



THE HOPE FOR A UNITED PAKISTAN LED TO THE FALL OF AN IDENTITY; BIHARI COMMUNITY VIS-À-VIS PATRIOTISM IN 1971 WAR

Hassam Ahmed Siddiqi

PhD Scholar

National University of Modern Languages (NUML)

Islamabad - Pakistan

hassamsiddiqi@yahoo.com

Dr. Hina Shahid

Assistant Professor

Department of Arts and Media

Foundation University

Islamabad - Pakistan

hinashahid@fui.edu.pk

Abstract

1971 conflict between India and Pakistan remains one of the most catastrophic incidents in the history of Pakistan. Politico-domestic conflict turned civil war costed Pakistan a part of its territory. Leading role of India in the conflict facilitated Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman led Awami League to achieve his desired objective of creating a new state of Bangladesh. Pakistani forces were primarily supported by the Bihari community based in East Pakistan by fighting alongside Pakistani forces in paramilitary groups. While the conflict ended in dismemberment of Pakistan, Bihari community expressed their resilience, dedication and patriotism by believing in the concept of a united Pakistan. Thousands of Biharis were abducted, tortured, burned and mass-massacred. Women were raped while their unborn babies were hopped as a sign of success. Lowest levels of humanity were crossed by the members of Awami League and Mukti Bahini forces. This research paper intends to highlight and extensively elaborate the sacrifices given by the Bihari community during 1971 war in the name of Pakistan.

Key words: *East Pakistan, West Pakistan, Bihari Community, Pakistaniat, Patriotism, Awami League, Mukti Bahini forces*

Introduction:

1971 conflict between India and Pakistan was the most significant geopolitical event in the subcontinent since partition in 1947 (Raghavan, 1971). Separation of East Pakistan into a newly fangled state of Bangladesh projected failure of politicians, military, bureaucracy, and civil society



that ruled this country for decades, yet miserably failed to work for the national interest of this country and keep the state unified. Segregation of rights by West Pakistan along with the dominant Indian role in breaking a united Pakistan cannot be neglected (Asadullah ,2010) Alongside, Awami League and India, all big powers that included Soviet Union and United States, also played an influential role in the Bengal Crisis (Mahmood, Farooq &Awan, 2015). The role of Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman led Awami League, as well as the Mukti Bahini forces, remained highly pessimistic after the 1970 elections (Bulletin of the atomic scientist ,1972). Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman's Awami League had swept the 1970 polls in the then East Pakistan, winning 160 of a total of 162 National Assembly seats of the province. Awami League with a comprehensive victory secured a majority in the 313-seat house, which was due to articulate a new constitution for the country (Muhammad ,2013). Pakistan People's Party (PPP) led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto emerged as the second leading party of the country winning a total of 81 out of 138 seats in West Pakistan, however, neither of the two largest parties who won the election were able to secure a single seat in the other wing.(Moten ,1998) Furthermore, the political establishment of West Pakistan refused to accept the newly elected representatives of the country. Electorally, Pakistan stood divided which established the basis for dismemberment of a united Pakistan. Furthermore, Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman had also given a six-point program to further his agenda of domestic politics. The plan primarily called for a separate foreign exchange accounts for East and West Pakistan while subsequently asking permission to raise para-military forces at the provincial level (Mirza, 2017). West Pakistan didn't support these demands however they were well approved by Bengalis in East Pakistan.

Talks were initiated by East Pakistan with Awami League on the constitutional issues as well as the formation of a national government, however, they remained unsuccessful as Political leadership of West Pakistan was not in favor of transferring the power to Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman. They were not interested to honor the election results (Nault, 2010). National Assembly session was to be convened on March 3rd, 1971; however, President Yahya Khan postponed the session (Rizwan, 2014). Public demonstrations initiated in East Pakistan and Bengali nationalist movement initiated with a new zeal and strength after Awami League was denied the right of forming the Federal government. A non-cooperation movement was initiated in East Pakistan and Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman declared that the movement will continue until the power is transferred to Awami League. Operation Searchlight was launched by Pakistan's armed forces to control the situation in East Pakistan on March 25th, 1971, under the leadership of General Tikka Khan (Clodfelter, 2017). Bihari community, who were the second-largest residents of East Pakistan backed the official government and fought alongside Pakistani forces, however they faced the wrath of Bengali community after the war(Costa, 2011). The demography of East Pakistan was around ninety percent Bengalis and ten percent Non-Bengalis, or Biharis as they were usually called. Urdu speaking Bihari community was viewed as symbols of West Pakistani domination by the Bengalis due to which an intense rift continued to form between the two largest communal groups of East Pakistan since 1947(Mookherjee, 2012). During the General elections, Bihari community was primarily in favor of the pro-Pakistan Muslim League, and as the conflict initiated between the Awami League and Pakistani forces, Biharis fought alongside Pakistani forces till the end of war (Sen, 1999). They also acted as the advisers of the Government



