the Government of Bangladesh consisted of around 1% of the total population. In comparison, in 1872, in the Census carried out by the British, the total population was approximately 63,000 in an area comprising 6000 sq Miles (Chittagong Hill Tracts). Percentage of literacy was around 5%.

POPULATION

The population of the Chakmas is on a growth curve as in 1911 it was 1,54,000, in 1921 - 1,75,000, in 1931 - 2,10,000, in 1941 - 2,40,000, in 1951 - 2,80,000, in 1961 - 3,90,000, in 1974 - 5,00,000 and in 1991 excess of one million (all figures in approximation). In 1991 the percentage of literacy has increased dramatically and at the present day is the highest in the country. However, migration by the mainland people has displaced the original inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and migration of the Chakmas to India had begun as early as in 1960.

Chapter Two

PARTITION AND THE POLITICS OF GEOPOLITICAL TRANSFER OF THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS 1947

BACKDROP TO PARTITION

Lord Linlithgow who became the Viceroy and Governor General of British India in 1936 had passed an order with regards to warrant of precedence that the Chakmas and Bohmongs would remain Neutral territory as per the Excluded States rights granted by the British. In 1945, Prime Minister Clement Attlee decided on a policy announcement which was supposed to lead to an early realisation of full self-government regarding India and a future map of independent India came into being. In January 1946, in an attempt to better understand the Indian constitutional issues and its divisions, British Parliament sent a delegation to British India to meet the leading politicians of the different political parties. One member of this delegation was the Labour Party backbencher Member of Parliament, Reginald Sorensen. The delegation was to follow up on the work done by the Cripps Mission in 1942 and help take forward Jinnah's idea of Partition as a specific precondition for any future official transfer of power.

The Cripps Mission in 1942 had identified the two main stakeholders of the negotiations for the transfer of power as the All India Muslim League led by Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Indian National Congress led by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru (apart from other leading Congress politicians). In fact, by recognizing Jinnah's Muslim League as the official political representative of Muslims and Muslim interests in India, despite the League's dismal performance in the 1937 provincial elections in most of the Muslim-majority constituencies, the Cripps Mission not only effectively negated any prospect of power sharing between the Indian National Congress and the various other regional political parties representing Muslim interests, but also ensured the incorporation of Jinnah's idea of Partition on communal and religious lines by the Cabinet Mission in 1946 as a necessary precondition for any future transfer of power.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

In March 1946 Clement Attlee was appointed the Cabinet Mission under Lord Patrick Lawrence (Secretary of State for British India). On a visit to India, the Secretary of State for British India was also accompanied by other distinguished members like Sir Stafford Cripps (President of the Board of Trade) and A.V. Alexander (First Lord of Admiralty). They arrived in British India on 23rd March 1946. The stage was being set by the British to embark on the process of forging an independent India. A three-group federation plan committee for British India and native princely states was set up. They were mainly formed to resolve issues related to Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and to help raise sustainable necessary finances. Group A would focus their attention on six Hindu-majority provinces, Group B on the Muslim-majority provinces of United Punjab, North West Frontier, Sindh, and Group C on provinces of Bengal and Assam. These three groups are better known as the ABC formulation and Cabinet Mission Plan.

As soon as the Cabinet Mission Plan began carrying out its work, rioting, looting, rape and mass-killings engulfed Punjab and Bengal and slowly started spreading inwards towards Delhi and Bombay. The Muslim League under Suhrawardy and Jinnah organized a Direct Action Day which triggered widespread riots in which thousands of innocent Hindus and Muslims were killed across undivided India. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims began clashing with each other routinely and there was a state of anarchy in British India. The then Viceroy, Lord Wavell directed the riots to be handled by the respective provincial governors but the governors unfortunately failed to bring peace. This put Viceroy Lord Wavell in a desperate situation as the communal situation threatened to go out of control. He tried negotiating a joint working formula between the All India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress to bring an end to the violence and the hostilities but was unsuccessful in his efforts.

THE TRANSFER OF CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS

The Chakma King, Raja Nalinaksha Roy was satisfied with the arrangement of the Cabinet Mission Plan and was extremely comfortable with Jinnah's demand for the creation of Pakistan (Land of the Pure, a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Subcontinent). Protected by its Hill Tracts, the Chakma Kingdom of Chittagong had the perfect opportunity to continue their special excluded status as contrary to the Indian National Congress's agenda of a merger of all Princely States, Jinnah's Pakistan model did not have such arrangement.

At the start of 1947, Lord Mountbatten of Burma became the viceroy of British India and tried to end the deadlock between the two major parties of British India. The reality of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the Indian Subcontinent was ever brighter with the deadlock between the two main political parties of British India.

On 12th August 1947 Sir Cyril Radcliffe, responsible for the partition of

Chittagong Hill Tracts

Bengal, awarded the Chittagong Hill Tracts to the new formed state of Pakistan. The decision to award Chittagong Hill Tracts to East Pakistan took the Chakma King by surprise, but was accepted gratefully. 97% of the Chakma population was Buddhist. The award of the Chakma-excluded territories to East Pakistan might have been negotiated in exchange of Sikh areas of Zira and Ferozpur in favour of India.

Protests by leading Indian National Congress leaders like Mr Vallabh Bhai Patel fell to deaf ears. Thus, in spite of not being a Muslim majority province, Chittagong Hill Tracts became a part of East Pakistan and the fate of the Chakma people was about to change.

The Chakma King Raja Nalinaksha Roy was in the throne when the entire subcontinent was restructured on communal lines. Raja Nalinaksha Roy wanted to negotiate the same excluded and autonomous status which the Chakmas enjoyed during the British with the State of Pakistan. One notable figure in the Chakma community was Mr Sneha Kumar Chakma who campaigned actively against the allocation of Chittagong Hill Tracts to East Pakistan. A memorandum of understanding was sent out to the British Viceroy on 15th February 1947 claiming the religious ethnic composition of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and subsequent consideration to the Bengal Boundary Commission.

The Chakma Raja Nalinaksha Roy's inclination to join Pakistan and tactical alignment with Jinnah's Muslim League can be best understood through the Raja's understanding of his royal position and privileges. Although primary historical sources are difficult to come by, it is reasonable to argue that the Raja's inclination to protect and preserve the institutional structure of his royalty and the privileges associated with it would have outweighed all other considerations as regards his decision to align with the Muslim League at that point in time. The Raja would have been aware of the challenges thrown by an influential section in the Congress to the institutional structures of power and privileges obtained and preserved through hereditary royal lineage under British patronage. Consequently, he would have been able to assess that such power and privilege stood to be abrogated in a future Congress-governed independent India.

The All India Excluded Areas Sub Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India for Chittagong Hill Tracts met in Rangamati on 20th March 1947. It was argued here as well that the Chittagong Hill Tracts should be awarded to the Republic of India. Failing an intention to do so from the British Raj an Independent organisation Chittagong Hill Tracts People's Association (Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samity or PCJS) took up the cause. The Chakma Raja Nalinaksha Roy had no participation in this committee. Sneha Kumar Chakma was the General Secretary of the PCJS association and they again met the Bengal Boundaries Commission on 30th June 1947 to plead their case. The Bengal Boundaries Commission held a hearing from the 16th - 19th July 1947; however, the Chairman Sir Cyril Radcliffe was absent. Unfortunately or by deliberate guise, the hearing was quashed, even though Justice Bijan Mukherjee and Justice Charu Biswas had argued that the Chittagong Hill Tracts ought to

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

be awarded to India. Pandit Nehru was reluctant to fight for the Chittagong Cause; however, Sardar Ballav Bhai Patel voiced strong concerns about Chittagong Hill Tracts to be awarded to India.

At midnight (00:00 hours) 14th – 15th August 1947, approximately 10,000 people gathered in front of the Deputy Commissioner's (British) Bungalow. The Commissioner was Col GL Hyde. The crowd insisted to hoist the national Tri Colour Flag of India. Col GL Hyde was fully aware of the situation but insisted that according to colonial British customs, flag hoisting was normally done in the morning.

So he tactfully handled the situation and dispersed the crowds. Under ambiguity and lack of communication the India Flag hoisting was done on 15th August 1947 in Rangamati and was witnessed by Deputy Commissioner Col GL Hyde. It was not until the evening of 17th August 1947 that Radio Pakistan Dhaka announced that the Chairman Sir Cyril Radcliffe had awarded Chittagong Hill Tracts to Pakistan. Raja Nalinaksha Roy, however, had some sympathy towards the PCJS and had participated in a meeting on 19th August 1947 organised with a view to seeking an alternative approach to join the Republic of India. As no direct assistance was available from Delhi the movement did not reach its aim and thus, Chittagong Hill Tracts became part of East Pakistan. The movement was a peaceful one with no recorded loss of life as part of the struggle.

Chapter Three

POLITICS OF LANGUAGE 1952 – 1958

OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION

On 7th March 1949 the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan presented the 12 point Objectives Resolution which laid the basis for the future constitution of Pakistan. The resolution was passed on 12th March 1949 by the constituent assembly of Pakistan and constituted 12 points. Article 2 of the resolution was controversial as it created a theological basis of statehood instead of a secular basis as Jinnah had envisaged. Liaquat Ali Khan proclaimed that the resolution was the second most important historic event after the Independence of Pakistan itself. The resolution drew sharp criticism at that time from liberal freethinkers and intelligentsia like Birat Chandra Mondal, Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Ayaz Amir.

The 1949 Objectives Resolution not only exposed the complete fallacy of Jinnah's proposition of successfully transforming an overwhelmingly Muslim-majority Punjabi-dominated West Pakistan into a secular constitutional social democracy but also sharply brought out the peasant-landlord faultline between the West and the East. The relevance of the Objectives Resolution here is that it formed the political basis for the forcible imposition of Urdu (Language) on the Bengali speaking population by the West Pakistani establishment. It also formed the basis of a narrative of racial superiority of Urdu speaking Muslims over their Bengali speaking counterparts, in the years leading up to and during the 1971 liberation war.

As the feeling of discontent spread especially in the East, the All Pakistani Awami Muslim League was founded in Rose Garden (Old part of Dhaka) in 1949 by breaking away from the Muslim League of Pakistan. Maulana AHK Bhashani was elected the first President and Shamsul Huq the first General Secretary. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became the Joint Secretary of the newly formed party. One of the direct effects of the Objectives Resolution was setting up an alternate political agenda in the East based on regional issues and thus creating a divide between the Western and the Eastern wings of Pakistan.

THE 1954 ELECTIONS

In 1952, Bengali students primarily from Dhaka University in East Pakistan rose up in arms and protested against the Pakistani Government for declaring Urdu as the national language. Majority of the Pakistani citizens (as of 1952), that is to say, about 54% (headcount) of the citizens, were Bengali. In the protest, several students died for the Bengali language. The Urdu-Bengali controversy was reignited when Jinnah's successor, Governor General Khwaja Nazimuddin, avidly defended the Urdu-only policy in a public meeting on 27th January, 1952.

On 31st January 1952, the Shorbodolio Kendrio Rashtrobhasha Kormi Porishod (All-Party Central Language Action Committee) was formed in a meeting at the Bar Library Hall of the University of Dhaka. The meeting was chaired by the dynamic Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani (popularly known as Maulana Bhashani). The Federal Government's proposal of writing the Bengali language in Arabic script was unanimously opposed at the meeting. The action committee called for an all out protest on 21st February 1952, including strikes and rallies. Students of the University of Dhaka and other institutions gathered on the university premises on 4th February 1952 and warned the government to withdraw its proposal to write Bengali in Arabic script, and insisted on the recognition of the Bengali language as part of the state language too.

As preparations for demonstrations were going on, the government imposed Section 144 in Dhaka, thereby banning any gatherings of more than three people. The government wanted to impose a blanket cover to restrict any public gathering in anticipation for any signs of unrest in the masses. At nine o'clock in the morning, students began gathering at the University of Dhaka premises in defiance of Section 144. The university vice-chancellor and other officials were present as armed police surrounded the campus. By quarter past eleven that very same day, students gathered at the university gate and attempted to break the police line. Police fired tear gas shells towards the gate to warn the students. A section of students ran into the Dhaka Medical College while others rallied towards the university premises cordoned by the police. The vice-chancellor asked the police to stop firing and ordered the students to leave the area. However, the police arrested several students for violating section 144 as they attempted to leave. Enraged by the arrests, the students met near the East Bengal Legislative Assembly and blocked the legislators' way, asking them to present their issue at the assembly.

Also, a group of students sought to storm into the building; the police opened fire and killed a number of students, including Abdus Salam, Rafiq Uddin Ahmed, Abul Barkat and Abdul Jabbar. As the news of the killings spread, disorder erupted across the city. Shops, offices and public transport were shut down and a general strike began. At the assembly, six legislators including Manoranjan Dhar, Boshontokumar Das, Shamsuddin Ahmed and Dhirendranath Datta requested that chief minister Nurul Amin visit wounded students in hospital and that the assembly be adjourned as a sign of mourning. This motion

was supported by some of the treasury bench members including Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish, Shorfuiddin Ahmed, Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondokar and Mosihuiddin Ahmed. However, Nurul Amin turned down the requests.

On 7th May 1954, the constituent assembly resolved, with the Muslim League's support, to grant official status to Bengali language. Bengali was recognised as the second official language of Pakistan on 29th February 1956, and article 214(1) of the constitution of Pakistan was changed to include the statement, 'The state language of Pakistan shall be Urdu and Bengali.' Jinnah appointed Nurul Amin as the Chief Minister of East Pakistan. N Amin worked for the Muslim League in East Pakistan, while continuing his relief and betterment programme for the population. As Chief Minister, his relations were significantly close with Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan and Governor General Khwaja Nazimuddin. Soon after the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, N Amin was appointed as Ministry of Supply. He was elected as a member of the Pakistan National Assembly from 1947 until 1954.

Appointing a new cabinet, Prime Minister Muhammad Ali Bogra named Iskander Mirza the Governor of East Pakistan. Taking the oath from the Chief Justice Muhammad Munir, Iskander Mirza came to East Pakistan in May 1954. On his arrival at the Dhaka Airport, he instantly announced in Bangla to the East Pakistani media representatives, that he would use force if need be in order to establish peace in the province of East Pakistan. On the first day itself he ordered the arrest of 319 persons, including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

By mid-June 1954, the total number of arrests reached 1,051, including 33 assembly members and two Dhaka University professors. There was an uncanny peace but such actions had sown a permanent seed of hatred for the Federal Government in the hearts of the people of East Pakistan. Iskander Mirza was one of the most senior bureaucratic ministers in the Bogra Government, and was extremely influential at that time. He was seen as a future leader of Pakistan and thus had a strong circle of trust in the most influential corners of the Pakistani Establishment. Due to a long illness, Governor General Ghulam Muhammad went on a two-month medical leave to the United Kingdom, leaving the office of governor general to Iskander Mirza. On 7th August 1955, I Mirza assumed the office of Governor General of Pakistan. Instantly after being administered his oath by Chief Justice of Pakistan, he spoke to the nation on radio Pakistan broadcasting news about his recent appointment. Due to the political instability, he forced Prime Minister Bogra to resign from his office, dispatching him as Pakistan Ambassador to the United States in 1955.

In 1952 – 53, famine struck East Pakistan. The failure to devalue the rupee to prop up prices of agricultural exports from the East, and, continued exploitation of the East by the West Pakistani bureaucratic, political, and, commercial establishments hugely aggravated the problem. The near-monopolistic control and ownership of vast tracts of land by just a few thousand powerful landlords in West Pakistan along with the forceful imposition of Urdu as an essential 'Islamic' identity were the two key factors that expedited the formation of the Awami Muslim league by Maulana Bhashani. In fact, one of the first demands

of the newly formed Awami Muslim League was the holding of provincial elections in East Pakistan.

In 1953, the All Pakistani Awami Muslim League changed the official nomenclature by dropping the word 'Muslim' from its name. The Language Movement was equally participated in by all the faiths of the eastern Wing and hence it was a very correct political decision to change the name of the Awami League. Before the elections, the Awami League formed an alliance with other liberal secular minded parties (Krishak Praja Party and Ganatantri Dal) and created a United Front to fight the Muslim League. In the assembly elections of 1954 the Awami League swept 223 seats of 237 seats and came to be the single largest alliance. The intense antipathy towards the Muslim League became evident in the 1954 elections where the League won only 10 out of 309 seats.

One of the major upsets in the election was that student leader Khaleque Nawaz Khan had a landslide victory over Prime Minister Nurul Amin (Muslim League leader in the East). This was political catastrophe for the Muslim League as it was wiped off from East Pakistan with its Prime Minister humiliated by a 27-year old Khaleque Nawaz Khan. All these were a direct result of the Language Movement and deliberate ploy by the West Pakistani establishment to marginalize the East including the Objective Resolution.

After the elections of 1954, AK Fazlul Huq assumed the office of Chief Minister in the East and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman became the commerce minister. The United Front of the East passed a landmark order to establish Bangla Language Academy in Dhaka and demanded more autonomy and economic freedom. As the political tensions between the West and the East grew, Governor General Gulam Muhammad (Army) dismissed the United Front legitimate Government of East Pakistan. On 29th May 1954 under article 92/A of the provisional constitution of Pakistan the democratically elected government was replaced.

ONE-UNIT: ARTIFICIAL INTERVENTION

The idea of the creation of this new one unit was to counter the ethnic and linguistic make up of both East and West Pakistan. The One Unit policy was introduced to undermine the mandate of the 1954 Elections in East Bengal and to reinforce the imposition of Urdu under the Objectives Resolution. As the population of East Pakistan comprised more than 50% of the total population and their mother tongue was Bengali, there was a feeling and sentiment of alienation of the Bengalis in West Pakistan. In order to counter the Bengali language speaking population, the West Pakistani administration embarked on a campaign to make the language Urdu the state language especially in the unit of West Pakistan. In order to make this attempt of change of linguistic demographics, the local vernacular languages spoken in the areas of Baluchistan, Sindh and the Pakhton tribal belt were all dissolved. This move to make Urdu popular and compulsory created resentment especially in Baluchistan province

and some other parts, like the Pashtun belt in NWFP (North West Frontier Province bordering with Afghanistan).

I Mirza was a big supporter of the One Unit or Single Unit programme of integrating the provinces of West Pakistan and East Pakistan into one single entity. This was a deliberate ploy to merge the Military establishment into a single General Head Quarters (GHQ) based in Rawalpindi, West Pakistan. The official announcement of the One Unit was carried out on 14th October 1955. All the provinces, states and tribal areas of West Pakistan were merged into one unit with Lahore as the provincial capital. The military establishment of the ever-growing powerful GHQ came down heavily on those who opposed the idea. It was enforced that the end of Urdu will mean the end of Pakistan and the religion of Islam. In order to give preference to the West Pakistanis in the Army, a discriminatory measure of a minimum height of five feet and seven inches for all applicants was imposed. This gave an advantage to the West Pakistanis compared to the residents of the East. This was clearly unfair.

The Awami League began negotiating a power sharing programme with the Muslim League, reorganising after the 1954 elections. Iskander Mirza issued an executive decree and a state presidential proclamation abrogating the 1956 Constitution. The Pakistan Parliament, provisional assemblies were dissolved, and the government of Prime Minister Sir Feroz Khan Noon was dismissed. On 7th October 1958, Iskander Mirza announced via national radio that he was introducing a new constitution more appropriate to the people of the Pakistan as only 15% of the population of Pakistan were literate and most of them did not understand the true meaning of western style democracy.

RAJA TRIDIV ROY'S POLITICS

In the Chakma Kingdom there was not much effect of the language movement and the Chakma King was in favour of the policies of the West Pakistani authorities. One of the reasons was that the Chakma King enjoyed certain extent of autonomy compared to the rest of East Pakistan. In a way the language movement brought the Chakma Raja even closer to the West Pakistani establishment in both the political and military spheres. The Raja's distance from and even opposition to the Language movement mirrored the politics of his father in 1949. Even when Hindus in East Pakistan were all protesting against the Objectives Resolution, the previous Chakma Raja (King Nalinaksha Roy) accepted it wholeheartedly without a murmur of protest.

The politics of Raja Tridiv Roy in the 1954 elections are important for various reasons. First it helps to bring out the nature and extent of continuous disjunction between the Raja's construct of the post 1954 political framework in Bengal and the shifting politics in that period. The political mobilization of peasants and workers by AK Fazlul Huq under a separate political party (Krishak Sramik Party) along with the Awami League manifested the rapidly shifting political attitudes of the majority of Bengali voters against the elitism of the West Pakistani military-bureaucratic establishment. The failure of the Raja to

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

react positively to the 1954 election results and to AK Fazlul Huq's becoming Chief Minister raises key questions as regards to his refusal to tactically align with the democratic parties at that time.

Secondly, the 1954 election results made it very clear that the West Pakistani military-bureaucratic establishment had ceased to become the embodiment of both state and government with the near complete decimation of the Muslim League in the polls. The Raja's commitment to an autonomous Chakma Kingdom in combined alliance with the Muslim League and an exploitative West Pakistani military-bureaucratic establishment can not only be deemed as uncertain and even impractical given the 1954 election mandate, but it also raises further questions as to the plausibility of continuing to ignore and/or resist the demand for social, political and economic changes as demanded by the voters. The three key questions in this context are as follows:

1. Did the Raja think that the will of the military-bureaucratic establishment in the West would have prevailed over the East and the demand for autonomy would have subsided in Bengal in due course of time?
2. How did the Raja seek to gain politically from his total and complete support to the West Pakistani Punjabi military-bureaucratic establishment in between 1954 - 1958?

And,

3. What did the Punjabi military-bureaucratic establishment seek to gain by tacitly aligning with the Raja in the years between 1954 - 1958?

While it is difficult to conceive clear answers to the above questions, it is probably much more difficult to lay down a case for the Chittagong Hill Tracts regions' development through a prism of rapid deterioration in the democratic framework of governance. It is probably a much more plausible argument that a more democratic party based system of governance in Dhaka would have taken the development agenda of that region into account without compromising on the livelihood of the people there as the flawed dam-based development project that was arbitrarily thrust on the people of that region in 1960s (This has been addressed in greater detail in Chapter 5).

The Raja's unquestioned deference and loyalty to the West Pakistani Establishment in exchange for continued patronage is therefore debatable.

Chapter Four

THE EMERGENCE OF MILITARY MIGHT IN WEST PAKISTAN 1957

BALLOT TO BOOTS

President Iskander Mirza and his Army Commander General Ayub Khan began a new era which was described as a two-man dictatorial regime that evolved under the Pakistan Armed Forces. However, the two had very different views on dealing with the new situation, even though they were responsible for bringing about the change. General Ayub Khan was of the opinion that real political power and might rested with the Armed Forces, and General Ayub Khan was determined to prove himself right. Proclamation of martial law by President Mirza was done shortly after. A new cabinet that President Mirza formed consisted entirely of non-political members, mostly technocrats, one of them being Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

The new cabinet did not satisfy General Ayub Khan who had more powers as the chief martial law administrator and the people on the cabinet here were not handpicked by him. Thus began a tug of war between General Ayub Khan and President Iskander Mirza. With so much turmoil in politics of the Federal Government of Pakistan, little focus was on the opinion of the residents in East Pakistan. In order to secure himself, President Iskander Mirza made a last-ditch effort by trying to get the support of Ayub Khan's rivals within the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force. This move did not act as planned by President Mirza and senior military officers informed General Ayub Khan of his schemes. With the consensus of senior military officers, Ayub Khan forced President Mirza to resign on 27th October 1958. Within days, he was exiled to London, making Ayub Khan the sole power in Pakistan. Iskander Mirza lived in exile in London, England, until his death. It is reported that Mirza struggled financially while living in London trying to run a small Pakistani cuisine hotel. Here he lived in poverty until his death. His only regular income was an annual pension of £3,000 as a former military officer and president of Pakistan.

At a London hospital where he died, he once said to his wife, 'We cannot

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

afford medical treatment, so just let me die.' He died of a heart attack on 13th November 1969. President Yahya Khan denied him a state burial in Pakistan. The Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran sent his personal plane to London to bring President Mirza's body to Tehran, where he was given a state funeral. Hundreds of Iranians, including Prime Minister Abbas Hoveyda, and Pakistanis in Iran attended the funeral. The funeral ceremony was under negative limelight because of the absence of Iskander Mirza's relations living in Pakistan. The military government barred them from leaving Pakistan in time despite best efforts by Ardeshir Zahedi, Iran's foreign minister, and President Iskander Mirza's friends in Pakistan and Iran. General Ayub Khan who had now assumed the title of Field Marshall had given strict orders and serious consequences for anyone who wished to travel to Tehran in order to attend the funeral.

In 1960, Field Marshall Ayub Khan held an indirect referendum of his term in power. Functioning as a kind of Electoral College and winning 95.6% of the vote, he used the confirmation as impetus to formalize his new system. This was the first of the many times in the history of Pakistan that the military became directly involved and became head of politics. In July 1961, Ayub Khan paid a visit to the United States, accompanied by his daughter Begum Naseem Aurangzeb. Ayub Khan introduced the Muslim Family Laws through an Ordinance on 2nd March 1961 by which unmitigated polygamy was abolished and consent of the current wife was made mandatory for a second marriage.

THE GREAT DECADE FOR THE WEST

Ayub's economical policies were based on the model of capitalism and followed the free-market economics principles. Industrialization that took place in his term is often regarded as the Great Decade in the history of the country (both economical and political history). The Great Decade was celebrated whereby the development plans executed during the years of Ayub's rule was highlighted and the private consortium companies and industries credited with creating an environment where the private sector was encouraged to establish medium and small-scale industries in Pakistan.

This opened up avenues for new job opportunities and thus the economic graph of the country started rising. He also introduced a new curriculum and books for schools. Many schools and colleges were constructed during his time. He introduced agricultural reforms according to which no one could occupy land less than 12.5 acres (500 irrigated and 1000 un-irrigated lands). An oil refinery in Karachi was set up, and these reforms led to 15% GNP of the country that was three times greater than that of India. Despite the increase in the GNP, the profit and revenue was gained by the 22 families that controlled 66% of the industries and land of the country and 80% of the banking and insurance of Pakistan. The education reforms and scientific efforts steadily improved during his years. However, after the 1958 military coup by Ayub Khan, all labour unions were banned and there were effectively no labour rights in the whole of Pakistan. Perhaps that was one of the prices of the Great

Decade in the history of Pakistan. An initiative to irrigate cultivable land by building tube wells was portrayed as friendly to the masses; however, they were only built in the land owned by the feudal landlords and not the general farmers.

The cosmetic land reforms as per the Land Reforms Commission introduced by Ayub Khan ensured that the status quo remained in favour of the feudal landlords especially in West Pakistan. The maximum ownership of individual land was left at 500 acres for irrigated land and 1000 acres for un-irrigated land. Farmlands using cattle as means of cultivation were also exempted. So the feudal landlords were well insulated and protected by the Ayub regime. After the so called historic land reforms in Pakistan, only approximately 6% of cultivable land was reclaimed by the land reforms and were distributed amongst members of the public, and mostly to those people with close links to the military.

The construction of Islamabad city, the new capital of Pakistan, was undertaken during the tenure of Ayub Khan. However, with all these economic and infrastructure building activities, notable changes were only seen in the province of Punjab and city of Karachi in West Pakistan. One of the key foreign currency earners for Pakistan, jute, was almost exclusively manufactured in East Pakistan. It is claimed that the Foreign Exchange exported the golden crop of jute even though it was produced in the East and only gave results in the West as little of the foreign currency revenue it generated was spent in the East for development. The infrastructure and industrialization of East Pakistan was not undertaken at the same scale of the Great Decade of development in the West with Punjab being its epicentre. A deep-seeded mistrust and a feeling of neglect ran in both the common people and the political parties of East Pakistan. It has been argued by many that the entire economic planning by the Ayub Junta was based on continuous economic deprivation of the East along with denial of political rights to the Bengali speaking voters and political parties.

GIBRALTAR

Queen Elizabeth II of England formally visited East Pakistan in February 1961. Raja Tridiv Roy formally attended the ceremony in Circuit House, Chittagong that the Queen visited as part of her official visit. In 1964, the Planning Commission, Economic minister Muhammad Shoaib, Foreign minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Ayub Khan chaired a meeting to discuss the economical assessment of the Operation Gibraltar against India. ZA Bhutto had recommended anti-Indian and anti-American images during the meeting. Bhutto succeeded in influencing the ruling general into thinking he was becoming a world statesman. He was seeking a permanent military solution to the long standing Kashmir Dispute with arch rival India. Aziz Ahmed (serving as the Foreign policy adviser to the military government of President Ayub Khan) vetoed the Gibraltar offensive against India, fearing the economical turmoil that would jolt the country's economy, but was marginalized by his senior bureaucrats and army think-tanks. In that meeting ZA Bhutto convinced the President and the

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

Economic minister that India would not attack Pakistan due to Kashmir as a disputed territory and India would only react in the territory of Kashmir.

There was no question of a full-fledged war with India and normalcy (meaning no direct violation and full scale escalation to a War) would persist along the international border. Pakistan had the advantage of element of surprise and was better equipped to reply and counter attack any Indian forward moment after Operation Gibraltar. This theory proved wrong when India launched a full-scale war (International Border, Punjab Sector) against West-Pakistan in 1965. The 1965 war had deep effects in East Pakistan as well. The West Pakistani administration under the One Unit policy put in place all available resources to defend West Pakistan. Less than a bare minimum of support was left to defend East Pakistan.

A feeling of betrayal and neglect was profound in East Pakistan due to this discrimination. South Block, the Intelligence epicentre for India in New Delhi, calculated carefully that it was not in the best interests of India to exploit Pakistan's weakness in the East and chose not to launch any military action in the East. Rather, India focused on the Western theatre. However, the deep ridged fault lines between the West and East became more visible to India. The war led Pakistan to lose the 500 million dollars it had been receiving by the Consortium for Pakistan through the United States. Ayub Khan could not suffer the aftermath and he surrendered the presidential power to Army Commander General Yahya Khan in 1969.

During the 1965 war, Raja Tridiv Roy was put on high alert for any possible Indian action at the key port of Chittagong in East Pakistan. The United States and the Soviet Union used significant diplomatic tools to prevent any further escalation in the conflict between the two South Asian nations. The Soviet Union, led by Premier Alexei Kosygin, hosted ceasefire negotiations in Tashkent (now in Uzbekistan), where Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan signed the Tashkent Agreement, agreeing to withdraw to pre-August lines no later than 25th February 1966. With declining stockpiles of ammunition, Pakistani leaders feared the war tilting in India's favour. Therefore, they quickly accepted the ceasefire in Tashkent. Despite strong opposition from Indian military leaders, India bowed to growing international diplomatic pressure and accepted the ceasefire. On 22nd September 1965, the United Nations Security Council unanimously passed a resolution that called for an unconditional ceasefire from both nations. The war ended the following day.

Operation Gibraltar was most certainly an act of aggression by the Military Political Establishment of West Pakistan to mask the deliberate interference with the flow of democracy in the 1965 presidential elections. Enmity towards India was a magic bullet and was exploited to the maximum by Field Marshall Ayub Khan and ZA Bhutto in order to sway the attention of the masses from the irregularities and fraudulent practises committed in the 1965 elections. The 1965 Presidential elections of Pakistan have been described in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Chapter Five

THE POLITICS OF DISPLACEMENT, KAPTAI DAM 1957 DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DISPLACEMENT

During the British rule of 1906, a small project to study the benefits of setting up a dam in the historic Karnafuli river basin was carried out. The project was, however, shelved due to the risks which outweighed any benefits. The tremendous ecological disaster compared to the meagre electricity produced was considered as not viable. A second study, carried out in 1923, also regarding the contemplation of the Karnafuli Hydroelectric Power project was subsequently discarded due to the same reasons in spite of new available technology to generate possibly a little more electricity. Soon after the creation of Pakistan, the East Pakistani administration embarked on another attempt to build this controversial dam.

The original plan was to build it in a place called Barkal, 28 miles away from the Chakma Royal Capital of Rangamati. Barkal was a natural selection as it had the perfect location of natural flowing rapids and a deep gorge. However, it had another obstacle. Barkal was very close to the Indian border and a dam built close to the international boundary proposed a security risk to the State of Pakistan. The Pakistani Government was reluctant to build it there as it would require negotiations with India as, if it were built, some barren hills on the Indian side would be flooded. Apart from paying India compensation, the possible security risk of perceived threat by India in the future was considered a price too high and the subsequent location of the dam was changed.

In 1950, Marz Rendal Vatten Consulting Engineers Scouting was assigned to select a different location and suggested a place called Chilardhak (20 miles downstream from Barkal). Strangely this site was also rejected but no plausible explanation was sighted by the Pakistani administration. In 1951, the Pakistani Government administration proposed Chitmoram, 7 miles downstream of the Chakma capital of Rangamati. Under the observation of the then chief engineer of the Irrigation Department, Mr Khwaja Azimuddin, the construction site was

chosen in 1951 and the fate of the Chakma people sealed. Utah International Inc. a private contractor of the USA was awarded the construction contract. Construction of the dam started in 1957. The dam site being so close to the Chakma capital of Rangamati had disastrous effect not only for the Chakma people but also for the Chakma King Raja Tridiv Roy. The dam was nicknamed 'the multipurpose dam' by the indigenous people. It resulted in the dispensation of a closely knit community and hurt them economically. The majority of the Chakma people, who, on the banks of the Karnafuli river, engaged in cotton and other agricultural activities, were hit the most. The basin created by the dam resulted in flooding of premium quality land (approximately 54,000 acres of land).

This land was the lifeline of the Chakma people and such a manmade calamity resulted in the first mass exodus of refugees from East Pakistan to India as early as in 1960. It is estimated that around 40,000 Chakma refugees, displaced by the deliberate manmade calamity, sought refuge in the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh. Under oppression from the East Pakistani administration, the Chakmas tried to adjust and settle in the new unknown area of India. Raja Tridiv Roy was well aware of the calamity as he was head of the commission looking into the rehabilitation of the displaced people. It was estimated by the Raja that around 50,000 people would be affected but in reality more than 87,000 people were directly affected, let alone the others affected indirectly. Land estimates of 200sq miles were proved incorrect as well by a huge margin. It seemed like a well-conceived plan to rupture the Chakma people's unity and to make them politically weak. A weak population could have been easily contorted by the Raja and thus he was in favour of the West Pakistani official rhetoric. The then East Pakistani administration had successfully engineered this calamity to its favour.

Raja Tridiv Roy was not quite supportive of the project initially, however, and he made several recommendations like financial package and rehabilitation for the displaced. However, none of his recommendations could save the Historic Rangamati Rajbari (Palace) which was submerged and lost forever in 1961. The World Bank had allocated around 55 Million USD as a relief package to Pakistan. However, only 4 Million USD was actually distributed to the affected Chakmas. The rest of the funds went missing between the West and East Pakistan administration.

