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Struggling Life of Bangabandhu as Depicted
in the Documents of Pakistani Intelligence
Branch, 1948-1950

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to reconstruct the history of a very small part of Bangabandhu's struggling life (1948- 1950) based on the intelligence report submitted by the Intelligence Branch (IB) of Pakistan to the senior authority about his daily activities.

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman started his struggle for bringing about a change in the life of the people of Bengal since his school life. His political life began in the year of 1940. During this time he was elected councilor of All India Muslim Students Federation and of All Bengal Muslim Students League and general secretary of the Gopalganj sub division Muslim Students League. He played an active role in the Hallowell Monument Removal Movement in Kolkata in 1941. Since getting admission into Islamia College in Kolkata in 1942, he had been the sole leader of the student movement. In the year 1946, he was elected general secretary of the Islamia College Student Union without any contest. During the famine of 1943, he stood beside the poor and helpless. He played a significant role in preventing communal riots in 1946. In the year 1947, immediately after the partition of India, he severed relations with the Muslim League. He founded the East Bengal Muslim Student League on January 4, 1948. While in prison he was elected joint secretary of Awami Muslim League founded on 23rd June 1949.

He was imprisoned four times during 1948- 1950. For the first time in March 1948 he was arrested for leading a State Language Movement. In 1949 he was expelled from the law class of Dhaka University for his connection with the strike of lower class employees of Dhaka University and was arrested for the second time for the same offence. Then in 1949 he was again imprisoned for the offence of breaking Article 144. He was imprisoned in October 1949 for leading a delegation to the then Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan.

Since the launch of language movement, Pakistani intelligence agencies began to monitor him strongly. Detectives monitored him every moment of every day and submitted surveillance reports to senior authorities. Thus the IB opened a file named 'Sheikh Mujib' in 1948. Documents were added to it every day and continued until 1971. The file was named Private File (PF). From 1948 until 1971, the total number of files on Sheikh Mujib became forty seven.

After the formation of the government in the year 1996, the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina collected the files of the IB¹. She realized the importance of the documents and took initiatives to compile and publish them. A total of 14 volumes of documents will have to be published of whom, a total of 10 volumes have already been published, viz-

Volume-1 : 1949-1950	Volume-6 : 1960-1961
Volume-2 : 1951-1952	Volume-7 : 1962-1963
Volume-3 : 1953	Volume-8 : 1964
Volume-4 : 1954-1957	Volume-9 : 1965
Volume-5 : 1958-59	Volume-10 : 1966

Sheikh Hasina wrote about the importance of the documents²:

Considering the importance of these documents, I have taken an initiative in this article to reconstruct the history of Bangabandhu's struggle in the early part of Pakistan (1948-

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1950) based on the information available in the first volume. This phase of time is important for a variety of reasons. The Chhatra League (Bch) was established on January 4, 1948 and the Awami Muslim League on June 23, 1949. Bangabandhu had played a vital role in establishing BCL and the Awami Muslim League. Bangabandhu was then a law student at Dhaka University. As a student of Dhaka University he participated in and led the Language Movement which took place in March 1948 and went to jail. He supported the movement of 4th grade employees of Dhaka University in 1949 and consequently lost his studentship. Apart from that he led the movement of abolishing the Zamindari system, repealing the cordon system and protesting against the Basic Principal Committee Report of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of 1949 and various other movements and struggles. He rushed out across the country to strengthen the Chhatra League and Awami Muslim League. Therefore, it can be said that this period is the beginning of the struggle life of Bangabandhu. From this point of view this article is very important.

Analysis of the Document of First Volume

In this article I have presented the information of the first volume(1948-1950) dividing it into 12 aspects, viz (1) introduction (2) the life sketch of Bangabandhu and his family's other members up to 1950 in the light of intelligence reports, (3) organizational activities of Bangabandhu, (4) movement and struggle (4a) preparation for the movement demanding Bangla as a State Language on 11 March, 1948, (4b) movement against government's Cordon system on behalf of Dawal, (4c) movement to establish Gopalganj college, (5) publications of magazines, bulletins and leaflets ; sell, distribution and promotion by Bangabandhu, (6) letters written and received by Bangabandhu, (7) statements of Bangabandhu, (8) Bangabandhu's letter written to IB and IB report of the arrest of Bangabandhu, (9) observing strike to protest against Bangabandhu 's detention and (9a) petitioning Habeas Corpus in

High Court, (10) meeting with Bangabandhu in jail, (11) review, (12) notes and references.