while subsequently manned key security posts alongside Pakistani forces during the conflict. Chaos and disorder continued in East Pakistan until December 16th, 1971 when Pakistan Army surrendered and a new state of Bangladesh was created. However, the un-rest followed across the country as with the surrender of West Pakistani forces, nationalist Bengalis, armed with guns and knives, roamed around the streets hounding out members of the Bihari minority who collaborated with the Pakistani forces during last nine months. Thousands of Biharis were stabbed or shot to death while a large number of Biharis were massacred ruthlessly by the Bengalis for allegedly cooperating with the Pakistani forces (Rangan, 1971). Dominant Role of India in breaking a united Pakistan cannot be neglected. Relations between Pakistan and India started intensifying during 1969-70 as according to the reports of security agencies, India was continuously interfering in the politics of East Pakistan. India was directly assisting the Awami League movement for the self-determination of East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman had on multiple occasions asked for assistance from the Indian leadership as he was of the view that East Pakistan was on point of no return (Raghavan, 1971). One friendly country along with several cabinet members also warned President Yahya about the nefarious Indian designs, however these reports were not taken seriously, nor were acted upon results of which paved in division of a united Pakistan (Dalim, 2005).

Origin of Bihari Community Based in East Pakistan:

Bihari is a general term, which refers to the people from the Indian subcontinent province of Bihar who migrated to East Pakistan during the partition of India in 1947. It is estimated that around 96 percent Muslim migrants from Aasam, Bihar and West Bengal who were collectively called as Bihari Muslims migrated to East Pakistan (Ghosh, 2016). Later on, all the Urdu speaking people who were posted to East Pakistan or settled in the Eastern wing of the country were called Biharis by the Bengalis (Hali, 2018). They were primarily based in Dhaka and Chittagong. Generally, Biharis associated themselves with the ruling elite based in West Pakistan and marked a distinct division within the Bengali speaking people. Biharis were preferred over Bengalis in East Pakistan as Urdu speaking Punjabi elite dominated the region politically as well as economically. Initially starting from linguistic differences, the differences between the Biharis and Bengalis furthered which later on created intense rift between the two communities. From 1947 till 1971, the Bihari community was favored in public sector jobs like Railways, Pakistan Post and Telegraph (Sattar, 2013). They were well educated and well cultured. They were completely loyal to the concept of a united Pakistan due to which they were preferred over Bengalis by the Pakistani ruling elite.

1946 Hindu Muslim Bihar Riots:

During the provincial elections of 1945, Congress had collaborated with three Muslim parties the Jamiat-ul-Momineen, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, and the Muslim Independent Party to give a tough opposition to Muslim League in Bihar (Lumby, 1954). Resultantly, S.K. Sinha formed the government as the Chief Minister of the province (Parveen, 2015). Muslims were already viewing the Congress as the representative of the Hindu community and thus riots had begun across Bihar in



1946. Hindus attacked and killed their Muslim neighbors while in some of the cases the attackers came from outside. Low caste Goalas, Kurmis, and Dusadhs also attacked their equally deprived Muslim neighbors (Damodaran, 1995). A situation of chaos had erupted across Bihar with misery and helplessness for Muslims however the situation remained unaddressed for a long time. There were several reasons for Bihar riots. (Sajjid, 2014) In June 1946, an agrarian movement erupted in various districts of Bihar. Landowners started to prevent their laborers from plowing their lands and claimed them as Baksht land due to which laborers reacted with anger and thus communal riots began all over Bihar. Furthermore, discriminatory behavior of Police had also intensified the situation. The speedy growth of the Hindu Mahasabha, RSS, and Muslim League due to which the communal polarization was in trend can be termed as another major cause of uprisings in Bihar. During October 27th and November 6th, 1946, massive anti-Muslim riots erupted during which around 7000-8000 people were killed (Markovits, 2007). Another figure estimates that more than 30,000-50,000 Biharis were killed in October and November 1946 (Ghosh, 1997). Furthermore, around 300 Biharis were massacred by bombs at Chittagong in March 1947 with succeeding killings at Saidpur, Rajpur, Jessore, and Khulna. Public properties were damaged while women and children were mercilessly tortured, raped, and slaughtered (Baixas, 2008).