Not all West Pakistani administrative officials associated with the project were corrupt. Notably there were a handful, like Syed Afzal Agha, MA Kareem Iqbal, OM Qarmi and Hatch-Barnwell who voiced their concerns for the Chittagong Hill Tracts people. Syed Afzal Agha was transferred from the East Pakistan Kaptai Dam project and OM Qarmi (Additional Deputy Commissioner and Rehabilitation officer) was also relieved of his charge. It fell upon MA Kareem Iqbal to distribute the funds and out of great limitation and constraints he did the best to his ability. The amount of compensation was calculated between 300 to 900 Pakistani Rupees (60 to 180 USD) per acre of cultivable land. This was an outrageous figure as the yearly average return of those

cultivable areas were approximately 5 times higher, let alone permanent damage costs.

A mango tree was estimated at 10 Pakistani Rupees (2 USD) where the harvested crop fetched at least ten times more every fruit season. Even if the mango tree was sold as dead firewood it would have generated far too higher a price. Hence a genuine economic discrimination in the name of progress and prosperity was deliberately and intentionally carried out by the executioners of the project.

KAPTAI'S CURSE

The historic royal palace (Rajbari) of the Chakma Kings was finally submerged in the Karnafuli river catchment area. Raja Tridiv Roy was disappointed with the chain of events; however, as he wanted to maintain and enjoy the princely autonomy bestowed upon him by the West Pakistani Military establishment, he had to bite the bullet as any act of disapproval would run a risk of losing that special status. It was estimated that the palace was submerged under upto 30 feet of water. The palace was lost forever and maybe it was the mark of the beginning of the end of the glorious history of the Chakma Kings dating back to their arrival in Chittagong Hill Tracts from Arakan. Later, the Pakistani administration finally announced that approximately a hundred thousand people were directly and indirectly affected. An approximate loss of around 400 to 600 square miles of land was also declared. The electricity generated from the five units of the Kaptai Hydroelectric Project was approximately 242 megawatt, each pertaining to only 8-10% of the energy requirement for the whole of Pakistan (estimated at 2200 Megawatts). Such a human and environmental calamity with so little benefit was definitely questionable but as huge sums of money were involved, it was generally not alluded to especially in the international community.

The Chakma people were almost up in arms and were planning an armoured struggle in retaliation. However, due to severe lack of firearms logistics, they had no other option but to go down quietly in humiliation. Raja Tridiv Roy also portrayed an image of extreme disappointment. He advocated that such an anti-establishment move would have even more unwanted and disastrous repercussions for his people (whatever was left of them after the migration to India). The Raja practically did nothing to secure his people, rather he played a passive role in dealing with the so called sugar-coated promise of development. He did not stand up for the affected locals and hence it proves that he was perhaps hand in glove with the West Pakistani establishment's official rhetoric.

Some local Chakmas voiced their displeasure to seek international intervention especially from India, but Delhi was not too keen at that point of time in history to engage directly to resolve the conflict (it was seen as an internal matter of East and West Pakistan). Delhi, however, decided to absorb the climatic refugees, settled them in Arunachal Pradesh (North Eastern state of India) and

granted safe passage. Arunachal Pradesh at that time was called NEFA (North Eastern Frontier Agency).

Apart from the human tragedy, the natural tragedy was immense as well. A huge amount of wildlife especially bisons, bears, deer, elephants, panthers and rhinoceros became extinct in the Chittagong Hill Tracts along with the rich fauna of the region. Wildlife was a popular game during the British Raj and also of the Pakistani military elite. It is worth mentioning that before the Kaptai dam project, a paper mill by the name of Karnafuli Paper Mill at Chandraghona was set up in 1953 to extract the rich resources of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It was set up by the Pakistani administration with foreign aid (13 Million USD including 4 Million USD from the World Bank). The lease for logging and planting of teak in the region was for 99 years. It was proposed that the paper factory would create 10,000 jobs; however, only 200 went to the Chakmas. The Chakma people had been discriminated against in any industrialisation of the area by the Pakistani administration *and* the Kaptai Dam sounded the death knell.

The mass migration of the Chakma people led to a drastic drop of the population from as high as 91% in 1959 to as low as 59% in 1981 as per Census in East Pakistan and Bangladesh respectively. An approximate figure of the drop in 1962 was around 70%. Thus the dam was indeed a multipurpose one as it achieved a permanent disruption in the fabric of the Chakma people. Raja Tridiv Roy was well aware of the politics of displacement, however, the status of a king and the benefits of autonomy proved more important to him than the suffering and hardship of his people.

For the Chakma people, the building of the dam marked the beginning of the end to a Chakma autonomous kingdom based on their demography and their unique linguistic/cultural identity in the region. On its part, the Awami League was always opposed to an autonomous Chakma kingdom, not least because it was ruled by a hereditary king. The Raja's policy of rejecting Bengali nationalism as a growing political force and his continued political alliance with the Ayub Khan military regime in the West, even after the completion of the dam, contributed further to the widening of the gulf between the Chakma people and the Bengali-speaking majority in the East. Once the dam was completed (in 1962) and the widespread displacement of the Chakmas from the region became more evident, the Raja, arguably, could have played a much more constructive role in bridging the gulf between the Chakmas and the Bengali-speaking population. Instead, the ease of argument follows that the Raja's misplaced priority to limit himself from developing better political relations with Sheikh Mujibur, even after the building of the Kaptai Dam, condemned the Chakmas to the status of a permanently insecure minority in a future independent Bangladesh.

Chapter Six

ELECTIONS OF 1965 PAKISTAN AND THE AFTERMATH

BALLOT VS BULLET

Presidential elections were held in Pakistan on 2nd January 1965. The vote was conducted among the 80,000 basic democrats (as per the new Electoral College system setup) among the urban and regional councils. The major contenders were the Combined Opposition Parties (COP) with Fatima Jinnah (The sister of Mahmud Ali Jinnah, Father of Pakistan, and she was referred to as the Mother of Pakistan), and the Military Junta leader, Field Marshall Ayub Khan. Apart from them there were two other obscure candidates of no major relevance. In the COP there were five major parties and in East Pakistan Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was part of the coalition. The COP had a nine point agenda which primarily focused on restoration of direct elections, adult franchise and democratisation of 1962 Pakistani constitution.

There was a short campaign of around one month prior to the elections and this was also restricted to nine projection meetings. These meetings were organised by the Election Commission of Pakistan and only the contesting candidates, members of the Electoral College and few members of the press were allowed to attend. No other individual was allowed to attend these pre-election meetings. As the general public was barred from attending these meetings, it put Fatima Jinnah at an unfair advantage (as she was extremely popular with the masses) which might have enhanced her image.

On the other hand, Field Marshall Ayub Khan had a great advantage over the rest of candidates: the second amendment of the constitution of Pakistan had confirmed him President till his successor. He had a huge arsenal of multitude constitutional powers which he used to maximise his reach. He had total control over the government and military apparatus and ensured these were used to his favour in the forthcoming elections. As a serving head of the state he exercised maximum favours which were in contrary to the election process. Even though he was the president of the Convention of Muslim League and the presidential candidate and it was appropriate for him to use the state

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

machinery, he did not hesitate to do so. On indirect ballot, Ayub Khan emerged victorious by winning 64% of the vote.

The campaign of Fatima Jinnah was also flawed with poor finance and unfair and unequal election campaign. The indirect election process was instrumental in the victory of Ayub Khan. Had the conventional general election process been followed, it was most certain that Fatima Jinnah would win. The total Electoral College consisted of 80,000 basic democrats. After the elections there was a relative calm in both the wings. However, due to perpetual discrimination, many intellectuals, economists, intelligentsia and politicians raised a lot of questions on the issues of disproportionate revenue spending in both the wings of Pakistan.

In 1966 prominent people who raised this issue were the then Bhashani NAP, Communist groups like Chatra Union (Memon Group). Some Bengali CSP officials like Ruhul Quddus, Shamsur Rahman Khan and Ahmed Fazlur Rahman also sharply criticised the government. Many professors of Dhaka University, especially the Economics Department, were at the forefront as well. Mr Khairul Kabir (the then general Manager of Krishi Bank, East Pakistan) was also involved in the growing resentment amongst the people of East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League political party, was the most prominent person who took up this issue with the establishment. Following is a statistical representation of the economic divide between East and West Pakistan.

| Year (Beginning from 1947) | Spending in West Pakistan (in Crore of Local Currency) | Amount spent on West as % of Total | Spending in East Pakistan (in Crore of Local Currency) | Amount spent on East as % of Total |
|----------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| % of Population | | 36.23 | | 63.77 |
| 1950-55 | 1,129 | 66.31 | 524 | 31.69 |
| 1955-60 | 1,655 | 75.90 | 550 | 24.10 |
| 1955-65 | 3,355 | 70.05 | 1,404 | 29.5 |
| 1965-70 | 5,195 | 70.82 | 2,141 | 29.18 |
| Total | 11,334 | 71.16 | 4,593 | 28.84 |

Six Point Agenda

The Six Point Agenda of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had its legacy in the earlier 21 points of the United Front but had a much stronger echo in the context of the demand for economic and political autonomy by the East.

Elections of 1965 Pakistan and the Aftermath

The Six Points are as follows:

1. The constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in its true sense based 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 residual subjects should 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 should be vested in the federating units and the federal centre would have no such power. The federation would be entitled to a share in the state taxes to meet its expenditure.
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.

The Six Point Agenda assumed the character of a referendum of autonomy of the East and struck at the very heart of the Pakistani ruling class. West Pakistani economic development largely relied on the East for 50% of its exports. The Six Point Agenda left both Bhutto and the military establishment fuming. They were well aware that the demand for more autonomy of the Eastern wing would eventually result in transfer of power which they were not willing to consider at all. The all powerful military was paranoid with the proposition of a separate arrangement in the East that would be catastrophic in ensuring their grip on the establishment of Pakistan. It also meant loosening the grip of the West Pakistani trading and farming class on a huge captive market in the East. Raja Tridiv Roy also did not support the Six Point Agenda as he always maintained close allegiance with the West Pakistani military. He very well knew that the success of the Six Point Agenda meant loss of autonomy and special status enjoyed by him so far under the West Pakistani protective

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

military umbrella. ZA Bhutto's instant rejection of the Six Points stemmed from the fear of losing his support base amongst the Pakistani business class and of opposition from the Military. Almost all the political parties in West Pakistan were unanimous in their instant rejection of the Six Point Agenda.

THE CONSPIRACY

The Military Junta Federal Government paid no heed to the demands and was trading on thin ice with the emotions and sentiments of East Pakistan. In early 1968, a highly controversial political case was filed against Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, (by predominately the Military Junta in West Pakistan) accusing him of conspiring with India against the stability of Pakistan. The case was officially called *State vs Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and others*, but is popularly known as the *Agartalla Shorojontro Mamlā* (Agartalla Conspiracy Case).

It was alleged that associates of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had travelled to the Indian city of Agartalla (Capital of the North Eastern State Tripura, India) and met with Indian Intelligence Bureau officials conspiring to destabilize Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan framed charges against 35 individuals who were political personalities, high ranking East Pakistan Government officials and military personals.

They were Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Ahmed Fazlur Rahman CSP, Commander Moazzem Hossain, Steward Mujibur Rahman, former LS Sultanuddin Ahmad, LSCDI Nur Mohammad, Flight Sergeant Mahfiz Ullah, Corporal Abdus Samad, former Havildar Dalil Uddin, Ruhul Quddus CSP, Flight Sergeant Md Fazlul Haq, Bibhuti Bhushan Chowdhury alias Manik Chowdhury, Bidhan Krishna Sen, Subedar Abdur Razzaque, former clerk Mujibur Rahman, former Flight Sergeant Md. Abdur Razzaque, Sergeant Zahurul Haq, Benedict Dias, AB Khurshid, Khan Mohammad Shamsur Rahman CSP, AKM Shamsul Haque, Havildar Azizul Haq, Mahfuzul Bari, Sergeant Shamsul Haq, Shamsul Alam, Captain Mohammad Abdul Muttalib, 21 Baluch Regiment, Captain Shawkat Ali, Captain Khondkar Nazmul Huda, Captain ANM Nuruzzaman, Sergeant Abdul Jalil, Mahbub Uddin Chowdhury, Lt M Rahman, former Subedar Tajul Islam, Ali Reza, Captain Khurshid Uddeen Ahmed, and Lt Abdur Rauf. The charges were based on the assumption that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had attempted to ignite armed rebellion against West Pakistan which would result in secession of East Pakistan.

Primarily, navy steward Mujibur Rahman and educationist Mohammad Ali Reza were accused of going to Agartalla in India and seeking all forms of Indian support for an independent Bangladesh. To this day, Indian authorities fiercely deny the allegation of such a meeting having taken place. The alleged conspiracy was uncovered by Lt Col Shamsul Alam who commanded the East Pakistan Detachment of the ISI (Inter-Services Intelligence) Directorate. It was during this trial that an officer of the East Bengal Regiment, Rauf Ur Rahman, made an attempt on the life of Lt Col Shamsul Alam, and Shamsul Alam showed great bravery in chasing away the would be assassin. For his bravery

Elections of 1965 Pakistan and the Aftermath

the Government of Pakistan bestowed on him *Sitara-e-Basalat* (the highest gallantry award during peacetime).

As early as 1967, before the official charges were brought forward, around 1500 Bengalis were arrested. The Home Department of Pakistan also issued warnings that an armed struggle was imminent in East Pakistan. On 18th January, the Home Department implicated Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and he was arrested on 9th May 1968. Initially the Home Department wanted to go for Court Marshal; however, as a large number of the accused were of civilian ranks they switched to a civil trial. It was also believed that a civil trial would work in favour of the Pakistani Establishment keeping in mind the upcoming general elections of December 1970. All the arrested and accused were subsequently transferred from Dhaka Central Jail to a secure area of the Dhaka Cantonment. In a gullible way, the penal codes were amended (as there was a Military Junta in government) swiftly before the trial began to benefit the prosecution and press for maximum sentence if the accused were found guilty of high treason against the state (carrying capital punishment).

The trials began on 19th June 1968 under a special tribunal set up inside the Dhaka Cantonment. A charge sheet of 100 paragraphs was presented before the tribunal along with 227 witness and 7 approvers. The tribunal was headed by three judges, Chair Justice SA Rahman (from West Pakistan) and MR Khan along with Maksumul Hakim (from East Pakistan). The government was represented by Attorney General TH Khan and a former Foreign Minister Manzur Quader. Thomas William, a British lawyer along with local Bengali attorneys challenged the formation of the tribunal (as it was hand selected by the military establishment) by filing a petition in favour of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The approvers appeared in the witness box and testified that they had provided false evidence under the coercion of the State.

The general public of Pakistan, especially the Eastern wing took great interest in the developments of the case. There was a strong feeling that a great conspiracy was at work to implicate Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a traitor and Indian Agent. The military and establishment view was that India was involved in this conspiracy and was seeking a grand plan to dismember Pakistan using Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as their inside man. A lot of protests and mass movement were organised in East Pakistan as the public demanded that the State should withdraw the case with immediate effect and set free all the accused.

DHAKA DOLDRUMS

The government decided on 6th February as the final date of judgment. As the intensity of the protests grew, the government was forced to defer the date. On 15th February, a West Pakistani soldier shot dead one of the accused, Zahurul Haq, at point blank range inside his prison cell. The news of the cold blooded murder spread like wildfire in East Pakistan. A frenzied mob set fire

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

to the State guest house where the chief lawyer and the tribunal chair resided. Both of them managed to escape. However, due to the arson many case files and evidence were burnt down.

The mob also set fire to other government official buildings in Dhaka. In the event of facing almost hopeless situation in the East (1969 uprising), the Government of Pakistan finally, on 22nd February, announced that it would withdraw the case and all the accused were set free on 23rd February. On this day Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was given a grand reception by the people of East Pakistan at the Race Course Ground of Dhaka. It is here he was given the legendary title of *Bongobondhu* (Friend of Bengal).

Raja Tridiv Roy was also following the case very closely as he was a student of law. He did realise that the sentiments of the masses in East Pakistan were too strong and hence did not give any political statement on the matter. He chose to remain silent on the conspiracy case and did nothing for or against and maintained a neutral stature.

The 1969 uprising of East Pakistan eventually resulted in the fall of the military dictator Field Marshall Ayub Khan. A brief timeline of the notable events of the 1969 uprising is as follows:

- 4th January: Shorbodolio Chatro Shongram Porishad (The All Party Student Action Committee) put forth its 11 point agenda.
- 7th - 8th January: Formation of a political coalition named Democratic Action Committee (DAC) to restore democracy.
- 20th January: Student activist Asaduzzaman dies as the police open fire on demonstrators.
- 24th January: Matiur, a teenager activist is gunned down by the police.
- 18th February: Dr Shamsuzzoha of Rajshahi University is killed as the police open fire on a silent procession in Rajshahi.
- 10th - 13th March: Ayub Khan calls for a round table meeting with the opposition.
- 24th March: Ayub Khan hands over power to General Yahya Khan, the army Chief of Staff.

Murdered Sergeant Zahurul Haq was honoured by naming a students' residential hall in University of Dhaka after him. In 2010 and 2011, the surviving accused Deputy Speaker Parliament of Bangladesh, Shawkat Ali, did confess that the charges were accurate and they had planned the secession of East Pakistan. He also mentioned that a Shangram Parishad (Struggle Committee) was formed for this objective. Parliamentarian Tofal Ahmed added that had the

plot materialized, it would have resulted in a bloodless liberation of Bangladesh and hailed the Deputy Speaker for his role in the plot.

In 1962, Raja Tridiv Roy was elected unopposed Vice Chairman, District Council, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Member of the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly. He succeeded a second term in the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly wining again unopposed. As the new form of election process was introduced in 1965, Raja Tridiv Roy could not participate in the Electoral College system. So he did not participate in the National Assembly elections.

Chapter Seven

CATALYST CYCLONE BHOLA IN 1970

FATAL FORCES OF NATURE

Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) has low lying planes with almost 35% of its landmass less than 20 feet above sea level. The coastline of Bangladesh is approximately 575 Km in length and has the distinctive contour features that funnel cyclones from the warm waters of The Bay of Bengal. Typical cyclone seasons are April - May and October - November. In the month of October 1960, a severe cyclone struck East Pakistan. It is estimated that a tidal surge of approximately 20 feet struck the Islands of Hatia, Sandwip and Kutudbia. It is estimated that approximately 10,000 souls perished.

Soon after the first cyclone, another devastating cyclone landed near Noakhali, East Pakistan on 31st October. A 20 feet tidal wave struck and it was estimated that 14,000 people perished. Following the two devastating cyclones, the Pakistani administration sought help from the National Hurricane Centre (USA). Mr Gordon Dunn the Director of the National Hurricane Centre made detailed surveys of East Pakistani coastline and submitted a recommendation report. It detailed an early warning system of communication and it indeed was one of the most important recommendations.

However the Pakistani Government did not carry out the recommendations which Dunn had mentioned. On 8th November 1970 a depression, originating from the Tropical storm Nora in the South China Sea, developed in the Bay of Bengal. The Indian Meteorological Department issued a cyclone alert on 9th November 1970. The hurricane developed into a severe cyclone by 11th November and a clear eye was formed with winds of upto 150 Km/Hr (100Miles/Hr) and a central pressure of 966hPa. A cyclone of this magnitude is classified as a Category 3 in the Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Scale. The cyclone made landfall on the coastline of East Pakistan on the evening of 12th November at Tazumddin area (95 Km from Chittagong). It is estimated that between 3, 00,000 to 5, 00,000 people were wiped off the face of the earth by this mighty cyclone which was later named as Cyclone Bhola of 1970.

East Pakistan Radio had announced a warning of a great danger. However,

this was one of the most unfortunate miscommunications (as there was no mention of the Cyclone Warning number), in the chain of events leading to one of the biggest natural tragedies in recorded history. Normally the warning system in East Pakistan was in numbers, with Warning number 1 the highest threat. On this occasion as the number was not mentioned by the broadcast, most of the people did not understand what it meant. The death count could not be ascertained accurately but it is comparable with the 1976 Tangshan Earthquake and the 2004 Indian Ocean Earthquake.

The meteorological station in Chittagong measured winds up to 144Km/Hr before its anemometer was blown away. Ships anchored in Chittagong port recorded winds upto 200 Km/Hr, however, this was never authenticated. Where the cyclone made landfall, it caused a 30 feet high tidal wave in the Ganges Delta region. In Chittagong port, the storm tide peaked at approximately 5 feet above the average sea level. Approximately 3.5 million people were affected and the damage was estimated at around 86 million USD. 85% of the homes were destroyed and an estimated 65% of the fishing capacity of the coastal region was wiped off.

The delta was also a rich agricultural area. Approximately 50 million USD worth of paddy crop was destroyed. Even after three months of the cyclone, about 75% of the surviving population were receiving food aid—the sole line of survival. It was estimated that around a hundred thousand migrant workers for paddy collection (as it was peak agricultural crop harvest season) had also perished. An Indian ship, MV Mahajagmitra (5,500 Ton freighter), en route from Calcutta to Kuwait, too, had sunk.

The Indian islands of Andaman and Nicobar Islands experienced heavy rains and damage and the same was reported in the southern districts of West Bengal and Assam states of India. It is estimated that the young children, women, the sick and the old were most affected in East Pakistan in the survival category.

FAILURE TO RESPOND

Three days after the Cyclone Bhola, the Pakistani establishment dispatched few gunboats and one hospital ship to the affected islands of Hatia, Sandwip and Kutubdia. The Military Junta President General Yahya Khan made an aerial survey of the affected areas of East Pakistan en route to a State visit in China on 16th November. Pakistan observed a day of mourning on 21st November and all national flags were flown at half mast on that day.

Only one military transport aircraft was available for relief operations and that too 10 days after 12th November. Facing severe criticism, General Yahya Khan finally arrived in Dhaka (Capital of East Pakistan) on 24th November to take charge of the situation. He relieved the Junta Governor of East Pakistan, Vice Admiral SM Ahsan, of duty as many slips and falls were noted in the East Pakistani administration.

However, General Yahya Khan made it absolutely clear that the General Elections in Pakistan (both East and West) were to go ahead in December as

planned and 9 constituencies of the affected region would have elections in the month of January 1971. Political leaders of East Pakistan including Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman deeply criticised the administration and the military of Pakistan for their neglect and laidback attitude in relief work. In a political rally held on 26th November (in Dhaka as a mark of protest), the resignation of General Yahya Khan was demanded.

Similarly, political opponents of West Pakistan were also seeking resignation of the Junta General and the elections of December 1970 became ever more critical for the future of Pakistan. As the Pakistan army deployed a single helicopter for the relief and rescue mission, it too faced severe criticism both domestically and internationally.

Later the Pakistan military establishment came up with a briefing that they had wished to transfer few Air Force aircrafts and helicopters from West to East, however, India had not allowed the transfer via its airspace. This charge was always strongly denied by the Indian Government. Independent observers in West Pakistan like the *Pakistan Observer* started reporting that the military establishment were creating deliberate red tape and bureaucratic hurdles in the distribution of desperately needed aid to the survivors. India was one of the first countries to offer aid and immediately pledged 1.3 million USD.

INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVE

Apart from financial aid, India also offered helicopters and transshipment via air from Calcutta. However, due to the animosity between the neighbours, Pakistan declined the latter offer and relief materials had to be sent to East Pakistan from West Bengal, India, via road which was time-consuming. United States President Nixon approved aid package of 10 million USD and 6 helicopters (2 of which were in Nepal and had been re-routed).

The Americans also provided 50 small boats for relief work. Britain dispatched Royal Navy task force HMS Intrepid and HMS Triumph which were docked in Singapore at that time. They carried 8 helicopters and 8 landing crafts as well. The British Disasters Emergency Committee raised about 1.5 million USD for relief in East Pakistan. The Canadian Government pledged 2 million USD and the French and West German Governments 1.3 million USD each.

The Vatican offered 100,000 USD in aid and Pope Paul VI announced that he intended to visit East Pakistan during his upcoming visit to Far East Asia. The Government of Singapore sent a medical mission to Chittagong with smallpox vaccinations and 15 tons of food relief. The Japanese cabinet approved 1.65 million USD aid package, however, it was only after Tokyo had drawn criticism previously for approving little in terms of aid.

The all-weather friend of Pakistan, China, had sent one planeload of cholera vaccine to East Pakistan (approximately 50,000 doses) but cholera outbreak was ruled out by Pakistan-SEATO cholera research laboratory. Thus the supply from China was rendered ineffective. Beijing finally approved 1.2 million USD after facing sharp criticism in the international arena. The United Nations

allocated 2.1 million USD in food and cash for East Pakistan and UNICEF successfully established the water supply system in the affected areas of East Pakistan.

The UN Secretary General U Thant made appeals to the international committee to raise a further 23 million USD required for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the aftermath of the cyclone. The World Bank estimated that a total of 185 million USD was required and so far approximately 40 million USD had been collected. Lot of other Asian nations pledged for the relief in East Pakistan subsequently. CARE relief organisation was forced to halt their relief efforts as the Pakistani establishment had interfered with the distribution of aid. It was in the month of January 1970 that CARE finally reached an agreement with the Junta Government based in West Pakistan to construct 25,000 cement brick houses in the affected region.

The West Pakistani administration had to budge to CARE due to immense international pressure. Iran sent two planeloads of emergency supplies and Mohammad Reza Pahlavi declared that the tragedy in East Pakistan was an Iranian one as well. By January 1971, the Soviet Union had provided an additional 10 helicopters in the region. A total of approximately 45 helicopters were operating in the region with relief and rehabilitation programmes.

MADISON SQUARE NY CONCERT

On 1st August 1971, Ex Beatle Star George Harrison and Pandit Ravi Shankar of India organised two concerts in New York's Madison Square Garden. It also featured celebrated musician Ali Akbar Khan (both Shankar and Khan had ancestral roots to East Pakistan). The concert was the first of its kind and was a huge success. It had successfully raised 2,50,000 USD which was donated to UNICEF. The aftermath of the cyclone had deep implications in the future of Pakistan and especially the way the relief operations were handled created a deep resentment in the masses of East Pakistan. The forthcoming national elections of December 1970 gave the verdict to that effect.

Raja Tridiv Roy who was the Chief of Operations in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, too, sided with the Pakistani official rhetoric that adequate was being done and did not feel the need to reach out to the affected masses of the Bhola Cyclone. The Raja, however, had little control on the relief and rescue operations as till December 1970 they were singlehandedly controlled by the Military Junta Government of Pakistan.

Chapter Eight

CALM BEFORE THE STORM

GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1970

General Elections were held for the first time in the history of Pakistan on 7th December 1970. Due to Cyclone Bhola the polls in East Pakistan were rescheduled from October to December. Since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, for the first time in the political history, was such a free and fair election held.

The Military Junta Government of General Yahya Khan must be credited with holding such an interference-free election. One theory goes that the intelligence agencies of the military establishment predicted that no single political party will win a majority and thus advised General Yahya Khan that eventually he would be approached by the political parties to stay in power as the President of Pakistan. If he held free and fair elections, he would be seen as a beacon of hope and fairness in the international community on his role of encouraging the free flow of democracy.

It was a well calculated masterstroke on his part; however, it backfired severely as the intelligence input, on which General Yahya Khan based his masterstroke, was drastically flawed. General Yahya Khan appointed Justice Abdus Sattar as the first Election Commissioner of Pakistan to oversee the elections. The Election Commission set up enrolling all eligible voters (aged 21 or above as on 1st October 1969) throughout Pakistan.

The total registered voters in the country were 56,941,500. The Election Commission also marked the constituencies in accordance with the seats allocation for the Parliament and Provincial Legislative Assembly under the Legal Framework Order (LFO) of 1970. 199 Returning Officers were appointed for the National Assembly and 285 Returning Officers were appointed for the Provincial Legislative Assembly. A total of 24 political parties and independent candidates participated in the first free and fair general elections in the history of Pakistan. The official campaigning began on 1st January 1970.

The main two political parties were Awami League with Sheikh Mujibur

Rahman in East Pakistan and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) with Zulfikar Bhutto in West Pakistan. The PPP was a leftist and democratic socialist party with major influence at the military establishment. On the other hand Awami League was predominantly a Bengali nationalist party seeking the Six Point Agenda for East Pakistan. The political situation of West Pakistan was completely different from that of the East.

The population of the West wing were divided between different ideological forces. Right wing religious parties led by 'Abdul Maududi raised religious slogans. They initially campaigned for the revival of Islamic values and a promise of Sharia Law enforcement. The founding party of Pakistan and the National conservative Pakistan Muslim League lead by Pakistan Movement Bengali activist Nurul Amin campaigned on a nationalist platform. They promised to reintroduce the ideology laid by Pakistan's founding father, Jinnah. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the supremo of Pakistan People's Party, was extremely popular in West Pakistan. His legendary slogan for the elections was *Roti, Kapra aur Maakan* for all (meaning Food, Clothing and Shelter). His slogan was an instant hit amongst the poor communities, students and working class people.

The democratic, socialist, leftist and Marxist communist all assembled under one platform endorsing Bhutto's agenda. Bhutto appealed to the masses of Pakistan to vote for him for a better future of their country and future generations. For the first time in the political history of Pakistan, the leftist and democratic socialists all united under the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and emerged as a major political force to reckon with in West Pakistan.

A total number of 1,957 candidates filed nomination papers for the 300 National Assembly seats. After scrutiny and voluntary withdrawals 1,579 eventually contested the elections. The Awami League ran a total of 170 candidates which comprised 162 constituencies in the East and the remaining in the West. The Jamaat-e-Islami party ran 151 candidates in both the wings becoming the second highest number of candidates.

The Pakistan People's Party ran only 120 candidates, of which 103 were in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh in West Pakistan. Strangely they did not run any candidates in the East. The PML (Qayyum) party ran a total of 133 candidates, The PML (Convention) party ran a total of 124 candidates and the PML (Council) party ran a total of 119 candidates.

THE EAST IS 'LEAGUE'

The government claimed a record high level of public participation and the voter turnout was almost 63%. The total number of registered voters in the entire country was 56,941,500 of which 31,211,220 were from the Eastern Wing and 25,730,280 from the Western Wing. The Awami League emerged as the single largest political party in the National Elections of 1970. It won 160 seats gaining a clear majority on the floor. The Pakistan

People's Party (PPP) won 81 seats predominantly in Sindh and Punjab in West Pakistan.

The conservative parties performed extremely poorly due to the splitting of the conservative vote pool as multiple conservative parties contested against each other in the same constituencies. The PPP won just 41% of the vote share in Punjab but it ended up gaining 75% of the seats. In total the PML (Qayyum), PML (Convention), PML (Council), Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan and Jamaat-e-Islami only won a total of 37 National Assembly Seats. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made a clean sweep in East Pakistan and that made him the undisputed Prime ministerial candidate of Pakistan.

The party got a huge percentage of the popular vote in East Pakistan. Both Awami League and PPP failed to gain any seat in West and East Pakistan respectively. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto used this non performance in West Pakistan by Awami League as the basis that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not have the legitimate right to become the Prime Minister. The leftist and democratic socialists led by ZA Bhutto argued that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had no mandate support in West Pakistan; however, PPP did not win a single seat in East Pakistan as well.

THE POLITICS OF INTERFERENCE

Most of the intelligentsia and the bureaucrats in West Pakistan were against the notion of an Awami League led government. They felt that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would oversee amendment to the Constitution as they had total majority in the Parliament. ZA Bhutto came up with his infamous phrase *Udhar tum, idhar hum* (You there and me here) and it was the first oral political statement to divide Pakistan.

The attitude of East Pakistan was that of desperation and of hoping against hope that a Bengali government would take the reigns of power for the first time in its history. The hope of development, prosperity from revenue and a feeling of equality ran very high in East Pakistan. Economical opportunities, investments and social growth were in sight of the masses with their leader as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. ZA Bhutto had the support of some Bengali leaders like Jalaludin Adbur Rahim who voiced no support for the Awami League and only supported the stance of the PPP.

Several famous people from West Pakistan supported the transfer over power to the Awami League such as notable poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz, rights activist Malik Gulam Jilani and GM Syed, the founder of Sindhi Nationalist Party (Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz {JSQM}). In 1970 Raja Tridiv Roy descended to contest the Pakistan Provincial Assembly Elections. Fazlul Qader Chowdhury, the chief of the Muslim League and the Speaker of the Pakistan Provincial Assembly offered him a Muslim League ticket. He also offered him a hundred thousand local currency for his election campaign. Raja Tridiv Roy denied the offer politely and decided to go as an independent.

Calm before the Storm

A week before the elections Raja Tridiv Roy received a telegram from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to meet him in Dhaka urgently regarding elections. The meeting did take place as scheduled and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gave Raja Tridiv Roy the offer to contest the election under the Awami League Party. The main concern for Raja Tridiv Roy was getting an assurance of Special Status for the Chittagong Hill Tracts in the event that Awami League came to power. However, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman could not give him any such assurances and thus the talks collapsed. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did assure him of a decade of development in return, but that was not considered sufficient by Raja Tridiv Roy.

Raja Tridiv Roy was certain that he would win the elections independently and as he enjoyed a good relation with the Pakistan Army and other key West Pakistani politicians (like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto) he would eventually secure the Special Status for the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Seeking Special Status became his primary agenda in the election campaign and he used The Elephant Symbol (a mark of the Royal House of Chakma Seal) for the Election of 1970. Awami League did put up a candidate against him. His name was Charu Bikash Chakma but he could not get sufficient support and Raja Tridiv Roy emerged victorious. Raja Tridiv Roy was one of the two candidates in East Pakistan to win the Elections of 1970 apart from the Awami League who swept 160 seats out of the 162 total for East Pakistan.

Raja Tridiv Roy's decision not to join the Awami League on the basis of just development for the Chittagong Hill Tracts and insistence on special status is in itself contradicting. During the construction of the Kaptai Dam the Raja was in favour of development which resulted in widespread hardship for his people; however, during the 1970 elections when he was approached by the most popular political party in East Pakistan, he rejected the offer based on autonomy.

Hence it raises two fundamental questions:

1. Could political accommodation between the Awami League and Raja Tridiv Roy at this critical juncture have created a better understanding?
2. Could Raja Tridiv Roy have played a more constructive role in development of relations between the Chakmas and the Bengalis of East Pakistan resulting in all round improvement of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Dhaka?

COLONIAL MINDSET

The British Crown after the general elections of 1937 was willing and worked with a degree of political freedom with the major stakeholders. The British model was to allow some room for negotiations and recognition of demands by the various political parties. However, in the case of

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

the 1970 elections of Pakistan, the mighty military establishment along with the political leaders like ZA Bhutto were reluctant to play such a role due to their vested interests. East Pakistan always remained a captive market for Pakistani Business (predominantly West Pakistani). Approximately 50% of their manufactured products were sold in East Pakistan at over inflated prices.