NB. In this paper we have denoted Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman by a single word 'Bangabandhu'.

In the light of intelligence reports, the life sketch of Bangabandhu and his relatives:

On 19 July, 1948 the Intelligence Branch recorded the biography of Bangabandhu and some of his other relatives. These are mentioned below³:

- (1) Name and nick name (if available): Sheikh Mujibur Rahman
- (2) Father's Name : Shiekh Lutfor Rahman (Sherestadar in charge of Court)
- (3) Address: Permanent- Village-Tungi para, Ps- Gopalganj, Dist- Faridpur Temporary-150, Mogoltuli, Dacca, (League Office)
- (4) Religion: Islam
- (5) Date of Birth: 1920
- (6) School, College and Year of examination: Passed matriculation in 1942 from the M N Institution of Gopalganj. Passed IA from Calcutta Islamia College in 1945 and was awarded B A pass degree from the same college. Currently he is a student of law department of Dacca University.
- (7) Job: x
- (8) Identities of Relatives: in Government Job- (i) Mr. Sayeed Hossain, M.A, BSc Inspector of Bengal Excise, Rajshahi (Village-Parulia, Ps-Kashiyani, Dist-Faridpur) Brother-in-law (Husband of sister). (ii) Mr. Nurul Haque, B A Head Clerk, A. G East Bengal, Dacca (Village-Tungipara) Brother-in-law (Husband of sister).

(iii) Sheikh Zahirul Haque, Tungipara, Branch Post Master, Patgati, (Uncle-in-law from the side Sheikh Mujib's wife, Renu)

Others: (i). Sheikh Abu Naser, Younger brother, Contractor, Civil Supply, Khulna, (ii) Abdur Rob, Father: Abdul Khaleque, Sorail, Ps-Gournodi, Barisal, President Gayla UB, Director, Pakistan Transport Combined (Contractor of Civil Supply Transport Department) Brother-in-law.

On 25.05.1949 Special Branch DIG commented on Sheikh Mujibur and his father as follows⁴:

SK. Mujibur Rahman is aged about 28 years. His father is a retired Sheristadar of Munisff's Court and is getting a pension of Rs 50/- or 60/- per month. There is no other earning member in his family. His father has sufficient landed property i.e. about 100 bighas of Khash cultivable land. His father does not pay any Income Tax. He is a Talukder and is respectably connected.

Mujibur Rahman is married. He has also acquired through his wife some landed property yielding an annual income of about Rs-2000/-. He was a law student at Dacca University when he was arrested. He was getting his monthly allowances from his father out of the income of his father's and his own landed property. He had no other source of income.

Sd/25-5- 1949

(FR Khondker)

DIG, Police, IB

East Bengal, Dacca.

On May 1, 1949 the DIB prepared a statement about the life story of Bangabandhu. Considering that this would be helpful as sources in writing the biography of Bangabandhu, it is quoted here⁵:

67 : Dacca, 1 May 1949

Statement of Sk. Mozibur Rahaman s/o Moulvi. Sk. Lutfar Rahaman of Tangipara. Post-Patgati P.S.- Gopalganj, Dist-Faridpur at present student of 2nd year L.L.B. Dacca University and of 150 Mogaltali, Dacca.

My name is Sk. Mozibur Rahaman s/o Mlvi. Sk. Lutfar Rahaman of Tungipara, P.S. Gopalganj, Dist- Faridpur. I am a student of 2nd year L.L.B. Dacca University. I have got one younger brother namely Sk. Abu Nasar who appeared in the matriculation examination this year from S.N. Academy, Gopalganj and four Sisters namely (1) Fatema Begam (2) Asia Begam (3) Amena Begam (4) Laela Begam. I passed the Matriculation examination from Mission School, Gopalganj in the year 1942, IA from Islamia College, Calcutta in the year 1945 and B.A. from Islamia College, Calcutta in the year 1947, my age is about 28 years.

From 1937- 1939 I was the secretary of the sub- divisional Muslim Students League in Gopalganj, Faridpur.

