

A black and white photograph of a large, multi-story stone building with Gothic architectural features, including a prominent clock tower and a large arched entrance. The building is partially obscured by a semi-transparent orange banner that contains text. The foreground shows a set of stone steps leading up to the entrance, with a person walking on them. The sky is dark, suggesting an overcast day.

Princeton Model United Nations Conference 2016

JCC: East Pakistan Crisis
Bangladesh
Chair: Arnav Agarwal
Crisis Director: Alex Fager

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Letter from the Chair

Dear Delegates,

It is my utmost pleasure to welcome you all to the most exciting committee of PMUNC 2016! My name is Arnav Agarwal and I will be serving as your chair for JCC: Bangladesh. A little bit about me, I am a sophomore at Princeton University and will be majoring in Computer Science, with a certificate in Statistics and Machine Learning. I hail from Lucknow, India, and kick-started my MUN career in junior year of high school and have had the pleasure of attending around twenty amazing conferences since then. On campus, I compete in the Model UN team, serve as secretary of Princeton's International Relations Council, and am involved with a couple of pro bono consulting clubs.

Crisis committees are my forte, and I hope to provide a stimulating and challenging experience to all of you. The information provided in the background guide is by no means exhaustive, and I encourage you to research more on your own to develop a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the situation. Although research is important, you will also need the ability to think on your feet, at least in this committee. I encourage you to come up with creative *and* implementable solutions. While it sounds fun to build an Iron Man suit or a Death Star (trust me, multiple delegates have tried this in the past), I highly value original, creative approaches that utilize resources efficiently - maximum impact with minimum input.

Moreover, this committee will likely involve a number of military operations, so I also advise you to also read up a bit on military tactics, and would love to see some creative applications of existing strategies! Put yourselves in the shoes of the leaders you are

representing, and think about how they would do it differently if they had to do it all over again. Additionally, I often see delegates get bogged down by multiple crisis updates. It is crucial to prioritize one crisis over another. Not all actions yield equal benefit. Think deeply about collateral damage, spillover effects, and economic and social repercussions of every action before you decide nuke a country or create your own religion.

Feel free to contact me on arnava@princeton.edu if you have any questions about the committee or have some fun facts to share. See you in November!

Regards,

Arnav Agarwal

Introduction

Dearest fellow compatriots, today is 6th March 1971 and we stand at a crucial juncture in history that will seal the fates of the people of East Bengal. A little more than two months ago, the pro-independence Awami League secured a landslide victory in East Pakistan by winning 167 of the 169 seats in the National Assembly.¹ The Bengali people have time and again expressed discontent with the exploitative and oppressive policies of Western Pakistan. The people's electoral support for the Awami League is a reaffirming testament to the legitimacy and urgency of our cause. In order to protect and preserve our language, culture, history, tradition, and most importantly, our identity, we must be prepared to face the political and military challenges that will arise from the West's foreseeable retaliation against our attempt to form a fair and representative government.

By undermining our language and culture, West Pakistani leaders have subjugated the Bengali people for years by tyrannically concentrating political power in their hands despite our dominance in population size.² The people of Bengal have done their part. It is our job now to construct a plan of action to negotiate, and if the need arises, fight for the liberty and dignity of our people. Our recent landslide victory has endowed us not only with the constitutional right to form the government, but also with the possible support of the worldwide community which is a mute witnesses to the injustice that has been inflicted upon us. Last week, when Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman met with Pakistani People's Party founder Zulfikar Bhutto for negotiations, it was decided that Rahman would

¹ <http://albd.org/index.php/component/content/article?id=1219:six-point-demands-roadmap-for-bangladesh-s-emancipation&lang=en>

² http://www.gendercide.org/case_bangladesh.html

take the post of the Prime Minister while Bhutto would be the President.³ However, Pakistani President Yahya Khan's delaying of the convening of the assembly is a blow to these political negotiations and a clear attempt to prevent us from forming the government.⁴

This blatant denial of our constitutional right and their refusal to allow the Awami League to form the government represents a violation of our rights and must be countered with appropriate measures. Tomorrow, on the 7th of March, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman will address two million people at Ramna Race Course to mobilize them to participate in a general strike until the government is given over to the rightful representatives of the people's will.⁵ The Bengali people have overwhelmingly expressed their faith in us, and thus now it is up to us to come together and strategize both civil and military strategies, anticipate opposition's responses, and chart a passageway to freedom for the Bengali people.