The power-sharing between the PPP and the League was the only logical and peaceful way forward. But the Military was very sceptical to let go of their precedence as, had Sheikh Mujibur Rahman become the Prime Minister of Pakistan a relocation of the GHQ (General Head Quarters, epicentre of the Pakistan army) from Rawalpindi (West Pakistan) to Dhaka (East Pakistan) was highly likely. Amid the deliberate political chaos following transfer of power in line with the verdict of the Elections, resentment grew in East to boiling point. General Yahya Khan announced that the National assembly will go ahead as per the results of the election.

Thus a deep-seated conspiracy was hatched by the West Pakistani key stakeholders in order to sabotage the assembly. One key General Ghulam Umar stationed in Dhaka proposed that a military solution was necessary to end the political deadlock, and ensure that the Bengalis of East Pakistan did not come to power as per the constitution.

RESULTS OF 1970 PAKISTAN PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

| Party | % of Vote | Seats |
|------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Awami League | 39.2 | 160 |
| Pakistan Peoples Party | 18.6 | 81 |
| Jamaat-e-Islami | 6.0 | 4 |
| PML (Council) | 6.0 | 2 |
| PML (Qayyum) | 4.5 | 9 |
| Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam | 4.0 | 7 |
| Markaz Jamiat-Ulema-Pakistan | 3.9 | 7 |
| PML (Convention) | 3.3 | 7 |
| National Awami Party (Wali) | 2.4 | 6 |
| Pakistan Democratic Party | 2.2 | 1 |
| Other Parties | 1.2 | 0 |
| Independents | 7.0 | 16 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 300 |

RESULT BY PROVINCE

| Party | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Balochistan | West Pakistan (Total) | East Pakistan |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Awami League | 0 (0.07%) | 0 (0.07%) | 0 (0.2%) | 0 (1.0%) | 0 | 160 (74.9%) |
| Pakistan People's Party | 62 (41.6%) | 18 (44.9%) | 1 (14.2%) | 0 (2.3%) | 81 | 0 |
| PML (Qayyum) | 1 (5.4%) | 1 (10.7%) | 7 (22.6%) | 0 (10.9%) | 9 | 0 (1.0%) |
| PML (Convention) | 7 (5.1%) | 0 (1.7%) | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 (2.8%) |
| Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam | 0 | 0 | 6 (25.4%) | 1 (20.0%) | 7 | 0 |
| Markazi Jamiat-Ulema-Pakistan | 4 (9.8%) | 3 (7.4%) | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| National Awami Party (Wali) | 0 | 0 (0.3%) | 3 (18.4%) | 3 (45.1%) | 6 | 0 (1.8%) |
| Jamaat-e-Islami | 1 (4.7%) | 2 (10.3%) | 1 (7.2%) | 0 (1.1%) | 4 | 0 (6.0%) |
| PML (Council) | 2 (12.6%) | 0 (6.8%) | 0 (4.0%) | 0 (10.9%) | 2 | 0 (1.6%) |
| PDP | 0 (2.2%) | 0 (0.04%) | 0 (0.3%) | 0 (0.3%) | 0 | 1 (2.2%) |
| Independents | 5 (11.8%) | 3 (10.7%) | 7 (6.0%) | 0 (6.8%) | 15 | 1 (3.4%) |
| Total seats | 82 | 27 | 25 | 4 | 138 | 162 |

*Numbers in Parentheses indicate percentage share of vote

PROVINCIAL VOTE

In the provincial elections the Awami League won 288 of the 300 seats for East Pakistan. The PPP won majority in Punjab and Sindh provinces of West Pakistan. Like the Assembly elections neither the Awami League nor the PPP won any seats in West and East Pakistan respectively. The conservative PML (Qayyum) party and the left wing National Awami Party (Wali) did well the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

| Party | Punjab | Sind | NWFP | Balochistan | West Pakistan | East Pakistan | Total |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------|
| Awami League | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 288 | 288 |
| Pakistan Peoples Party | 113 | 28 | 3 | 0 | 144 | 0 | 144 |
| PML (Qayyum) | 6 | 5 | 10 | 3 | 24 | 0 | 24 |
| PML (Convention) | 15 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 21 | 1 | 22 |
| Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam | 2 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Markaz Jamiat-Ulema-Pakistan | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 11 |
| National Awami Party (Wali) | 0 | 0 | 13 | 8 | 21 | 1 | 22 |
| Jamaat-e-Islami | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| PML (Council) | 6 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| PDP | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| Other parties | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Independents | 28 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 53 | 7 | 60 |
| Total seats | 180 | 60 | 40 | 20 | 300 | 300 | 600 |

Chapter Nine

1971 MARCH TO DECEMBER

LEGAL FRAMEWORK ORDER, UNWILLING TO ACCEPT VERDICT

As a result of the First Direct General Elections of 1970, of 300 general seats, 162 were allocated to East and 138 to the West. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman swept the election in the East and staked his legitimate as well as rightful claim to power. The election campaign of the Awami League focused on maximum autonomy, just short of independence (Six Point Agenda). The polarisation between the East and West was almost complete. ZA Bhutto's PPP won 81 seats (62 in Punjab) while Mujibur's Awami League won almost double that, 160 seats, giving it a clear majority in the National Assembly under the new proportional representation system.

Prior to the elections of 1970, General Yahya had announced the Legal Framework Order (LFO) in March 1970. The LFO had directed that the National Assembly of Pakistan would have to create a new constitution for the state of Pakistan within 120 days of being convened. New elections would be called if the Assembly failed to come to an agreement regarding the new proposed constitution within 120 days. All formulations and agreements proposed by political parties would require 'authentication' by the President. So effectively General Yahya had set the grounds for the political map of both East and West Pakistan by this LFO. His assumption was based on intelligence that no political parties would gain the absolute majority hence it would fall back to him, in order to continue being the President of Pakistan, but make him politically legitimate and not a Junta Leader.

The LFO was also meant to curb the political aspirations and the power of ZA Bhutto as the LFO put an end to One Unit Policy. General Yahya was very well aware of Bhutto's support base in Punjab province. So by using LFO and effectively breaking the one unit, ZA Bhutto would be confined to the province of Punjab in West Pakistan only. General Yahya had a clear intention to cling on to power, however he needed the support of his Generals to carry on doing so otherwise he knew that what he did to General Ayub Khan would become of him in due course. Lastly LFO immensely improved General Yahya's

image as he projected himself as the reformer in Pakistan bringing back democracy, direct elections and ending the discriminatory One Unit Policy. However, as his intelligence proved to have little credibility, it turned out to be catastrophic for the entire region of South East Asia.

The Awami League was hoping for a swift transfer of power but ZA Bhutto along with support from the West Pakistani military establishment especially General Gul Hassan Khan were of the strong opinion that unless there was power sharing with the Awami League no transfer of power to East Pakistan was possible and it was not in the best interest of West Pakistan as well. As a result President Yahya Khan announced on 28th February 1971 that the National Assembly meeting due for March 1971 in Dhaka was postponed indefinitely. Both President Yahya Khan and ZA Bhutto flew to Dhaka to hold emergency talks with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman but no breakthrough was achieved. Prior to meeting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President Yahya Khan at a press conference in February 1971 said harsh consequences would follow on the Bengali population of the East. He said, 'Kill Three Million of them (Bengali of East Pakistan) and the rest will eat from our hands.' His comments raised severe criticism in the East from all corners except from Raja Tridiv Roy who was looking forward to joining the parliament as an independent candidate and was supportive of ZA Bhutto's stand of power sharing.

ZA Bhutto realised that unless a political settlement of power sharing could be achieved the Awami League would roll forward passing the new constitution as it had absolute majority on the parliament floor. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had the majority to do so and the fear was the Military General Headquarters of Rawalpindi West Pakistan would lose its iron grip on the captive and exploitative markets of the East. General Yahya Khan either had to accept the mandate and he was aware that if he did he would face a near certain rebellion in his own army resulting in his deposition or get past the 120 days deadline under the camouflage of negotiations with the Awami League. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was rightly almost solely concerned about East Pakistan and was unwilling to compromise on the autonomy issue based on his Six Point Agenda. Another international perspective was that he favoured normalization of relations with India; as a result he was in a further conflict with General Yahya and ZA Bhutto who were both absolutely hard-lined toward India. General Yahya appeared to have decided to risk a direct confrontation with East Pakistan, however if he had pushed all the political parties to the brink, a compromise could have evolved. Given the autocratic and the false sense of seniority sentiment within the West Pakistani political-military establishment, he chose to press on with the hard-line military option.

MILITARY OPTION

It is interesting to note here that the West Pakistani Army brutally crushed an uprising of the Baloch people in 1970 in the remote restive province of Baluchistan. General Tikka Khan was the main architect who used indiscriminate

disproportional firepower on civilians. The West Pakistani Army was ready for civilian carnage and East Pakistan provided the perfect opportunity for the trigger-happy force. With no political compromise in sight, the West Pakistani Army proposed a total freehand military wipe-out of the troublesome Awami League's top rung and pro-Sheikh Mujibur Bengali intellectuals in the East. The Army was determined to replicate the repression in Baluchistan and teach the East a lesson in order to maintain the iron fist grip of the deep state of Pakistan.

In case of East Pakistan, their vengeance was even more barbaric as there was a clash of identity and the feeling of elite superiority was at stake for the West Pakistani Army. The number of troops available to General Yahya (a total of 20,000, with 12,000 combat troops) and a hostile East Pakistan population of 75 million, would most certainly result in a blood-bath with hope of West Pakistan re-establishing control over East Pakistan. The West Pakistani Army was confident they will pull it off very easily as they underestimated the power of mass rebellion and their vision was myopic and occluded by short term goals and failing to see long term disaster. Once the election results came out in December 1970 and as the political crisis grew, the West Pakistani Army embarked on its heinous plan and it had the 120 days as per the LFO to get its killing machine geared up for the imminent blood bath.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was put under the impression that both General Yahya and ZA Bhutto were actively trying to resolve the deadlock and would take active measures to resolve the crisis through peaceful composite dialogue. As months went past with no fruitful result, on 7th March 1971, at the Ramna Race Course Maidan in Dhaka, a crowd of over two million people gathered. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman spoke at a time of increasing tensions between East Pakistan and the powerful political and military establishment of West Pakistan. The Bengali people were inspired to prepare for a potential war of independence, amid widespread reports of armed mobilization by West Pakistan. During the speech, Sheikh Mujibur proclaimed, 'Our struggle is for our freedom. Our struggle is for our independence.' He also announced the civil disobedience movement in the province, calling for 'every house to turn into a fortress'. The demand for autonomy, equality, resistance to oppression and fairness had now turned into a struggle for freedom.

INDIRA GANDHI AS THE GAME-CHANGER

National elections were held in India during 1st - 10th March 1971 and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress Party swept the polls winning 350 seats in the 521 seat Lok Sabha, the lower house of Parliament, gaining absolute political majority. The role of Indira Gandhi becomes important here. The critical question at this point is, at what point exactly did Sheikh Mujibur Rahman raise his demand from autonomy to independence? If the answer is the Race-Course speech, it is then also arguable that Sheikh Mujibur must have known at some point during the talks with ZA Bhutto and General Yahya Khan that he was not going to get power at the federal level.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

It would then be an implausible scenario that Sheikh Mujibur would have declared independence without the implicit understanding that Indira Gandhi would back him in the event of a possible bloody, oppressive and brutal military crackdown by the Pakistani military in the East. Her role and intentions were underestimated by everyone (the Americans, Chinese, and the Pakistanis), including Raja Tridiv Roy. It is also relevant here to ask the question as to whether Raja Tridiv Roy ever thought that Mujibur's demand for full autonomy in 1970 could have the potential of resulting in a brutal military crackdown and escalate to a full-blown war for independence. It would be difficult to argue that Tridiv Roy never factored in that scenario though it would be probably easier to argue that he did not think that the outcome of such a war could go against the Pakistan military-bureaucratic establishment. Indira Gandhi was the game-changer here in 1971, absolutely, no doubt.

OPERATION SEARCHLIGHT

As conceived by the West Pakistani Generals, the operation aimed to eliminate the Awami League top, influential civilians and personnel of the armed forces supporting the Awami League. Guile, surprise, deception and speed were emphasized as crucial for success. Use of free and whatever force necessary was authorized indiscriminately. Search, assault, arson and rape in all civilian areas also were authorized.

The key features and goals of Operation Searchlight were:

1. Operation to be launched simultaneously all across East Pakistan
2. Maximum number of political and student leaders, and those among cultural organizations and teaching staff were to be eliminated and not arrested
3. Operation must achieve 100% success in Dhaka. Dhaka University would be occupied and searched and the arrested people executed
4. Free and greater use of lethal fire authorised for securing cantonments at all costs
5. All internal and international communications to be cut off, including telephone, television, radio and telegraph; foreign journalists reports to be intercepted if necessary
6. All East Pakistani Bengali troops to be neutralised or eliminated by seizing weapons and ammunition
7. To deceive the Awami League, President Yahya Khan to pretend to continue political dialogue

8. To impose curfew at 01:10 hours and close telephone/telegraph/radio station and shut all presses down, to ensure total media and communication blackout
9. Shut down and seal off Dhaka city by taking over road, rail and river communication and patrol the river
10. Arrest Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and 15 top Awami League leaders during operation
11. Conduct house to house search in Dhanmondi and other areas in Dhaka city
12. Subdue Dhaka University especially the Jagganath Students Hall (mostly occupied by Hindu Students), East Pakistan Rifle Head Quarter and Rajarbagh police line
13. Take over and protect Ammunition factory at Gazipur and Arms depot at Rajendrapur

The predetermined locations of offensive operations under the plan were Dhaka, Khulna, Chittagong, Comilla, Jessore, Rajshahi, Rangpur, Saidpur and Sylhet, where West Pakistani army units were concentrated. West Pakistani Army units and other paramilitary elements in different areas of East Pakistan were to maintain control of their respective areas and await further reinforcements during the initial phase of the operation. Once Dhaka city had been secured, the 9th and 16th divisions from West Pakistan were to be airlifted into East Pakistan as additional reinforcements. Cities in East Pakistan with airfields (Chittagong, Sylhet, Jessore, Rangpur, and Comilla) would be reinforced via C-130 airplanes sorties or by helicopter directly from Dhaka.

The West Pakistani special services commandos, accompanied by Major Belal and Lt Col ZA Khan easily captured Sheikh Mujibur Rahman at the beginning of the crackdown from his Dhanmondi residence, but most of the Awami League senior leadership managed successfully to evade capture and left the city by 29th March 1971. The capture of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was announced to all West Pakistani army units as 'The big bird has been caged'.

Contingents from the 18th and 32nd Punjab regiments assaulted the Dhaka University area, overcame the resistance from the Awami League volunteers and the students, killed unarmed students present in the resident halls (with the worst in Jagganath Hall), also murdered some professors, then moved on to attack the Hindu areas and the old town on the morning of 26th March 1971. The West Pakistani army also abducted and raped female students of Dhaka University during their brutal and barbaric crackdown. The Police at Rajarbag, aided by Awami League volunteers, put up an extremely fierce resistance, but were eventually overcome and most survivors were captured or scattered. Those captured were immediately executed in cold blood at point blank.

Pakistani forces had used artillery and armour liberally, disregarding civilian safety altogether during the operation. This was pre-planned to inflict maximum fear amongst the civilian population. Dhaka city was secured before dawn and a curfew was imposed, trespassers were shot instantly. The surviving East Pakistani Rifle and police fled the city; some crossed the Buriganga river to gather at Jingira. Sporadic attacks between the army and the surviving members of Bengali resistance took place during 26th March – 5th April, but barring the failure to arrest Awami league leaders, the army had achieved its key objectives laid in Operation Searchlight. West Pakistani soldiers had also destroyed the Shaheed Minar (a monument to mark the Bengali Language Movement), offices of *The Daily Ittefaq* and *Daily People* (popular newspapers) and the Hindu Kali temple at Ramna, none of which had any military value apart from inflicting shock and fear amongst the ordinary civilians of East Pakistan.

OPERATION GREAT FLY-IN

From 26th March to 6th April 1971, in an operation dubbed the 'Great Fly-In' Pakistan International Airlines Boeings and C 130 Transports flew the 9th (made of the 27th, 313th and 117th Brigades) and 16th (34th and 205th brigades) divisions (a total of Five Brigade Head Quarters, containing 16 infantry battalions) to Dhaka. All commercial operations of Pakistan International Airlines were cancelled and whatever passenger aircraft it had, were used to ferry troops to East Pakistan. The passengers it carried were dubbed as Special Passengers. Dhaka International Airport turned into an Army Base where, by the hour, hundreds of troops would arrive from the West. The refuelling stop was Colombo in Sri Lanka to avoid the use of Indian airspace and to not to alarm the Indians as well. All these formations were flown to various locations in East Pakistan to reinforce West Pakistani garrisons. Pakistan Air Force No. 6 Squadron had nine C-130B/E Hercules transport aircraft available in March 1971. Five C-130B and one C-130E were employed to transfer troops from West to East Pakistan under Operation Great Fly-In. After 25th March 1971, two C-130B planes were stationed in Dhaka. Pakistan International Airlines fleet had seven Boeing 707 and four Boeing 720 planes, 85% of Pakistan International Airlines transport capacity was also used to ferry troops from West Pakistan to the East.

The West Pakistani army lifted the curfew for two hours on 27th March 1971, when thousands of civilians left Dhaka for the countryside. Pakistani troops began to move out of the city after March 26, taking up positions at Demra to the east, Tongi to the north and Narayangaung to the south to block road access to the city. By 10th April, 1971, Pakistani Army had taken over the area between the Padma River to the south and Tangail-Narshindi to the north.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The declaration was issued by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on midnight 26th March, prior to his arrest by the West Pakistani Army. Sheikh Mujibur's

proclamation was relayed to Bengali nationalist forces in Chittagong via wireless telegrams. Between 26th and 27th March 1971, Awami League leader MA Hannan and Major Ziaur Rahman, the commander of the defecting East Bengal Regiment of the Pakistan Army in Chittagong broadcast the declaration on the Free Bengal Radio Station in Chittagong. Major Zia's announcements, on behalf of Sheikh Mujibur, were transmitted by foreign ships in Chittagong Port to international media outlets around the world, as news of Bangladesh's independence spread across the globe like wildfire.

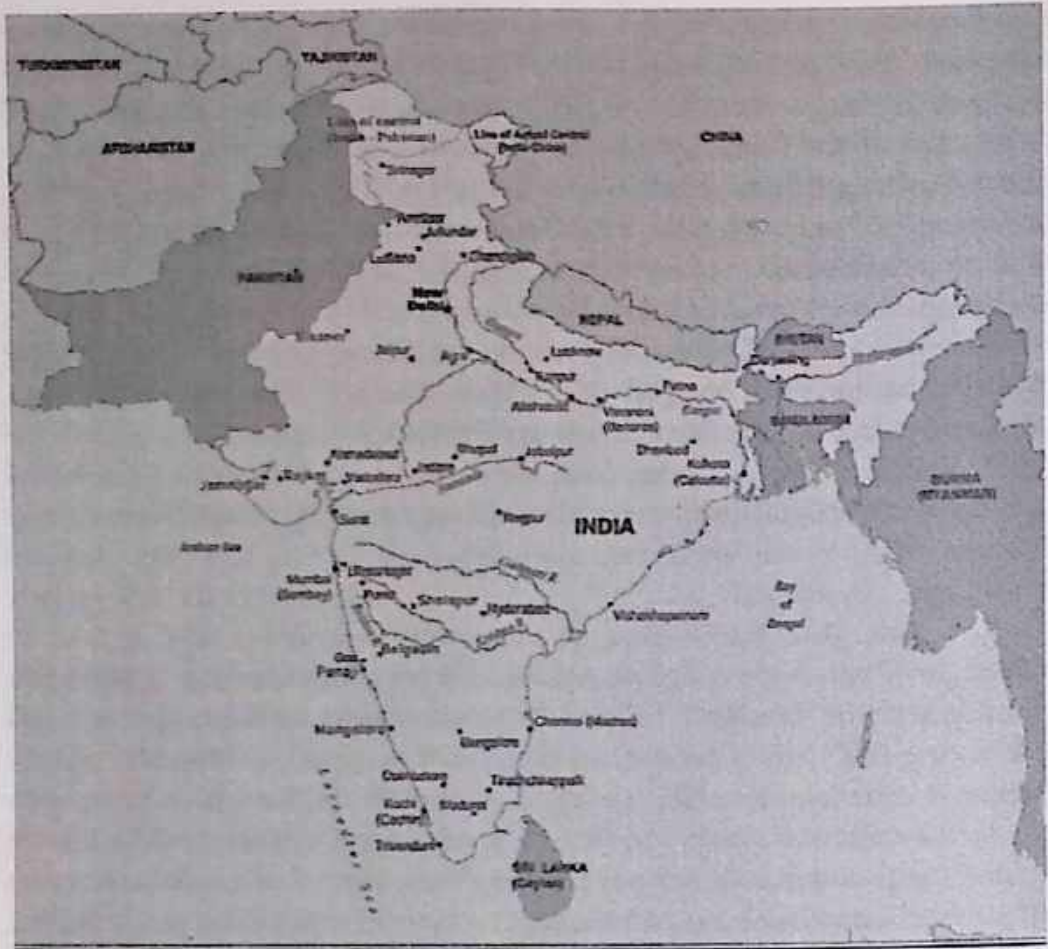
His speech was 'This is the Free Bengal Radio Station. I, Major Ziaur Rahman, on behalf of our great leader *Bongobondhu* Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, do hereby declare that the Independent People's Republic of Bangladesh has been established. At his direction, In the name of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, I call upon all Bengalis to rise up against the attack of the West Pakistani Army. We shall fight to the last to free our motherland. Victory is, by the Grace of Allah, ours. *Joy Bangla!*'

The Kalurghat Radio Station's transmission capability was limited to Chittagong, but the message was picked up by a Japanese ship anchored in Chittagong port. The West Pakistani Army was also successful in jamming and preventing radio signals being transmitted such that East Pakistan did not have access to radio broadcast. The speech of Major Zia was then re-transmitted by Radio Australia and later by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Later, Major Ziaur Rahman in an interview with German Radio talked about his 27th March announcement. MA Hannan, an Awami League leader in Chittagong, also made a radio announcement of Mujibur's declaration on 26th March 1971.

GENOCIDE AND RAPE IN EAST PAKISTAN

During the Bangladesh Liberation War, the West Pakistan Army and its local collaborators, and as recently indicated, some members of the Jamaat e Islami may have been involved in carrying out a systematic, pre-planned and well organised execution of the leading Bengali intellectuals of East Pakistan. A number of professors from Dhaka University were killed during the first few days of the military crackdown. However, the most extreme cases of targeted killing of intellectuals took place during the last few days of the Bangladesh Liberation War. Professors, journalists, doctors, artists, engineers and writers were rounded up by the West Pakistan Army and the Razakar collaborator militia in Dhaka, blindfolded and then taken to torture cells in Mirpur, Mohammadpur, Nakhalpara, Rajarbagh and other locations in different sections of Dhaka city to be executed. Most notably at Rayerbazar and Mirpur torture cells, the cruellest and most vicious acts of torture took place. In memory of the persons who were killed, 14th December is observed in Bangladesh as *Shaheed Buddhijibi Dibosh* ('Day of the Martyred Intellectuals').

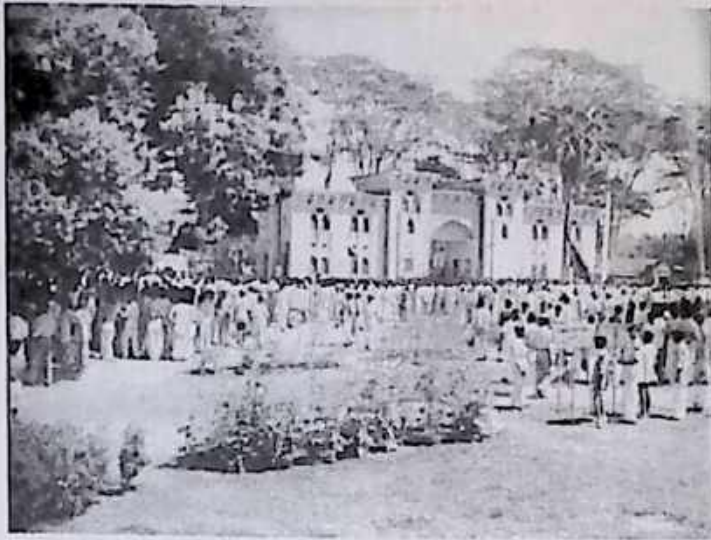
Some of the notable intellectuals who were killed from the time period of 25th March to 16th December 1971 in different parts of the country are the following:



Map of the Indian Subcontinent, 2015



Partition of Indian Subcontinent, Mass Migration, 1947



Language Movement in Dhaka University, 1952



Language Movement in Dhaka, 21st February, 1952



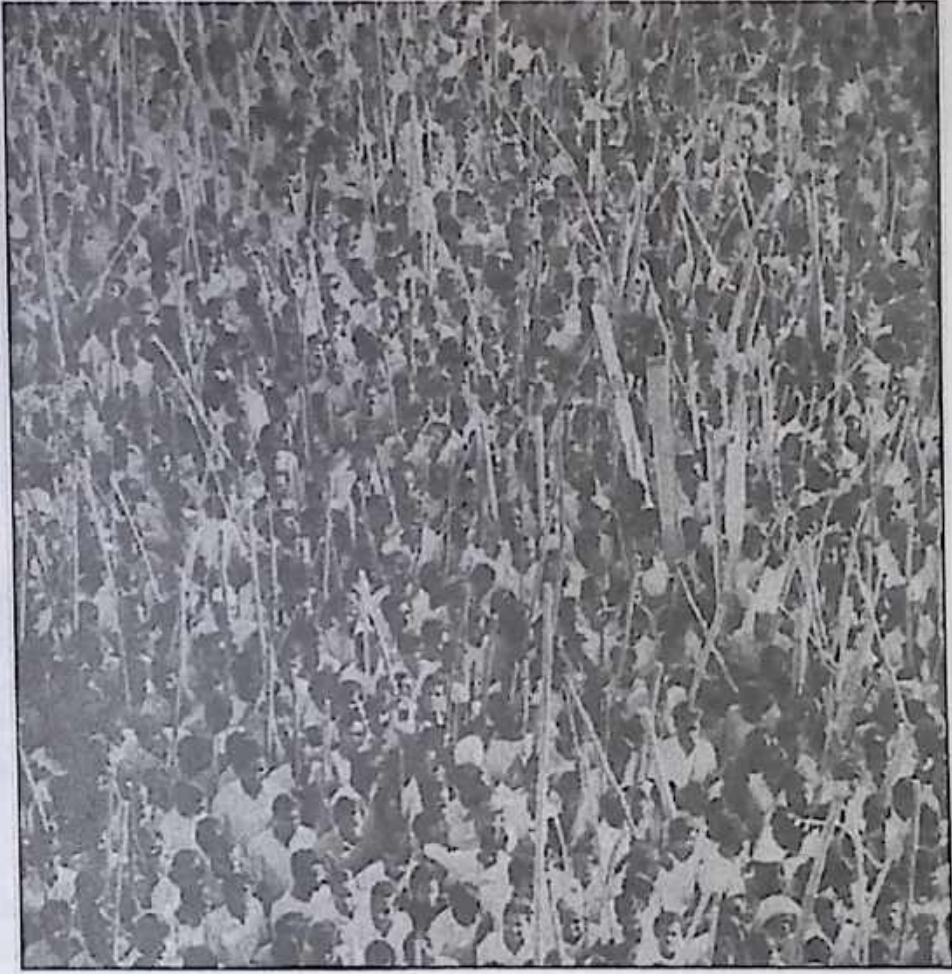
Coronation of Raja Tridiv Roy, 1953



Chakma Palace Submerged by Kaptai Dam, 1962



Fatima Jinnah and Ayub Khan, Pakistan Elections, 1965



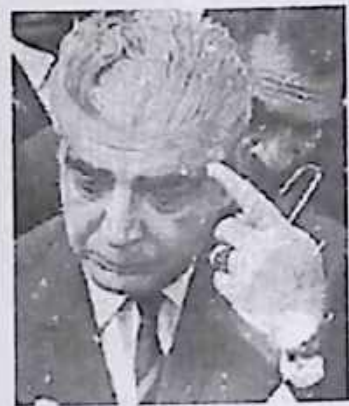
Dhaka Uprising, 1969



Cyclone Bhola, 1970



Sheikh Mujibir Rahman and ZA Bhutto
after General Election of 1970



General Yahya Khan in 1971



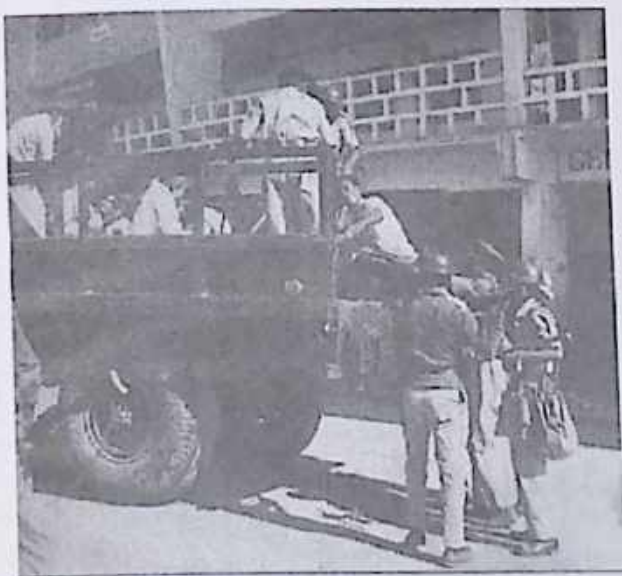
Sheikh Mujibir Rahman, Race Course
Maidan Speech, 7th March, 1971



Protests in Streets of Dhaka, 1971



West Pakistani Army Crackdown, Dhaka, 1971



West Pakistani Army Crackdown at Dhaka University,
Operation Searchlight, 25th March, 1971



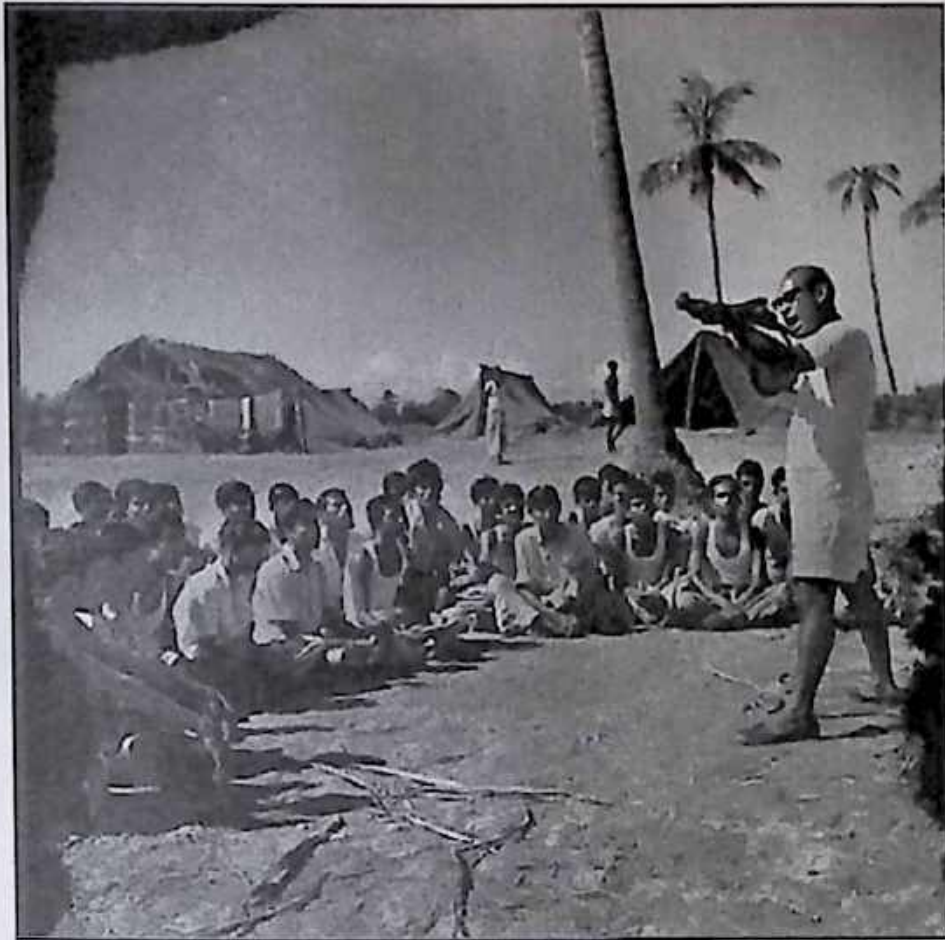
Genocide in East Pakistan, 1971



Raped and Murdered in East Pakistan, 1971



Brave Women of East Pakistan, 1971



Mukti Bahaini Training Camp, 1971



East Pakistan Refuges in India, 1971



Mass Protests in London, 1971



Mass Protests in London, 1971



General Niazi (West Pakistan) Signing the Instrument of Surrender with General Aurora (India), 16th December 1971



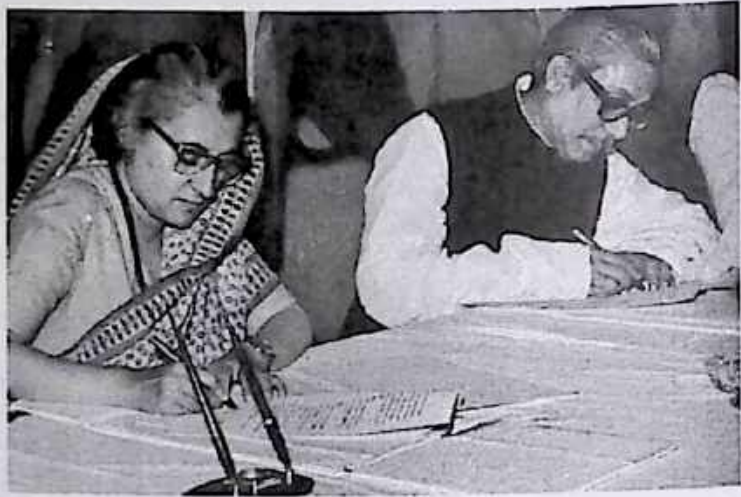
West Pakistani Army Surrender, December 1971



Raja Tridiv Roy being received by President ZA Bhutto after United Nations General Assembly, 1972



Queen Benita Roy



Indira Gandhi and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Accord, 1974



Raja Tridiv Roy in Pakistan, 1975



Raja Tridiv Roy in Latin America, 1985



Raja Tridiv Roy, 2003



Chakma Palace in Rangamati Bangladesh, 2014

AMONG DHAKA UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS:

Dr Govinda Chandra Dev (Philosophy), Dr Munier Chowdhury (Bengali Literature), Dr Mufazzal Haider Chaudhury (Bengali Literature), Dr Anwar Pasha (Bengali Literature), Dr M Abul Khair (History), Dr Jyotirmoy Guhathakurta (English Literature), Humayun Kabir (English Literature), Rashidul Hasan (English Literature), Ghyasuddin Ahmed, Sirajul Haque Khan, Faizul Mahi, Dr Santosh Chandra Bhattacharyya and Saidul Hassan (Physics).

