



BANGABANDHU AND BANGLADESH

An Epic of a Nation's
Emergence and Emancipation



Panch Sheikhan
www.panchsheikhan.com



Bangladesh Taka 1195.00
US \$: 20.00 UK £: 10.00

Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS) revisited the Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's thoughts, ideas and vision through a series of seminars and webinars throughout his birth centenary. This book is a compilation of revised and edited versions of the papers presented at those events. It commemorates the transformational leadership of Bangabandhu which organized people against oppression and contributed to nation-building, state-building and national emancipation. In the international arena, Bangabandhu's leadership provided a milestone for the foreign policy of Bangladesh. His ideas and goals along with his political philosophy not only helped with the restoration of the state during the post-liberation period but also paved the way for the country's emergence. Bangabandhu's holistic approaches towards economic development and international relations built up synergies of cooperation based on mutual respect and the motto that says, "friendship towards all and malice towards none".

(Continued to the back flap)

Get closer to Pathak Shamabesh at
www.pathakshamabesh.com

ISBN 978-984-95495-7-4

(Continued from the front cover flap)

In order to present those ideas in a more comprehensive manner for a larger audience, this book is divided into six chapters. Apart from the introductory and concluding chapters, the other chapters are national emancipation, leadership, foreign policy, nation building and development. Each of the chapters incorporates one or more papers from distinguished scholars who illustrated the contribution of the Father of the Nation in the gradual development of the country when Bangladesh went from a state of political and economic stagnation to a state of national emancipation. Bangladesh's esteemed daughter, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina eloquently continued his legacy and maintained the prestigious status of Bangladesh in the global platform. This book collates and contextualizes the ideology, political vision and teachings of Bangabandhu throughout the past, present and future.

While remembering the visionary leadership of the Father of the Nation, the book will serve as reference material for scholars and notable literature for the future generations who are interested to work in the fields of International Relations, Political Science, Peace and Conflict, Economics and Development Studies.

Bangabandhu / Bangladesh / National Emancipation /
Foreign Policy / Leadership / Economics /
Political Science / Development Studies

BANGABANDHU AND BANGLADESH

An Epic of a Nation's
Emergence and Emancipation

Cover Design by Anisuzzaman Sohel



A

Pathak Shamabesh Book

Bangabandhu / Bangladesh /
National Emancipation / Foreign Policy /
Leadership / Economics / Political Science /
Development Studies



Pathak Shamabesh

Download the App

Google Play

App Store



Price BDT : 1175.00

Price US \$: 20.00

Price UK £: 10.00

ISBN 978-984-95495-7-4



978-984-95495-7-4

Printed & Bound by Culture Press, Bangladesh

Bangabandhu and Bangladesh

An Epic of a Nation's Emergence
and Emancipation



*Mujib Year's Diplomacy
Friendship & Prosperity*



PATHAK SHAMABESH BOOK

A publishing and marketing house of books on Development, Economics, Politics
Literature, Art, History, Sociology, Health, Philosophy, Aesthetics,
Women Issues, Films and Media in contemporary Bangladesh

Bangabandhu and Bangladesh

An Epic of a Nation's Emergence and Emancipation

Chief Editor

Md Emdad Ul Bari

Editors

Sheikh Masud Ahmed

Mahfuz Kabir

Associate Editors

Segufta Hossain

Abu Salah Md Yousuf

Mohammad Jasim Uddin

Sufia Khanom

Assistant Editors

M Ashique Rahman

Mahbubur Rashid Bhuiyan

A S M Tarek Hassan Semul

Sajid Karim

Rubel Molla

Syeda Tanzia Sultana

Ayesha Binte Towhid

Nahian Reza Sabriet



Pathak Shamosh
Since 1967



A PATHAK SHAMABESH BOOK

Bangabandhu and Bangladesh

An Epic of a Nation's Emergence and Emancipation

Copyright 2021 © BISS
All Rights Reserved
First Published: August 2021

Published in Bangladesh by
Shahidul Islam Bizu
PATHAK SHAMABESH
17 Aziz Market (G.F.), Shahbag, Dhaka 1000
204/B Tejgaon Link Road (3rd Floor), Gulshan, Dhaka 1208
Phone: 88-02-222261003, 9662766, 9669555; 01713034440 or 01841234611
E-mail: pathak@bol-online.com
Website: www.pathakshamabesh.com

In association with
Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS)
1/46, Old Elephant Road, Ramna, Dhaka-1000

Cover Design: Anisuzzaman Sohel

Layout Design & Typesetting: Pathak Shamabesh Design Studio
Printed & Bound by Culture Press, Dhaka

No part of this book may be reprinted, photographed, photocopied, recorded or reproduced in any form without the written consent of the editor and the publisher.