³ <http://www.thedailystar.net/in-their-words-bhutto-and-mujib-december-1971-50468>.

⁴ Mitchell K. Hall, *Historical Dictionary of the Nixon-Ford Era* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2008), 20.

⁵ Ziauddin M. Choudhury, *Fight for Bangladesh: Remembrances of 1971* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2011), 18.

The Situation in East Pakistan

The partition of British India in 1947 divided the subcontinent into two nation states – India and Pakistan. The latter was organized into two geographically and culturally separate areas, the Urdu-speaking West Pakistan and Bengali-speaking East Pakistan. The two shared very little by way of cultural links, or even a common language; instead both feared Indian domination.⁶ However, the concentration of power among non-Bengalis and in the capital of Islamabad in West Pakistan, coupled with non-acceptance of Bengali as a national language led to dissatisfaction within East Pakistan.⁷ At the very start, this combined Pakistan was administered by Governor-General Jinnah, who commanded a powerful central government.⁸

Following his death in 1948, Pakistan saw a slew of change in leadership during the 1950's, seeing assassination and underhanded maneuvering alike.⁹ However, it took until a military coup in 1958 by Ayub Khan before East Pakistan truly felt the difference in influence.¹⁰ While a 1956 constitution including equal representation from both East and West Pakistan in the National Assembly was technically the law of the land, the military relied on the civil service instead of the legislature.¹¹ As noted above, this civil service was overwhelmingly non-Bengali, and therefore caused East Pakistanis to become increasingly disenfranchised and ever more incensed.

⁶ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bangladesh/The-Pakistani-period-1947-71>

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/pakistan.htm>

¹¹ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bangladesh/The-Pakistani-period-1947-71>

Under Khan, some reforms were seen. He moved the national capital from Karachi to Islamabad, but did not make the national legislative seat Dhaka in East Pakistan.¹² However, with the outbreak of new protests against the regime, Ayub Khan turned power over to the administrator of martial law, Yahya Khan.¹³ As of now, the country is straining with the discontent of East Pakistan.

Language Movement

Although the Bengali speaking East Pakistanis accounted for more than 50% of the country's population, Urdu was chosen as the official language largely because the leadership of Pakistan was disproportionately non-Bengali.¹⁴ Dissatisfied with this policy as an attempt to subvert their culture, the people of East Pakistan founded the Bengali Language Movement in 1948 to protest the removal of Bengali script from currency and stamps.¹⁵ This question of language was one of the first disputes between East and West Pakistan, two regions that were fundamentally different in culture.

The following four years were filled with protests, picketing, and eventually arrests of leaders of the Language Movement.¹⁶ The government repeatedly rejected motions in the legislature to recognize Bengali, which only caused the movement to spread further. The movement culminated in 1952, when public assembly was banned by the government in Dhaka.¹⁷ However, thousands of students still turned out to protests, which escalated to

¹² <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/pakistan.htm>

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ https://www.mtholyoke.edu/~mahbo22d/classweb/bengali_language_movement/background.html

¹⁵ http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Language_Movement

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

brick-throwing by protestors, and ultimately culminating with the police fired on protesting civilians and students, causing several deaths.¹⁸

The language movement had the effect of breaking trust between East and West Pakistan, as East Pakistan felt increasingly disenfranchised and unrepresented by the government. Additionally, the focus on a Bengali identity became stronger, eclipsing the Muslim identity.

The Awami League

With the “flawed two-nation theory of Muhammad Ali Jinnah,”¹⁹ the nations of Pakistan and India came into existence following the 1947 partition of British colonial holdings in the Indian subcontinent. However, this theory was even more deeply flawed; the Pakistani nation, separated into two distinct segments with thousands of miles separating them were in fact two completely different ethno-cultural regions, each with their own unique histories, cultural practices, and societal norms. Repressive policies of the Pakistani elites led to questions around Bangladeshi self-determination; it was amongst these tides that the East Pakistan Students League was formed under the leadership of Sheikh Mujabir Rahman, a student-activist, on 4 January, 1948.²⁰ This movement galvanized students within East Pakistan to begin to fight for their freedom from the oppressive West Pakistani regime. The next year, on 23 June, a new party, the Awami League, was formed. This became the first official opposition party in East Bengal (later East Pakistan), and featured Rahman as the Joint Secretary of the organization with Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani as President.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ <http://www.albd.org/index.php/en/party/history/79-inception-of-awami-league-rise-of-opposition-politics>