THE RAJSHAHI UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AND OTHER INTELLECTUALS:

Dr Hobibur Rahman (Mathematics), Prof Sukhranjan Somaddar (Sanskrit), Prof Mir Abdul Quaiyum (Psychology) as well as Dr Mohammed Fazle Rabbee (Cardiologist), Dr AFM Alim Chowdhury (Ophthalmologist), Shahidullah Kaiser (Journalist), Nizamuddin Ahmed (Journalist), Selina Parvin (Journalist), Altaf Mahmud (Lyricist and Musician), Dhirendranath Datta (Politician), Jahir Raihan (Novelist, Journalist, Film Director) and Ranadaprasad Saha (Philanthropist).

The generally globally accepted figure for the mass rapes during the nine-month long conflict is 3,00,000. Numerous women were tortured, raped and killed during the war. The Pakistani Army also kept numerous Bengali women as sex-slaves inside the Dhaka Cantonment. Most of the girls were captured from Dhaka University and private homes. Bangladesh was one of the first and only countries where the United Nations (UN) set up Emergency Abortion Clinic in the month of December 1971. This demonstrates the reality of the scale of abuse committed by the West Pakistani Army and its collaborators.

The minorities of Bangladesh, especially the Hindus, were specific targets of the West Pakistani Army and were identified by the collaborators. There was widespread and indiscriminate killing of Hindu males, and rapes of women. The most vicious incidents in which mostly Hindus were massacred in large numbers include the Chuknagar massacre, the Jathibhanga massacre, and the Shankharipara massacre. More than 60% of the Bengali refugees who fled to India were mostly Hindus. It is not exactly known what percentage of the people killed by the Pakistan army were Hindus, but it is absolutely reasonable to say it was disproportionately high.

This widespread violence against Hindus and other minorities was primarily motivated by a policy to cleanse East Pakistan of what was seen as Hindu and Indian influences. The West Pakistani rulers and Army identified the Bengali culture with Hindu and Indian culture, and thus thought that the eradication of Hindus would remove such influences from the majority Muslims in East Pakistan. Buddhist temples and Buddhist monks were also attacked through the course of the Bangladesh Liberation War.

Even in the US, Senator Kennedy (who was in opposition in USA Congress) charged Pakistan with committing genocide and called for a complete cut-off of American military and economic aid to Pakistan. *The Guinness Book of Records*

lists the Bengali atrocities as one of the five largest genocides in the twentieth century. Senator Kennedy wanted to visit East Pakistan at the height of the crisis. His visa was refused by the West Pakistani administration. Senator Kennedy however visited the refugee camps in India and was appalled by the conditions there. He also surveyed the bordering areas of East Pakistan to see for himself the condition of the mass exodus.

USA officials working in diplomatic institutions within Bangladesh used the terms 'selective genocide' and 'genocide' (Blood telegram, from Archer Kent Blood who was last American Consul General to Dhaka, East Pakistan 1971) to describe events they had knowledge of at the time especially during the beginning of Operation Searchlight in March - April 1971. However, these reports were deliberately downplayed by President Nixon, and he was advised by Henry Kissinger. The reason to downplay this secret internal advice was primarily because USA wanted to protect the interests of West Pakistan as Henry Kissinger was apprehensive of India's friendship with the USSR, and he was seeking a closer relationship with China. The Chinese supported West Pakistani administration in 1971 wilfully aware of the campaign of Genocide in East Pakistan.

HAMOODUR RAHMAN COMMISSION

The Hamoodur Rahman Commission (otherwise known as 'Hamood-ur-Rahman Commission'), was an internal inquiry judicial commission report on the history of Pakistan's political-military assessed involvement in East Pakistan from 1947 to 1971. The Commission was set up on July 1972 by the Government of Pakistan and chaired under the Chief Justice Hamoodur Rahman to find specific details leading to Bangladesh Liberation War and the Fall of Dhaka on 16th December 1971.

Originally, there were 12 copies of the report that were produced. These under mysterious circumstances were all destroyed; except the one that was handed over to government who disallowed its publication in 1972. In the year 2000, parts of the commission report was leaked simultaneously to Indian and Pakistani newspapers. The full report was declassified by the government in 2000 as a result of the media leak and resulted in huge embarrassment for the Government of Pakistan. Subsequently Bangladesh requested a copy of the report.

The report accused General Yahya Khan of being a womanizer and an avid alcoholic, apart from being incapable to handle the politically charged situation. According to the outcome of the report, 'Firm and proper action would not only satisfy the nation's demand for punishment where it is deserved, but would also ensure against any future recurrence of the kind of shameful conduct displayed during the 1971 war.' It also stated approximately 26,000 civilians were deliberately slaughtered by the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan and the number of rape at a couple of thousand which was a deliberate underrepresentation.

MUKTI BAHINI

When the West Pakistan Army started the military crackdown on the Bengali population of East Pakistan, they did not expect a prolonged resistance and expected to crush any rebellion swiftly. But a large number of Bengali members of the East Bengal Regiments (EBR), East Pakistan Rifles (EPR), police, other paramilitary forces, students and other civilians started active and aggressive resistance against the West Pakistani Army. With the formation of Bangladesh Government in exile on 17th April 1971, Colonel M. AG Osmani (Later General) was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of all Bangladesh Combined Forces. All the members of EBR, EPR, police and other paramilitary forces were later called 'regular force' or Niomito Bahini.

Geographically, Bangladesh was divided into eleven sectors with Chittagong as Sector one. During a conference of sector commanders from 11th to 17th July 1971, held at Kolkata, India, the forces were further organized and the command was set up with Col Abdullah as the commander-in-chief (C-in-C) with the status of a cabinet minister, Lt Col Mubariz Ali (ex-SSG Commando Pakistan Army) as the Chief of Staff (COS), Group Captain AK Khandker as the Deputy Chief of Staff (DCOS) and Major AR Chowdhury as the Assistant Chief of Staff (ACOS). A full-fledged operation resistance military setup was established with the liberation of Bangladesh as its primary objective. Sector commanders were in charge of conducting guerrilla operations, surveillance and training freedom fighters. The 10th Sector was under the command of C-in-C Osmani and included the Naval Commandos and C-in-C's special force.

During this conference in Kolkata some major initiatives and objective goals were taken to organize the Mukti Bahini. This meeting deliberated on the different problems and future course of action. In this conference, Lt Col MA Rabb was appointed the Chief-of-staff and Group Captain AK Khandaker was appointed the Deputy Chief-of-staff.

The important issues and course that were discussed during this conference were as follows:

1. Define the geographical boundary of different sectors
2. Organize guerrilla warfare to engage, disable and sabotage the West Pakistani Occupation Army
3. Groups comprising 5 - 10 trained freedom fighters would be sent inside Bangladesh with specific instructions to carry out specific objectives
4. Guerrilla bases to be set up in all eleven sectors with the specific purpose of providing each base food, medicine and accommodation for the guerrilla freedom fighters

5. Direct Action group members to take part in frontal attacks, 50 - 100% of them to carry arms suitable for the specific mission objective
6. Intelligence wing members of this group to gather enemy formation and logistics information; however, they would not take part in frontal attacks; approximately 30% of them to carry heavy arms
7. The regular fighting force to be immediately organized and divided as battalion force and sector troops
8. A large number of guerrilla freedom fighters to be sent inside Bangladesh by crossing the international border to carry out raid and ambush, attack, sabotage as deemed fit
9. Industries in East Pakistan to be shut down by disrupting electric, coal and fuel supplies
10. West Pakistanis to not be allowed to export any raw materials or manufactured goods via an effective marine blockade with the help of Indian navy and the warehouses wherever possible to be destroyed on a priority basis
11. The East Pakistani Railways and boat network used for carrying West Pakistani soldiers and military instruments to be sabotaged and destroyed
12. The primary war strategy would be to force the West Pakistani Army to disperse
13. After dispersing the West Pakistani Army effectively smaller groups to penetrate deep and strike Dhaka

Besides the eleven sectors, the combatants were also divided and reorganized into the following sub groups:

- Regular army battalion (Niomito Bahini)
- Sector troops
- Irregular force or freedom fighters (Oniomito Bahini)

The Mukti Bahini was first called Mukti Fauj and also consisted members of Mujibur Bahini, the first resistance force set up after the crackdown began in East Pakistan. Other groups which were operating in East Pakistan were Kaderia Bahini under Kader Siddique of Tangail. Some other smaller groups of freedom fighters were controlled by the Leftist, Marxist and Communist

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

Parties in East Pakistan. One notable guerrilla force led by Siraj Sikder fought several battles with great valour against the West Pakistani soldiers in Payarabagan and Barisal. Three other brigades were created by Major Ziaur Rahman, Khaled Mosharraf and KM Shafiullah by the name of Z-force, K-force and S-force who were a force to be reckoned with. A young student guerrilla group named 'Crack Platoon' did some exceptional courageous guerrilla attacks deep in Dhaka city with high value target that attracted several international media attention instantaneously. The West Pakistani Army of occupation was now reaping the seeds of deep-seated hatred and annihilation which it had planted in East Pakistan since 1947 with the final barbaric military action of Operation Searchlight (25th March 1971).

OPERATION POLO

The West Pakistani Army and its politically dependant apparatus relied under the local Collaborators and formed primarily three groups namely, *Al Razakars*, *Al Badr* (meaning Moon) and *Al Shams* (meaning Sun). Members of all these three groups were recruited from public schools and *madrasas* (religious schools). They acted as a para-military force apart from for policing cities of East Pakistan, and assisting regular West Pakistani army units in there operation of oppression. The concept of formation of auxiliary militia for political goals had been used in 1947 in the princely state of Hyderabad.

The Razakars were a private militia organized by Qasim Razvi to support the rule of Nizam Osman Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII and actively resist the integration of Hyderabad State into the Republic of India. They also attempted to make the Nizam accede his princely state to Pakistan instead of India. As the political crisis grew in Hyderabad the Razakars launched a crackdown supported by regular army on the civilians. As the exodus of refugees from these atrocities grew into newly formed India, New Delhi launched Operation Polo (the code name of the Hyderabad Police Action) in September 1948. The unfortunate events of East Pakistan was very similar to that of Hyderabad especially regarding military action on civilians and the role of local collaborators.

ROLE OF CHAKMA RAJA IN BANGLADESH LIBERATION WAR

Raja Tridiv Roy was the chief of Tridiv Razakar Bahini (Auxiliary force) in 1971 responsible for the Rangamati area of East Pakistan. By being so, however, Raja Tridiv Roy risked his crown and kingdom by going against the popular opinion and being hand in glove with the West Pakistani bureaucratic military establishment. At the core of his heart Raja Tridiv Roy was of the firm belief that the West Pakistani bureaucratic military establishment would mercilessly crush the Bengalis and he estimated that India would not get directly involved. Hence a victory for the West Pakistani Army was almost certain.

He was elected independently in 1970 general election as he rejected the Awami League political agenda. When the political talks between ZA Bhutto

and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were at a deadlock, Raja Tridiv Roy could have played a pivotal role in trying for a resolution; however he sided with the West Pakistani establishment. Never in his political career did Raja Tridiv Roy have any alignment with the Awami League, and hence was of the opinion that the Six Point Agenda of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would never ever bear fruit. He could not have imagined that a full fledged brutal, bloody crackdown was looming large and when it was initiated he sided with the West Pakistani military as well.

He was of the firm belief that the West Pakistani military would ensure their iron fist grip on East Pakistan at whatever price necessary. He was extremely close to the West Pakistani bureaucratic military establishment and hence had a myopic view of the changing global geo-political situation. Had he been realistic and visionary he would have seen that a populous uprising of the masses would have been impossible to suppress using bullets and atrocities. He could have emerged as a legendary king in the crisis of 1971 and carved a golden name for himself and his people in the history forever had he seen the future of Bangladesh, but he failed miserably to do so.

Raja Tridiv Roy was officially named in the 1972 Bangladesh War Collaborators Act and perhaps due to this he never returned to a free Bangladesh, back to his ancestral royal roots of Rangamati and to his people and his family.

CHAKMA PARTICIPATION

Ordinary Chakmas were however supportive and co operative regarding the War of Liberation in Bangladesh. Notable among them were Kaything (Principal of Coxbazar City College), Manripru (Vice President, Rakhine Development Foundation, Maheshkhali Island), Ratan Barua (Deputy District Commander of Mukti Bahini, Rangamati Hill District Area) and UK Ching who was the only Chakma to be awarded the Gallantry Award (*Bir Bikram*, by the Government of Bangladesh) for his tremendous courage and commitment during the Bangladesh Liberation War.

BANGLADESH BORN FREE

In November 1971, a full blown war seemed inevitable between India and Pakistan. Thousands of people fed by West Pakistani Army and political alliance propaganda marched in Lahore and across all of West Pakistan, demanding Pakistani Army to crush India once for all with a befitting reply. India immediately responded by starting a massive build-up of Indian forces on the border with East Pakistan preparing for the resolution of Bangladesh issue. The Indian military waited until December 1971, when the drier grounds would make for easier operations in East Pakistan (due to monsoon rains in East Pakistan there was inconvenience of moving heavy armoured mechanised division) and Himalayan passes would be inaccessible by snow, thus preventing any Chinese intervention on the Eastern part of India.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

On 23rd November 1971, General Yahya Khan declared a state of emergency in all of Pakistan (East and West) and wanted the civilians to prepare for war. On the evening of 3rd December 1971 Sunday, at about 5:40 hours local time, the West Pakistani Air Force (PAF) launched a pre-emptive strike on eleven airfields in north-western India effectively starting the war. On the eastern front, the Indian Army joined forces with the Mukti Bahini to form the Mitro Bahini (Allied forces) for synergistic action. The strategy adopted in East Pakistan was a swift, three-pronged assault of nine infantry divisions with attached mechanised armoured units and close air support that rapidly converged on Dhaka (referred to as Dhaka Bowl), the capital of East Pakistan. An effective total naval blockade of both East and West Pakistan further strengthened India's grip on the logistical supply route for the Pakistani forces. Indian Air Force very quickly attained total air supremacy over East Pakistan neutralizing all that remained of the Pakistani Air Force in East.

Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora, who commanded the 8th, 23rd, and 57th divisions, led the Indian thrust into East Pakistan. The Indian campaign employed 'blitzkrieg' techniques, exploiting weakness in the West Pakistani positions and neutralizing opposition, and it resulted in a swift victory.

Faced with insurmountable losses, the West Pakistani military capitulated in less than a fortnight. On 16th December 1971, the Pakistani forces stationed in East Pakistan surrendered. The Instrument of Surrender of Pakistani forces stationed in East Pakistan was signed at Ramna Race Course in Dhaka at 16:31 hours IST (Indian Standard Time) on 16th December 1971, by Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora, General Officer Commanding-in-chief of Eastern Command of the Indian Army and Lieutenant General AAK Niazi, Commander of Pakistani forces in East Pakistan.

After a gruesome and bloody nine months' struggle, a free Bangladesh was born. The country was free from the oppressive West Pakistani army of occupation. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was subsequently released from captivity and became Father of the Nation (Bangladesh). Bhutan was the first country to recognise Independent Bangladesh followed by India.

The birth of Bangladesh is one of the bloodiest in the 20th century and the country is drenched in the innocent blood of millions of people who paid the ultimate price of sacrifice for their motherland. The blood of the innocents bear testimony to the darkest reckoning for the West Pakistani Armed Forces, politicians, bureaucrats and collaborators in service in 1971.

Chapter Ten

RAJA IN WEST PAKISTAN AND UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HOPING AGAINST HOPE

Raja Tridiv Roy was of the opinion and hopeful that the Bengali struggle for independence led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would fail and the West Pakistani military would quash the rebellion successfully. He provided all support whatever necessary (apart from some Chakmas who actively participated in the Mukti Bahini). Raja Tridiv Roy wanted both the Western and Eastern wing of Pakistan to be intact, one of the primary reasons being that an independent Bangladesh posed a great risk to the autonomous structure of the princely state.

The other fear was that in case Bangladesh became independent, a flood of Bengali migrants would displace the Chakmas and their King of the relative autonomy they enjoyed under the West Pakistani leadership. The Spring festival (12th to 14th April 1971) of Bizu was not celebrated in Rangamati with the fear of possible guerrilla action by the Mukti Bahini and counter action by the Pakistan Military. Raja Tridiv Roy made some public addresses in Rangamati in the month of May 1971 and two most important ones being the one at Reserve Bazar area and the other being Tablachari Bazar area.

On both occasions he pledged allegiance to the Pakistan army and long live Pakistan (*Pakistan Zindabad*). From May till October 1971 the situation changed drastically in favour of the Mukti Bahini and turned grim for the Pakistani army. Raja Tridiv Roy was in regular contact with the top army brass in command of East Pakistan. He was however still of the opinion of a victory in favour of the army and made sure all available resources were put to disposal in aid of the army. On 9th November 1971 Raja Tridiv Roy embarked on a tour of South East Asia representing Pakistan for building goodwill with predominately Buddhist counties.

He arrived in Bangkok (Thailand) and stated his foreign tour. Suddenly he received an urgent summon from the Pakistani Embassy in Bangkok, and returned to Chittagong. He later went to Dhaka and on 11th November 1971 he flew to Karachi. He was told in Dhaka by the foreign office that the

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

situation in East Pakistan would probably worsen in the next few months and it was in his best interest to leave for Karachi (West Pakistan).

THE DEPARTED

Raja Tridiv Roy knew that this was probably the last time he would spend in East Pakistan and he had the choice to stay back but he knew in case of a military defeat in East, his kingdom would be gone forever. He felt very emotional and passionate about his Chittagong Hill Tracts and Rangamati where he had grown up. He was heartbroken to leave his family behind including his son, his wife and his mother amongst others. However, he had the choice but he had a deep love for Pakistan in his heart and thus well aware of the price he had to pay. He decided to abdicate his kingdom and moved to West Pakistan permanently.

He had however some assurances from ZA Bhutto and the military establishment of West Pakistan that on his arrival he would be rewarded appropriately for his loyalty. As a nationalist he knew very well it would suit his interests best if he relocated to the West Wing and thus he said goodbye for one last time and arrived in Karachi on 12th November 1971. Upon his arrival, the Military Junta President Yahya Khan designated him Special Envoy, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. His loyalty was already bearing fruit as he predicted before leaving Dhaka. It was not the first time that Raja Tridiv Roy was given an official appointment. In 1963 he had headed a delegation to the World Food Congress in Washington DC and had toured USA, Japan and Thailand for this purpose. In 1964 he was a delegate to the United Nations General Assembly New York for around three months.

After his latest appointment as Special Envoy in 1970 he immediately set off to Colombo, Sri Lanka, on 25th November. His primary objective was to keep open the vital refilling of West Pakistani Jets and use Colombo as a neutral territory to fly onto East Pakistan (avoiding Indian airspace which was closed to Pakistan at that time). In Colombo he first met Sir Cyril D Sousa, the Chairman of the Buddhist Society and Minister of Communications. The Minister's wife Vivian was extremely sympathetic to the Bangladeshi people especially regarding the genocide and the rape. Raja Tridiv Roy avoided answering any of her queries as he had access to first hand information. In a press conference when he was asked by representatives of Indian media about the genocide he replied, 'When Armies fight they don't throw flowers at each other'. His loyalty and support to the West Pakistani regime was unquestionable and very candid in nature.

On 27th of November 1970, Raja Tridiv Roy along with Pakistani Ambassador of Sri Lanka Mr Altaf Sheikh called on the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike. She was also concerned with the plight of the Bengalis; however she sought a political settlement. Raja Tridiv Roy knew how vital Colombo was in the supply chain to East Pakistan and wanted to

exercise maximum caution to ensure no compromise on it. However the West Pakistani Military was keen to ensure alternate routes to refuel the jets in case Sri Lanka ceased to do so (which happened a few days later).

Initially Raja Tridiv Roy was scheduled to go to Kathmandu, Nepal on 28th November but he altered his travel plans and went to Rangoon (presently called Yangon) the Capital of Burma (presently Myanmar). From Myanmar he proceeded to Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, on the first week of December 1970. By that time full-fledged war had broken out between India and Pakistan in both Eastern and Western theatres. Raja Tridiv Roy rushed back to Karachi from Bangkok on 8th December after meeting the Junta Head of Thailand Field Marshall Kittikachorn. As Colombo had closed the vital refuelling route, Bangkok provided alternative arrangements. This was rather too late as the Indian Navy had successfully put into place a total naval blockade and complete air supremacy over East Pakistan.

After the liberation of Bangladesh on 16th December 1971 Raja Tridiv Roy was in a state of deep shock and awe. His worst nightmare had become a reality and his dreams were shattered. He always believed that the 7th Fleet dispatched by America to support West Pakistani forces was the trump card, an ace of spades, and never ever imagined in his wildest dreams that the glorious West Pakistani Army would suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of India and Mukti Bahini. In order to digest this reality he stayed away from politics and ventured into promoting Pakistan tourism worldwide. He travelled around the globe under this new role.

SIMLA ACCORD

The Simla Agreement was signed between India and Pakistan on 2nd July 1972 in Simla, India. It followed from the war between the two nations in 1971, also referred as the Bangladesh Liberation War. The agreement was ratified by the Parliaments of both the nations in the same year. The agreement was the result of both the countries resolving their ongoing differences. The treaty was signed in Simla, India, by ZA Bhutto, the President of Pakistan, and Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. The agreement transformed the cease-fire line (in Jammu and Kashmir) into the Line of Control (LOC) between India and Pakistan.

Contrary to popular belief, the agreement did not agree over repatriation of prisoners of war (POW) from the war of 1971, and it was done in 1974 in a separate agreement, resulting into three way exchange of POW between Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. The Delhi Agreement on the Repatriation of War and Civilian prisoners is a tripartite agreement between Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, signed on 28th August 1973. The agreement was signed by Kamal Hossain, the Foreign Minister of the Government of Bangladesh, Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs of India and Aziz Ahmed, the Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Government of Pakistan.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 27th Session of the United Nations General Assembly had a very important resolution with respect to Bangladesh. Yugoslavia brought in resolution number 2937 (XXVII) regarding Admission of New Member State. More than 100 countries had already recognised Bangladesh, Bhutan being the first country to do so, followed by India. Raja Tridiv Roy was appointed by ZA Bhutto to not only represent Pakistan but also to head the delegation. This was a historic decision as Bhutto gave the opportunity to Raja Tridiv Roy not only to demonstrate his allegiance towards Pakistan but also to demonstrate his diplomatic skills to deny Bangladesh entry to the United Nations. It was also the largest delegation which Pakistan had sent to the United Nations till date with Raja Tridiv Roy spearheading the entourage. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had also sent his delegation and in it Royal Mother Benita Roy (mother of Raja Tridiv Roy) was in a pivotal role representing Bangladesh.

The mother and the son however did meet before the assembly vote in a New York hotel. The meeting was highly emotionally charged. Royal Mother Benita Roy carried a personal message from Sheikh Mujibur Rahman asking Tridiv to return to Bangladesh. He was assured a grand reception and due incorporation in the political fabric of Bangladesh. Raja Tridiv Roy however turned down his mother and his country of birth bluntly. He was hand in glove with the Pakistani establishment and knew that there was nothing left for him to go back to in Bangladesh. For him it was always a zero sum game and he had made the choice in November 1970 which he could not revert back on. Neither the emotional family attachment nor the love of his people could mould his mind in favour of his motherland. He was determined to prove his allegiance on the floor of the United Nation General Assembly unequivocally for Pakistan and his trusted friend ZA Bhutto who had given him one of the greatest opportunities to demonstrate his allegiance.

All weather friend of Pakistan was however standing firm by Pakistan and Raja Tridiv Roy was working very close to the Chinese delegation led by Senior Vice Foreign Minister Chiao Kuam-Hua (who later became the foreign minister of China) and Ambassador Huang-Hua. Raja Tridiv Roy had successfully convinced the Chinese delegation to use the Veto option, as China was a permanent member of the Security Council, in spite of the fact that over 100 countries having recognised Sovereign Independent Bangladesh. Thus when the Yugoslav Ambassador proposed Resolution number 2937 (XXVII) on 28th November for inclusion of Bangladesh as a new member it failed. It was a historic moment for the Pakistani side as they had successfully managed to do some face-saving after the humiliation of 1971. Raja Tridiv Roy emerged as a national hero for his contributions to effectively block Bangladesh to be accepted for the moment. The tables were soon to be turned around though.

ZA Bhutto duly acknowledged Raja Tridiv Roy's pivotal role in 1972. On his return to Pakistan 19th December 1972 from New York, ZA Bhutto decided to break formal protocol and receive him in person at Chaklala Airport

Rawalpindi. The media in Pakistan reported heavily on the achievements of Raja Tridiv Roy and endorsed the view of ZA Bhutto. He was the national hero of Pakistan and that too a minority king who had abdicated his kingdom in Bangladesh for his belief and commitment to the State of Pakistan. The streets of Islamabad were filled with cheering crowds when the motorcade passed through carrying the national hero and the President. A grand welcome banquet was organised by ZA Bhutto in honour of Raja Tridiv Roy at the Great Flashman's hotel in Islamabad. It was perhaps the finest hour for Raja Tridiv Roy in Pakistan but at the expense of his personal family relation and the Chakma people of Bangladesh.

There were 195 high profile Pakistani PoWs (Prisoner of War) after the Bangladesh Liberation War of 1971 in Dhaka Bangladesh. They were held as a bargaining chip in order to force the ZA Bhutto government to recognise Bangladesh as an independent sovereign state. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had agreed to drop war crime charges against all those 195 high-profile Pakistani PoWs and release them only after Pakistan officially recognised Bangladesh as an independent sovereign country. Pakistan officially recognised Bangladesh as an independent sovereign state on 22nd February 1974. Apparently, this deal between ZA Bhutto and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was brokered by Kuwait, Somalia, Lebanon, Algeria and Senegal along with India. It was interesting to note that China had earlier vetoed Bangladesh's entry into the United Nations in 1972 and once the Bhutto government gave Bangladesh formal recognition, the Chinese also followed. The UN membership path became open for Bangladesh only after that and Bangladesh joined the United Nations officially as an independent sovereign state on 17th September 1974.

Chapter Eleven

RAJA AMBASSADOR AT LARGE

WORLD TOUR

Raja Tridiv Roy was the star of attraction on the occasion of ZA Bhutto's birthday on 5th January 1973 at the Prime Minister's ancestral place called 'Al-Murtaza'. In July 1973 Raja Tridiv Roy went to Spain to study the Tourism Industry and help in replicating that model in the northern areas of Pakistan. As he was the Minister for Tourism he was keen to develop Pakistan in the tourism map especially after the tarnishing of the image post 1971. In the month of December 1973 he undertook another extensive trip of Australia and New Zealand for the same proposes.

His official residence was in 2448B Margalla Road, Islamabad, which was a two storied duplex house. The substitution of the Royal Palace of Rangamati however had the benefit of a panoramic view of the mountains as that was very close to his heart. On 31st October 1973, he attended the President's banquet in honour of Mr Henry Kissinger and his wife Nancy on a state visit to Pakistan. This was the first time Raja Tridiv Roy met Mr Kissinger and reflected on a lot of current affairs issues pertaining to Asia as a whole and the events of December 1971 with regards to the 7th Fleet Fiasco.

In between March and October 1974 he had a hectic European trip from East Germany to United Kingdom followed by United States of America. After New York he continued his trip to Venezuela (part of the OPEC conference) and then on to Brazil, Chile and Argentina. He lead a life of a diplomat representing Pakistan and building up its image in the greater world and trying to promote tourism. But was he only seeking tourism investments for Pakistan or trying to create his own personal image after he abdicated his kingdom and left his people back in the newly formed Bangladesh? Or was he proving his loyalty to Pakistan as he always did and was after an even bigger role in Pakistan politics?

Raja Nalinaksha Roy, father of Raja Tridiv Roy, had fully supported the Objectives Resolution in 1949 and that same resolution created a conflict of faith and political ambition for Raja Tridiv Roy in 1973. Prime Minister ZA

Bhutto wanted Raja Tridiv Roy to become the President of Pakistan. However, assuming the office of the President to Pakistan had a price as per the Objectives Resolution (only a Muslim can become the head of state). So even after being offered the post, Raja Tridiv Roy turned it down as he was not willing to convert. He chose to remain true to his Buddhist faith but when it came earlier in 1971 to protect and carve out a better future for his people of Rangamati, Chittagong he chose otherwise. He was also featured in the cover story of a popular English magazine of London, *Society & Screen* portraying him as man of the year 1972, and the possible President of Pakistan. He also toured the Caribbean Islands in 1976 regarding tourism and how can Pakistan benefit for the Caribbean model. No significant improvement or real value to attract foreign tourists to Pakistan did however materialize between 1972 and 1981 and Raja Tridiv Roy could not draw any credit as nothing materialized in reality for Pakistan. President ZA.Bhutto was later overthrown by General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq in 1977 in a successful military coup and Raja Tridiv Roy thus lost his trusted friend and mentor in Pakistan. Serving under the new dictator of Pakistan would have created significant obstacles for Raja Tridiv Roy.

LATIN AMERICA AMBASSADOR

Like 1971 when the Bangladesh Liberation War was drawing to a final close Raja Tridiv Roy left for West Pakistan, similarly in 1977 after regime change in Pakistan, Raja's political expediency came to an end with the end of the ZA Bhutto government and the military regime under Zia grabbing power. The same military, whose umbrella the Raja used as a protective shield since the 1950s, had now come a full circle.

As he had travelled extensively through out the world during the tenure of ZA Bhutto he opted to be relocated to Argentina. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq saw this as the perfect opportunity to keep Raja away from the domestic politics of Pakistan and made him the Ambassador of Pakistan for Argentina. He arrived in Buenos Aires on 4th November 1981 to take up his new role. Raja Tridiv Roy knew under the dictatorship of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq it was in his best interests to relocate to as far as Latin America. Hence though he had love for Pakistan deep in his heart when it came to bite the bullet he resorted to his personal agenda. His agenda was securing himself as he had already given up his Kingdom and his People, but at least he had a diplomatic role, so it broadly satisfied his loyalist reality.

Raja Tridiv Roy was simultaneously accredited as an ambassador in Chile, Ecuador, Peru and Uruguay and he held these positions until 1995. During his long tenure (fourteen years) as Ambassador he was instrumental in signing the landmark trade agreement with Pakistan in 2002. Pakistan had voted in favour of the UN Resolution stipulating that 'the continued existence of colonialism is incompatible with the ideal of universal peace held by the United Nations', which has relevance for the Falkland Islands issue. The two countries

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

have well established trade links; they maintain a 'Joint Economic Committee' and the Pak-Argentina Business Council, in order to expedite further growth in their relationship. The two countries are mostly concerned with agricultural development schemes, particularly in the areas of livestock disease control, as well as political and diplomatic issues of mutual interest. All of these diplomatic developments were initiated by Raja Tridiv Roy. Apart from trade and economic co operation Raja Tridiv Roy was credited with forming The Plaza de Pakistan, a landmark in Buenos Aires commemorating Argentine-Pakistan friendship. It is located in the heart of Parque Tres de Febrero in the neighbourhood of Palermo. He returned to Pakistan in 1994.

After his return to Pakistan, He later became Pakistan's High Commissioner to Sri Lanka in 1995. He finally returned to Islamabad in 1996 and remained Ambassador At Large after 1996. Raja Tridiv Roy was a leading figure in Pakistan's Buddhist community, headed the Pakistan Buddhist Society from 1996 until his death in 2012. In 2005, the High Commissioner of Sri Lanka, General Srilal Weerasooriya, on behalf of the President, conferred the emblems of the Sri Lankan Ranjana National Award on Federal Minister Tridiv Roy for his work on behalf of Pakistan's Buddhist community.

Chapter Twelve

CONCLUSION: END OF AN ERA

END OF AN ERA

Raja Tridiv Roy died due to cardiac arrest at his home in Islamabad, Pakistan on 17th September 2012, at the age of 79.

The effort in this book has been to locate the policies, decisions and choices of Raja Tridiv Roy in the context of competing nationalisms between the East and the West based on ethnicity and language. The nature of contestation of political power between the Awami League and the West Pakistani military bureaucratic establishment made it increasingly obvious that the continuation of the geographical and political space in the East as an internal captive market of the West was becoming untenable with every passing decade. By the time election was held in 1970, the disjunction between the narrative of economic success under Ayub Khan and the economic reality in the East for the majority of voters had become extremely pronounced.

Raja Tridiv Roy's choice to keep aligning with the West Pakistani military bureaucratic establishment was a choice that was solely incumbent on the continuation of consolidation of military and political power in both the East and the West. The watershed 1970 election brought home the fact that the body politics in the West needed to change and the West could not continue to remain as a colonial master of the East. Sheikh Mujibur's Six Point Agenda and demand for autonomy in the 1970 election ensured that the issue of economic exploitation of the East by a West Pakistani colonial state could not stay hidden from public knowledge for much longer.

However, the consequent failure to agree on an acceptable political arrangement with Sheikh Mujibur after the massive win by the Awami League in the 1970 election not only deeply exposed the political fault-line of lack of institutional power-sharing between the East and the West, but also deeply reinforced the internal antagonisms between the two nationalisms in the East and the West. Probably both General Yahya Khan and ZA Bhutto thought they could negotiate with Sheikh Mujibur in the same way as Field Marshall Ayub Khan negotiated with Maulana Bhashani, HS Suhrawardy and Fazlul Haq in

convincing them to agree to in principle to the parity in legislature in the 1950s.

Raja Tridiv Roy's policies, decisions and choices in the entirety of his monarchical tenure as Chakma king, in this context, appears to have been completely untouched by the tectonic political shift that happened in the 1970 election. His outright denial of Sheikh Mujibur's demands for autonomy for the East after the 1970 election, in a way, came to be seen by many as manifesting an embedded contradiction in his argument of retaining autonomy for himself within a defined territorial space.

It would have been interesting to see how the competing demands for autonomy would have played out between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Raja Tridiv Roy, had the Raja not chosen to completely ignore Sheikh Mujibur and to stay in denial of the political reality in the East after the 1970 election. In this context, it alternatively becomes increasingly challenging to justify how Raja Tridiv Roy could go on aligning with the statist narrative of a centralised apparatus of military rule being constantly super-imposed on the East as a viable political alternative along with the beneficence of a superior Islamic state based on ethnic (Punjabi) and linguistic (Urdu) nationalism.

Raja Tridiv Roy abdicated his kingdom before the independence of Bangladesh and moved to Pakistan. He served in different capacities in Pakistan from being a Federal Minister for Life and as Ambassador at Large (holding the office of Ambassador for Argentina and Latin America), High Commissioner for Sri Lanka. He demonstrated exceptional diplomatic skills by successfully blocking application of Bangladesh to join the United Nations in 1972 and was hailed as the national hero of Pakistan.