The views expressed in the volume are those of the authors alone and do not necessarily reflect the views of the organization with which the authors are affiliated

ISBN 978-984-95495-7-4

Outlet 1: PATHAK SHAMABESH, 17 Aziz Market, Shahbag, Dhaka 1000 Tel: 9662766
Outlet 2: PATHAK SHAMABESH, 204/B Tejgaon Link Road, 2nd Floor
Gulshan, Dhaka 1209 Tel: 222261003
Outlet 3: PATHAK SHAMABESH Centre, Building-4A, Bangladesh National Museum
1st Floor, Shahbag, Dhaka 1000 Tel: 9669555
Outlet 4: PATHAK SHAMABESH Centre Uttara, Plot 67, 3rd Floor, Gausul Azam Avenue
Sector 14, Uttara, Dhaka 1230 Tel: 01841234607
India Outlet: PATHAK SHAMABESH Centre, Kolkata, Platinum Publisher, 3/1 College Row
Kolkata 700009, Tel: +91 8697127988, +91 7001684647

Dedication

*To all who made supreme sacrifice
for emancipating Bangladesh*

ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES

Table 2(1).1	Pakistan's Armed Forces: Inter-wing Disparities	50
Table 2(1).2	Timeline of the Advent and Career of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	51
Table 4(5).1	Security Council Voting Record on the Question of Bangladesh's Admission to the UN in 1972	238
Table 5(4).1	Production and Import of Food Items from 1971-72 to 1975-76	298
Table 5(4).2	Information on Irrigation from 1971-72 to 1974-75	300

FIGURES

Figure 2(1).1	Diplomacy Model: A Symbolic View of Conceptual Links	49
Figure 4(5).1	Total Plenary Meetings and Resolution Adopted by Vote in 56 th -72 nd UNGA Sessions	235
Figure 4(5).2	Thematic Categories of UNGA Resolutions: 2001-2017 (N=1284)	236

Figure 4(5).3	Content Analysis of Bangabandhu's Historic Speech at the 29 th Session of the UNGA, 1974 (Occurrences of Key Themes)	241
Figure 4(5).4	Bangladesh's Voting Record in Peace and Security Issues	242
Figure 4(5).5	UNGA Voting Record of Bangladesh: 2001-2017	244
Figure 4(5).6	Bangladesh's Voting Record on HR (subset) Related Resolutions: 2001-17	246
Figure 4(5).7	Bangladesh's Voting Record in Economic and Developmental Issues	247
Figure 4(5).8	Bangladesh's Voting Record in Regional Peace and Cooperation	249
Figure 4(5).9	Bangladesh's Voting Record in Disarmament and Nuclear Non-proliferation Issues (% of 'Y/N/A' votes/session, n=395*)	250

ANNEXES

Annex 2.A	Diplomacy Model: A Symbolic View of Conceptual Links	49
Annex 2.B	Pakistan's Armed Forces: Inter-wing Disparities	50
Annex 2.C	Timeline of the Advent and Career of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	51

CONTRIBUTORS

A K ABDUL MOMEN is the Foreign Minister of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. He has PhD in Economics, MBA in Business Administration from the Northeastern University, Boston, USA and MPA in Public Administration, Public Policy and International Economics from the Harvard University, USA. He was Chair of the Department of Economics and Business, Framingham State University, Massachusetts. He is a freedom fighter of the Liberation War and currently is serving his term as the Member of Parliament (MP) on Sylhet-1 constituency.

ABUL KALAM is former Professor of International Relations, University of Dhaka. He was Distinguished Visiting Japan Foundation Professor of International Relations, University of Sindh. He successively worked as Asia Foundation Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley, Ford Foundation Fellow at Oxford and in Singapore, Senior Fulbright Fellow at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and Senior Japan Foundation Fellow at the Tokyo Institute of Technology. He holds MA in International Affairs at Carleton University Canada. His doctoral research in the 1970s was on "Peacemaking in Indochina".

A S M ALIASHRAF is Professor of International Relations at University of Dhaka. He obtained PhD from University of Pittsburgh, USA. He is member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), London.

GOBINDA CHAKRABORTY is Professor of Political Science at University of Dhaka. He obtained PhD from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

MASHIQUE RAHMAN is Research Fellow at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). He is Fulbright scholar and has obtained MA in International Relations from Boston University, USA. He was Japan Foundation Fellow at Japan Institute of International Affairs, Tokyo.

MAHFUZ KABIR is Research Director at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). He obtained PhD in Economics from School of Economics and Finance, Curtin University, Australia.

MD EMDAD UL BARI is Major General in Bangladesh Army and Director General of Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). He was commissioned in Bangladesh Army in 1985. Prior to joining BIISS, he was the Vice Chancellor of Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP). He holds Master of Defence Studies and Bachelor of Engineering (Telecom) degrees.