Again I was the founder Secretary of the sub- divisional Muslim League and the students League also in Gopalganj subdivision from 1940-42. I was also secretary of Muslim League defense committee in Gopalganj from the year 1942-43. I organised Muslim students League and Muslim League in Faridpur District From 1940-1947. I worked as an assistant of Moazzem Hossain Choudhury, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Relief committee from the year 1943-44. I worked in the Natore & Balurghat bye election in favour of Muslim League against Mr. Fazlul Haque & Shyamaprasad Ministry. I was the Chairman of Reception Committee of the Pakistan Conference at Gopalganj in 1943 where Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, President Pakistan Constitution Assembly, Hon'ble Khaja Sahabuddin Minister in- charge of Broadcasting & interior Com. Pakistan Dominion and other prominent leaders of Muslim League had

joined the Conference. I worked in Calcutta corporation election in favour of Muslim League candidates in the year 1944. I was the worker in-charge of Faridpur District Muslim League election & propaganda office appointed by Bengal Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board in the year 1945- 46 and these were 6 constituencies under me.

I joined as a delegate from the Bengal Provincial Muslim League in the conference of All India Muslim League, held in Delhi in the year 1944, where Quide-E-Azam Presided, again I joined the Special Session of the All India Muslim League held in Delhi in the year 1446, where I took oath to give my life for the achievement of Pakistan in front of Quide-E- Azam. I was the representative of Bengal Provincial Muslim League in Behar at the time of rioting there. I worked as the in-charge of Behar Refugee camps at Asansole, Kandulia, Madaiganj, Maera, Niga etc. for about three months in the year 1946. I worked as in- charge of Calcutta Muslim Students League in the Refugee Camps of Bravam College, Muslim League office at the time of Calcutta Rioting. I was in-charge of 300 hundred volunteers in Sylhet Referendum in the year 1947. Last of all I was the councilor of Bengal Provincial Muslim League from the year 1943-48. I was the member of the All Bengal Muslim Students League from the year 1938-47. Since partition I have been working as a member of the E.P.M.S.L. I have no connection with C.P. and the other political parties of Eastern Pakistan. I joined the recent students' strike as a protest of punishment against 27 students of D.U. I did not join the last menials' strike of D.U. On 19.4.49 at about 16.10 hrs.

I was arrested along with 6 other students by the D.M., D.I.G. and city S.P and brought to Jail from the office of the vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.

Read over and admitted to be correct.

Sd/-SI

DIB, Dacca

Sd/-

S.M. Rahman

1.5.49

1.5.49

The special Superintendent of Police, the IB, the East Bengal, Dacca prepared a report on 10.12.1949 on the political activities of Bangabandhu viz about language movement, food and cloth crises, abolition of Zamindary System, demands of Dawali, formulation of full free elementary education, movement of fourth grade employees and so on. The report writes about the identities of Bangabandh⁶:

Sheikh Mujibar Rahman is aged about 28 years and is a student of Law in Dacca University. He is at present Secretary of the E.P.M.S.L. and joint Secretary of Awami Muslim League. He maintains himself with the income of the landed property which he has acquired through his wife and the monthly allowance he receives from his father. His father is a retired Serestadar of Munsiff s Court and has got sufficient landed property.

On 17.01.1950, the DIB report commented on Bangabandhu as follows⁷:

“Sk. Mujibar Rahman is the joint secretary of the Awami Muslim League. He is the most militant member of the League and of the E.P.M.S.L. This individual convened the meeting of the League at Armanitola on 11-10.49 and led a procession which tried to break open the police cordon and entered Ramna area. He is yet maintaining link with Mr. Suhrawardy and other leftist leaders at Lahore where he went immediately after the incident. He is full of potentialities for mischief making. The subject's detention in Jail for a period of 6 month is considered essentially necessary for reason of security of the state. D.M. Dacca also endorses it.”

I concur with the D.M.

Sd/-26.1.50

D.I.G. IB

Organizational Activities of Bangabandhu : Public Meetings

Bangabandhu engaged himself in organizational activities since the beginning of 1948. He took over the organizational responsibilities of the Muslim Student League and Awami Muslim League founded on 4th January 1948 and 23rd June 1949 respectively. He ran across the country organised public meetings and spoke there to strengthen the organization. From his speeches delivered in those meetings we can know his thoughts, intentions and objectives etc. From the first volume of the Intelligence Report, we get the details of his organizational activities during 1948- 1950 :