Raja Tridiv Roy was the rightly the Last Raja of West Pakistan, a patriot who gave up his centuries old kingdom for the love and loyalty for Pakistan but was neglected and discarded by Pakistan. He might have met a more glorious fate if in 1971 had he not chosen to abandon his people, his motherland and his kingdom. He remains as the Raja who lost his kingdom for self-interest and personal goals. He also remains as the 50th Chakma Raja named in the 1972 Bangladesh War Collaborators Act and lived in self imposed exile never to return to his motherland after 1971.

This book concludes that the Raja not only failed to resolve any of the issues affecting the rights of his people, but also got himself increasingly isolated and powerless as the political situation in the East slowly started sliding towards war. The Raja's decision to side unequivocally and completely with successive autocratic governments in West Pakistan was not only badly judged but also betrays a deliberate lack of vision or imagination on the Raja's part.

Raja Tridiv Roy still remains one of the very few exceptional minority kings who stayed loyal till his end to the idea of Pakistan. His love and commitment to his country Pakistan was unquestionable. His place will surely go down in history as the Last Raja of West Pakistan who voluntarily gave up his crown and people in exchange for being a Minority Cabinet Minister for life and Ambassador at large of Pakistan.

Epilogue

by Barrister Islam Khan

It is a privilege to have been asked by Priyajit Debsarkar to write this epilogue, the history of Bengal and the empires of Bengal, the foreword and to edit this book. With this exciting opportunity it set me to aquiver.

The history certainly overlaps with Bengal being part of India up until the separation. As we know Bengal is known to be the West which is Kolkata, India and the East, today's Bangladesh. The history is very rich, orphic and unique and as far as our research went, no other book has encapsulated the empires of Bengal. That's why this book is one of its kind.

I also have had the opportunity to comment on the content of this book by editing the book comprehensively. I have mostly kept the content in its own state but tried to tweak it to make it reader friendly where possible to ensure that the structure and flow is mellifluous.

Whilst discussing the topics the contents and information gathered the author and myself have ensured that we avoid any cromulent information and assessed that the sources are legitimate, corroborating and authentic. However, it is true that both myself and Priyajit have approached this story with Amore and Respect. Especially Priyajit who has been passionate about the book and one can see his love for the story that should also have an impact on the readers or wider audience of this book.

The writer identifies the history and the origins of the Chakma people, its languages, its people dating back to the Mogul dynasties equally discussing the history of a region between Bengal and Maharashtra. Equally fascinating is the timeline chronology at the beginning of the book.

He then delves into a historical snapshot of the partition of India that led to the Chittagong inhabitants, present day Bangladesh Chittagong Hill tracts, its monarchy and how it was subject to an Indian state where it originally belonged too.

An interesting fact is that it clearly sets out of the language protests and the dominant policies against the East by the West that leads to the uprising and protest and the root cause of the civil war that started the beginning of genocide to retain power. Equally, this side of the story corroborates with the

book *The Blood Telegram*, a very interesting historical account of the civil war between the East and the West.

Migration and displacement is a central issue in this book where it discusses how the Chakma people became displaced due to natural disasters. Here it is seen how nearby countries such as India have given asylum and a safe haven to those who have been displaced where the very existing of its state was helpless.

The author very nicely suggests how small changes devolved power that could have kept both the East and West together today and the political role that Raja Tridiv Roy could have played. He also highlights very clearly the demographics and geology of the region.

I am delighted to have been involved in co-editing this book. To that end I pray that this book is useful to those users who are to come!

Annexure I

HISTORY OF BENGAL

Co-authored by Barristar Islam Khan

"always for you Fagli"

Bengal has been referred to as the Paradise of nations. The exact origin of the word Bengal or Bangla cannot be ascertained with certainty; however, it dates back to four millennia. The name *Bongo* maybe derived from the word *Vanga* which probably means the Sun God. According to the ancient Hindu scripture of *Mahabharata* and a number of *Purans*, Harivamsha Vanga was one of the adopted sons of King Vali who founded the *Vanga* Kingdom (the location is not confirmed but most probably in West Bengal, India). One of the oldest references to Vanga Kingdom can be traced back to the Nesari Plates (AD 805) in which Dharmapala is referred to as the king of Vangala.

Rajendra Chola I of the Chola dynasty who invaded Bengal in the 11th century has reference of Raja Govindachandra the ruler of Vangladesa. Stone Age tools dating back to almost 20,000 years have been found in Bengal and Copper age settlements in the Bengal region date back to 4,000 years ago.

Mahasthangarh is one of the oldest archaeological sites is in Bangladesh and dates back to 700 BC which was the capital of the Pundara Kingdom. Ancient Bengal was divided into various territories like NishadasVanga (Southern Bengal), Pundara (Northern Bengal) and Suhma (Western Bengal). The territories of the Suhma were part of the Magadha Empire, it was during the Nanda dynasty that the whole of Bengal was united and came under the direct Magadha empire.

Roughly in or around 7th century BC the whole of Bengal came under Indo - Aryan rule. The Vanga kingdom was a powerful force to reckon with in ancient India and had trading links with Java, Sumatra and Siam (present day Thailand). In ancient Buddhist scripture on Mahavamsa of Sri Lanka, the Vanga Prince Vijaya Simha came to the island of Sri Lanka and established his own kingdom. The Vanga Empire had also established colonies as far the Malay Archipelago and Siam.

There is a reference in the texts of that time of the Gangaridai Empire, which was located in the Bengal region, of Alexander the Great's invasion of India. Coenus and Diodorus Siculus both have written accounts of Alexander's invasion which mention the huge army of the Gangaridai Empire (20,000 horses, 2,00,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots & 4000 war elephants) which was trained and battle ready. It is also noted that the Gangaridai Empire also forged an alliance with the Nanda Empire (Prasii) and determined to stop Alexander's advance into the mainland of India. Alexander was advised that the massive counter offensive planned by the Indians (Gangaridai & Nanda) would be too high a risk and it was best to return to Greece rather than proceed into the heartland of India.

In the early Middle Ages the King Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty conquered the whole of Vanga and amalgamated it with the Gupta Empire. By the 6th century BC, the Gupta empire disintegrated and the Eastern Bengal fragmented into kingdoms of Vanga, Samatata and Harikela. The Gauda kings rose to power in Bengal and established their capital at Karnasuvarna (present day Musshidabad, West Bengal, India).

After the Gauda Kingdom, Buddhism made its first appearance in the map of Bengal. The Pala Dynasty had the first Buddhist Rajas of Bengal. The Palas were followers of the Mahayana and the Vajrayana schools of Buddhism. The Pala dynasty ruled for approximately four centuries in Bengal and resulted in great economic prosperity and cultural development. They supported the ancient University of Nalanda and Vikramsila. The Somapura Mahavihara was the greatest Buddhist Vihara (in the all of Indian Subcontinent) built by Raja Dharmapala. Under Dharmapala the Pala Empire reached its peak and his Kingdom extended from Assam in the East to Deccan in the South and as far as Kambojas (present day Afghanistan) in the West.

The Pala Empire survived the invasion of the Chola Dynasty (South India) and the Chalukya Dynasty. However, there was a loss of territory during these invasions suffered by the Palas. The rule of the Palas was the golden era in the history of Bengal. The Palas were instrumental in the introduction of Mahayana Buddhism in Tibet, Bhutan and Burma. World class universities like Nalanda, Vikramsila and Somapura Mahavihara flourished during the rule of the Pala Rajas. The influence of Palas could be seen as far as Salendra (present day Malay Peninsula, Java and Sumatra).

Invasions by the Chola Dynasty led to partial decline of the Pala dynasty. After the Pala Dynasty, the Chandra Dynasty came into power in Bengal. Their seat of power was Eastern Bengal (Harikela and Samatala). Then the Sena Dynasty came into power in Bengal. The fourth Sena Raja Lakshman Sen was said to extend the boundaries of Bengal upto Varanasi in the West and Assam in the East. The capital of the Sena Dynasty was based in Nabadwip (present day West Bengal India). Hinduism made a revival during the Sena dynasty.

Islam made its first appearance in Bengal during the 12th century. A military commander of the Delhi Sultanate Bakkhtial Khilji invaded Bengal and defeated the Sena Raja. However, he could not gain full control of Bengal and the Sena

Raja fled to Eastern Bengal and established their capital in Bikrampur (present day near Munshiganj District Bangladesh). After the Senas, the Deva Dynasty ruled over Eastern Bengal. They had their capital in Bikrampur and their territory extended upto Comilla, Noakhali and Chittagong (all present day Bangladesh).

The Illyas Shahi Dynasty ruled most parts of Bengal except the Eastern region. Art and Architecture flourished during this rule and the impressive Adina Mosque and Darabari Mosque still stands strong in Bangladesh (Sahebganj, Joypurhat Dist. Town, Chapai Nawabganj, Bangladesh respectively). During the 14th century, Ganesha Dynasty took control of the seat of Bengal. However, there was the impending threat from the Delhi Sultanate of the imminent invasion. Raja Ganesha sought a diplomatic solution to defuse the impending threat. He sought support of a powerful Muslim Holy Man Qutb al Alam to negotiate a truce with the Sultanate. Qutb al Alam agreed but on condition that Raja Ganesha's eldest son Jadu would convert to Islam. After the death of Raja Ganesha, his eldest son converted to Islam and adopted the name Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah.

In 1534 Sher Shah Suri, a Pashtun, was successful in defeating the mighty Mughal emperor and took control of Delhi. He was an excellent administrator and was credited with building the famous Grand Trunk Road (connecting Sonargaon in Bengal to as far as Peshawar and the Hindu Kush Mountains).

The Mughal Badsha (King) Akbar was the most successful of the Mughals in Delhi and said to have defeated the Karani rulers of Bengal. The Bengalis' trade and wealth impressed the Mughals and they referred to Bengal as the Paradise of nations. The Nawabs of Murshidabad (present day West Bengal, India) ruled under the Mughal umbrella and enjoyed a relative degree of sovereignty.

There were a number of semi independent Hindu kingdoms in Bengal. They were primarily Raja Pratap Aditya of Jessore (in present day Bangladesh), Raja Sitaram Roy of Brudwan, Koch Bihar Kingdom (in present day West Bengal, India). The Nawabs of Bengal had given the people economic prosperity especially in the areas of agriculture (rice cultivation), fine cotton such as muslin cloth, ship building and jute. The world's main source of the golden fibre, jute, was exclusively supplied from Bengal.

In the 1750s the British (East India Company) emerged in Bengal. The Nawab Siraj Ud Daulah engaged with the British but due to treachery the British were successful in defeating the Nawab in the Battle of Plassey (1757). Nawab Siraj Ud Daulah was arrested near Murshidabad, under the British leadership of Robert Clive, thus establishing British control in the Indian Subcontinent. The Bengalis made an alliance with the last of the Mughals (Sultan Shah Alam II) in Delhi and made one last attempt to confront the British in the historic battle of Buxar (1765).

The British emerged victorious and the epicentre of the political power shifted from Delhi to Calcutta in Bengal. During the British rule two devastating famines costing millions of lives struck Bengal in 1770 and 1943. It is estimated that approximately one third of the population perished in 1770.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

East India Company faced a fierce resistance from the whole of India during the Indian Sepoy Munity of 1857. Although the rebellion was crushed, it ended the East India Company rule and the Crown formally annexed India under direct British rule.

In 1857 when Queen Victoria took the title of the Empress of India, Calcutta was declared the official capital of India. Bengal was at the forefront of the resistance against the British rule in India along with Punjab. The British decided to partition Bengal into East and West Bengal in 1905. It can be argued that the Partition of the Indian Subcontinent in 1947 had its foundation in the Partition of Bengal of 1905. The next great famine (artificial and man made) struck Bengal in 1943 (during Second World War). It was estimated that approximately three million souls perished during the famine and the British Crown was severely criticised for its active role resulting in the Great Famine of 1943. In 1947 the British finally left the Indian Subcontinent which resulted in the creation of East and West Pakistan, and India.

Annexure II

India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi ratified the Land Boundary Agreement with his counterpart Sheikh Hasina in Dhaka, Bangladesh on 6th June 2015. Thousands of Bangladeshis inhabit more than 50 enclaves in India, while Indians live in or around 100 enclaves within Bangladesh. The agreement is significant because it is the first step by Bangladesh to allow road transit to India, a long-running Indian demand which it hopes will eventually enable it to have better access to its north-eastern states. More than 50,000 people currently live in tiny enclaves-citizens of one country but located in the other. Under the agreement, both sides will swap the enclaves enabling their citizens to finally reside in their own countries. A similar deal was originally agreed upon in 1974 by Indira Gandhi of India and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman of Bangladesh. But following the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur in 1975, it was not implemented.

This agreement is historic in nature and paves the way for greater co operation and connectivity within the Indian Subcontinent and further room to connect with rest of South East Asia as well.

II. Summary

The summary section discusses the key findings of the study, highlighting the effectiveness of the proposed method in addressing the research objectives. It provides a concise overview of the results, emphasizing the significant improvements observed in the experimental setup. The text also mentions the limitations of the current study and suggests potential areas for future research to further enhance the system's performance and reliability.



Annexure III

LIST OF RULERS OF BENGAL

LEGENDARY KINGS OF MAGADHA: BRIHADRATHA DYNASTY (1700 – 799 BC)

Brihadratha
Jarasandha
Sahadeva
Somapi (1679 - 1618 BC)
Srutasravas (1618 - 1551 BC)
Ayutayus (1551 - 1515 BC)
Niramitra (1515 - 1415 BC)
Sukshatra (1415 - 1407 BC)
Brihatkarman (1407 - 1384 BC)
Senajit (1384 - 1361 BC)
Srutanjaya (1361 - 1321 BC)
Vipra (1321 - 1296 BC)
Suchi (1296 - 1238 BC)
Kshemya (1238 - 1210 BC)
Subrata (1210 - 1150 BC)
Dharma (1150 - 1145 BC)
Susuma (1145 - 1107 BC)
Dridhasena (1107 - 1059 BC)
Sumati (1059 - 1026 BC)
Subhala (1026 - 1004 BC)
Sunita (1004 - 964 BC)
Satyajit (964 - 884 BC)
Biswajit (884 - 849 BC)
Ripunjaya (849 - 799 BC)

PRADYOTA DYNASTY (799 - 684 BC)

Pradyota
Palaka

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

Visakhayupa
Ajaka
Varttivarddhana

SHISHUNAGA DYNASTY (684 - 424 BC)

Shishunaga (684 - 644 BC)
Kakavarna (644 - 618 BC)
Kshemadharman (618 - 582 BC)
Kshatraujas (582 - 558 BC)
Bimbisara (544 - 491 BC)
Ajatashatru (491 - 461 BC)
Darshaka (from 461 BC)
Udayin
Nandivardhana
Mahanandin (until 424 BC)

NANDA DYNASTY (424 - 321 BC)

Mahapadma Nanda (from 424 BC)
Pandhuka
Panghupati
Bhutapala
Rashtrapala
Govishanaka
Dashasidkhaka
Kaivarta
Dhana (Agrammes, Xandrammes) (until 321 BC)

MAURYA DYNASTY (324 - 185 BC)

Chandragupta Maurya (Sandrakottos) (324 - 301 BC)
Bindusara Amitraghata (301 - 273 BC)
Ashoka Vardhana (Ashoka the Great) (273 - 232 BC),
Dasaratha (232 - 224 BC)
Samprati (224 - 215 BC)
Salisuka (215 - 202 BC)
Devavarman (202 - 195 BC)
Satadhanvan (195 - 187 BC)
Brhadrata (187 - 184 BC)

MAHAMEGHAVAHANA DYNASTY (c. 250 BC - AD 400)

Mahamegha Vahana

List of Rulers of Bengal

Kharavela (c.193 - 179 BC)

Vakadeva (or Vakradeva)

SHUNGA DYNASTY (185 - 73 BC)

Pushyamitra Shunga (185 - 149 BC)

Agnimitra (149 - 141 BC)

Vasujyeshtha (141 - 131 BC)

Vasumitra (131 - 124 BC)

Andhraka (124 - 122 BC)

Pulindaka (122 - 119 BC)

Ghosha

Vajramitra

Bhagabhadra

Devabhuti (83 - 73 BC)

KANVA DYNASTY (73 - 43 BC)

Vasudeva (from 73 BC)

Bhumimitra

Narayana

Susharman (Until 43 BC)

GUPTA EMPIRE (c. AD 240 - 550)

Sri-Gupta I (c. 240 - 290)

Ghatotkacha (290 - 305)

Chandra Gupta I (305 - 335)

Samudra Gupta (335 - 370)

Rama Gupta (370 - 375)

Chandra Gupta II (Chandragupta Vikramaditya) (375 - 415)

Kumara Gupta I (415 - 455)

Skanda Gupta (455 - 467)

Kumara Gupta II (467 - 477)

Buddha Gupta (477 - 496)

Chandra Gupta III (496 - 500)

Vainya Gupta (500 - 515)

Narasimha Gupta (510 - 530)

Kumara Gupta III (530 - 540)

Vishnu Gupta (c. 540 - 550)

GAUDA KINGDOM

Shashanka (c.590 - 625)

Manava (from 625, for 8 months)

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

KHADGA KINGDOM

Khadgodyama (625 - 640)
Jatakhadga (640 - 658)
Devakhadga (658 - 673)
Rajabhata (673 - 690)
Balabhata (690 - 705)
Udirnakhadga

PALA EMPIRE

| | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Gopala I | 750 - 770 |
| Dharmapala | 770 - 810 |
| Devapala | 810 - c. 850 |
| Mahendrapala | 850 - 853 |
| Shurapala I | 854 - 908 |
| Vigrahapala I | 908 - 940 |
| Narayanapala | 940 - 957 |
| Rajyapala | 960-c. 986 |
| Gopala II | 988-c. 1036 |
| Vigrahapala II | 1038 - 1053 |
| Mahipala I | 1054 - 1072 |
| Nayapala | 1072 - 1075 |
| Vigrahapala III | 1075 - 1077 |
| Mahipala II | 1077 - 1130 |
| Shurapala | 1130 - 1125 |
| Ramapala | 1140 - 1144 |
| Kumarapala | 1144 - 1162 |
| Gopala III | 1155 - 1159 |
| Madanapala | NA |
| Govindapala | |
| Palapala | |

CHANDRA DYNASTY

Traillokya chandra (900 - 930)
Srichandra (930 - 975)
Kalyanachandra (975 - 1000)
Ladahachandra (1000 - 1020)
Govindachandra (1020 - 1050)

SEN DYNASTY

Hemantasen (1070 - 1096)

List of Rulers of Bengal

Vijayasen (1096 - 1159)
Ballalsen (1159 - 1179)
Lakshmansen (1179 - 1206)
Vishwarupsen (1206 - 1225)
Keshabsen (1225 - 1230)

DEVA DYNASTY

Purushottamadeva
Madhusudanadeva
Vasudeva
Damodaradeva (1231 - 1243)
Dasharathadeva (1281)

KHILJI DYNASTY (1204 - 1227)

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji | 1204 - 1206 |
| Muhammad Shiran Khilji | 1206 - 1208 |
| Ghiyasuddin Iwaj Shah | 1208 - 1210 |
| Ali Mardan Khilji | 1210 - 1212 |
| Ghiyasuddin Iwaj Shah | 1212 - 1227 |

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL UNDER MAMLUK SULTANATE (1227 - 1281)

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Nasiruddin Mahmud | 1227 - 1229 |
| Alauddin Daulat Shah Khalji | 1229 - 1230[6] |
| Malik Balkha Khilji | 1230 - 1231 |
| Alauddin Jani | 1232 - 1233 |
| Saifuddin Aibak | 1233 - 1236 |
| Awor Khan Aibak | 1236 |
| Tughral Tughan Khan | 1236 - 1246 |
| Tughlaq Tamar Khan | 1246 - 1247 |
| Jalaluddin Masud Jani | 1247 - 1251 |
| Malik Ikhtiyaruddin Iuzbak | 1251 - 1257 |
| Ijjauddin Balban Iuzbaki | 1257 - 1259 |
| Tatar Khan | 1259 - 1268 |
| Sher Khan | 1268 - 1272 |
| Amin Khan | 1272 - 1272 |
| Tughral Tughan Khan | 1272 - 1281 |

BALBAN DYNASTY (1281 - 1324)

| | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Nasiruddin Bughra Khan | 1281 - 1291 |
| Rukunuddin Kaikaus | 1291 - 1300 |

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Shamsuddin Firoz Shah | 1300 - 1322 |
| Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah | 1322 - 1324 |

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL UNDER TUGHLAQ SULTANATE (1324 - 1339)

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah | 1324 - 1328 |
| Bahram Khan | 1328 - 1338 |
| Qadar Khan | 1328 - 1336 |
| Mukhlis | 1336 - 1339 |
| Azam Khan | 1324 - 1328 |
| Izzuddin Yahya | 1328 - 1339 |

INDEPENDENT SULTANS OF BENGAL DURING TUGHLAQ SULTANATE (1338 - 1352)

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah | 1338 - 1349 |
| Ikhtiyaruddin Ghazi Shah | 1349 - 1352 |
| Ilyas Shah | 1339 - 1342 |
| Alauddin Ali Shah | 1339 - 1342 |
| Ilyas Shah | 1342 - 1352 |

ILYAS SHAHI DYNASTY (1352 - 1414)

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah | 1352 - 1358 |
| Sikandar Shah | 1358 - 1390 |
| Ghiyasuddin Azam Shah | 1390 - 1411 |
| Saifuddin Hamza Shah | 1411 - 1412 |
| Shihabuddin Bayazid Shah | 1412 - 1414 |

ILYAS SHAHI DYNASTY (1435 - 1487)

| | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah | 1435 - 1459 |
| Rukunuddin Barbak Shah | 1459 - 1474 |
| Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah | 1474 - 1481 |
| Sikandar Shah II | 1481 |
| Jalaaluddin Fateh Shah | 1481 - 1487 |

HABSHI RULE (1487 - 1494)

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| Shahzada Barbak | 1487 |
| Saifuddin Firuz Shah | 1487 - 1489 |
| Mahmud Shah II | 1489 - 1490 |
| Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah | 1490 - 1494 |

List of Rulers of Bengal

HUSSAIN SHAHI DYNASTY (1494 - 1538)

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Alauddin Hussain Shah | 1494 - 1518 |
| Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah | 1518 - 1533 |
| Alauddin Firuz Shah | 1533 |
| Ghiyasuddin Mahmud Shah | 1533 - 1538 |

GOVERNORS OF BENGAL UNDER SURI EMPIRE (1532 - 1555)

| | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| Sher Shah Suri | 1532 - 1538 |
| Khidr Khan | 1538 - 1541 |
| Qazi Fazilat | 1541 - 1545 |
| Muhammad Khan Sur | 1545 - 1554 |
| Shahbaz Khan | 1555 |

MUHAMMAD SHAH DYNASTY (1554 - 1564)

| | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Muhammad Khan Sur | 1554 - 1555 |
| Khizr Khan Suri | 1555 - 1561 |
| Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah | 1561 - 1564 |
| Ghiyasuddin Shah III | |

KARRANI DYNASTY (1564 - 1576)

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Taj Khan Karrani | 1564 - 1566 |
| Sulaiman Khan Karrani | 1566 - 1572 |
| Bayazid Khan Karrani | 1572 |
| Daud Khan Karrani | 1572 - 1576 |

MUGHAL SUBAHDARS OF BENGAL SUBAH (1565 - 1717)

DURING THE REIGN OF AKBAR

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| Munim Khan | 1574 - 1575 |
| Hussain Quli Khan | 1575 - 1578 |
| Muzaffar Khan Turbati | 1579 - 1580 |
| Mirza Aziz Koka | 1582 - 1583 |
| Wazir Khan Tajik | 1583 - 1583 |
| Shahbaz Khan Kamboh | 1583 - 1585 |
| Sadiq Khan | 1585 - 1586 |
| Wazir Khan Tajik | 1586 - 1587 |
| Sa'id Khan | 1587 - 1594 |
| Raja Man Singh I | 1597 - 1606[8] |

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

DURING THE REIGN OF JAHANGIR

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| Qutubuddin Koka | 2 Sep 1606 - 1607 |
| Jahangir Quli Beg | 1607 - 1608 |
| Islam Khan Chishti | 1608 - 1613 |
| Qasim Khan Chishti | 1613 - 1617 |
| Ibrahim Khan Fath-i-Jang | 1617 - 1624 |
| Mahabat Khan | 1625 - 1626 |
| Mukarram Khan | 1626 - 1627 |
| Fidai Khan | 1627 - 1628 |

DURING THE REIGN OF SHAH JAHAN

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Qasim Khan Juvayni | 1628 - 1632 |
| Mir Muhammad Baqir | 1632 - 1635 |
| Mir Abdus Salam | 1635 - 1639 |
| Prince Shah Shuja | 1639 - 1647 again 1652 - 1660 |

DURING THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Mir Jumla II | 1660 - 1663 |
| Shaista Khan | 1664 - 1678 |
| Azam Khan Koka | 1678 - 1678 |
| Prince Muhammad Azam | 20 July 1678 - 6 October 1679 |
| Shaista Khan | 1680 - 1688 |
| Ibrahim Khan II | 1689 - 1697 |
| Prince Azim-us-Shan | 1697 - 1712 |

POST AURANGZEB SUBAHDAR

| | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| Khan-i-Alam | 1712 - 1713 |
| Farrukh Siyar | 1713 - 1717 |
| Murshid Quli Khan | 1717 - 1727 |

THE NAWABS OF BENGAL

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Nasiri Dynasty | |
| Ala ud-Daulah | 1717 - 1727 |
| Mirza Asadullah | 1727 - 1727 |
| Shuja ud-Daula | July 1727 - 26 August 1739 |
| Mirza Asadullah | 13 March 1739 - April 1740 |
| Husam ud-Daula | 29 April 1740 - 16 April 1756 |

List of Rulers of Bengal

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Siraj ud-Daulah | April 1756 - 2 June 1757 |
| Ja'afar 'Ali Khan Bahadur | June 1757 - October 1760 |
| Itimad ud-Daulah | 1760 - 1763 |
| Ja'afar 'Ali Khan Bahadur | 25 July 1763 - 17 January 1765 |
| Nazam-ud-Daulah | 5 February 1765 - 8 May 1766 |
| Saif ud-Daulah | 22 May 1766 - 10 March 1770 |
| Mubarak ud-Daulah | 21 March 1770 - 6 September 1793 |
| Azud ud-Daulah | 1793 - 28 April 1810 |
| Ali Jah | 5 June 1810 - 6 August 1821 |
| Walla Jah | 1810 - 30 October 1824 |
| Humayun Jah | 1824 - 3 October 1838 |
| Feradun Jah | 29 October 1838 - 1881 |

NAWABS OF MURSHIDABAD

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Najafi Dynasty | |
| Ali Kadir | 17 February 1882 - 25 December 1906 |
| Amir ul-Omrah | December 1906 - 23 October 1959 |
| Raes ud-Daulah | 1959 - 20 November 1969 |

HINDU RAJAS IN BENGAL

Raja Sitaram Ray

MAHARAJAS OF BHURSHUT

Shivanarayan
Rudranarayan
Bhavashankari
Pratapnarayan
Naranarayan
Lakshminarayan

MAHARAJAS OF BANKURA

Bir Hambir

MAHARAJAS OF JESSORE KINGDOM

Pratapaditya

MAHARAJAS OF NADIA

Raja Krishnachandra

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

BRITISH COLONIAL PERIOD

CHIEF AGENTS (1701 - 1756)

Charles Eyre 1700 - 1701
John Beard 1701 - 1705
Edward Littleton 1705 - 1705
Ruled by a council 1705 - 1710
Anthony Weltden 20 July 1710 - 4 March 1711
John Russell 4 Mar 1711 - 3 Dec 1713
Robert Hedges 3 Dec 1713 - 12 Jan 1718
Samuel Flake 12 Jan 1718 - 17 Jan 1723
John Deane 17 Jan 1723 - 30 Jan 1726
Henry Frankland 30 Jan 1726 - 17 Sep 1728
Edward Stephenson 17 Sep 1728 - 18 Sep 1728
John Deane 18 Sep 1728 - 25 Feb 1732
John Stackhouse 25 Feb 1732 - 29 Jan 1739
Thomas Broddyll 29 Jan 1739 - 4 Feb 1746
John Forster 4 Feb 1746 - 18 Apr 1748
William Barwell 18 Apr 1748 - 17 Jun 1749
Adam Dawson 17 Jun 1749 - 5 Jun 1752
William Fytche 8 Aug 1752 - Oct 1756
Roger Drake 8 Aug 1752 - Oct 1756

GOVERNORS (1757 - 1854)

Robert Clive 1757 - 1760
Henry Vansittart 1760 - 1764
Robert Clive 1765 - 1766
Harry Verelst 1767 - 1769
John Cartier 1769 - 1772
Warren Hastings 1772 - 1774
Charles Cornwallis 1786 - 1793
Richard Wellesley 1797 - 1805
Charles Cornwallis 1805 - 1805
James Broun-Ramsay 1848 - 1854

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS (1854 - 1912)

Frederick James Halliday 1854 - 1859
John Grant 1859 - 1862
Sir Cecil Beadon 1862 - 1866
Sir William Grey 1866 - 1871
George Campbell 1871 - 1874
Sir Richard Temple 1874 - 1877

List of Rulers of Bengal

Sir Ashley Eden 1877 - 1879
Steuart Bayley 1879 - 1882
Sir Augustus Thompson 1882 - 1885
Horace Cockerell 1885 - 1887
Sir Steuart Bayley 1887 - 1890
Charles Elliot 1890 - 1893
Anthony MacDonnell 1893 - 1895
Alexander Mackenzie 1895 - 1897
Charles Cecil Stevens 1897 - 1898
Sir John Woodburn 1898 - 1902
James Bourdillon 1902 - 1903
Sir Andrew Fraser 1903 - 1906
Lancelot Hare 1906 - 1906
Francis Slacke 1906 - 1908
Sir Edward Baker 1908 - 1911
Sir William Duke 1911 - 1912

GOVERNORS (1912 - 1947)

Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, 1st Baron Carmichael 1912 - 1917
Lawrence Dundas, 2nd Marquess of Zetland as Earl of Ronaldshay 1917 - 1922
Victor Bulwer-Lytton, 2nd Earl of Lytton 1922 - 1927
Sir Stanley Jackson 1927 - 1932
Sir John Anderson 1932 - 1937
Michael Knatchbull, 5th Baron Brabourne 1937 - 1939
John Arthur Herbert 1939 - 1943
Sir Richard Casey 1944 - 1946
Sir Frederick Burrows 1946 - 1947



Works Cited

Unless otherwise noted, all translations are author's.

PREFACE

- Steve Brace. *Bangladesh*. New York: Thomson Learning, 1995.
- Sugata Chakma. 'Chakma Culture.' *Folklore* (The Journal of the Folklore Research Institute, Bangladesh) 7 (January): 1982.
- N.J. Englewood Cliffs. Silver Burdett Press, 1989.
- Hyatt, Ishrat (18 September 2012). "'Eulogy for a friend'. *The News International*.
- Vimala Schneider McClure. *Bangladesh: Rivers in a Crowded Land*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Dillon Press, 1989.
- 'Raja Tridiv Roy dies' *Dawn*. 18 September 2012.
- S. P. Talukdar, *Chakmas: An Embattled Tribe*. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1994.
- 'The Raja who gave away his kingdom'. *The Express Tribune*. 18 September 2012.
- 'Tridiv Roy passes away'. *The Daily Star* (Bangladesh).

CHAPTER 1: THE CHAKMA KINGS

- Abdul Karim, *History of Bengal* (Rajshahi, 1992).
- Biraj Mohan Dewan. *Chakma Jatir Itibritto*.
- Buchanan, Francis (1992). *Francis Buchanan in Southeast Bengal*. Dhaka University Press.
- Census of India, 1941* (Burma Edition).
- DK Chakma, *Partition and the Chakma*, 2012
- Diego De Astor, *Fourth Decade of Asia*, 1615
- Dr Suniti Bhushan Kanungo, Professor of History, University of Chittagong. *Chakma Resistance to British Domination 1772 - 1798*.
- Gordon T Bowles (1977), *The people of Asia*.
- Government of Bangladesh. *The District Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts*.
- Pamela Gutman (1976). *Ancient Arakan*. Australian National University Press.

http://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/11293/BG

<http://www.indianmirror.com/tribes/chakma-tribe.html>

<http://www.tripura.nic.in/>

<http://www.ttaadc.nic.in/council.htm>

John M'Cosh, *Topography of Assam*, 1837.

Lowis CC, *Tribes of Burma and Arakan*, 1850.

RC Majumdar (ed.) (2007). *The Mughul Empire*. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010

SP Talukder (1988). *The Chakmas: Life and Struggle*.

Samaren Roy, *Calcutta Society and Change 1690 – 1990*.

Saradindu Shekhar Chakma. *Ethnic Cleansing in Chittagong Hill Tracts*.

Saradindu Shekhar Chakma. *Ethnic Cleansing in Chittagong Hill Tracts*.

Sir Arthur P. Phayre, Chief Commissioner of Burma. *History of Burma*.

Sri Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Bengal* (Dhaka 1948).

Sugata Chakma. *Parbattya Chattagramer Upajati O Sangskriti*.

SP Talukdar (2010). *Genesis of Indigenous Chakma Buddhists and Their Pulverization Worldwide*. Kalpaz Publications.

The Weekly Kagoj, 9 May 1995.

CHAPTER 2: PARTITION AND THE POLITICS OF GEOPOLITICAL TRANSFER OF THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS 1947

DD Kosambi. *Ancient India*.

DK Chakma. *Partition and the Chakma*, 2012.

Dr Crispin Bates (2011-03-03). 'The Hidden Story of Partition and its Legacies'. BBC.

Bikach Kumar Choudhuri. *Genesis of Chakma Movement, 1991*.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_India-cite_ref-3#cite_ref-320th-century_international_relations_\(politics\):_South_Asia._Encyclopedia_Britannica](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_India-cite_ref-3#cite_ref-320th-century_international_relations_(politics):_South_Asia._Encyclopedia_Britannica).

Linguists Survey of India.

Gordon T Bowles (1977). *People of Asia*.

CE Lucas Philip 1971. *Raiders of Arakan*.

Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010.

'Sword For Pen', *Times*, 12 April 1937

SP Talukdar (2010). *Genesis of Indigenous Chakma Buddhists and Their Pulverization Worldwide*. Kalpaz Publications.

Tanya Basu (August 15, 2014). "The Fading Memory of South Asia's Partition". *The Atlantic*.

CHAPTER 3: POLITICS OF LANGUAGE 1952 - 1958

'30th Anniversary of Farakka Long March', *The Daily Star*, Dhaka.