MD RAFIQUUL ISLAM is Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Dhaka. He completed PhD in Migration and Conflict from Flinders University, Australia.

MD SHAHRIAR ALAM is the State Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. He obtained Master of Business Administration (MBA) from the Institute of Business Administration (IBA), University of Dhaka and completed Capstone course at the National Defense College, Dhaka. He is Member of Parliament (MP) from Rajshahi-6 constituency.

MOHAMMAD ZAHIDUL ISLAM KHAN is Group Captain in Bangladesh Air Force (BAF) and Chevening scholar. He obtained PhD from the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of

Reading, United Kingdom. He is currently serving at Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Aviation and Aerospace University. He has served in several command, staff and instructional assignments in BAF, United Nations peacekeeping missions and as a faculty member of the Defence Services Command and Staff College, Mirpur, Bangladesh.

MUHAMMAD SHAHADAT HOSSAIN SIDDIQUEE is Professor of Economics at the University of Dhaka and Senior Research Fellow at BRAC Institute of Governance and Development (BIGD), BRAC University. He obtained PhD from the University of Manchester, UK.

MUSTAFIZUR RAHMAN is Distinguished Fellow at the Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) and former Professor at the University of Dhaka. He has PhD in Development Economics from Moscow State University, Russia. He was post-doctoral researcher at several institutes including the University of Oxford, UK and the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS), Singapore as Visiting Fellow; at Yale University, USA as Senior Fulbright Fellow and at Warwick University, UK as post-doctoral fellow.

QAZI KHOLIQUZZAMAN AHMAD is currently the Chairman of the Palli Karma-Sahayak Foundation (PKSF). He is also serving as the Chairman of the Governing Council of Dhaka School of Economics and Coordinator of Bangladesh Climate Change Negotiating Team of UNFCCC. He obtained PhD in Economics from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), UK. He was an active participant in the Bangladesh Liberation War in 1971 as Planning Cell member of the then Bangladesh Government-in-Exile. He received the *Swadhinata Padak* (the highest national civilian award in Bangladesh) in 2019 and *Ekushey Padak* (the second highest national civilian award in 2009, presented by the Government of Bangladesh).

SHAHAB ENAM KHAN is Professor of International Relations of Jahangirnagar University and also serves as Senior Research Director at Bangladesh Enterprise Institute (BEI). He is currently doctoral fellow in Energy Security Programme at Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi, India.

SHAMSUL ALAM is the State Minister at the Ministry of Planning of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. He also served as a Member (Senior Secretary) of the General Economics Division of the Bangladesh Planning Commission. He obtained PhD in Agricultural Economics and Food Marketing from the University of Newcastle, UK. He worked as Visiting Professor at the University of Ghent in Belgium, Humboldt University in Germany and Wageningen University in the Netherlands. He received the *Ekushey Padak* in 2020.

SMRUTI S PATTANAIK is Research Fellow at the Manohar Parrikar Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (MP-IDSA). She has PhD from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. She was Visiting Fellow at the International Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) and was Visiting Professor at the University of Colombo.

SUFIA KHANOM is Senior Research Fellow at Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS). She obtained PhD from the Department of Geography and Planning, Macquarie University, Australia. She was Visiting Fellow at the International Centre for Climate Change and Development (ICCCAD), Bangladesh and the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), Nepal.

SYED ANWAR HUSAIN is the Bangabandhu Chair Professor at Bangladesh University of Professionals (BUP). He was Supernumerary Professor and Chairman of Department of History at the University of Dhaka. He holds PhD in British Administrative History from the University of London. He was awarded the *Ekushey Padak* in 2009.

FOREWORD

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman occupies a unique position in the history of the twentieth century as the first leader to have successfully led the liberation movement in the post-colonial world. At the end of the Second World War, the European imperial rulers, faced with the rising challenges of nationalism, prudently withdrew from the colonies in the hope of safeguarding their interest after the end of formal empires. After 1946 decolonization followed fairly rapidly. The imperial powers hurriedly transferred to the dominant groups in societies that were heterogeneous and boundaries of the states had been arbitrarily and haphazardly drawn without any recognition of the conditions on the ground. People of different ethnic groups where some cases were lumped together in one state and in other cases the people of same ethno-linguistic groups were scattered over several states. Neither the opinion of the inhabitants nor geographical or economic considerations taken into account.