- 1) A public meeting was held in the Gopalganj Court Mosque premises on 03.03.48. Zainul Abedin Sardar presided over the meeting. Around four hundred people were present there. Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman addressed the meeting. His point was that Bangla should be given the status of one of the State Languages of Pakistan and Ministers 'salaries should be reduced.¹⁴
- 2) On 19th April 1948 IB reported that Bangabandhu went to Barisal for organizational work of the Muslim Student League. There he discussed over the organizational matters with Shamsul Haque Chowdhury, the President of the Organizing Committee of the Bakerganj District Muslim League.⁹
- 3) Bangabandhu and Hossein Shaheed Sohrawardy addressed the meeting held on 29th April 1948 at SN Academy Compound in Faridpur. The meeting was presided over by Kazi Mozaffar Hossen and was organized by sub-divisional Muslim League. There were around one thousand people in the public meeting, two-thirds of whom were Hindus. Intelligence report mentions that in the public meeting Sheikh Mujibur protested misery and suffering of people and the government torture of the students.

The report says¹⁰:

Mujibur Rahman in course of his short speech dwelt on the scarcity of cloths, food stuffs and other daily necessities of life in East Pakistan. He describes how the poor and middle class men were passing their lives in hardship in the scarcity of these articles. He deplored that students who sacrificed for the cause of Pakistan were now tortured by police and are called 'fifth columnists' by the authority when any reasonable demand is made by them against any Govt. policy is criticised in constitutional way. He asked explanation from Mr. Suhrawardy as to why the students were dragged in the struggle of Pakistan by him.

- 4) On March 11, 1948, a rally and meeting were held in Dacca demanding that Bangla be the state language. Defying section 144 Bangabandhu took part in the procession. He was arrested while picketing at the secretariat.¹¹
- 5) On May 7, 1948 a public meeting was held at the Gopalganj town ground. Bangabandhu presided over the meeting; in the president's address, he said that not only ministers but also members of provincial council were responsible for ongoing food and clothes crises. In his address he commented that abolition of Zamindari system and increase of the salary of lower class employees were required and Bangla should be declared a court language in East Pakistan.¹²
- 6) Bangabandhu spoke at a closed door meeting at the Pikepara Mutual Club in Narayanganj in the afternoon of May 16, 1948. At that time the councilors of the state Provincial Muslim League were present. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani presided over the meeting.¹³
- 7) On May 17, 1948 he spoke at the Narayanganj Public Library held from 5:00 to 7:00 PM. The meeting was attended by 1500 people and some of them were prominent Hindus. Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani presided over

the meeting. Bangabandhu commented on the diligence of the workers of Pakistan movement, prevailing food and cloth crises, imposing tax on the poor, corruption, injustice and misrule of the Ministers. Some parts of his speech are mentioned in the IB report, from which some parts of the report are stated below for the interested readers:

Speaking on the scarcity of food, clothing etc., in villages Sheikh Majibar Rahman (*sic*) said¹⁴:

There is an acute scarcity of clothes in villages. Rural people do not get clothes to purchase whereas people in the towns get sufficient supply of clothes and clothes are being sold in black market. Barisal is a surplus district. There rice sells at Rs. 40/- per mound. Before the achievement of Pakistan people were assured of sufficient food, clothing, justice, fair play etc., in Pakistan, but after its achievement they feel disappointed as there has been no change in their standard of living. On the other hand taxes are being imposed on them. When we point these out and demand their remedy and also eradication of corruption and injustice, we are damned as traitors, 5th Columnists etc. We declare that we have worked to achieve Pakistan and we shall fight to defend it, if necessary.

Continuing he said: “those who, in_ the last General Election spent lacs of rupees to defeat Muslim League candidates abused our Quad-i-Azam and condemned the aspiration for Pakistan as unreal some have suddenly become champions of the Muslim League, and are being members of the League Committee. The reason of this is obvious. The present Ministry, by raising the bogey of Islam in danger, want to know themselves in power and to make the League their Pocket organization. We throw out a challenge to the Ministry to contest with any of our workers in a Union Board election and we are sure they will not be able to return.”