A princess remembers: the memoirs of the Maharani of Jaipur.

Works Cited

- Administration Post. 'ZAB calls Iskander Mirza "Greater Than Jinnah"'. Indian Press News.
- Mushtaq Ahmad (1970). *Government and Politics in Pakistan*. United States: Space Publishers.
- Aklam Hussain and Sirajul Islam, (1997). *History of Bangladesh, 1704-1971*. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1997.
- Al Helal 2003.
- Ronald Aminzade; Douglas McAdam; Charles Tilly (17 September 2001). 'Emotions and Contentious Politics'. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 'Ayub Khan in US Country Studies'. US State Department.
- 'Bangla Academy'. *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*. Asiatic Society of Bangladesh. Retrieved 2007-07-05.
- 'Bangladesh History'. *Discovery Bangladesh*.
- Enamul Haq. 'Bhasani's Farakka Long March', *Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani*
- Brig A. R. Siddiqui. 'Army's top slot: the seniority factor' *Dawn*, 25 April 2004.
- Pranab Chatterjee (2010). *A Story of ambivalent modernization*. U.S.: Peter Lang Publications.
- Colonel (retired) Sherjeel Gaz Mehdi, Commanding Officer of the 5th Alpha Airborne Regiment, Special Service Group (SSG).
- Colonel M. Zaman Malik, Directorate-General for the Air war history of Pakistan Air Force.
- Conflict between India and Pakistan: an encyclopedia*. ABC-CLIO. 2008.
- Cooch Behar Government: Royal History: Book of Facts and Events*.
- Cooch Behar Princely State* (13 gun salute).
- 'Court route for language status', *The Telegraph*, May 20, 2008.
- Sherbaz Mazari. *Desi Stores Review - Pakistan: A journey to disillusionment*.
- Gayatri Devi (1996)
- Gayatri Devi (1996). *A princess remembers: the memoirs of the Maharani of Jaipur*, Rupa & Co.
- Farakka Day Today, *The Daily New Nation*, Dhaka
- 'Field Marshal Ayub Khan Becomes President [1962-1969]'. *Story of Pakistan, Part-1*.
- 'Find A Grave Memorial'. Retrieved 12 January 2012.
- Foreign Ministers of Pakistan.
- 'Gambhirjopurno Poribeshay Shaheed Dibosh Utjapon'. *Weekly Notun Khobor* (in Bengali). 26 February 1956.
- 'Gayatri Devi may contest polls from Cooch Behar', *The Statesman*, 12 June 1999.
- Om Gupta (2006). *Encyclopedia: India and Pakistan*. New Delhi: Ish Book Publications.
- Hussain Haqqani (2010-03-10). *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military*.
- Hassan PhD (Civil Engineering), Dr. Professor Mubashir (2000). *The Mirage of Power*. Ford University, United Kingdom: Dr. Professor Mubashir Hassan,

- professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Engineering and Technology and the Oxford University Press
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gayatri_Devi - cite_ref-9#cite_ref-9. By Manohar Malgonkar (1987). *The Last Maharani of Gwalior: An Autobiography*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Bhashani - cite_ref-6#cite_ref-6S. Akhtar Ehtisham (2008). *A Medical Doctor Examines Life on Three Continents, A Pakistani View*. Algora Publishing
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Bhashani - cite_ref-bpedia_1-0#cite_ref-bpedia_1-0 Enamul Haq, Bhasani, (Maulana) Abdul Hamid Khan, *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka.
- Humayun Mirza, *From Plassey to Pakistan: The Family History of Iskander Mirza*, 1999, Ferozsons, Lahore
- Rizwan Hussain (2005). *Pakistan and the emergence of Islamic militancy in Afghanistan*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- “‘I Had Shot My First Panther Before I Turned Thirteen’: Gayatri Devi turned 13 in 1932”. Outlook (magazine).
- Jahanara Imam (1986). *Ekattorer Dingulee* (in Bengali). Dhaka: Shondhani Prokashani.
- ‘International Mother Language Day - Background and Adoption of the Resolution’. Government of Bangladesh
- Iqbal Academy Pakistan. Pakistan ‘Lengthy Text of President Iskander Ali Mirza’s speech’.
- Syed Badrul Ahsan. *Iskandar Mirza, Ayub Khan, and October 1958*, The New Age, Bangladesh.
- Rafiqul Islam (2000). *Amar Ekushey O Shaheed Minar* (in Bengali). Dhaka: Poroma.
- Christophe Jaffrelot (2004). *A history of Pakistan and its origins*. Anthem Press. p. 69. ISBN 978-1-84331-149-2.
- Kabita Chowdhury (29 Dec 2011). ‘First Pakistan president’s Bengal home in a shambles’. *Times of India*.
- ‘Kal Tak – 25 May 2011 | Pakistan Politics’. Pkpolitics.com.
- Fariha Karim (31 July 2009). ‘Gayatri Devi: the last Maharani of Jaipur’. London: *The Times*.
- Karl J. Newman: *Pakistan under Ayub Khan, Bhutto und Zia-ul-Haq*.
- Sanjida Khan. ‘National Awards’. *Banglapedia. Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*.
- Hamza Alavi. *The army and the Bureaucracy in Pakistan*, International Socialist Journal, March - April 1966.
- Kamrudin Ahmed, *The Social History of East Pakistan*, Dhaka 1967.

CHAPTER 4: THE EMERGENCE OF MILITARY MIGHT IN WEST PAKISTAN 1957

- Khwaja Nazimuddin. *Story of Pakistan*. Retrieved 12 January 2012.
- Richard D. Lambert (April 1959). ‘Factors in Bengali Regionalism in Pakistan’. Far Eastern Survey.

Works Cited

- Bertil Lintner (January 2004). 'Chapter 17: Religious Extremism and Nationalism in Bangladesh'. In *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia* (PDF). Eds. Satu Limaye, Robert Wirsing, Mohan Malik. Honolulu, Hawaii: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.
- Safdar Mahmood Mahmood. (2008). *Pakistan: Ruling of Muslim League and Inception of Democracy*. Karachi, Sindh Province: Jang News Publications
- Colonel M Zaman Malik, PAF. 'An Insiders' View'. Pakistan Air Force's Directorate General for Air History.
- 'Martial Law Under Field Marshal Ayub Khan [1958-62]'. *Story of Pakistan*, Part-3.
- Colonel Sherjeel Gaz Mehdi. 'Operation Gibraltar'. *Defence Journal of Pakistan*.
- Barbara D Metcalf.; Metcalf, Thomas R. (2012), *A Concise History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press.
- Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (1976). Parliamentary Debates. Official Report (Honorary Speech by the Prime minister). Parliament of Pakistan, Capital Territory Zone: Parliament of Pakistan.
- Ministers of State of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan.
- Tim Moreman (2013). *The Jungle, Japanese and the British Commonwealth Armies at War, 1941-45: Fighting Methods, Doctrine and Training for Jungle Warfare*, Routledge.
- 'Muhammad Ayub Khan the Second President of Pakistan'. Pakistan Herald.com.
- 'Muhammad Ayub Khan'. Storyofpakistan.com.
- N.B.Nair (1990). *Politics in Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Northern Book Center.
- 'Ouster of President Iskander Mirza'. *Story of Pakistan*, part-II. PakistanHerald.com : 'Khawaja Nazimuddin'.
- Anton Pelinka (2003). *Democracy Indian Style: Subhas Chandra Bose and the Creation of India's Political Culture*.
- Press Release. 'Nurul Amin'. *Pakistan Herald*. 27 January 2012.
- Qudratullah Shahab (1998). *Shahab-nama*. Karachi, Pakistan: Jang Publications.
- Tariq Rahman (September 1997). 'Language and Ethnicity in Pakistan'. *Asian Survey*.
- 'Rajmata Gayatri Devi'. London: *The Telegraph*.
- Anubha Sahwney (2004). 'I've never felt beautiful: Gayatri Devi'. *The Times of India*.
- Burton Stein (2010). *A History of India*, John Wiley & Sons.
- 'Iskander Mirza Becomes Governor General [1955]'. *Story of Pakistan*.
- 'Iskander Mirza Becomes President [1955]'. *Story of Pakistan*.
- 'Iskander Mirza'. *Story of Pakistan Press Directorate. The Story of Pakistan* (Iskandar's life).
- 'Martial Law'. *Story of Pakistan* (Martial Law). Retrieved 2 February 2012.
- 'Ouster of President Iskander Mirza'. *Story of Pakistan* (Ouster of President Iskander Mirza Part-I).
- 'Ouster of President Iskander Mirza'. *Story of Pakistan* (Ouster of President Iskander Mirza Part-II).
- Syedur Rehman, Craig Baxter (2010). *Dictionary of Bangladesh*. Library of Congress: Scarecrow Publication.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- The Battle Royal - Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur. TIME.
The Official website of the Dhaka Nawab Family: Biographies.
Waynes Ayres Wilcox. The Pakistan Coup d'etat 1958.
Christopher S. Clapham and George D. E. Philip. The Political Dilemmas of Military Regimes (1985).
Kamal Zafar. *The rule of seniority*. Sunday 5 March 2006. *The Nation*.
'Whistle-Stopping Maharani'. TIME Magazine, 10 November 1961.
'Whistle-Stopping Maharani'. TIME.
Stanley Wolpert (2009). *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India*, Oxford University Press.
Stanley A. Wolpert (2000). *A New History of India*, Oxford University Press.
Lawrence Ziring (1997). *Pakistan in the twentieth century: a political history*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Ayub Khan. *Friends not Masters a Political Autography*, Oxford 1967.

CHAPTER 5: THE POLITICS OF DISPLACEMENT, KAPTAI DAM 1957 DEVELOPMENT THROUGH DISPLACEMENT

- <http://www.tandfonline.com>.
'The construction of the Kaptai dam uproots the indigenous population (1957-1963)'. 2011.
Dams Caused Environmental Refugees of Ethnic Minorities
Jum Cultivation and Environmental Degradation in CHT
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010
DK Chakma, *Partition and the Chakma*, 2012
SP Talukdar (2010). *Genesis of Indigenous Chakma Buddhists and Their Pulverization Worldwide*. Kalpaz Publications.
'Power Plants'. Bangladesh Power Development Board. March 2010.

CHAPTER 6: ELECTIONS OF 1965 PAKISTAN AND THE AFTERMATH

- '35 "accused" honoured'. *The Daily Star*. 16 February 2011.
'Agartala conspiracy case was not false'. BDNews24.com. 23 February 2011.
'Agartala Conspiracy Case'. *Banglapedia*.
Asoka Raina (April 1982). *Inside R. A. W.: Story of India's Secret Service*. Vikas Publishing House.
Syed Badrul Ahsan (February 2007). 'February 1969: Revisiting the Agartala Conspiracy Case'. *The Daily Star*.
<http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2011/02/23/agartala-conspiracy-case-was-not-false>
Presidential Elections
Six-point Programme, *Banglapedia*
'Textbook "incorrectly" describes Agartala Case: Shawkat'. *The Daily Star*. 12 June 2010.
The Windswept Wahini, Raja Tridiv Roy, 1972.

Works Cited

- They simply Belong*, Raja Tridiv Roy, 1972.
'Trouble with Mother'. *Time Magazine*. Friday, Dec. 25, 1964
Dr Dushka H Saiyid. *Women in Politics - Problems of Participation: A Case Study of Pakistan*

CHAPTER 7: CATALYST CYCLONE BHOLA IN 1970

- Disasters Emergency Committee. 'DEC Appeals and Evaluations'. Archived from the original on 2007-04-07.
UNICEF. 'Sixty Years For Children' (PDF). Archived from the original on 13 April 2007.
World Bank (2005). 'Cyclone Protection and Coastal Area Rehabilitation Project'. Archived from the original on 4 March 2007.
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010.
Gordon E Dunn. *Tropical Cyclone Problem of East Pakistan*. 28th November 1961. Report of the advisory Panel Pakistan, fourth Five year planning commission, 1970.
James Naughton (1970-11-17). 'Nixon Pledges \$10-Million Aid For Storm Victims in Pakistan'. *New York Times*.
Arnold Zeitlin (1970-11-20). 'Official E Pakistan Death Toll 148,116' (PDF). *Yuma Daily Sun*. Associated Press.
Staff writer (1970-11-20). 'US and British Helicopters Arrive to Aid Cyclone Area'. *New York Times* (Reuters).
Staff writer (1970-11-22). 'Pope to Visit Pakistan'. *New York Times*.
Richard Halloran (1970-11-29). 'Pakistan Storm Relief a Vast Problem'. *New York Times*.
Sydney Schanberg (1970-11-29). 'People Still Dying Because Of Inadequate Relief Job'. *New York Times*.
Staff writer (1970-12-02). 'Tokyo Increases Aid'. *New York Times*.
Staff writer (1970-12-02). 'World Bank Offers Plan to Reconstruct East Pakistan'. *New York Times*.
Arnold Zeitlin (1971-01-13). 'Pakistan Cyclone Relief Still Jumbled and Inadequate' (PDF). Long Beach Press-Telegram.
Sam Pope Brewer (1971-08-13). 'Thant Again Asks Aid To Pakistanis'. *New York Times*.
Choy Choi Kee (1999-11-07). 'Medical Mission to East Pakistan'. MINDEF.
Jin Technologies (2003-06-01). 'General Elections 1970'.
Richard Olson (2005-02-21). 'A Critical Juncture Analysis, 1964-2003' (PDF). USAID. Archived from the original on 14 April 2007.

CHAPTER 8: CALM BEFORE THE STORM

- Pakistan Press. 'General Elections 1970'. Pakistan Press. Story of Pakistan Foundation.
http://wn.com/Pakistani_general_election,_1970

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

<http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/ListPolParties.aspx>
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-22476589>
<http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=61861>
<http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2010/dec/09/archive-karachi-bhutto-vote-1970>

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12966786>
<https://pakistanpal.wordpress.com/tag/1970-election/>
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/534025/election-ary-election-in-1970-2/>
<http://tribune.com.pk/story/533518/election-ary-election-in-1970/>
<http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/52006-pakistan-election-results-former-pm-declares-victory/>

D Nohlen, F Grotz and C Hartmann (2001). *Elections in Asia: A data handbook*, Volume I.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1578688/Pakistan-elections-rigged-for-Musharrafs-allies.html>

Owen Bennett-Jones (2003). *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*. Yale University Press.

GW Choudhury (1974) *The last days of United Pakistan*.

<http://www.dawn.com/news/686541/1970-polls-when-election-results-created-a-storm>

<http://electionspakistan.blogspot.co.uk/p/1970-general-provincial-elections.html>

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3024655?sid=21106007066113&uid=3738032&uid=4&uid=2>

<http://storyofpakistan.com/the-separation-of-east-pakistan/>

<http://historypak.com/elections-of-1970/>

CHAPTER 9: 1971 MARCH TO DECEMBER

<http://www.dawn.com/news/1067574>

http://www.academia.edu/4244453/Institutional_Influence_in_Pakistan_Bureaucracy_Cabinet_and_Parliament

<http://asiantribune.com/node/62553>

http://www.academia.edu/8401409/Role_of_tribal_leaders_of_CHT_in_the_Liberation_War_of_Bangladesh

<http://www.defencejournal.com/sept98/wayitwas2.html>

Jagjit Singh Aurora. 'The Fall of Dacca'. In *The Illustrated Weekly of India* dated 23 December 1973, quoted in *Indian Army after Independence* by KC Pravel.

'54 Indian PoWs of 1971 war still in Pakistan'. *Daily Times*. 19 January 2005.

Col S.P. Salunke. *Figure from Pakistani Prisoners of War in India*. p.10 quoted in *Indian Army after Independence* by KC Pravel: Lancer 1988.

'Bangladesh Islamist leader Ghulam Azam charged'. BBC. 13 May 2012.

Encyclopaedia of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Historical Dictionary of Bangladesh,

Peter Moss (2005). *Secondary Social Studies For Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Works Cited

- Samuel, Paul Robert Bartrop, Steven L Jacobs. *Dictionary of Genocide: A-L*. Volume 1: Greenwood.
- Guinness World Records (2006). Guinness World Records 2007. London: Guinness World Records Ltd. pp.
- <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/08/27/how-ted-kennedy-helped-create-bangladesh/>
- <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2014/12/08/bhutan-first-nation-to-recognise-bangladesh-says-foreign-secretary>
- 'Britain Proposes Indian Partition'. Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada: The Leader-Post. BUP. 2 June 1947.
- Preston Grover (8 June 1947). 'India Partition Will Present Many Problems'. Sarasota, Florida, USA: Herald-Tribune.
- 'Problems of Partition'. *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney, Australia). 14 June 1947.
- Genocide in Bangladesh, 1971*. 'Gendercide Watch'. Gendercide.org. Archived from the original on 26 July 2011.
- 'Emerging Discontent, 1966-70. "Country Studies Bangladesh"'. Countrystudies.us. Archived from the original on 22 June 2011.
- S Bose. *Anatomy of Violence: Analysis of Civil War in East Pakistan in 1971: Military Action: Operation Searchlight*. Economic and Political Weekly Special Articles.
- Sydney Schanberg. 'The Pakistani Slaughter That Nixon Ignored, Syndicated Column'. *The New York Times*.
- 'Civil War Rocks East Pakistan'. Daytona Beach, Florida, USA: Daytona Beach Morning Journal, via Google News. Associated Press. 27 March 1971.
- Crisis in South Asia – A report by Senator Edward Kennedy to the Subcommittee investigating the Problem of Refugees and Their Settlement, Submitted to U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, 1 November 1971, U.S. Govt.
- 'India and Pakistan: Over the Edge'. TIME 13 December 1971 Vol. 98 No. 24. Time. 13 December 1971.
- Al Helal, Bashir, Language Movement, *Banglapedia*.
- 'International Mother Language Day – Background and Adoption of the Resolution'. Government of Bangladesh.
- <https://www.soas.ac.uk/languagecentre/languages/bengali/>
- 'Library of Congress studies'. Memory.loc.gov. 1 July 1947.
- Demons of December – Road from East Pakistan to Bangladesh'. Defencejournal.com.
- Rounaq Jahan (1972). *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*. Columbia University Press.
- Khalid B Sayeed (1967). *The Political System of Pakistan*. Houghton Mifflin. p. 61.
- Hassan, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Dr. Professor Mubashir (May 2000). '§Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: All Power to People! Democracy and Socialism to People!'.
The Mirage of Power. Oxford University, United Kingdom: Dr. Professor Mubashir Hassan, professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Engineering and Technology and the Oxford University Press.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- India Meteorological Department (1970). 'Annual Summary – Storms & Depressions'
- MM Kabir, BC Saha and JMA Hye, 'Cyclonic Storm Surge Modelling for Design of Coastal Polder'.
- Sydney Schanberg (22 November 1970). 'Yahya Concedes "Slips" In Relief'. *The New York Times*.
- Staff writer (23 November 1970). 'East Pakistani Leaders Assail Yahya on Cyclone Relief'. *The New York Times*. Reuters.
- Staff writer (18 November 1970). 'Copter Shortage Balks Cyclone Aid'. *The New York Times*.
- Tillman Durdin (11 March 1971). 'Pakistani Crisis Virtually Halts Rehabilitation Work in Cyclone Region'. *The New York Times*.
- Richard Olson (21 February 2005). 'A Critical Juncture Analysis, 1964–2003' (PDF). USAID.
- Siddiq, Salik. *Witness To Surrender*, p. 63.
- Asif Siddiqui. 'From Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy to War – The 1971 Crisis in South Asia'. *Journal of International and Area Studies*
- Matthew, White. *Death Tolls for the Major Wars and Atrocities of the Twentieth Century*
- Zunaid Kazi. 'History : The Bangali Genocide, 1971'. *Virtual Bangladesh*.
- Rudolph Rummel. 'Chapter 8: Statistics of Pakistan's Democide Estimates, Calculations, And Sources'. *Statistics of Democide: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900*. p. 544
- Debasish Roy Chowdhury (23 June 2005). 'Indians are bastards anyway'. *Asia Times Online*.
- Amita Malik (1972). *The Year of the Vulture*. New Delhi: Orient Longmans. pp. 79–83.
- 'Bangladesh war: The article that changed history', BBC, 16 December 2011.
- 'The Hindu genocide that Hindus and the world forgot'. India Tribune.
- Encyclopædia Britannica* – 'Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan'.
- Shirin R. Tahir-Kheli. *M1 India, Pakistan, and the United States: Breaking with the Past*.
- Pakistan Defence Journal, 1977, Vol 2.
- 'Bangladesh'. State.gov. 24 May 2010.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca*, p.90 – p.91.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca*, p.42 – p.44, p.90 – p.91.
- Moyeedul Hassan. *Muldhara* 71, p.45 – p.46.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*. p. 227, 235.
- Maj Gen KM Shafiullah. *Bangladesh at War*, p.161 – p.163
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*, p. 226–231.
- Bangladesh Liberation Armed Force, Liberation War Museum, Bangladesh.
- Dewan Mohammad Tasawwar Raja. *O GENERAL MY GENERAL* (Life and Works of General M. A. G. Osmani).
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob *Surrender at Dacca*, p.44.
- Moyeedul Hassan. *Muldhara* 71, p. 44.
- Ali, Maj Gen Rao Farman, *How Pakistan Got Divided*, p. 100

Works Cited

- Hassan, Moyeedul, Muldhara 71, p. 64 – 65
- Maj Gen Fazal Mukeem Khan. *Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership*, p.125.
- Rao Farman Ali. *When Pakistan Got Divided*, p. 100
- Lt Gen AAK Niazi. *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*, p. 96.
- Mihir, K Roy (1995). *War in the Indian Ocean*. 56, Gautaum Nagar, New-Delhi.
- Mir Mustak Ahmed Robi (2008). *Chetonai Ekattor*. 38, Bangla Bazar (2nd Floor),
Dacca-1100, Bangladesh: Zonaki Publisher. p. 69.
- India-Pakistan War, 1971*. Introduction By Tom Cooper, with Khan Syed Shaiz Ali'.
- 'India and Pakistan: Over the Edge'. Time. 13 December 1971.
- 'Bangladesh: Out of War, a Nation Is Born'. Time. 20 December 1971.
- Maj KC Praval. *Indian Army after Independence*. 1993 Lancer
[http://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/independence-day-special-2015/
submariners-heroism-and-the-first-military-response-france](http://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/independence-day-special-2015/submariners-heroism-and-the-first-military-response-france)
- 'The 1971 war'. BBC News.
- Section 9. Situation in the Indian Subcontinent, 2. Bangladesh's international position – Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
- 'Guess who's coming to dinner?' Naeem Bangali
Bangladesh: Unfinished Justice for the crimes of 1971 – South Asia Citizens Web'. Sacw.net.
- 'The Simla Agreement 1972 – Story of Pakistan'.
Storyofpakistan.com. 1 June 2003.
- 'India's Strategic Blunders in the 1971 War'. www.rediff.com.
- 'Defencejournal'. Defencejournal.
- Redefining security imperatives by M Sharif.
- General Niazi's Failure in High Command'. Ghazali.net. 21 August 2000.
- Many of the eyewitness accounts of relations that were picked up by "Al Badr" forces describe them as Bengali men. The only survivor of the Rayerbazar killings describes the captors and killers of Bengali professionals as fellow Bengalis. Asadullah Khan. 'The loss continues to haunt us', in *The Daily Star*, 14 December 2005.
- 'Slain in Dacca Area, Believed Elite of Bengal'. *The New York Times* (New York, NY, USA). 19 December 1971.
- 'DPA report Mass grave found in Bangladesh' in *The Chandigarh Tribune*, 8 August 1999
- Sajit Gandhi The Tilt: The US and the South Asian Crisis of 1971 National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 79
- 'Bengali Wives Raped in War Are Said to Face Ostracism' (PDF). *The New York Times*. 8 January 1972.
- Aubrey Menen (23 July 1972). 'The Rapes of Bangladesh'.
- Anthony Astrachan (22 March 1972). 'U.N. Asked to Aid Bengali Abortions' (PDF). *The Washington Post*.
- 'East Pakistan: Even the Skies Weep', *Time*, 25 October 1971.
- US Consulate (Dacca) Cable, Sitrep: Army Terror Campaign Continues in Dacca; Evidence Military Faces Some Difficulties Elsewhere.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- Sumit Sen (1999). 'Stateless Refugees and the Right to Return: the Bihari Refugees of South Asia, Part 1' (PDF). *International Journal of Refugee Law* 11 (4): 625-645.
- Sajit Gandhi ed. (16 December 2002), *The Tilt: The U.S. and the South Asian Crisis of 1971: National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 79*.
- US Consulate in Dacca (27 March 1971), Selective genocide, Cable (PDF).
- Editorial 'The Jamaat Talks Back' in *The Bangladesh Observer* 30 December 2005.
- Dr N Rabbee 'Remembering a Martyr' *Star weekend Magazine, The Daily Star* 16 December 2005
- <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/04/28/bernard-henri-levy-andre-malraux-s-bangladesh-before-the-radicals.html>
- http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=212838:andre-malraux-a-true-friend-of-bangladesh&catid=182:city-life&Itemid=220
- 'The Recognition Story'. Bangladesh Strategic and Development Forum. Archived from the original on 25 July 2011.
- Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's farewell speech to the United Nations Security Council - Wikisource'. En.wikisource.org
- <http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2014/dec/08/bhutan-recognised-bangladesh-first>
- 'Nixon and Pakistan: An Unpopular Alliance'. Miami, Florida, USA: *The Miami News*.
- Stephen R. Shalom. *The Men Behind Yahya in the Indo-Pak War of 1971*.
- Paul Scott (21 December 1971). 'Naval "Show of Force" By Nixon Meant as Blunt Warning to India'. *Bangor Daily News*.
- India's Borderland Disputes: China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal*, by Anna Orton
- http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/29/books/review/the-blood-telegram-by-gary-j-bass.html?_r=0
- 'USSR, Czechoslovakia Recognize Bangladesh'. Sumter, South Carolina, USA: *The Sumter Daily Item*.
- 'Nixon Hopes for Subcontinent Peace'. Spartanburg, South Carolina, USA: Herald-Journal
- 'China Recognizes Bangladesh'. Oxnard, California, USA: The Press Courier.
- 'China Veto Downs Bangladesh UN Entry'. Montreal, Quebec, Canada: The Montreal Gazette, United Press International. 26 August 1972.
- Barbara D Metcalf; Thomas R. Metcalf (2006). *A Concise History of India* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- PV Kate. *Marathwada Under the Nizams, 1724-1948*, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1987.
- Karen Leonard (May 1971). 'The Hyderabad Political System and its Participants' (PDF). *Journal of Asian Studies* XXX (3)
- Copland, "'Communalism" in Princely India, Roosa', 'Quadary of the Qaum' cited in Sherman 'Integration of Princely States' (2007)
- PV Kate. *Marathwada Under the Nizams, 1724-1948*, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1987.

Works Cited

- Noorani 2014, pp. 213-4.
- Venkateshwarlu. 'Destructive merger'. *Frontline* (September 19, 2014).
- Taylor C Sherman (2007). 'The integration of the princely state of Hyderabad and the making of the postcolonial state in India, 1948 - 56' (PDF). *Indian economic & social history review* 44 (4).
- 'The Hyderabad Question' (PDF). United Nations.
- Dr SN Prasad (1972). *Operation Polo: The Police Action Against Hyderabad, 1948*. Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, Government of India; distributors: Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi. p. 75.
- 'When the Indian Army liberated thousands'. *The Hindu* (Chennai, India). 14 September 2005.
- Autocracy to Integration by Lucien D Benichou, Orient Longman (2000),
- 'When the Indian Army liberated thousands'. *The Hindu*. 14 Sep 2005.
- PR Rao 'History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh'.
- Jawaharlal Nehru. Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House. 2007.
- PV Kate. *Marathwada Under the Nizams, 1724-1948*, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1987.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of a Nation*.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of A Nation*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender At Dacca: The Birth of A Nation*.
- 'Operation Jackpot'. *Banglapedia*.
- Sezan Mahmud. 'Operation Jackpot'. *Mukhobondho*.
- Major Rafiqul Bir Uttam Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- Maj. Gen. K. M. Bir Uttam Shafiullah. *Bangladesh at War*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of A Nation*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of A Nation*.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- Maj Gen KM Bir Uttam Shafiullah. *Bangladesh at War*.
- Major Rafiqul Bir Uttam Islam. *Tale of Millions*.
- Major Rafiqul Bir Uttam Islam. *Tale of Millions*.
- Brigadier Siddiq Salik. *Witness To Surrender*.
- Maj Gen Rao Farman Ali. *When Pakistan Got Divided*.
- Lt Gen AAK. Niazi. *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*.
- Major Rafiqul Islam, PSc. *Muktijuddher Itihas*.
- Sezan Mahmud. *Operation Jackpot*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of A Nation*.
- Moyeedul Hasan *Muldhara 71*.
- Maj Gen KM Shafiullah. *Bangladesh at War*.
- Md. Khalilur Rahman. *Muktijuddhay Nou-Abhijan*.
- Maj Gen Rao Farman Ali. *When Pakistan Got Divided*.
- Sezan Mahmud. *Muktijuddher Rachana Shomogra*.
- Md. Khalilur Rahman. *Muktijuddhay Nou-Abhijan*.
- Col Md Shafique Ullah, *Muktijuddhay Nou-Commando*.

- Mihir K Roy (1995). *War in the Indian Ocean*. 56 Gautam Nagar, New-Delhi 110049, India: Lancer Publisher & Distributor.
- Vice Admiral Mihir K. Ray. *War in the Indian Ocean* 'Chapter 6: Asia'. The Military Balance (2015 ed.). International Institute for Strategic Studies. 17 February 2015
<http://www.banglachic.com/ekattore-uttar-ronangon-p7217.html>
- Ministry of Defense Gazette Notification No.8/25/D-1/72-1378, Dated 15 December 1973
- Capt Akram Ahmed. 'YOUTUBE INTERVIEW WITH CAPTAIN AKRAM'.
Capt Shahabuddin Ahmed. 'YOUTUBE INTERVIEW WITH CAPTAIN Shahab'.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indo-Tibetan_Border_Police_-_cite_note-5#cite_note-5
<http://itbpolice.nic.in/itbpwebsite/aboutdg.html>
- 'The Indo-Tibetan border police force act, 1992 act no. 35 of 1992' (PDF). Government of India
- 'History and role of itbp'. ITBP. ITBP.
- Sundar, S (February 25, 2013). 'Indo-Tibetan Border Police to raise 9 more battalions'. Hindu.
<http://archive.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/us-fleet-in-bay-of-bengal-a-game-of-deception/>
<http://www.indiatvnews.com/news/india/special-frontier-force-india-s-secret-army-of-tibetans--33984.html>
<http://www.rediff.com/news/slide-show/slide-show-1-a-war-which-was-not-theirs/20120110.htm>

CHAPTER 10: RAJA IN WEST PAKISTAN AND UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- 'Simla Agreement'. Bilateral/Multilateral Documents. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.
- 'Indo-Pak Shimla Agreement: 40 years later'. IANS. IBN Live, CNN IBN. 2 July 2012.
- Relevance of Simla Agreement'. Editorial Series. Khan Study Group.
- Kapur, Shekhar (Narrator) (September 21, 2013). '1971 Indo-Pak War'. Pradhanmantri.
- ABP News.<http://www.newsbullet.in/video/india/45558-watch-pradhanmantri-episode-11-about-1971-indo-pak-war>.
- Press Trust of India (22 January 2013). 'India spikes Pak call for third party mediation, says Simla Agreement tops all agendas'. Indian Express.
- Mark Cutts; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2000). *The State of the World's Refugees, 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*.
- Sukhwant Singh (19 July 2009). *India's Wars Since Independence*.
- The office of the Foreign Minister, Government of Bangladesh. 'The text of the Tripartite agreement at Delhi'. Virtualbangladesh.
- Levie, Howard S. 'The Indo-Pakistani Agreement of August 28, 1973'.

Works Cited

- 'Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees'. UNCHR. UNCHR.
Stanley Walpert (1993). *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: his life and times*. Oxford University Press.
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010
<http://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/27>
<http://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/26>

CHAPTER 11: RAJA AMBASSADOR AT LARGE

- NewsLibrary.com - newspaper archive, clipping service - newspapers and other news sources
Ministry of Science and Technology - Government of Pakistan
Daily Times - Leading News Resource of Pakistan
Pakistan, argentina sign deal on trade cooperation.
la embajada de pakistan celebros sus 60 años en la argentina
Agencia Islamica de Notas (Spanish) Pakistán celebró su día nacional en Buenos Aires con un show cultural de trajes típicos
Section Politica, Noticias de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires (Spanish) Pakistán celebró su día nacional en Buenos Aires
Pakistan Park re-launched at Buenos Aires
Plaza 'República de Pakistán' (Spanish)
Pakistan Park re-launched at Buenos Aires
Times - Leading News Resource of Pakistan
<http://www.commerce.gov.pk/news/read.asp?newsID=72>
'Argentina to collaborate in Pakistan's livestock sector' | webnewswire.com
'Argentina to collaborate in Pak livestock sector' | Pakistan | News | Newspaper

CHAPTER 12: CONCLUSION : END OF AN ERA

- <http://asiantribune.com/node/62553>
http://www.academia.edu/8401409/Role_of_tribal_leaders_of_CHT_in_the_Liberation_War_of_Bangladesh
<http://www.dawn.com/news/1067574/dawn-opinion-march-31-2005>
http://www.academia.edu/4244453/Institutional_Influence_in_Pakistan_Bureaucracy_Cabinet_and_Parliament
<http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=251213>

ANNEXURE I: HISTORY OF BENGAL

- Online.wsj.com. Retrieved 2013-08-28.
'A versatile genius', *Frontline* 21 (24), 2004.
A. K. Sen (1997). 'Sir J.C. Bose and radio science', *Microwave Symposium Digest 2*
Abdul Momin Chowdhury (1967) *Dynastic History of Bengal, c. 750-1200 A.D.*,
Dacca: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1967

- Abdul Momin Chowdhury (1967). *Dynastic history of Bengal, c. 750-1200 CE*. Asiatic Society of Pakistan.
- Amiya Sen (1993). *Hindu Revivalism in Bengal 1872-1905: Some Essays in Interpretation*. Oxford University Press.
- Ancient Indian History and Civilization* by Sailendra Nath Sen
- Aparna Bhargava Dharwadker (1 November 2005). *Theatres of Independence: Drama, Theory, and Urban Performance in India since 1947*. University of Iowa Press.
- Banglapedia – 'Kantanagar Temple'
- G Bharadwaj (2003). 'The Ancient Period'. In Majumdar, R.C. *History of Bengal*. B.R. Publishing Corp.
- Bindeshwari Prasad Sinha (1 January 1977). *Dynastic History of Magadha, Cir. 450-1200 A.D.* Abhinav Publications
- Biographical encyclopedia of Sufis* by N. Hanif.
- P Bowbrick 'Statistics you can use to check Amartya Sen's calculations in Poverty and Famines'
- Morgan Brennan and Michelle Cerone. 'In Pictures: 15 Lost Cities of the World'. Forbes.com.
- Brooks Adams. *The Laws of Civilizations and Decay. An Essays on History*, New York, 1898
- Santimay Chatterjee and Enakshi Chatterjee. *Satyendranath Bose*, 2002 National Book Trust.
- Peter Bernard Clarke (2006). *New Religions in Global Perspective*. Routledge.
- Dineshchandra Sircar (1975-76). 'Indological Notes - R.C. Majumdar's Chronology of the Pala Kings'
- Encyclopaedia Of Bangladesh (Set Of 30 Vols.) By Nagendra Kr. Singh
- Encyclopaedia of North-East India* by T. Raatan
- Famine Inquiry Commission (1945); Braund (1944); Pinnell (1944); Bowbrick (1986, 1987, 2011)
- Famine Inquiry Commission 1945a; Pinnell, 1944; Braund, 1944
- Famine Inquiry Commission, Report on Bengal (1945), p.54-55
- Feuerstein Georg (2002). *The Yoga Tradition*. Motilal Banarsidass.
- Ghosh, *Paschimbaner Sanskriti*
- Heaven, Will (July 28, 2010), The history of British India will serve David Cameron well – as long as he doesn't go on about it, London
- 'Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat'. unesco.org.
- History of Ancient Bengal*
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bengal - cite_ref-congress_2-0#cite_ref-congress_2-0 James Heitzman and Robert L. Worden, ed. (1989). 'Early History, 1000 B. C.-A. D. 1202'. Bangladesh: A country study
- <http://orissa.gov.in/e-magazine/orissaannualreference/OR-Annual-2009/pdf/35-36.pdf>
- <http://www.paxgaea.com/HRBangladesh.html>
- Iftekhar Iqbal (2010). *The Bengal Delta: Ecology, State and Social Change, 1840-1943*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies, Palgrave Macmillan.