Of all the incongruities of decolonization, the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan were most bizarre. Pakistan was based on the premise that Hindus and Muslims could not live together, and that Muslims of the subcontinent were entitled to separate states on the basis of Jinnah's two-nations theory. The Bengalis constituted the significant majority in the new state but power was handed over to migrant Muslims from India and the minority inhabitants of West Pakistan. The demand and desire of the Bengalis for a sovereign-independent state was brushed aside on grounds

it would delay the transfer of power to which Mountbatten's egos were committed. The result was the creation of a so-called Muslim state composed of two wings, separated by a thousand miles of alien territory, and within in common between the people of the wings except a supposedly shared religion. The people of East Pakistan had their own language, culture and literature; ethnically they were different, as were differences in their diet, dress, and aesthetics. They seldom married each other; they could not communicate with the other in their native languages; and even the Islam as practiced by the people of the two wings were regarded as different.

Nevertheless, the boundaries bequeathed by the foreign rulers were considered sacrosanct with no scope given to the people of the territory to exercise their right to self-determination. The rulers of the new post-colonial state were all agreed, and it was sanctioned by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), that the boundaries could not be altered. The international community also respected the consensus; and it was also accepted as customary practice that what happened within the state boundaries—ethnic or religious discrimination, economic exploitation of one group by another, violation of human rights or even genocide—were internal affairs and no concern of the international community. Even the United Nations took shelter behind the fiction of “non-interference in internal affairs”. Humanitarian intervention was a concept of the future.

There was another powerful factor that operated in favour of the status quo. The post-war international system was dominated by the Cold War rivalry between the two super powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—and their allies. The system was based on a “zero-sum game”—any gain by one bloc was seen as the loss for others. Groups struggling against “internal imperialism” virtually had no recourse to external assistance. The incumbent governments could always seek the support of a countervailing superpower to ensure the status quo was not disrupted. The history of Afro-Asian state is replete with examples of exploited groups struggling for their rights and being ruthlessly suppressed by the governments in power. It was about this time that the Ibos in Nigeria, the Turkish Cypriot in Northern Cyprus and the Tamils in Sri Lanka had made huge sacrifices for establishing their rights but none had succeeded. In fact, until 1971 no group had succeeded in challenging the

authority of the state. Mujib was the first post-colonial leader who successfully led his people to independence by challenging a government that had the backing of two superpowers—China and the United States. In the annals of liberation Mujib occupies a unique position. He not only liberated Bangladesh but he also opened up the sluice gate for many other groups and communities who were aspiring for independence in the former Soviet Union, Eastern and Central Europe and in the Balkans and Baltic regions. Mujib's action also challenged the conscience of the international community and put human rights and genocide on the agenda of the United Nations.

The centenary celebrations of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has offered us, albeit rather belatedly, the opportunity to assess his contributions in both national and international context and recognize his achievements that have been long denied. It is a tragedy that the study of the life of the greatest Bengali of all time, and the father of the nation has been neglected for so long. Not only it was neglected but for over a quarter of century after his, and his family's, most gruesome assassination, the history has been distorted and deliberate attempts were made to impugn his image and his contribution to making who we are today. Every effort was made to obliterate his name from the annals of Bangladesh. It is our good fortune that we have been given a second chance not only to recognize his contributions to the making of the country but also, under the inspiring leadership of his daughter, Sheikh Hasina, a chance to complete his work and realize his dreams of *Sonar Bangla*. It is also an opportunity for us to reflect, to examine our conscience, to rededicate ourselves so that we too can contribute to the realization of his vision.

I am delighted that the Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BISS) organized a seminar series on the birth centenary of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman focusing on his leadership and foreign policy. This book is an admirable result of that celebration that commemorates and puts in perspective the policies of the leader through rigorous research and scholarship. The book encompasses a wide range of issues—bringing the past, present and future altogether. The book highlights Bangabandhu's charismatic personality, idealistic influence and intellectual prowess. These characteristics of the great leader had shaped the spirit of autonomy and emancipation of this nation. Among the other

areas that the book has taken into account, are Bangabandhu's nationalist aspiration for freedom with his global yearning for peace and justice, his post-war reconstruction efforts as well as his empowerment of the women and oppressed people. Looking beyond the state-border, this book also illustrates his idea of regional cooperation and strategies in balancing divergent global powers.

In the golden jubilee of Bangladesh, Bangabandhu's dream of a *Sonar Bangla* can be fulfilled if the coming generations can continue Bangabandhu's footstep towards a more prosperous Bangladesh. Economic emancipation is undoubtedly a comprehensive and long-term process. If this book can generate a radiant knowledge base, encourage further discussion and have an appeal among the analysts inside the country and beyond, the effort will be well-justified and appreciated.

The book is an outstanding contribution to the growing literature on Bangabandhu and the readers will be all grateful to BISS and especially to Major General Md Emdad Ul Bari, ndc, psc, te for bringing together an outstanding group of scholars and practitioners to contribute to the volume and making possible its publication.

Prime Minister's Office
Dhaka, 11 June 2021

Professor Dr Gowher Rizvi
International Relation Affairs
Adviser to the Prime Minister
Government of the People's
Republic of Bangladesh