- 8) Bangabandhu addressed a public meeting organized at the JK school ground in Sherpur, Mymenshingh in the afternoon of 28 May, 1948. Sherpur court lawyer Altaf Uddin presided over the meeting. All about six hundred Hindu-Muslim masses were present in the meeting. Abolition of Zamindary system, making primary education compulsory, repair of Sherpur- Jamalpur road, keeping the salary limit up to one thousand for high officials and abolition of the post of commissioner of East Bengal etc. were demanded in the meeting. Moulana Bhasani also addressed in the meeting.¹⁵
- 9) On 01 June 1948 Bangabandhu and Moulana Bhasani spoke at the Eidgah Maidan in Narsingdi. Bangabandhu claimed the abolition of Zamindary system without compensation, stopping the collection of taxes from the poor, immediate closure of the civil supply department engulfed in corruption, creating opportunities for education, increasing the salaries of lower class employees including police, making primary education compulsory and increasing salaries of primary teachers.¹⁶
- 10) On June 13, 1948 he visited Barisal and discussed the organizational issue with local leaders.
- 11) Bangabandhu chaired the meeting of Gopalganj sub-division Muslim Chhatra League on 26 June 1948 at his own residence. The meeting discussed issues of abolition of Zamindary system, mitigation of the famine of Gopalganj district and unconditional release of Zaheer Uddin M A B L. The slogans chanted in the meeting as follows¹⁷:
 - We want food for the poor
 - M L A of Gopalganj serves food, else quit your position and so on.
- 12) On July 20, 1948 Bangabandhu called for a meeting of the Muslim Chhatra League at 150 Mogultuli, Dacca. At that meeting it was decided that in order to occupy the Muslim

League we need to stay close with the Muslim League and work for the time being.

- 13) On August 22, 1948 it was decided after the meeting at the 150 Mogultuli that Bangabandhu would go on an organizational tour in various districts of North Bengal.
- 14) On September 15, 1948 he addressed a public meeting and students' gathering in Pabna.
- 15) December 1, 1948 a meeting of East Pakistan Muslim Chhatra League was held at the Daulatpur College in Khulna. In his speech Bangabandhu strongly criticized the government's food policy, claimed for the expansion of primary education and recommended compulsory military training in college. Part of his speech was published in the *Ettehad* magazine which was mentioned in the intelligence report as below¹⁸:

“Daulatpur College Student Meeting (Sent by Correspondent)

December 1, 1948 a meeting was held at the call of Khulna branch of East Pakistan Muslim Student League chaired by the Principal of Daulatpur College, at room number 6. Sheikh Mujib and A.K.M Arshed from Barisal were given a huge welcome from the part of East Pakistan Muslim Chhatra League when they arrived at that meeting.

Appeared at the lectern, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman said, I have come mainly to protest against the oppression on the activists of Muslim Student League in different places of East Pakistan by the police. Besides, I want to draw your deep attention to three things.”

“First of all, our main problem is the food and security problem. There is a special need for the protection of the country to provide public satisfaction. Nothing can satisfy their minds if they cannot feed mass people with rice. So they are naturally lagging behind in terms of defense. If the foods

are arranged for the people, they will be quick to defend the country. The idea of military defense alone is unrealistic. Food is tantamount to defense which is complementary to each other. About education, he said that education is the criterion of human civilization. But by keeping the countless people of our country in the dark of illiteracy how we could claim and glorify ourselves as a civilized nation in the comity of the world. Today we see all our educational institutions are on the brink of ruins. It is impossible to solve the education problem without increasing the salary of teachers. The education system needs to be radically changed. Referring to the police brutality, he said sadly that the students and youths who are the fearless soldiers of meetings and struggles are being unjustly abused today by the British bureaucratic minded police men. Four students of Rajshahi have been expelled from the city. [Bangabandhu requested] The student to be united to protest it intensely and to protest against the detention in the name of public safety. [With special emphasis on education, he said] “You should try to be better as students. You should be proficient in every branch of education” and you should request the National Government to make military education compulsory in the lesson of schools and colleges”.

- 16) A meeting of Central Organizing Committee of East Pakistan Muslim Chhatra League was held at 150, Mogultuli in Dacca on December 7, 1948. The meeting decided to send delegation to the Chief Minister to withdraw the expulsion of some students of Rajshahi College. He warned the government that if they did not comply, they would go for strike, meeting, procession and hunger strike. The matter was reported to the Khulna, Bakergonj and Faridpur branches.
- 17) On December 25, 1948 a meeting of East Pakistan Muslim Chhatra League was held on the eve of the birth day of Quaide-e-Azam and Bangabandhu presided over the meeting.

18) On January 8, 1949, a public meeting was held on the campus of Dhaka University, with about 550 students (of them 50 Students were female) from various educational institutions in the city. On the occasion, Bangabandhu urged the students to unite and threatened the government that if the demands of the students are not accepted within a month, rigorous programme will be issued. Bangabandhu demanded that all false cases of students would be withdrawn and the detained students should be released immediately. He instructed the students to remain vigilant so that communists could not enter the campus.