Works Cited

- Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908–1931).
- India: A History* by John Keay
- Indian Famine Crises p. 183
- Lawrence James (2000), *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, Macmillan Journey plus – Dinajpur.
- Kumkum Chatterjee, *Merchants, Politics and Society in Early Modern India: Bihar: 1733-1820*
- Land of Two Rivers* by Nitish Sengupta
- Land of Two Rivers: A History of Bengal from the Mahabharata to Mujib* by Nitish K. Sengupta.
- Mikey Leung and Meggitt, Belinda (1 November 2009). *Bangladesh. Bradt Travel Guides.*
- Lisa Lowe; David Lloyd (27 October 1997). *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital.* Duke University Press
- M Mufakharul Isla (2007). *Bengal Agriculture 1920-1946: A Quantitative Study*, Cambridge South Asian Studies, Cambridge University Press
- M Mufakharul Islam (2004). *Socio-Economic History of Bangladesh: essays in memory of Professor Shafiqur Rahman*, 1st Edition, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh
- Majumdar, R.C. *The History of Bengal*
- Meghna Guhathakurta & Willem van Schendel (2013) *The Bangladesh Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (The World Readers), Duke University Press Books.
- Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar, 'Itihas O Aitihāsik', *Bangla Academy*, Dhaka, 1995
- Indrajit Ray (2011). *Bengal Industries and the British Industrial Revolution (1757-1857)*. Routledge.
- Indrajit Ray (2011). *Bengal Industries and the British Industrial Revolution*. Routledge.
- Riyazu-S-Salātīn, A History of Bengal, Ghulam Husain Salim, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1902.
- Niharranjan Roy (1993). *Bangalir Itihas: Adiparba* Calcutta.
- Gulam Hussain Salim and Abdus Salam (1902). *Riyazu-s-Salatin: History of Bengal*. Asiatic Society, Baptist Mission Press.
- Sebanti Sarkar (28 March 2008). 'History of Bengal just got a lot older' (jsp). *The Daily Telegraph* (Kolkata: The Telegraph).
- Shamsuddin Ahmed, 'Iltutmish', *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka
- Sirajul Islam (1997) *History of Bangladesh 1704-1971*. The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.
- Sirajul Islam (2003), *Banglapedia: A National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*. (10 Vols. Set), (written by 1300 scholars & 22 editors) The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh
- Sushil Chaudhury, *From Prosperity to Decline: Eighteenth Century Bengal*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1999.

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

... of the ...

Bibliography

- '35 "accused" honoured'. *The Daily Star*. 16 February 2011
- "Agartala conspiracy case was not false". *BDNews24.com*. 23 February 2011.
- 'Britain Proposes Indian Partition'. Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada: *The Leader-Post*. BUP. 2 June 1947.
- 'Civil War Rocks East Pakistan'. Daytona Beach, Florida, USA: *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, via Google News. Associated Press. 27 March 1971.
- 'History and role of ITBP'. ITBP. ITBP.
- 'India and Pakistan: Over the Edge'. *Time*. 13 December 1971.
- 'International Mother Language Day – Background and Adoption of the Resolution'. Government of Bangladesh.
- 'Library of Congress studies'. *Memory.loc.gov*. 1 July 1947.
- 'Operation Jackpot'. *Banglapedia*.
- 'Power Plants'. Bangladesh Power Development Board. March 2010.
- 'Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees'. UNCHR. UNCHR.
- 'The construction of the Kaptai dam uproots the indigenous population (1957-1963)'. 2011.
- 'The Hyderabad Question' (PDF). United Nations.
- 'THE INDO-TIBETAN BORDER POLICE FORCE ACT, 1992 ACT No. 35 OF 1992' (PDF). Government of India
- 'When the Indian Army liberated thousands'. *The Hindu* (Chennai, India). 14 September 2005.
- 'When the Indian Army liberated thousands'. *The Hindu*. 14 Sep 2005.
<http://asiantribune.com/node/62553>
- 30th Anniversary of Farakka Long March *The Daily Star*, Dhaka,
- 54 Indian PoWs of 1971 war still in Pakistan'. *Daily Times*. 19 January 2005.
- A princess remembers: the memoirs of the Maharani of Jaipur*.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- A versatile genius, *Frontline* 21 (24), 2004.

- A. K. Sen (1997). 'Sir J.C. Bose and radio science', Microwave Symposium Digest 2
- Abdul Karim. History of Bengal (rajsahi 1992)
- Abdul Momin Chowdhury (1967) Dynastic History of Bengal, c. 750-1200 A.D. Dacca: The Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1967
- Abdul Momin Chowdhury (1967). Dynastic history of Bengal, c. 750-1200 CE. Asiatic Society of Pakistan.
- ABP News. <http://www.newsbullet.in/video/india/45558-watch-pradhanmantri-episode-11-about-1971-indo-pak-war>.
- Administration Post. 'ZAB calls Iskander Mirza 'Greater Than Jinnah''. Indian Press News.
- Agartala Conspiracy Case'. *Banglapedia*
- Agencia Islamica de Notas (Spanish) Pakistán celebró su día nacional en Buenos Aires con un show cultural de trajes típicos
- Mushtaq Ahmad (1970). Government and politics in Pakistan. United States: Space Publishers
- Capt Akram Ahmed. 'YOUTUBE INTERVIEW WITH CAPTAIN AKRAM'.
- Capt Shahabuddin Ahmed. 'YOUTUBE INTERVIEW WITH CAPTAIN Shahab'.
- Sirajul Islam Aklam Hussain (1997). History of Bangladesh, 1704-1971. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1997.
- Al Helal 2003.
- Al Helal, Bashir, Language Movement, *Banglapedia*
- Maj Gen Rao Farman Ali. *How Pakistan Got Divided*, p. 100
- Maj Gen Rao Farman Ali. *How Pakistan Got Divided*.
- Maj Gen Rao Farman Ali. *How Pakistan Got Divided*.
- Maj Gen Rao Farman Ali. *How Pakistan Got Divided*, p 100.
- Ronald Aminzade; Douglas McAdam; Charles Tilly (17 September 2001). 'Emotions and Contentious Politics'. *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Amiya Sen (1993). *Hindu Revivalism in Bengal 1872-1905: Some Essays in Interpretation*. Oxford University Press.
- Anatomy of Violence: Analysis of Civil War in East Pakistan in 1971: Military Action: Operation Searchlight* Bose S Economic and Political Weekly Special Articles
- Ancient India* by DD Kosambi.
- Ancient Indian History and Civilization* by Sailendra Nath Sen
- Aparna Bhargava Dharwadker (1 November 2005). *Theatres of Independence: Drama, Theory, and Urban Performance in India since 1947*. University of Iowa Press.
- Argentina to collaborate in Pak livestock sector | Pakistan | News | Newspaper
- Argentina to collaborate in Pakistan's livestock sector | webnewswire.com
- Asadullah Khan, The loss continues to haunt us in The Daily Star 14 December 2005
- Asoka Raina (April 1982). *Inside R. A. W.: Story of India's Secret Service*. Vikas Publishing House
- Astrachan, Anthony (22 March 1972). 'U.N. Asked to Aid Bengali Abortions' (PDF). The Washington Post.

Bibliography

- Autocracy to Integration, Lucien D Benichou, Orient Longman (2000).
- Ayub Khan in US Country Studies'. US State Department
- Ayub Khan, Friends not Masters a Political Autography, Oxford 1967.
- Badrul Ahsan, Syed (February 2007). 'February 1969: Revisiting the Agartala Conspiracy Case'. The Daily Star
- Bangla Academy'. *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*. Asiatic Society of Bangladesh. Retrieved 2007-07-05.
- Bangladesh at War, Shafiullah, Maj. Gen. K. M. Bir Uttam,
- Bangladesh at War, Shafiullah, Maj. Gen. K. M. Bir Uttam,
- Bangladesh History'. *Discovery Bangladesh*.
- Bangladesh Islamist leader Ghulam Azam charged'. BBC. 13 May 2012.
- Bangladesh Liberation Armed Force, Liberation War Museum, Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh war: The article that changed history', BBC, 16 December 2011
- Bangladesh'. State.gov. 24 May 2010.
- Bangladesh: Out of War, a Nation Is Born'. *Time*. 20 December 1971.
- Bangladesh: Unfinished Justice for the crimes of 1971 – South Asia Citizens Web'. Sacw.net.
- Banglapedia – 'Kantanagar Temple'
- Barbara D. Metcalf; Thomas R. Metcalf (2006). *A Concise History of India* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Bengali Wives Raped in War Are Said to Face Ostracism' (PDF). *The New York Times*. 8 January 1972.
- Bharadwaj, G (2003). 'The Ancient Period'. In Majumdar, R.C. *History of Bengal*. B.R. Publishing Corp
- Bhasani's Farakka Long March Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani by Enamul Haq.
- Bindeshwari Prasad Sinha (1 January 1977). *Dynastic History of Magadha, Cir. 450-1200 A.D.*. Abhinav Publications
- Biographical encyclopedia of Sufis By N. Hanif.
- Biraj Mohan Dewan. *Chakma Jatir Itibritto*.
- Bowbrick, P. 'Statistics you can use to check Amartya Sen's calculations in Poverty and Famines'
- Brace, Steve. *Bangladesh*. New York: Thomson Learning, 1995.
- Brennan, Morgan; Cerone, Michelle. 'In Pictures: 15 Lost Cities of the World'. *Forbes.com*.
- Brewer, Sam Pope (1971-08-13). 'Thant Again Asks Aid To Pakistanis'. *New York Times*.
- Brig A. R. Siddiqui. 'Army's top slot: the seniority factor' *Dawn*, 25 April 2004.
- Brooks Adams, *The Laws of Civilizations and Decay. An Essays on History*, New York, 1898
- bStaff writer (1970-12-02). 'World Bank Offers Plan to Reconstruct East Pakistan'. *New York Times*.
- Buchanan, Francis (1992). *Francis Buchanan in Southeast Bengal*. Dhaka University Press.
- Catalyst Cyclone Bhola in 1970 –Chapter 7.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- Census of India 1941 (Burma Edition).
- Chakma, Sugata. 'Chakma Culture.' *Folklore* (The Journal of the Folklore Research Institute, Bangladesh) 7 (January): 1982.
- Chapter 6: Asia'. *The Military Balance* (2015 ed.). International Institute for Strategic Studies. 17 February 2015
- Chatterjee, Pranab (2010). *A Story of ambivalent modernization*. U.S.: Peter Lang Publications.
- Chatterjee, Santimay and Chatterjee, Enakshi, Satyendranath Bose, 2002 National Book Trust.
- China Recognizes Bangladesh'. Oxnard, California, USA: The Press Courier.
- China Veto Downs Bangladesh UN Entry'. Montreal, Quebec, Canada: The Montreal Gazette, United Press International. 26 August 1972.
- Choy Choi Kee (1999-11-07). 'Medical Mission to East Pakistan'. MINDEF.
- Clarke, Peter Bernard (2006). *New Religions in Global Perspective*. Routledge.
- Colonel (retired) Sherjeel Gaz Mehdi, Commanding Officer of the 5th Alpha Airborne Regiment, Special Service Group (SSG).
- Colonel M. Zaman Malik, Directorate-General for the Air war history of Pakistan Air Force.
- Conflict between India and Pakistan: an encyclopedia. ABC-CLIO. 2008.
- Cooch Behar Government: Royal History : Book of Facts and Events.
- Cooch Behar Princely State (13 gun salute).
- Copland, 'Communalism' in Princely India, Roosa, 'Quadary of the Qaum' cited in Sherman 'Integration of Princely States' (2007)
- Court route for language status, The Telegraph, May 20, 2008.
- Crisis in South Asia – A report by Senator Edward Kennedy to the Subcommittee investigating the Problem of Refugees and Their Settlement, Submitted to U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, 1 November 1971, U.S. Govt.
- DK Chakma, *Partition and the Chakma*, 2012
- DK Chakma, *Partition and the Chakma*, 2012
- DK Chakma, *Partition and the Chakma*, 2012.
- Daily Times* - Leading News Resource of Pakistan
- Dams Caused Environmental Refugees of Ethnic Minorities
- Debasish Roy Chowdhury (23 June 2005). 'Indians are bastards anyway'. *Asia Times Online*.
- Defencejournal'. *Defencejournal*.
- Demons of December – Road from East Pakistan to Bangladesh'. *Defencejournal.com*.
- Desi Stores Review - Pakistan: A journey to disillusionment. by Sherbaz Mazari Devi, Gayatri (1996)
- Devi, Gayatri (1996), *A princess remembers: the memoirs of the Maharani of Jaipur*, Rupa & Co.
- Diego De Astor, *Fouth Decade of Asia*, 1615
- Dineshchandra Sircar (1975-76). 'Indological Notes - R.C. Majumdar's Chronology of the Pala Kings'

Bibliography

- Disasters Emergency Committee. 'DEC Appeals and Evaluations'. Archived from the original on 2007-04-07.
- DPA report Mass grave found in Bangladesh in The Chandigarh Tribune 8 August 1999
- Dr Crispin Bates (2011-03-03). 'The Hidden Story of Partition and its Legacies. BBC.
- Dr. N. Rabbee 'Remembering a Martyr' Star weekend Magazine, The Daily Star 16 December 2005
- Dr. Suniti Bhushan Kanungo, Professor of History, University of Chittagong. Chakma Resistance to British Domination 1772-1798.
- Durbin, Tillman (11 March 1971). 'Pakistanis Crisis Virtually Halts Rehabilitation Work in Cyclone Region'. The New York Times.
- East Pakistan: Even the Skies Weep, Time, 25 October 1971.
- Editorial 'The Jamaat Talks Back' in The Bangladesh Observer 30 December 2005
- Elections of 1965 Pakistan and aftermath – Chapter 6.
- 'Emerging Discontent, 1966-70.' 'Country Studies Bangladesh'. Countrystudies.us. Archived from the original on 22 June 2011.
- Encyclopædia Britannica – Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan'.
- Encyclopaedia Of Bangladesh (Set Of 30 Vols.) By Nagendra Kr. Singh
- Encyclopaedia of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh
- Encyclopaedia of North-East India by T. Raatan
- Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Silver Burdett Press, 1989.
- Famine Inquiry Commission (1945); Braund (1944); Pinnell (1944); Bowbrick (1986, 1987, 2011)
- Famine Inquiry Commission 1945a; Pinnell, 1944; Braund, 1944
- Famine Inquiry Commission, Report on Bengal (1945), p.54-55
- Farakka Day Today The Daily New Nation, Dhaka
- Field Marshal Ayub Khan Becomes President [1962-1969]'. Story of Pakistan, Part-1.
- Figure from Pakistani Prisoners of War in India by Col S.P. Salunke p.10 quoted in Indian Army after Independence by KC Pravel: Lancer 1988
- Find A Grave Memorial'. Retrieved 12 January 2012.
- Foreign Ministers of Pakistan.
- From Deterrence and Coercive Diplomacy to War – The 1971 Crisis in South Asia. Asif Siddiqui, Journal of International and Area Studies
- GW Choudhury (1974) The last days of United Pakistan.
- Gambhirjopurno Poribeshay Shaheed Dibosh Utjapon'. Weekly Notun Khobor (in Bengali). 26 February 1956.
- Gandhi, Sajit, ed. (16 December 2002), The Tilt: The U.S. and the South Asian Crisis of 1971: National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 79
- Gayatri Devi may contest polls from Cooch Behar, The Statesman, 12 June 1999.
- General Niazi's Failure in High Command'. Ghazali.net. 21 August 2000.
- Genesis of Chakma Movement, 1991 Bikach Kumar Choudhuri.

- Genocide in Bangladesh, 1971." Gendercide Watch'. Gendercide.org. Archived from the original on 26 July 2011.
- Georg. Feuerstein (2002). *The Yoga Tradition*. Motilal Banarsidass.
- Ghosh, Paschimbanger Sanskriti
- Gordon T Bowles (1977), *The people of Asia*.
- Government of Bangladesh. *The District Gazetteer of Chittagong Hill Tracts*.
- Grover, Preston (8 June 1947). 'India Partition Will Present Many Problems'. Sarasota, Florida, USA: Herald-Tribune
- Guess who's coming to dinner Naeem Bangali
- Guinness World Records (2006). *Guinness World Records 2007*. London: Guinness World Records Ltd. pp.
- Gupta, Om (2006). *Encyclopedia:India and Pakistan*. New Delhi: Ish Book Publications.
- Gutman, Pamela (1976). *Ancient Arakan*. Australian National University Press.
- Halloran, Richard (1970-11-29). 'Pakistan Storm Relief a Vast Problem'. *New York Times*.
- Hamza Alavi, *The army and the Bureaucracy in Pakistan, International Socialist Journal*, March-April 1966.
- Haqqani, Hussain (2010-03-10). *Pakistan Between Mosque and Military*.
- Hasan, Moyeedul, Muldhara 71
- Hassan PhD (Civil Engineering), Dr. Professor Mubashir (2000). *The Mirage of Power*. Oxford University, United Kingdom: Dr. Professor Mubashir Hassan, professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Engineering and Technology and the Oxford University Press
- Hassan, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), Dr. Professor Mubashir (May 2000). '§Zulfikar Ali Bhutto: All Power to People! Democracy and Socialism to People!'
- Hassan, Moyeedul, Muldhara 71, pp 44
- Hassan, Moyeedul, Muldhara 71, pp 64 – 65
- Hassan, Moyeedul, Muldhara' 71, pp45 – pp46
- Heaven, Will (July 28, 2010), *The history of British India will serve David Cameron well – as long as he doesn't go on about it*, Londo
- Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat'. unesco.org.
- Historical Dictionary of Bangladesh
- History of Ancient Bengal
- <http://archive.thedailystar.net/beta2/news/us-fleet-in-bay-of-bengal-a-game-of-deception/>
- <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=251213>
- <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=61861>
- <http://asiantribune.com/node/62553>
- <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2011/02/23/agartala-conspiracy-case-was-not-false>
- <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2014/12/08/bhutan-first-nation-to-recognise-bangladesh-says-foreign-secretary>
- <http://ecp.gov.pk/Misc/ListPolParties.aspx>

Bibliography

- <http://electionspakistan.blogspot.co.uk/p/1970-general-provincial-elections.html>
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gayatri_Devi - cite_ref-9#cite_ref-9Malgonkar, Manohar (1987). *The Last Maharani of Gwalior: An Autobiography* By Manohar Malgonkar
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Bengal - cite_ref-congress_2-0#cite_ref-congress_2-0James Heitzman and Robert L. Worden, ed. (1989). 'Early History, 1000 B. C.-A. D. 1202'. *Bangladesh: A country study*
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indo-Tibetan_Border_Police - cite_note-5#cite_note-5<http://itbpolice.nic.in/itbpwebsite/aboutdg.html>
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Bhashani - cite_ref-6#cite_ref-6S. Akhtar Ehtisham(2008) *A Medical Doctor Examines Life on Three Continents, A Pakistani View*. Algora Publishing
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Bhashani - cite_ref-bpedia_1-0#cite_ref-bpedia_1-0Enamul Haq, Bhasani, (Maulana) Abdul Hamid Khan, *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka,
- http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_India - cite_ref-3#cite_ref-320th-century international relations (politics) :: South Asia'. *Encyclopedia Britannica*.
- <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/08/27/how-ted-kennedy-helped-create-bangladesh/>
- <http://historypak.com/elections-of-1970/>
- http://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/11293/BG
- <http://orissa.gov.in/e-magazine/orissaannualreference/OR-Annual-2009/pdf/35-36.pdf>
- <http://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/26>
- <http://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/quick/regular/27>
- <http://storyofpakistan.com/the-separation-of-east-pakistan/>
- <http://tribune.com.pk/story/533518/election-ary-election-in-1970/>
- <http://tribune.com.pk/story/534025/election-ary-election-in-1970-2/>
- http://wn.com/Pakistani_general_election,_1970
- http://www.academia.edu/4244453/Institutional_Influence_in_Pakistan_Bureaucracy_Cabinet_and_Parliament
- http://www.academia.edu/4244453/Institutional_Influence_in_Pakistan_Bureaucracy_Cabinet_and_Parliament
- http://www.academia.edu/8401409/Role_of_tribal_leaders_of_CHT_in_the_Liberation_War_of_Bangladesh
- http://www.academia.edu/8401409/Role_of_tribal_leaders_of_CHT_in_the_Liberation_War_of_Bangladesh
- <http://www.banglachic.com/ekattore-uttar-ronangon-p7217.html>
- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-22476589>
- <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-12966786>
- <http://www.commerce.gov.pk/news/read.asp?newsID=72>
- <http://www.dawn.com/news/1067574>
- <http://www.dawn.com/news/1067574/dawn-opinion-march-31-2005>

- <http://www.dawn.com/news/686541/1970-polls-when-election-results-created-a-storm>
- <http://www.defencejournal.com/sept98/wayitwas2.html>
- <http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2014/dec/08/bhutan-recognised-bangladesh-first>
- <http://www.indianmirror.com/tribes/chakma-tribe.html>
- <http://www.indiatvnews.com/news/india/special-frontier-force-india-s-secret-army-of-tibetans--33984.html>
- <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3024655?sid=21106007066113&uid=3738032&uid=4&uid=2>
- http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/29/books/review/the-blood-telegram-by-gary-j-bass.html?_r=0
- <http://www.paxgaea.com/HR/Bangladesh.html>
- <http://www.rediff.com/news/slide-show/slide-show-1-a-war-which-was-not-theirs/20120110.htm>
- <http://www.tandfonline.com>
- <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1578688/Pakistan-elections-rigged-for-Musharraf-allies.html>
- <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/04/28/bernard-henri-levy-andre-malraux-s-bangladesh-before-the-radicals.html>
- <http://www.thedailystar.net/supplements/independence-day-special-2015/submariners-heroism-and-the-first-military-response-france>
- <http://www.theepochtimes.com/n3/52006-pakistan-election-results-former-pm-declares-victory/>
- <http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2010/dec/09/archive-karachi-bhutto-vote-1970>
- http://www.theindependentbd.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=212838:andre-malraux-a-true-friend-of-bangladesh&catid=182:city-life&Itemid=220
- <http://www.tripura.nic.in/>
- <http://www.ttaadc.nic.in/council.htm>
- <https://pakistanpal.wordpress.com/tag/1970-election/>
- <https://www.soas.ac.uk/languagecentre/languages/bengali/>
- Humayun Mirza, *From Plassey to Pakistan: The Family History of Iskander Mirza*, 1999, Ferozsons, Lahore
- Hussain, Rizwan (2005). *Pakistan and the emergence of Islamic militancy in Afghanistan*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Hyatt, Ishrat (18 September 2012). 'Eulogy for a friend'. *The News International*
- I Had Shot My First Panther Before I Turned Thirteen': Gayatri Devi turned 13 in 1932'. *Outlook* (magazine).
- Iftekhar Iqbal (2010) *The Bengal Delta: Ecology, State and Social Change, 1840-1943*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Imam, Jahanara (1986). *Ekattorer Dingulee* (in Bengali). Dhaka: Shondhani Prokashani
- Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908-1931).

Bibliography

- India – Pakistan War, 1971*; Introduction By Tom Cooper, with Khan Syed Shaiz Ali'.
- India and Pakistan: Over the Edge." TIME 13 December 1971 Vol. 98 No. 24'.
Time. 13 December 1971.
- India Meteorological Department (1970). 'Annual Summary – Storms & Depressions'
- India: A History* by John Keay
- Indian Army after Independence* by Maj KC Praval 1993 Lancer
- Indian Famine Crises p. 183
- India's Borderland Disputes: China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal, Anna Orton
- India's Strategic Blunders in the 1971 War'. www.rediff.com.
- Indo-Pak Shimla Agreement: 40 years later'. IANS. IBN Live, CNN IBN. 2 July 2012.
- International Mother Language Day - Background and Adoption of the Resolution'. Government of Bangladesh
- Iqbal Academy Pakistan. Pakistan 'Lengthy Text of President Iskander Ali Mirza's speech'.
- Iskandar Mirza, Ayub Khan, and October 1958, by Syed Badrul Ahsan, The New Age, Bangladesh
- Islam, Major Rafiqul PSc, Muktijuddher Itihas,
- Islam, Major Rafiqul, A Tale of Millions
- Islam, Major Rafiqul, A Tale of Millions,
- Islam, Major Rafiqul, A Tale of Millions, pp. 226–231
- Islam, Major Rafiqul, A Tale of Millions, pp. 227, 235
- Islam, Rafiqul (2000). Amar Ekushey O Shaheed Minar (in Bengali). Dhaka: Poroma.
- Jacob, Lt Gen JFR., *Surrender at Dacca, Birth of A Nation*,
- Jacob, Lt Gen JFR., *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of a Nation*,
- Jacob, Lt Gen JFR., *Surrender At Dacca: The Birth of A Nation*
- Jacob, Lt Gen JFR., *Surrender at Dacca*, pp42 – pp44, pp90 – pp91
- Jacob, Lt Gen JFR., *Surrender at Dacca*, pp44
- Jacob, Lt Gen JFR., *Surrender at Dacca*, pp90 – pp91
- Jaffrelot, Christophe (2004). *A history of Pakistan and its origins*. Anthem Press. p. 69. ISBN 978-1-84331-149-2.
- James, Lawrence (2000), *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India*, Macmillan
- Jawaharlal Nehru. Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House. 2007.
- Jin Technologies (2003-06-01). 'General Elections 1970'.
- John M'Cosh, *Topography of Assam 1837*
- Journey plus – Dinajpur.
- Jum Cultivation and Environmental Degradation in CHT
- Kabir, M. M.; Saha B. C.; Hye, J. M. A. 'Cyclonic Storm Surge Modelling for Design of Coastal Polder'
- Kabita Chowdhury (29 Dec 2011). 'First Pakistan president's Bengal home in a shambles'. Times of India.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- Kal Tak – 25 May 2011 | Pakistan Politics'. Pkpolitics.com.
- Kamrudin Ahmed, *The Social History of East Pakistan*, Dhaka 1967.
- Kapur, Shekhar (Narrator) (September 21, 2013). '1971 Indo-Pak War'. Pradhanmantri.
- Karim, Fariha (31 July 2009). 'Gayatri Devi: the last Maharani of Jaipur'. London: The Times.
- Karl J. Newman: *Pakistan under Ayub Khan, Bhutto und Zia-ul-Haq*.
- Kate, PV, *Marathwada Under the Nizams, 1724-1948*, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1987
- Kate, PV, *Marathwada Under the Nizams, 1724-1948*, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1987.
- Kate, PV, *Marathwada Under the Nizams, 1724-1948*, Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1987.
- Khan, Maj Gen Fazal Mukeem, *Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership*, pp125
- Khan, Sanjida. 'National Awards'. *Banglapedia*. Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.
- Khwaja Nazimuddin'. *Story of Pakistan*. Retrieved 12 January 2012.
- Kumkum Chatterjee, *Merchants, Politics and Society in Early Modern India: Bihar: 1733-1820*
- LA EMBAJADA DE PAKISTAN CELEBRO SUS 60 AÑOS EN LA ARGENTINA)
- Lambert, Richard D (April 1959). 'Factors in Bengali Regionalism in Pakistan'. *Far Eastern Survey*
- Land of Two Rivers, Nitish Sengupta
- Land of Two Rivers: A History of Bengal from the Mahabharata to Mujib* by Nitish K. Sengupta.
- Leonard, Karen (May 1971). 'The Hyderabad Political System and its Participants' (PDF). *Journal of Asian Studies* XXX (3)
- Leung, Mikey; Meggitt, Belinda (1 November 2009). *Bangladesh*. Bradt Travel Guides.
- Levie, Howard S. 'The Indo-Pakistani Agreement of August 28, 1973'. *Linguists survey of India*.
- Lintner, Bertil (January 2004). 'Chapter 17: Religious Extremism and Nationalism in Bangladesh'. In eds Satu Limaye, Robert Wirsing, Mohan Malik. *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia* (PDF). Honolulu, Hawaii: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies
- Lisa Lowe; David Lloyd (27 October 1997). *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*. Duke University Press
- Lowis CC, *Tribes of Burma and Arakan 1850*
- M Mufakharul Isla (2007), *Bengal Agriculture 1920-1946: A Quantitative Study*, Cambridge South Asian Studies, Cambridge University Press
- M Mufakharul Islam (2004) *Socio-Economic History of Bangladesh: essays in memory of Professor Shafiqur Rahman*, 1st Edition, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh
- M1 India, Pakistan, and the United States: Breaking with the Past* By Shirin R. Tahir-Kheli

Bibliography

- Mahmood, Safdar Mahmood (2008). *Pakistan: Ruling of Muslim League and Inception of Democracy*. Karachi, Sindh Province: Jang News Publications
- Majumdar, RC *The History of Bengal*
- Majumdar, RC (ed.) (2007). *The Mughul Empire*, Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan,
- Malik, Amita (1972). *The Year of the Vulture*. New Delhi: Orient Longmans. pp. 79-83.
- Malik, PAF, Colonel M Zaman. 'An Insiders' View'. Pakistan Air Force's Directorate General for Air History.
- Many of the eyewitness accounts of relations that were picked up by 'Al Badr' forces describe them as Bengali men. The only survivor of the Rayerbazar killings describes the captors and killers of Bengali professionals as fellow Bengalis.
- Mark Cutts; Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2000). *The State of the World's Refugees, 2000: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action*.
- Martial Law Under Field Marshal Ayub Khan [1958-62]'. *Story of Pakistan, Part-3*.
- McClure, Vimala Schneider. *Bangladesh: Rivers in a Crowded Land*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Dillon Press, 1989
- Meghna Guhathakurta & Willem van Schendel (2013) *The Bangladesh Reader: History, Culture, Politics (The World Readers)*, Duke University Press Books,
- Mehdi, Colonel Sherjiel Gaz. 'Operation Gibraltar'. *Defence Journal of Pakistan*.
- Menen, Aubrey (23 July 1972). 'The Rapes of Bangladesh'
- Metcalf, Barbara D.; Metcalf, Thomas R. (2012), *A Concise History of Modern India*, Cambridge University Press
- Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (1976). *Parliamentary Debates. Official Report (Honorary Speech by the Prime minister)*. Parliament of Pakistan, Capital Territory Zone: Parliament of Pakistan
- Ministers of State of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan
- Ministry of Defense Gazette Notification No.8/25/D-1/72-1378, Dated 15 December 1973
- Ministry of Science and Technology - Government of Pakistan
- Momtazur Rahman Tarafdar, 'Itihas O Aitihasic', Bangla Academy Dhaka, 1995
- Moreman, Tim (2013), *The Jungle, Japanese and the British Commonwealth Armies at War, 1941-45: Fighting Methods, Doctrine and Training for Jungle Warfare*, Routledge,
- Moss, Peter (2005). *Secondary Social Studies For Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Muhammad Ayub Khan the Second President of Pakistan'. *Pakistan Herald.com*
- Muhammad Ayub Khan'. *Storyofpakistan.com*.
- Muktijudhdher Rachana Shomogra, Mahmud, Sezan,
- Nair, NB (1990). *Politics in Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Northern Book Center
- Naughton, James (1970-11-17). 'Nixon Pledges \$10-Million Aid For Storm Victims in Pakistan'. *New York Times*.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- NewsLibrary.com - newspaper archive, clipping service - newspapers and other news sources
- Niazi, Lt Gen AAK, *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*,
- Niazi, Lt Gen AAK, *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*, p 96
- Nixon and Pakistan: An Unpopular Alliance'. Miami, Florida, USA: The Miami News,
- Nixon Hopes for Subcontinent Peace'. Spartanburg, South Carolina, USA: Herald-Journal
- Nohlen, D, Grotz, F & Hartmann, C (2001) Elections in Asia: A data handbook, Volume I
- Noorani 2014, pp. 213-4.
- Olson, Richard (2005-02-21). 'A Critical Juncture Analysis, 1964-2003' (PDF). USAID. Archived from the original on 14 April 2007.
- Olson, Richard (21 February 2005). 'A Critical Juncture Analysis, 1964-2003' (PDF). USAID
- Online.wsj.com. Retrieved 2013-08-28.
- Operation Jackpot, Mahmud, Sezan,
- Operation Jackpot, Mahmud, Sezan, Mukhobondho
- Ouster of President Iskander Mirza'. Story of Pakistan, part-II.
- Owen Bennett-Jones (2003). *Pakistan: Eye of the Storm*. Yale University Press.
- Pakistan Defence Journal, 1977, Vol 2,
- Pakistan Park re-launched at Buenos Aires
- Pakistan Park re-launched at Buenos Aires
- Pakistan Press. 'General Elections 1970'. Pakistan Press. Story of Pakistan Foundation.
- PAKISTAN, ARGENTINA SIGN DEAL ON TRADE COOPERATION.y PakistanHerald.com : Khwaja Nazimuddin'.
- Partition and the Politics of Geopolitical transfer of the Chittagong Hill Tracts 1947.
- Pelinka, Anton (2003), *Democracy Indian Style: Subhas Chandra Bose and the Creation of India's Political Culture*
- People of Asia by Gordon T Bowles (1977).
- Plaza 'República de Pakistán' (Spanish)
- Politics of Language 1952 - 1958 - Chapter 3.
- Prasad, Dr SN (1972). *Operation Polo: The Police Action Against Hyderabad, 1948. Historical Section, Ministry of Defence, Government of India; distributors: Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi. p. 75.*
- Presidential Elections
- Press Release. 'Nurul Amin'. Pakistan Herald. Pakistan Herald. 27 January 2012.
- Press Trust of India (22 January 2013). 'India spikes Pak call for third party mediation, says Simla Agreement tops all agendas'. Indian Express.
- Problems of Partition'. The Sydney Morning Herald (Sydney, Australia). 14 June 1947.
- Qudratullah Shahab (1998). *Shahab-nama*. Karachi, Pakistan: Jang Publications.
- Rahman, Md Khalilur, *Muktijuddhay Nou-Abhijan*,

Bibliography

- Rahman, Md Khalilur, *Muktijuddhay Nou-Abhijan*,
Rahman, Tariq (September 1997). 'Language and Ethnicity in Pakistan'. Asian Survey
Survey
Raiders of Arakan by C E Lucas Philip 1971
Raja in West Pakistan & United nations General Assembly – Chapter 10
Raja Tridiv Roy dies' *Dawn*. 18 September 2012.
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010
Raja Tridiv Roy, *The Departed Melody*, 2010.
Raja, Dewan Mohammad Tasawwar, O GENERAL MY GENERAL (Life and Works of General M. A. G. Osmani)
Rajmata Gayatri Devi'. London: The Telegraph.
Rao, P.R. 'History and Culture of Andhra Pradesh'.
Ray, Indrajit (2011). Bengal Industries and the British Industrial Revolution (1757-1857).
Ray, Indrajit (2011). Bengal Industries and the British Industrial Revolution. Routledge.
Ray, Vice Admiral Mihir K., War in the Indian Ocean, Redefining security imperatives by M Sharif
Relevance of Simla Agreement'. Editorial Series, Khan Study Group.
Report of the advisory Panel Pakistan, fourth Five year planning commission 1970.
RIYAZU-S-SALĀTĪN: A History of Bengal, Ghulam Husain Salim, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1902.
Robi, Mir Mustak Ahmed (2008). Chetonai Ekattor. 38, Bangla Bazar (2nd Floor), Dacca-1100, Bangladesh: Zonaki Publisher. p. 69.
Rounaq Jahan (1972). *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*. Columbia University Press.
Roy, Mihir K (1995). *War in the Indian Ocean*. 56 Gautam Nagar, New-Delhi 110049, India: Lancer Publisher & Distributor.
Roy, Mihir, K (1995). *War in the Indian Ocean*. 56, Gautaum Nagar, New-Delhi
Roy, Niharranjan (1993). *Bangalir Itihas: Adiparba* Calcutta.
Rummel, Rudolph. 'Chapter 8: Statistics of Pakistan's Democide Estimates, Calculations, And Sources'. *Statistics of Democide: Genocide and Mass Murder since 1900*. p. 544
SP Talukder (1988). *The Chakmas: Life and Struggle*.
Sahwney, Anubha (2004) I've never felt beautiful: Gayatri Devi. The Times of India.
Sajit Gandhi The Tilt: The US and the South Asian Crisis of 1971 National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 79
Salik, Siddiq, Witness To Surrender, pp 63
Salim, Gulam Hussain; Abdus Salam (1902). *Riyazu-s-Salatin: History of Bengal*. Asiatic Society, Baptist Mission Press.