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

Six-Point Movement

The Six-Point Movement was founded by Rahman in 1966, as an attempt to negotiate the termination of exploitative policies against East Pakistan.²² The Six-Point Movement put forward the following six demands, or ‘autonomy plan’ to the government:

1) The constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan based on the Lahore Resolution, in its true sense based on the parliamentary form of government with supremacy of a Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.²³

2) The federal government should deal with only two subjects: Defense and Foreign Affairs, and all other residual subjects should be vested in the federating states.²⁴

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.²⁵

4) The power of taxation and revenue collection should be vested in the federating units and the federal center would have no such power. The federation would be entitled to a share in the state taxes to meet its expenditures.²⁶

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

²² <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bangladesh/The-Pakistani-period-1947-71>

²³ <http://www.albd.org/index.php/party/history/116-the-6-point-programme-magna-carta-of-bangalees>

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

between the two wings, and the constitution should empower the units to establish trade links with foreign countries.²⁷

6) East Pakistan should have a separate military or paramilitary force, and Navy headquarters should be in East Pakistan.²⁸

The people of East Pakistan will only be truly satisfied and free when the committee can create a government based on the Six-Point Movement, which lies at the heart of the ideological struggle between Pakistan's two halves. Thus, these six points can either be viewed as overarching end goals for the committee or as a compass to guide delegates to frame their own versions of end goals.

Economic and Political Disparities

Because political power was concentrated in West Pakistan, it received a disproportional amount of money from the budget, despite East Pakistan having a slightly bigger population.²⁹ A key consideration is that the central government had discretion over the use of provincial revenue, and thus were able to wield 'economic hegemony.'³⁰ The central government was able to allocate more money from sales tax and duties for developing West Pakistan, forcing East Pakistan to rely on land revenue and agricultural taxes. Over the course of 1949 to 1970, the East-West per capita income gap also grew 400% from 50 rupees to a 200 rupee gap.³¹

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Reports of the Advisory Panels for the Fourth Five Year Plan 1970–75, Vol. I, published by the planning commission of Pakistan.

³⁰ <http://www.nuff.ox.ac.uk/economics/history/paper63/63asadullah.pdf>

³¹ Ibid.

³² Year	Spending on West Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Spending on East Pakistan (in millions of Pakistani rupees)	Amount spent on East as percentage of West
1950–55	11,290	5,240	46.4
1955–60	16,550	5,240	31.7
1960–65	33,550	14,040	41.8
1965–70	51,950	21,410	41.2
Total	113,340	45,930	40.5

Not only was East Pakistan receiving a lower share of government expenditures, it was also functionally a market for West Pakistan – paying up to double what the international market price was due to a complex system of tariffs and controls.³³ Moreover, East Pakistan did not see a program of industrialization, and thus remains largely agrarian. In a sense, there was ‘inter-regional colonialism,’ between East and West Pakistan, with the former being treated as a junior partner of the latter.³⁴ Thus East Pakistan suffered economic exploitation in addition to political disenfranchisement.

Status of Education

In addition to the previously-mentioned disenfranchisement and economic exploitation, another area in which East Pakistan saw a significant amount of economic disparity was within its educational systems. Between the period of 1947 and 1971, the number of primary schools within East Pakistan decreased relative to West Pakistan; while

³² Ibid.

³³ Economic Exploitation of Bangladesh, By Mahfuz R. Chowdhury. 44.

³⁴ Ibid, 44-45.

West Pakistan gained 35,287 primary schools during the period, the number in East Pakistan substantially declined.³⁵ In addition, the faster-growing primary school-age population in East Pakistan far surpassed that in West Pakistan. Thus, the economic oppression of East Pakistan was compounded by the fact that millions of its youth were deprived of accessible education. In addition, two of West Pakistan's sparsely-populated provinces, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, were allocated a disproportionately-large number of new secondary schools as well.³⁶ This situation led to a far lower functional literacy rate in East Pakistan, which perpetuated its primarily agrarian economy (given that individuals could not attain higher-paying jobs).