19) February 20, 1949, he addressed Muslim Student assemblage at the Madaripur High School ground.

20) On February 21, 1949, he attended a public meeting in front of Madaripur Town Mosque in the presence of 600 people and he presided over the meeting. In this meeting, Fonibhusion Majumder and Ram Krisno Majumder addressed and Bangabandhu presided over the meeting. In his speech, Bangabandhu spoke on issues of price hike, food supply policy and salary discrimination.

21) On February 27, 1949 Bangabandhu addressed at a meeting in Narayanganj.

22) On March 2, 1949 he spoke at a student meeting held in Dacca University and criticized strongly for not meeting the demands of fourth grade staff.

23) A procession of 200 students led by Bangabandhu was done at the Nawabpur road and Sadarghat area and Bangabandhu joined a meeting of F H Hall of Dacca University at 12.00 noon. The procession shouted that “police oppression won’t be tolerated”, “vice-chancellor’s betrayal won’t be accepted” etc.

24) On April 4, 1949 Bangabandhu, Aziz Ahamed, Abdul Oyadud sat on secret meeting at 150 Mogultuli, Dacca over

the issue of derogatory remarks made by the dean of Arts of Dacca University on female students of Dacca University and the women folk of East Bengal. In the meeting he demanded his resignation and condemned the authority of Radio Pakistan for spreading such vulgar statements.

25) On July 18, 1949 Bangabandhu addressed to the people gathered for Johur Prayers in the Gopalganj Town Mosque and to the people around at 1.0 o’clock. Bangabandhu held the meeting even though the administrator of Sub-division declared the gathering illegal. Bangabandhu and Abdus Salam Khan were arrested in the meeting. They were released a week later.

26) A meeting was held at Eid Ghay ground on August 10, 1949 by the initiative of Awami League and Moulana Shamsul Huq presided over the meeting. Sheikh Mujib and Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani addressed in the meeting. In his speech, Bangabandhu criticized corruption and nepotism of government official, demanded abolition of Zamindari system without any compensation and commencing compulsory primary education, renovation of Chittagong sea-port and claimed to reduce the rate of the discrepancy of salary.

27) On August 26, 1949 a meeting was held at the Lal Dighi Maidan of Chittagong in presence of ten thousand people and Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani presided over the meeting. Bazlus Sattar of Chittagong, Zahur Ahamed Choudhury and Joint Secretary of Awami League, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman spoke on the meeting. Bangabandhu in his speech strongly criticized food and cloth crises. He urged all those present to join the Awami Muslim League. The meeting claimed to have made a proper voter list for adult suffrage in order to hold a direct election. The meeting also demanded to reduce the salary of Central Minister and Provincial Minister under Rs.1100.00 and urged to fix the

salary of low grade employees at least at Rs. 120.00. A demand was also made to abolish Zamindari system without compensation. In this meeting a demand raised to make temporary employees 'jobs to be permanent, urged to release the detained students and the formation of the special tribunal demanded to investigate the activities of Provincial Ministers.

28) A meeting was held on August 27, 1949 in presence of 500 students in the J M Sen Hall of Chittagong and Moulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani presided over the meeting. On the same day Moulana Bhashani and Sheikh Mujib spoke on the meeting of 1000 railway laborers in Railway Institute. The secret agency wrote the designation of Bangabandhu as general secretary, Awami Muslim League. In the meeting Bangabandhu criticized the corruptions of railway officials, demanded permanent job positions for the temporary railway employees and urged to implement report of pay commission.

29) On September 16, 1949 Bangabandhu presided over the Provincial Conference of East Bengal Muslim Chhatra League held at Taj Mahal Cinema Hall in Dacca. In his speech as President of the meeting he said that students must participate in politics. He advised the students to get real education and he strongly criticized the government for not paying special attention to education. In the council the working Committee East Bengal Muslim Chhatra League was formed of which Dabirul Islam was made President (Detained by public security act) Sirajul Islam and Aziz Ahmed were made Vice-Presidents, and Abdul Khalek Nawaz Khan was made General Secretary and comprised of 25 members. The speech Bangabandhu delivered is partly mentioned in the intelligence report in English such as¹⁹:

“Extract from the East Bengal Police Abstract of Intelligence, dated, Dacca, the week ending Sept. 17, 1949.