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- Samaren Roy, *Calcutta Society and Change 1690 – 1990*.
- Samuel; Paul Robert Bartrop, Steven L. Jacobs. *Dictionary of Genocide: A-L*. Volume 1: Greenwood. p.
- Saradindu Shekhar Chakma. *Ethnic Cleansing in Chittagong Hill Tracts*.
- Saradindu Shekhar Chakma. *Ethnic Cleansing in Chittagong Hill Tracts*.
- Sarkar, Sebanti (28 March 2008). 'History of Bengal just got a lot older' (jsp). *The Daily Telegraph* (Kolkata: *The Telegraph*).
- Sayeed, Khalid B (1967). *The Political System of Pakistan*. Houghton Mifflin. p. 61.
- Schanberg, Sydney (1970-11-29). 'People Still Dying Because Of Inadequate Relief Job'. *New York Times*.
- Schanberg, Sydney (22 November 1970). 'Yahya Concedes 'Slips' In Relief'. *The New York Times*.
- Scott, Paul (21 December 1971). 'Naval 'Show of Force' By Nixon Meant as Blunt Warning to India'. *Bangor Daily News*.
- Section 9. Situation in the Indian Subcontinent, 2. Bangladesh's international position – Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
- Section Politica, Noticias de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires (Spanish) Pakistán celebró su día nacional en Buenos Aires
- Sen, Sumit (1999). 'Stateless Refugees and the Right to Return: the Bihari Refugees of South Asia, Part 1' (PDF). *International Journal of Refugee Law* 11 (4): 625–645.
- Shafique Ullah, Col Md, Muktiyuddhay Nou-Commando,
- Shafiullah, Maj Gen KM, *Bangladesh at War*,
- Shafiullah, Maj Gen KM, *Bangladesh at War*, pp161 – pp163
- Shalom, Stephen R., *The Men Behind Yahya in the Indo-Pak War of 1971*
- Shamsuddin Ahmed, Iltutmish, *Banglapedia: The National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka
- Sherman, Taylor C. (2007). 'The integration of the princely state of Hyderabad and the making of the postcolonial state in India, 1948 – 56' (PDF). *Indian economic & social history review* 44 (4)
- Simla Agreement'. *Bilateral/Multilateral Documents*. Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.
- Sir Arthur P. Phayre, Chief Commissioner of Burma. *History of Burma*.
- Sirajul Islam (1997) *History of Bangladesh 1704-1971* The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.
- Sirajul Islam (2003) *Banglapedia: A National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*. (10 Vols. Set), (written by 1300 scholars & 22 editors) The Asiatic Society of Bangladesh
- Six-point Programme, *Banglapedia*
- Slain in Dacca Area, Believed Elite of Bengal'. *The New York Times* (New York, NY, USA). 19 December 1971.
- Sri Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Bengal* (Dhaka 1948)
- Staff writer (18 November 1970). 'Copter Shortage Balks Cyclone Aid'. *The New York Times*.

Bibliography

- Staff writer (1970-11-20). 'U.S. and British Helicopters Arrive to Aid Cyclone Area'. *New York Times* (Reuters).
- Staff writer (1970-11-22). 'Pope to Visit Pakistan'. *New York Times*.
- Staff writer (1970-12-02). 'Tokyo Increases Aid'. *New York Times*.
- Staff writer (23 November 1970). 'East Pakistani Leaders Assail Yahya on Cyclone Relief'. *The New York Times*. Reuters.
- Stanley Walpert (1993). *Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: his life and times*. Oxford University Press.
- Stein, Burton (2010), *A History of India*, John Wiley & Sons
- Story of Pakistan. 'Iskander Mirza Becomes Governor General [1955]'. Story of Pakistan (Mirza became Governor General)
- Story of Pakistan. 'Iskander Mirza Becomes President [1956]'. Story of Pakistan. Story of Pakistan (Mirza Becomes President)
- Story of Pakistan. 'Iskander Mirza'. Story of Pakistan Press Directorate. The Story of Pakistan (Iskandar's life)
- Story of Pakistan. 'Martial Law'. Story of Pakistan (Martial Law). Retrieved 2 February 2012
- Story of Pakistan. 'Ouster of President Iskander Mirza'. Story of Pakistan. Story of Pakistan (Ouster of President (Iskander Mirza Part-I).
- Story of Pakistan. 'Ouster of President Iskander Mirza'. Story of Pakistan. Story of Pakistan (Ouster of President (Iskander Mirza Part-II).
- Storyofpakistan.com. 1 June 2003.
- Sugata Chakma. Parbattya Chattagramer Upajati O Sangskriti.
- Sukhwant Singh (19 July 2009). India's Wars Since Independence.
- Sundar, S (February 25, 2013). 'Indo-Tibetan Border Police to raise 9 more battalions'. Hindu.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of A Nation*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of A Nation*.
- Lt Gen JFR Jacob. *Surrender at Dacca: Birth of A Nation*.
- Sushil Chaudhury, *From Prosperity to Decline: Eighteenth Century Bengal*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1999
- 'Sword For Pen', *Time*, 12 April 1937.
- Syedur Rehman, Craig Baxter (2010). *Dictionary of Bangladesh*. Library of Congress: Scarecrow Publication.
- Major Rafiqul Islam. *A Tale of Millions*.
- SP Talukdar. *Chakmas: An Embattled Tribe*. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1994.
- SP Talukdar (2010). *Genesis of Indigenous Chakma Buddhists and Their Pulverization Worldwide*. Kalpaz Publications.
- SP Talukdar (2010). *Genesis of Indigenous Chakma Buddhists and Their Pulverization Worldwide*. Kalpaz Publications.
- SP Talukdar (2010). *Genesis of Indigenous Chakma Buddhists and Their Pulverization Worldwide*. Kalpaz Publications.
- Tanya Basu (August 15, 2014). 'The Fading Memory of South Asia's Partition'. *The Atlantic*.

- 'Textbook "incorrectly" describes Agartala Case: Shawkat'. *The Daily Star*. 12 June 2010.
- 'The 1971 war'. BBC News.
- The Battle Royal - Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur. TIME.
- Jagjit Singh Aurora. 'The Fall of Dacca'. *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 23 December 1973, quoted in *Indian Army after Independence* by KC Pravel.
- The Hindu genocide that Hindus and the world forgot". India Tribune.
- The Mirage of Power*. Oxford University, United Kingdom: Dr. Professor Mubashir Hassan, professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Engineering and Technology and the Oxford University Press.
- The office of the Foreign Minister, Government of Bangladesh. 'The text of the Tripartite agreement at Delhi'. Virtualbangladesh.
- The Official website of the Dhaka Nawab Family: Biographies.
- Waynes Ayres Wilcox. *The Pakistan Coup d'etat 1958*.
- Sydney Schanberg. 'The Pakistani Slaughter that Nixon Ignored'. Syndicated Column, *The New York Times*.
- Christopher S Clapham and George DE Philip. *The Political Dilemmas of Military Regimes* (1985).
- 'The Raja who gave away his kingdom'. *The Express Tribune*. 18 September 2012.
- 'The Recognition Story'. Bangladesh Strategic and Development Forum. Archived from the original on 25 July 2011.
- by Kamal Zafar. 'The rule of seniority', Sunday 5 March 2006. *The Nation*
- The Simla Agreement 1972 – Story of Pakistan.
The Weekly Kagoj, 9 May 1995
- The Windswept Wahini, Raja Tridiv Roy 1972.
- They simply Belong, Raja Tridiv Roy 1972.
- Times - Leading News Resource of Pakistan
- 'Tridiv Roy passes away'. *The Daily Star* (Bangladesh).
- Gordon E Dunn. *Tropical Cyclone Problem of East Pakistan*. 28th November 1961.
- Trouble with Mother. *Time Magazine*, Friday, Dec. 25, 1964
- US Consulate (Dacca) Cable, Sitrep: *Army Terror Campaign Continues in Dacca*;
Evidence Military Faces Some Difficulties Elsewhere,
- US Consulate in Dacca (27 March 1971), Selective genocide, Cable (PDF)
- UNICEF. 'Sixty Years For Children' (PDF). Archived from the original on 13 April 2007.
- 'USSR, Czechoslovakia Recognize Bangladesh'. Sumter, South Carolina, USA:
The Sumter Daily Item.
- K Venkateshwarlu. 'Destructive merger'. *Frontline* (September 19, 2014).
- 'Whistle-Stopping Maharani', TIME Magazine, 10 November 1961.
- 'Whistle-Stopping Maharani', TIME.
- Matthew White. *Death Tolls for the Major Wars and Atrocities of the Twentieth Century*
- Brigadier Siddiq Salik. *Witness To Surrender*.
- Stanley Wolpert (2009). *Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India*, Oxford University Press.

Bibliography

- Stanley A. Wolpert (2000). *A New History of India*, Oxford University Press
- Dr. Dushka H. Saiyid. *Women in Politics - Problems of Participation: A Case Study of Pakistan*.
- World Bank (2005). 'Cyclone Protection and Coastal Area Rehabilitation Project'. Archived from the original on 4 March 2007.
- Arnold Zeitlin (1970-11-20). 'Official E. Pakistan Death Toll 148,116' (PDF). *Yuma Daily Sun*. Associated Press.
- Arnold Zeitlin (1971-01-13). 'Pakistan Cyclone Relief Still Jumbled and Inadequate' (PDF). Long Beach Press-Telegram.
- Lawrence Ziring (1997). *Pakistan in the twentieth century: A political history*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's farewell speech to the United Nations Security Council - Wikisource. En.wikisource.org
- Zunaid Kazi. 'History : The Bangali Genocide, 1971'. *Virtual Bangladesh*.

Index

- 1000 Acres, 39
15% GNP, 38
1947, 13, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 46, 56, 70,
83, 86, 104,
1951, 42
1954 Elections, 32, 34, 35
1956 Constitution, 35
1957, 37, 41, 42,
1960, 13, 20, 26, 36, 38, 42, 52
1971 Liberation War, 31
2448b Margalla Road, 94
40,000 Chakma Refugees, 42
500 Acres, 39
7th Fleet, 91, 94
AHK Bhashani, 31
AK Fazlul Huq, 34, 35, 36
AK Khandker, 84
AR Chowdhury, 84
AB Khurshid, 48,
AV Alexander, 84
Abbas Hoveyda, 38
ABC Formulation, 28
Abdul Jabbar, 32
Abdul Maududi, 57
Abdus Salam, 32
Abdus Sattar, 56
Abul Barkat, 32
Afghanistan, 102,
Agartalla Conspiracy Case, 48
Agartalla Shorojontro Mamla, 48
Ahmed Fazlur Rahman Csp, 48
Akbar, 20, 55, 103
Akm Shamsul Haque, 48
Al Badr, 86, 129
Al Razakars, 86
Al Shams, 86
Alexei Kosygin, 40
Ali Reza, 48
All India Excluded Areas Sub
Committee of The Constituent
Assembly Of India For Chittagong Hill
Tracts, 29
All India Muslim League, 27, 28
All Pakistani Awami Muslim League,
31, 34
Allah, 69
All-Party Central Language Action
Committee, 32
Altaf Mahmud (Lyricist and Musician),
82
Ambassador Extraordinary, 90
Ambassador, pahe 33, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98
American, 39, 54, 66, 82, 83
Andaman And Nicobar Islands, 53
Anemometer, 53
Annas, 22
Arabic Script, 32
Arakan, 19, 20, 21, 43,
Arakanese, 19
Archer Kent Blood, 83
Ardeshir Zahedi, 83
Argentina, 94, 95, 96, 98
Armour, 43, 68, 87, 88
Army Base, 68
Article 2, 31
Article 214(1), 33
Article 92/A, 34
Artillery, 68

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- Arunachal Pradesh, 42, 44
 Asaduzzaman, 50
 Assam District, 24
 Attorney General, 49
 Australia, 69, 94
 Autonomous, 29, 36, 44, 89
 Autonomy, 21, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 46, 47, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 89, 97, 98
 Awami League, 34, 35, 44, 46, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 86, 97
 Ayaz Amir, 31
 Ayub Khan, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 50, 63, 72, 97
 Aziz Ahmed, 39, 91,
 Bakhtiar Khilji, 22
 Balla Sen, 22,
 Baloch, 61, 64
 Baluchistan, 34, 64, 65
 Bangkok, 14, 89, 91
 Bangla Language Academy, 34
 Bangladesh Liberation War, 69, 82, 83, 86, 87, 91, 93, 95
 Bangladesh War Collaborators Act, 87, 98
 Bangladesh, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 39, 44, 48, 50, 52, 69, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 99, 101
 Banking Reserve, 47
 Baptist, 23
 Bar Library Hall, 32
 Barkal, 41
 Bay of Bengal, 52
 Begum Naseem Aurangzeb, 38
 Belal, 67
 Benedict Dias, 48
 Bengal Presidency, 22
 Bengal States Agency, 22
 Bengal, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 82, 83, 84, 86, 89, 90, 99, 101, 105
 Benita Roy, 22, 80, 92
 Bhutan, 22, 88, 92, 102
 Bibhuti Bhushan Chowdhury, 48
 Bidhan Krishna Sen, 48
 Bir Bikram, 87
 Birat Chandra Mondal, 31
 Blitzkrieg, 88
 Blood Telegram, 83, 100
 Boeing, 68
 Bohmong Circle, 22
 Bombay, 28
 Bongobondhu, 50, 69
 Boshontokumar Das, 32
 Boundary Commission, 29
 Brahmi, 20
 Brazil, 94
 Britain, 54
 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 69
 British Crown, 21, 22, 59, 104
 British India, 27, 28
 British Parliament, 27
 British, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 41, 44, 49, 54, 59, 69, 103, 104
 Buddharajanika, 21
 Buddhist, 19, 21, 22, 29, 82, 89, 90, 95, 96, 101, 102
 Buenos Aires, 14, 95, 96
 Buriganga, 68
 Burma, 19, 22, 28, 91, 102
 C-130, 67, 68
 Cabinet Mission, 27, 28
 Calcutta High Court, 22
 Calcutta, 22, 23, 53, 54, 103
 Cambodia, 20
 Canadian, 54
 Captain ANM Nuruzzaman, 48
 Captain Khondkar Nazmul Huda, 48
 Captain Khurshid Uddeen Ahmed, 48
 Captain Mohammad Abdul Muttalib, 48
 Captain Shawkat Ali, 48
 Care, 55
 Chakma Circle, 22
 Chakma Kingdom, 19, 21, 22, 23, 28, 35, 36, 44
 Chakma Palace, 20, 21, 23, 55, 72, 81
 Champoknagar, 19
 Changma Race, 19
 Charu Bikash Chakma, 59
 Chatra Union (Memon Group), 46
 Chengi, 21
 Chiao Kuam-Hua, 92
 Chief Justice, 33, 83
 Chief Minister, 32, 33, 34, 36
 Chilardhak, 41
 Chile, 94, 95
 China, 19, 52, 53, 54, 83, 92, 93

Index

- Chitmoram, 41
Chittagong, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 59, 67, 69, 85, 89, 90, 95, 99, 103
Chuknagar, 82
Clement Attlee, 27, 28
Colombo, 14, 68, 90, 91
Combined Opposition Parties (Cop), 45
Comilla, 67, 103
Commander Moazzem Hossain, 48
Communist, 46, 57, 85
Congress Party, 65
Corporal Abdus Samad, 48
Cotton, 20, 21, 22, 42, 103
Cox's Bazar, 19,
Crack Platoon, 86
Cripps Mission, 27
Cyclone Bhola, 52, 53, 54, 56, 73
Delhi Agreement, 91
Delhi Durbar, 22
Democratic Action Committee (Dac), 50
Democrats, 45, 46
Dhaka Bowl, 88
Dhaka Cantonment, 49, 82
Dhaka Central Jail, 49
Dhaka Medical College, 32
Dhaka University, 32, 33, 46, 66, 67, 69, 71, 75, 82,
Dhanmondi, 67
Dhirendranath Datta (Politician), 32
Direct Action Group, 85
District Council, 51
Dr. Afim Alim Chowdhury
(Ophthalmologist), 82
Dr. Hobibur Rahman (Mathematics), 82
Dr. Mohammed Fazle Rabbee
(Cardiologist), 82
East Bengal Legislative Assembly, 32
East Bengal Regiments (Ebr), 48, 69, 84
East Bengal, 24, 32, 34, 48, 69, 84
East India Company, 21, 103, 104
East Pakistan, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 23, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 76, 77, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91
Eastern States Agency, 22
Ecuador, 95
Election Commission Of Pakistan, 45
Election Commissioner, 56
Electoral College, 38, 45, 46, 51
Emergency Abortion Clinic, 82
England, 22, 37, 39
Faiz Ahmad Faiz, 58
Famine, 33, 103, 104
Farruk Shiyar, 20
Fatima Jinnah, 45, 46, 72
Fazlul Qader Chowdhury, 58
Feni River, 21,
Feroz Khan, 35
Ferozpur, 29
Field Marshall Kittikachorn, 91
First Direct General Elections, 63
Five Brigade Head Quarters, 68
Flight Sergeant Mahfiz Ullah, 91
Flight Sergeant Md. Abdur Razzaque, 48
Former Havildar Dalil Uddin, 48
Former Subedar Tajul Islam, 48
Free Bengal Radio Station, 69
French, 54
GM Syed, 58
Ganatantri Dal, 34
Gautama Buddha, 19, 23
Gayatri Devi, 22
Gazipur, 67
General Elections, 49, 53, 56, 59, 63
General Head Quarters (GHQ), 35, 60
General Yahya Khan, 40, 50, 53, 54, 56, 60, 64, 65, 74, 83, 88, 97
George Harrison, 55
Germany, 94
Ghulam Umar, 60
Gordon Dunn, 52
Governor General Ghulam Muhammad, 33
Governor General of Pakistan, 23, 33
Grantha, 20
Great Flashman's Hotel, 93
Great Fly In, 68,
Guerrilla, 84, 85, 86, 89
Hamoodur Rahman Commission, 83,
Hatch-Barnwell, 42
Hatia, 52, 53
Havildar Azizul Haq, 48
Henry Kissinger, 83, 94
Himalayan, 22, 87

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- Hindu Kali Temple Ramna, 68
 Hindu, 28, 35, 67, 68, 82, 101, 102, 103,
 Hms Intrepid, 54
 Hms Triumph, 54
 Honorary Aide-De-Camp, 23
 Hospital Ship, 53
 Huang-Hua, 92
 Hyderabad, 86
 Hydroelectric Power, 41
 Independence Day, 23
 India, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29,
 30, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 48, 49,
 52, 53, 54, 55, 64, 65, 68, 70, 77, 79,
 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92,
 93, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105
 Indian Intelligence Bureau, 48
 Indian National Congress, 27, 28, 29
 Indira Gandhi, 65, 66, 80, 91, 105
 Indo Tibetan, 19
 Inter – Services Intelligence, 48
 Iran, 38, 55
 Iskander Mirza, 33, 35, 37, 38
 Islam, 13, 33, 35, 48, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62,
 69, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103
 Islamabad, 14, 18, 20, 39, 93, 94, 96, 97
 Jagganath Students Hall, 67
 Jagjit Singh Aurora, 88
 Jahir Raihan (Novelist, Journalist, Film
 Director), 82
 Jaipur, 22
 Jalaludin Adbur Rahim, 58
 Jamaat E Islami, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 69
 Jamiat Ulema-E-Islam, 58, 60, 61, 62
 Jamiat Ulema-E-Pakistan, 58
 Jammu And Kashmir, 91
 Jan Bux Khan, 21
 Japan, 54, 69, 90
 Jathibhanga, 82
 Jawaharlal Nehru, 27
 Jeay Sindh Qaumi Mahaz Jsqm, 58
 Jessore, 67, 115
 Jingira, 68
 Joy Bangla, 69
 Junta, 39, 45, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 63
 Justice Bijan Mukherjee, 29
 Justice Charu Biswas, 29
 Kader Siddique, 85
 Kaderia Bahini, 85
 Kalu Khan, 20
 Kalurghat Radio Station, 69
 Kamal Hossain, 91
 Kapilavastu, 19
 Kapra, 57
 Kaptai Dam, 41, 42, 44, 59, 72
 Karachi, 38, 39, 89, 90, 91
 Karnafuli, 19, 20, 21, 41, 42, 43, 44
 Kashmir, 39, 40, 91,
 Kathmandu, 91
 Kaything, 87
 Kennedy, 82
 Keshab Chandra Sen, 22
 K-Force, 86
 Khairul Kabir, 46
 Khaled Mosharraf, 86
 Khaleque Nawaz Khan, 34
 Khan Mohammad Shamsur Rahman
 Csp, 48
 Khmer, 19, 20,
 Khulna, 19, 20
 Khwaja Azimuddin, 41
 Khwaja Nazimuddin, 32, 33
 Koch Bihar, 22, 103
 Kolkata, 84, 99
 Krishak Praja Party, 34
 Krishi Bank, 46
 Kurseong, 23
 Kutubdia, 52
 Kuwait, 53, 93
 Labour Party, 27
 Lahore Resolution, 47
 Lahore, 35, 47, 87
 Lakshman Sen, 22, 102
 Lal Bahadur Shastri, 40
 Land Reforms Commission, 39
 Law At The Inns Of Court, 23
 Legal Framework Order (Lfo), 56, 63
 Liaquat Ali Khan, 31, 33
 Line Of Control (Loc), 91
 Lok Sabha, 65
 London, 23, 37, 38, 78, 95
 Lord Linlithgow, 27
 Lord Mountbatten, 28
 Lord Patrick Lawrence, 28
 Lord Wavell, 28
 Ls Sultanuddin Ahmad, 48
 Lscdi Nur Mohammad, 48
 Lt. Abdur Rauf, 48
 Lt M Rahman, 48

Index

- Lumbini, 19
MA Hannan, 69
MA Kareem Iqbal, 42
MA Rabb, 84
MAG. Osmani, 84
Madison Square Garden, 55
Madrasas, 86
Mahamuni, 19
Maharashtra, 20, 99
Mahbub Uddin Chowdhury, 48
Mahfuzul Bari, 48
Major Ziaur Rahman, 69, 86
Maksumul Hakim, 49
Malik Gulam Jilani, 58
Manik Chowdhury, 48
Manoranjan Dhar, 32
Manripru, 87
Manzur Quader, 49
Maratha King Shivaji, 20,
Marxist, 57, 85
Marz Rendal Vatten, 41
Matiur, 50
Maulana AHK Bhashani, 31
Maulana Abdur Rashid Tarkabagish, 33
Mayurbhanj, 22
Meng, 19
Mirpur, 69
Mitro Bahini, 88
Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, 38, 55
Mohammadpur, 69
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 27
Mong Circle, 22
Mongol, 21
Mon-Khmer, 19
Mosihuddin Ahmed, 33
Mount Everest, 23
Mount Kanchenjunga, 23
Mr Sneha Kumar Chakma, 19, 29
Mr Vallabh Bhai Patel, 29
Mubariz Ali, 84
Mughal, 20, 21, 103, 104
Muhammad Ali Bogra, 33
Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 27, 28, 29, 31,
32, 33, 45, 46
Muhammad Munir, 33
Muhammad Shah, 20, 103
Muhammad Shoaib, 39
Mukti Bahini, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91,
103
Muslim League, 27, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34,
36, 45, 57, 58
Mv Mahajagmitra, 53
Myanmar, 19, 22, 91
Naf River, 21
Nakhalpara, 69
Nalinaksha Roy, 13, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29,
30, 35, 94
Narayangaung, 68
National Hurricane Centre, 52
New York, 55, 90, 92, 94
New Zealand, 94
Niomito Bahini, 84, 85
Nixon, 54, 75
Nizam Osman Ali Khan Asaf Jah Vii, 86
Nizamuddin Ahmed (Journalist), 82
Noakhali, 52, 103
North West Frontier, 28, 35, 61,
Nurul Amin, 32, 33, 34
OM Qarmi, 42
Objectives Resolution, 31, 34, 35, 57,
94, 95,
One Unit Policy, 34, 40, 63, 64
Oniomito Bahini, 85
Opec, 94
Operation Gibraltar, 39, 40
Operation Polo, 86
Operation Searchlight, 66, 67, 68, 75,
83, 86
Orissa, 22
Pak-Argentina Business Council, 96
Pakhton, 34
Pakistan Peoples Party (Ppp), 57, 60, 62
Palermo, 96
Pali, 20
Pallava, 20
Pandit Nehru, 30
Pandit Ravi Shankar, 55
Parakritic, 20
Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samity, 29
Parque Tres De Febrero, 96
Pashtun, 35, 103
Peru, 95
Plaza De Pakistan, 96
Pml (Qayyum), 57, 28, 60, 61, 62
Pope Paul Vi, 54
Portuguese, 19, 20
Prof Mir Abdul Quaiyum (Psychology), 82
Prof Sukhranjan Somaddar (Sanskrit), 82

The Last Raja of West Pakistan

- Pune, 20
 Punjab, 28, 31, 36, 39, 40, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 67, 98, 104
 Purna Chandra Sen, 22
 Qasim Razvi, 86
 Queen Elizabeth II, 39
 Queen Kalindi Rani, 21
 Raja Bhuvan Mohan Roy, 22, 25
 Raja Tridiv Roy, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 25, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47, 50, 51, 55, 58, 59, 64, 66, 74, 79, 80, 81, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100
 Raja Harish Chandra Roy, 22, 25
 Rajarbagh, 69
 Rajasthan, 22
 Rajendrapur, 67
 Rajshahi, 50, 67, 82
 Ramna Race Course Maidan, 65
 Ramu, 19
 Ranadaprasad Saha (Philanthropist), 82
 Rangamati Rajbari, 42
 Rangamati, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 29, 30, 41, 42, 81, 86, 87, 89, 90, 94, 95
 Rangpur, 67
 Rani (Queen) Arati Roy, 23, 26
 Ratan Barua, 87
 Rawalpindi, 35, 60, 64, 93,
 Razakar, 69, 86
 Reginald Sorensen, 27
 Resolution Number 2937 (Xxvii), 92
 Rev FW Smith, 23
 Ruhul Quddus Csp, 48
 S Chandra Chattopadhyaya, 31
 SM Ahsan, 53
 SA Rahman, 49
 Saidpur, 67
 Saka Race, 19
 Sandwip, 52, 53
 Seato, 54
 Section 144, 32
 Selina Parvin (Journalist), 82
 Sepoy Mutiny, 21
 Sergeant Abdul Jalil, 48
 S-Force, 86
 Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, 38
 Shah Shuja, 20, 144
 Shaheed Buddhijibi Dibosh, 69
 Shaheed Minar, 68
 Shahidullah Kaiser (Journalist), 82
 Shahjahan, 20
 Shair Daulat, 21
 Shaista Khan, 20, 114
 Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondokar, 33
 Shamsul Alam, 48
 Shamsul Huq, 31
 Shamsur Rahman Khan, 46
 Shangram Parishad, 50
 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, 17, 31, 33, 34, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 54, 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 87, 88, 89, 92, 93, 98, 105
 Shorbodolio Chatro Shongram Porishad, 50
 Shorbodolio Kendrio Rashtrobhasha Kormi Porishod, 32
 Simla Agreement, 91
 Sindh, 28, 34, 57, 58, 61
 Singapore, 54
 Singpho, 19
 Sir Cyril D Sousa, 90
 Sir Feroz Khan Noon, 35
 Sitara-E-Basalat, 49
 Six Point Agenda, 46, 47, 48, 57, 63, 64, 87, 97
 South China Sea, 52
 South East Asia, 20, 64, 89, 105
 Soviet Union, 40, 55
 Sri Lanka, 14, 68, 90, 91, 96, 98, 101
 St Xavier's Collegiate School, 23
 Steward Mujibur Rahman, 48
 Subedar Abdur Razzaque, 48
 Sucharu Devi, 22
 Suhrawardy, 28, 97
 Surrey, 22
 Syed Afzal Agha, 42
 Sylhet, 8, 67
 T - Sak - Ma, 19
 Tangshan, 53
 Tashkent, 40
 Tazumddin, 52
 Tehran, 38
 TH Khan, 49
 Thailand, 89, 90, 91, 101
 The Daily Ittefaq, 68
 The Guinness Book of Records, 82
 Theks, 19
 Thomas William, 49
 Tofal Ahmed, 50

Index

- Tokyo, 54
Tongi, 68
UK Ching, 87
U Thant, 55
UNICEF, 55
United Kingdom, 33, 94
United Nations General Assembly New York, 79, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93
United Nations Security Council, 40
United Nations, 40, 54, 79, 82, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 98
United Punjab, 28
United States, 33, 38, 40, 54, 94
University of Dhaka, 32, 50
Urdu, 15, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 98
Uruguay, 95
Uzbekistan, 40
Vatican, 54
Venezuela, 94
Victoria School, 23
Vogue Magazine, 22
Washington DC, 90
West Bengal, 22, 53, 54, 101, 102, 103, 104
West German, 54
World Food Congress, 90
Yahya Khan, 38, 40, 50, 53, 54, 56, 60, 64, 65, 66, 74, 83, 88, 90, 97
Yugoslavia, 92
Yun-Nan, 19
ZA Khan, 67
Zahurul Haq, 48, 49, 50
Z-Force, 86
Zia-Ul-Haq, 95
Zira, 29
Zulfikar Ali Bhutto / ZA Bhutto, 39, 40, 48, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65, 74, 79, 86, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97





Priyajit Debsarkar is an independent political analyst with special interest in the geo-political history of Bangladesh. This book is his first publication based on penetrating and insightful analysis of the relationships between leading political figures in West and East Pakistan in the three decades leading up to Bangladesh's war of independence and her emergence as a sovereign nation.

Priyajit's hometown is Kolkata, West Bengal, India. He is currently based permanently in London, United Kingdom and works as a software analyst.

www.priyajit.co.uk

'A very well written and thoroughly researched book by Priyajit Debsarkar which throws light on one of the forgotten and most puzzling characters in the story of Bangladesh's independence.'

ABUL TAHIR

Reporter, *The Mail on Sunday*, London, UK

'A remarkable book about the Quisling of Bangladesh who remained something of an enigma as long as he lived and even after he died. Priyajit, who is as remarkable as his book, has through meticulous research, unearthed and put together material that gives an excellent glimpse of a King who collaborated in the genocide of his own people. A must read to understand a hitherto fuzzy sub-plot that played an important role in the Liberation War of Bangladesh.'

SUSHANT SAREEN

Senior Fellow, Vivekananda International Foundation, Delhi, India

'Priyajit Debsarkar's painstaking excavation of the life of Raja Tridiv Roy—the Buddhist king who gave his all to the service of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan—is a significant contribution to the study of identity and power in South Asia. His work casts new light on the violent tides of history that gave birth to Bangladesh, and have shaped the region's destiny.'

PRAVEEN SWAMI

National Editor (Strategic and International Affairs),
The Indian Express, Delhi, India

'The book *The Last Raja of West Pakistan* by Priyajit Debsarkar explores contexts and backgrounds of leaders and events, such as that of the seemingly enigmatic Chakma Raja Tridiv Roy's role during 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War.'

MUHAMMAD AHMEDULLAH

Secretary, Brick Lane Circle, London, UK

'Excellent analysis by Priyajit Debsarkar on the political role played by Raja Tridiv Roy in East Pakistan with special emphasis on the Bangladesh Liberation War'

ABU SAYED

Editor, *Swapno 71*, Dhaka, Bangladesh

ISBN 978-93-83868-16-2



9 789383 868162

£12.99 | \$19.95 | ₹495