Current Situation

On December 7th, 1970, General Yahya Khan, the President of Pakistan held the first free and fair parliamentary elections in Pakistan.³⁷ The Awami League, founded on the principles of Bengali nationalism, secured 167 of 169 seats in East Pakistan, and managed to win an absolute majority out of 313 seats.³⁸ Coming second was the West Pakistan based People's Party of Pakistan, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Despite a constitutional loss, Bhutto refused to accept an Awami League government and invited Sheikh Rahman, leader of the Awami League to negotiate a hybrid government.³⁹ On March 1, 1971, unhappy with this political development, General Yahya Khan, who had little intention of letting East Pakistan become independent, postponed the convening of the National Assembly.⁴⁰ This was met by

³⁵ <http://www.nuff.ox.ac.uk/economics/history/paper63/63asadullah.pdf>

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2014/04/06/comment/free-and-fair-election-of-1970/>

³⁸ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bangladesh/The-Pakistani-period-1947-71>

³⁹ <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/bangladeshi-citizens-struggle-through-noncooperation-political-autonomy-1971>

⁴⁰ <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/bangladesh/2014-06-16/what-really-happened-bangladesh>

sparking outrage from Awami League and its supporters who viewed it as a hostile attempt to prevent the Bengali party from forming the government.⁴¹

Questions to Consider

Once again, the date today is 6th March 1971, five days after Yahya Khan's move to deny the Awami League the right to form the government. Tomorrow, on 7th March, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman plans to deliver his historic address at the racecourse in Dhaka, calling for East Pakistanis to participate in a civil disobedience movement to protest Yahya Khan's actions.

However, there have also been widespread reports of mobilization of military assets in West Pakistan. This can and should be taken as a signal of possible violent and hostile response from the West. From this point on, the JCC may or may not mirror the events of the actual war. Unforeseen crises might arise at any time, drifting the committee completely off the course of actual history. West Pakistan delegates might deviate from history and employ completely different military tactics that might catch us off guard. Delegates should anticipate these events and strategically develop a plan to ensure an East Pakistan victory. Consider the following points while charting their long-term and short-term strategies:

1. What is the best way to mobilize popular support and capitalize it? What psychological, behavioral and social propaganda or strategies could delegates employ to achieve maximum support?
2. How interested would East Pakistan be in getting support from the international community? In what form would it prefer this support and negotiate it?
3. How can East Pakistan capitalize on India-Pakistan's historic animosity and strengthen itself multifold by securing Indian support? Is undue Indian military

⁴¹ Ibid.

- influence undesirable in case East Pakistan wins freedom and becomes a young, unstable country?
4. What military tactics can we anticipate from West Pakistan and how can we best counter them? Would it be a good idea to mount an offensive attack first, catching West Pakistan off guard, or would that backfire?
 5. How can we best develop our military assets? Refer to character descriptions to answer this question. From arming students to creating efficient guerilla groups, it is completely up to the delegates to develop and deploy military assets that don't exist prior to 6th March 1971.
 6. Lastly, and most importantly, what will an independent East Pakistan look like? How will the political system be organized? If we win the war, what will our relationship with West Pakistan look like? War will likely destabilize the economic, political and social systems. How will we stabilize them and ensure a sustainable and prosperous future for our country?

List of Characters – Bangladesh

1. **Sheikh Mujibur Rahman** – Leader of the Awami League

Rahman's Awami League won the December election with a majority of seats in the assembly. Rahman, born in 1920, has a long history of advocating both for a separate Muslim homeland as part of the Muslim League during the Raj, and for advocating for greater Bengali autonomy within Pakistan. After the formation of Pakistan, he served jail time for protesting the adoption of Urdu as the national language. He had led students demanding that Bengali also be recognized as an official language in 1949. By 1953, he was the general secretary of the Awami League party in East Pakistan. He served in the assembly from 1955. In 1956 he was insistent in the demand that the people of East Bengal have a say in the naming of the new province, which was named East Pakistan by the central government. After resisting the regime of Ayub Khan, he was arrested but released by 1961. At this point he began organizing an underground political movement in Bengal by the name of the Free Bangla Revolutionary Council. In 1963 he became the head of the Awami League. He began to garner support by opposing the regime of Ayub Khan and his increasing centralization of power. This was eloquently proposed in his 1966 Six-Point Programme, which called for a democratic federation with limited central powers, separate currencies to stop the flight of capital, reservation of taxation to the provinces, separate foreign exchange reserves, and a separate militia.⁴² Arrested again he returned to contest the 1970 election. Coming on the heel of a negligent central response to the 1970 Bhola cyclone, Rahman's party won a majority of seats. At the moment, the President has not invited him to form the next government of Pakistan. Most recently, on the 3rd of March, the