1447. Dacca - On 16th Sept. in a camera meeting (250) of the delegates to the Provincial Conference of the East Pakistan Muslim Students League (Para 988), held at Tajmahal Cinema Hall, and presided over by Sk. Mujibur Rahman, (Para 1344), Jt. Secy. Awami Muslim League the Provincial Executive Council was formed with Dabirul Islam (Security Prisoner) as President, Sirajul Islam and Aziz Ahmad (Para 616), as Vice-Presidents, Abdul Khaliq Newaj Khan as Secretary and 25 other members. In course of his presidential address, Sk. Mujibur Rahman stated that in a country like Pakistan where only 5 P.C. of the total population was literate the students could not but take part in politics for the solution of the various problems to ameliorate the condition of the masses. They had to go ahead in spite of all repressions but not in silence. He warned the Govt. to repeal the ordinance recently promulgated whereby the student agitators would be deprived of their stipends and expelled from the schools and colleges and said that if this was not done they would have to find out their own ways about it. He suggested to the students to have the real education which did not mean reading of only the books on the curriculum and advised them to start study circles and debating societies, to ventilate their ideas about the various problems and to carry on a campaign against illiteracy. He blamed the Govt. for not holding a general election in spite of the countrywide demand of the people and for establishing reign of terror in the country by curtailing the liberties of the individual, the organisations and the newspapers and taking recourse to other black laws. He also criticised them for trying to introduce Arabic scripts in Bangali language and unjustly dubbing them as Communists. He asserted that as true Muslims they would fight against Communism to the last man.

30) On September 17, 1949 an open meeting was held at the Armanitola ground after the council meeting of the East Bengal Muslim Chhatra League at 4.30 pm. After the

recitation the Holy Qur'an the meeting begins; in the meeting Bangabandhu, Moulana Bhashani, Shamsul Huq and other leaders delivered their speeches. In his speech Bangabandhu strongly criticized those who speak against student politics and he urged the students to speak out against the corruption of the administration.²⁰

- 31) On September 22, 1949 a Meeting of the Muslim Students League was held at the Armanitola ground. Bangabandhu spoke on the meeting. In his address, he said that "We have held many meetings and submitted many demands but is the government blind or deaf? "We want three things: food, education and military training," he said. He emphasized that in order to save country every citizen must receive military training".²¹
- 32) On October 11, 1949 in a meeting at the Armanitola ground Bangabandhu demanded an inquiry against the corruption of the Minister. After the meeting Bangabandhu led a procession of protest. Many were arrested from the procession. It was referred to in the intelligence report that he sent representatives in different districts so that they could organize public meetings. He was alleged to have motivated people to boycott the meeting of Liakat Ali Khan held on 12.10.1949 at the Paltan Ground²².
- 33) Karachi office received the telegraph from Dacca IB dated 18.10.1949 that Sheikh Mujib left for Calcutta on his way to Lahore on the night of 15.10.1949. He would meet Hossain Shaheed Suhrawardy to discuss the political situation of East Bengal²³.
- 34) On November 21, 1949 on behalf of the Assistant Director of IB Pakistan D. I. G intelligence reported about Bangabandhu's Lahore visit, political activities, press briefing and meeting with different leaders²⁴.

- (35) On September 2, 1950 DIB, report sent to SSP IBEB about Khulna Awami League which was as follows:

‘Awami League

The Awami League has not yet come into existence in this district. Early last year Mujibur Rahman, joint Secretary, East Pakistan Awami League, paid a visit to this district and tried to organise a unit of the Awami League. He was coldly received by the local disgruntled Muslim Leaguers viz :- Abdus Saboor, M.L.A. and S.M.A. Majid. Hony. Magistrate and his efforts did not fructify.'