⁴² <http://www.albd.org/index.php/party/history/116-the-6-point-programme-magna-carta-of-bangalees>

convention of the National Assembly was postponed until March 25th. Rahman's response is sure to guide opinion in East Pakistan, but it remains to be seen if he has gathered support among the leaders of society. His overwhelming priority is to see that the autonomy of the Bengali Muslims is ensured and that they have fair access to resources and a democratic government. While he has the respect of the people at large, his reputation for working well with others is more at question.

2. **Colonel M.A.G. Osmani** – Leader of Bengali military units

Currently retired from the Pakistani military, Colonel Osmani served as the Deputy Director of Military Operations from 1958 to 1967 under Ayub Khan. He was critical to the defense of the country in the 1965 war with India despite being continually sidelined by the Western Pakistani generals. He was a continual advocate of the prowess of Bengali military units during war and peace despite rampant prejudice against Bengalis as being unsuitable for service. At the moment, he is serving as the node of communications for the various militia groups and Bengali military units, who are awaiting to see the direction that both Pakistani military units take and what Bengali political leaders decide. It is rumored he has planned military action with Mujibur Rahman. He hails from Sylhet.⁴³

3. **Major Ziaur Rahman** – Commander of 8th and 9th East Bengal Regiments

Having served with distinction in the 1965 war with India, Major Ziaur Rahman (known by the name Zia) is in command of the 8th East Bengal Regiment in Chittagong. Zia received advanced military training in West Germany and in Britain. He also helped to raise the 9th

⁴³ "From Protest to Freedom: A Book for the New Generation: the Birth of Bangladesh," Mokerrom Hossain

East Bengal Regiment, and is held in high regard by all of the East Bengal military units.

With its units of the 8th and 9th in Chittagong, he controls nearly 3,000 regulars.⁴⁴

4. Major Khaled Mosharraf – Commander of 4th East Bengal regiment

Major Mosharraf is the commander of the 4th Bengal regiment in Comilla. He has served in the Pakistani Army since 1955 and received training in West Germany and the UK. He is reported to be in contact with Indian forces in Tripura. His training is also in crack operations, including infrastructure sabotage. The 4th regiment includes 1,500 Bengali troops.⁴⁵

5. Major K. M. Shafiullah – Commander of 2nd East Bengal Regiment

Major Shafiullah is a commander in Dhaka, just to the north of the city in Joydevpur. His force consists of 1,000 Bengali regulars and 1,500 armed Bengali policemen. He has the loyalty of his troops, but he is the least experienced of the major commanders. His support will be necessary to protect the political leadership of Bengal in the capital.⁴⁶

6. M. A. Rab – former Quartermaster General, Pakistani Army

A close friend of Colonel Osmani, M.A. Rab served with distinction in the British front in Burma and in Pakistan's wars with India. He served at the rank of general as a quartermaster, and retired in 1970. He lives in Habiganj, near the border with India. He has contacts with most major international suppliers of arms, including in the United States and Europe, besides an intimate understanding of supply routes in East Pakistan. He will hold the key to logistic supremacy in any conflict.⁴⁷

7. A. K. Khandker – Commander Pakistan Air Force Base Dhaka

⁴⁴ <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/05/30/world/bangladesh-reports-death-of-president-ziaur-rahman.html>

⁴⁵ <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/bangabandhu-appeals/2009/11/01/col-jamil-involved-khaled-mosharraf-key-plotter>

⁴⁶ <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2015/11/08/failure-to-protect-bangabandhu-still-haunts-shafiullah>

⁴⁷ <http://www.londoni.co/index.php/who-s-who?id=335>

Khandker has served in the Pakistani Air Force since 1952. He served as an instructor and a commander of the Jet Fighter Squadron in the 50's and as the President of the Air Force's Planning commission in the 60's until 1969. Since then, he has been the commander at the base in Dhaka. Although he has the loyalty of most Bengali personnel, this only makes up 10 officers, 60 airmen, and it is unclear how many aircraft this number would be able to seize. However, with support, he is confident that a Bengali resistance force would be able to field significant air support.⁴⁸