Organisation of Movements

- 4.(a) Intelligence Report of March 11, 1948 on the Preparation of Movement in Demand for Bangla as State Language:

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

4. (b) Movement against the Government's Cordon System on behalf of Dawal:

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

4. (c) Participation in the Movement of the fourth Class Employees of Dhaka University:

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

- 4.(d) Movement to establish a college in Gopalganj :

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

Publication, Sale and Distribution of News Papers and Distribution of Leaflets by Bangabandhu²⁵:

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

Letters of Bangabandhu²⁶

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

Statements of Bangabandhu²⁷:

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

IB Report on Bangabandhu's Arrest and Bangabandhu's Letter to IB²⁸ :

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

Strike in Protest of Bangabandhu's Arrest, Habeas Corpus Petition to the High Court²⁹:

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

Meeting with Bangabandhu in Jail

(Please see the *Journal of Genocide and Liberation War Research*, Vol.2, 2022, Bangla Version)

Evaluation

This article attempts to reconstruct the events of Bangabandhu's political life from 1948 to 1950 on the basis of IB reports. Pakistani Intelligence surveillance on Bangabandhu started from 13th January, 1948 and intelligence surveillance has continuously been increasing since Bangabandhu started language movement. Ever since he has been involved in the organizational activities of the East Bengal Muslim Chhatra League (04.01.1948) and Awami Muslim League (23.06.1949), the surveillance has been aggravated. The evidence of this is found that the number of reports was increased 127 in 1949 from 24 in 1948, and the number of reports rose to 162 in 1950. This would have been much higher. Bangabandhu was imprisoned for one year and seven months in the three years from 1948 to 1950. Moreover, he stayed in Lahore for a total of 27 days from 30th October, 1949 to 27th November, 1949. When Bangabandhu was in jail, the job of

the IB was to try to increase his detention order, to censor his letters, to inquire about his release movement, to make reports on the people who met him in jail, etc.

Between three years from 1948 to 1950, Bangabandhu was free for 1 year and 5 months. In these 17 months, he held about 35 public meetings as mentioned in the intelligence report. He has gone out of Dhaka on an organizational tour to Faridpur, Gopalganj, Madaripur, Barisal, Daulatpur, Khulna, Chittagong, Narayangonj, Narsingdi, Sherpur, Mymensingh, Jamalpur and other cities. Correspondence has also been sent to various places including Dinajpur, Giabandha, B'Baria including many other places. He went Lalpur near Ashuganj to hold procession and meetings on behalf of the Dawal.

He used to publish leaflets, pamphlets and make statements in the newspapers. He received letters and made replies to those letters. Numerous letters were confiscated by the detectives from the post office, or those could not be read as they were smeared with ink.

Among the demands made by Bangabandhu were language movement, movement of the fourth class employees of Dhaka university, movement against cordon system, labour movement, abolition of Zamindari system without compensation, compulsory full free primary education for all, eradication of illiteracy, solution of food and clothes crisis, reduction of prices, reduction of the discrimination of salary, increase of the salary of teachers, anti- corruption movement, making the job permanent, organize vote from adults, prepare voter list properly and repair the roads.

Notes and References

1. Sheikh Hasina has written about file collection and compilation : "After 21 years Awami League formed the government in 1996. Immediately I collected these files and in 1997 made copies of them before returning them to the SB office. As the materials were secret documents of the Intelligence Branch, they were declassified. I made 3 sets of

copies and sent one to Joy in America. Joy gave it to Dr. Enayetur Rahim, who, as a historian, was doing research on Bangabandhu. I kept one set at the Museum of Bangabandhu Memorial Trust. Baby Moudud and I started working with the other set. After winning the election in 2008 and forming the government in 2009, I assigned the SB to type out these documents and make arrangements to publish them, and scan and preserve the main documents digitally. They have executed this job very efficiently. A team of officers worked hard day and night under the leadership of Mr. Javed Patwary”. Sheikh Hasina M.P (ed) *Secret Documents of Intelligence Branch (IB) on Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, 1948-1971, Declassified Documents, Vol. 1(1948-1950)*, Dhaka, Hakkani Publishers, 2018, P. XIII.

2. *ibid*, P. XII
3. P. 35-40
4. P. 171
5. P. 146-148
6. P. 319
7. P. 370
8. P. 48
9. P. 12
10. P. 14-15
11. *ibid*
12. P. 49
13. P. 16
14. P. 19
15. P. 20-22
16. P. 33-34
17. P. 35
18. P. 56-57
19. P. 269
20. P. 269-270
21. P. 275
22. P. 321
23. P. 294
24. P. 307-309
25. P. 122, 228, 336
26. P. 42-43, 80, 224-225, 259, 271, 274, 279, 292, 323, 368, 439, 480-484, 500-501, 510, 556-558
27. P. 44-45, 223, 451

28. P. 333, 336, 367, 368, 371, 413, 470-475, 495, 450-550

29. P. 8-9, 199-200, 210, 178-179, 454, 456