8. Mahbub Ali Khan - Commander of Anti-Submarine School, Karachi

Khan, a naval officer, is currently the commander of the Anti-Submarine and Torpedo School in Karachi. A native of East Pakistan, he has currently returned under cover. He has had extensive training in Britain in naval defense tactics and is also intimately familiar with the geographical complexity of the myriad river systems of East Pakistan. Most of the river transport vehicles in the region are controlled by Bengali personnel, and Khan is rumored to have initiated contact with most of them.⁴⁹

9. Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani - Leader of the National Awami Party

A long-time member of the Awami League, Bhashani left the party when he differed with the right wing party leaders and demanded independence. He is the leading socialist of East Pakistan, advocating for a political philosophy that sees a jihad against the bourgeoisie, and which framed the issue of Bengali autonomy in terms of the control of West Pakistani business and military interests. Besides being the leading leader of the left and of left leaning Islamists, Bhashani also had significant contacts with China, and limited contact with the Soviets. When Rahman was imprisoned, he led public protests for his release, despite their political differences. In the 1970 elections, he chose not to contest because he felt the West

⁴⁸ <http://www.thedailystar.net/author/air-vice-marshal-ret-d-k-khandker>

⁴⁹ <http://www.hyderabadplanet.com/mir-mahboob-ali-khan-asaf-jah-nizam.html>

Pakistani regime would not honor the results. He has currently fled to Calcutta, but is in contact with the political leadership of East Pakistan.⁵⁰

10. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury - Dhaka High Court Judge

Educated in Calcutta and London, Justice Chowdhury is considered one of the most eloquent men in East Pakistan. He is currently in Geneva, where he is said to have the ear of most major diplomats and the UN. Indeed, he is in contact with U Thant, the UN Secretary General who hails from bordering Burma. Justice Chowdhury has the support of the large Bengali community in London as well, and has been reaching out to diplomats across Europe. He will be critical to any attempts to gather foreign support for the cause of East Bengal.⁵¹

11. Belal Muhammed - Director, Radio Pakistan East Bengal

Educated in Chittagong, Belal is a scriptwriter and radio operator in charge of Radio Pakistan's East Pakistan Operations. He is contact with the major radio personalities, entertainers, and musicians of East Pakistan, and is said to have formed a group called Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra which is dedicated to spreading the message of East Bengal's autonomy. Any effort to reach the population at large would be most successful using radio operations, but while Belal has the operational skills, he will need help to prevent the intervention of Pakistani authorities.⁵²

12. Mohammad Hemayet Uddin Bir Bikrom – Commander-in-Chief of the Hemayet Bahini

A legendary field commander in the Pakistani army, he was an instructor in the Pakistan military academy. He is known for his guerilla tactics in the area of Faridabad. He controls a

⁵⁰ <http://biography.yourdictionary.com/maulana-abdul-hamid-khan-bhashani>

⁵¹ <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/08/03/obituaries/abu-sayeed-chowdhury-66-was-president-of-bangladesh.html>

⁵² <https://www.army.mil.bd/History>

militia force of 2,500 in the area of Faridabad. He is known to be a left leaning individual, but his recruiting methods have depended on appeals to the Islamist organizations in the region.

13. Chitta Ranjan Dutta - Colonel Frontier Forces Regiment

A graduate of the Raj's Indian Military Academy, Dutta is the highest ranking Hindu in the Pakistani military. He has extensive contacts in the Hindu community of East Pakistan, and also extensive military experience. He is also a leader in an informal group for minorities, including not just Hindus but also tribals, Christians, Biharis, and Buddhists.⁵³

14. Serajul Alam Khan – Founder and leader of Swadhin Bangla Nucleus

The “architect” of Bangladeshi identity, Serajul founded the Nucleus in 1962 in Dhaka University. Its aim was to promote the political advocacy of East Bengal's autonomy in Pakistan. They laid the foundation by writing editorials, creating songs, and designing symbols that advocated for Bangladesh's own autonomy. He is a master of creating support among both the middle classes and the masses, and he has contacts with most of the major elites of the country. He is a unifying force, and has extensive contact in with Muslim elites throughout the world from Singapore to Egypt.⁵⁴

⁵³ <http://www.londoni.co/index.php/who-s-who?id=323>

⁵⁴ <http://www.serajulalamkhan.co.uk/prson.htm>