The massacre of Biharis was described as,

"Thousands of families of unfortunate Muslims, many of them refugees from Bihar... were mercilessly wiped out. Women were raped or had their breasts torn out with specially fashioned knives. Children did not escape the horror; the lucky ones were killed with their parents, but many thousands of others must go through what life remains for them with their eyes gouged out and limbs roughly amputated. More than 20,000 bodies of the non-Bengalis have been found in the main towns as Chittagong, Khulna, and Jessore. The real toll, I was told everywhere in East Bengal, may have been as high as 100,000 for thousands of non-Bengalis have vanished without a trace" (Sen, n.d).

Founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah after Bihar riots said that,

"I never dreamt that in my lifetime, I shall see Pakistan in being, but the tragedy of Bihar has brought it about". (Prasad, 1996)

Around one million Biharis migrated to East Pakistan who were initially welcomed by Bengalis however feelings of resentment initiated between them as Biharis rose to higher positions due to their higher education and success.(Farzana, 2009) The first conflict between the two communities instigated in 1948 on the issue of language as the Federal government of Pakistan declared Urdu as the national language of the country due to which extensive public demonstration were held in East Bengal. The adoption of Urdu as the national language of Pakistan was perceived as discriminatory move against the Bengali language and its people (Coakley, 2003). In Reaction, the government banned public demonstrations and meetings however Sheikh Mujeeb-Ur-Rehman along with the



students of the University of Dhaka stood against the government and defied the law by organizing a public protest on February 21st, 1952. Clashes between the law enforcement agency and students flared up causing the death of few students. Conflict on the language issue continued between the government and Bengali leaders until, in 1956, the Government of Pakistan officially declared Bengali as the national language of the country (Jabeen, Chandio & Qasim, 2010).

The Concept of Pakistaniat:

Javed Jabbar in his book “What is Pakistaniat” highlights Pakistaniat as a symbol of our strength and integrity (Datta, 2017). It is a reflection of multiple elements of national identity. Elements of Pakistaniat can be assembled into five major clusters. This includes Individual, collective, evolving, assertive, and troubled identity (Business recorder, 2017). While certain other elements of Pakistaniat makes this nation unique, an important element to highlight is the remarkable resilience and ability to absorb shocks and traumas and overcome setbacks as the massive tragedy of East Pakistan in December 1971. Furthermore, this nation takes pride in Pakistan’s resurgence and renewal after the traumatic events of December 1971 while subsequently being conscious of the nation’s successes and achievements in diverse sectors.

Certain other elements of National identity include Pakistan’s National flag, its national anthem, its ideology, its geography and history, the pride of being a nuclear state, national and regional languages, diverse and multilateral ethnic cultures, cuisines, rich literature, music, achievements in national sports, its security forces and its dynamic role in international politics. Assessing the concept of Pakistaniat and National Identity it can be said that Pakistaniat is a concept of peace, acceptance, diversity, and tolerance. Pakistan is a country of 22 million people with diverse backgrounds, ethnicity, religion, identity, and culture however the only conclusive force that binds this nation is their patriotism and affection for this country. Every individual of this country is incessantly making efforts to work for the progress and development of this state. Pakistan has lost almost 70,000 lives in the war on terror (Ganie, n.d.). It has been named as the breeding ground of terrorists across the world however resilience and commitment of this nation to peace and prosperity helped it to eradicate all the extremist elements from its territory while subsequently advance on the path of economic prosperity. Achievement of National objectives on national and international fronts through sacrifices, commitment, hard work, and dedication can be termed as another meaning of Pakistaniat for which this nation and its young generation has to continuously strive for, as it accounts for more than 60% of the country’s population.

Sacrifices of the Bihari community for the creation of Pakistan in 1946-47 and 1971 war highlights their resilience, commitment, dedication, and obligation towards the cause of a united Pakistan. Though the creation of Bangladesh, unfortunately, shattered the dream of a united Pakistan, the Bihari community massively suffered at the hands of Bengalis (Naqvi, 2012). Thousands of Biharis were tortured and massacred while their women were raped and publicly humiliated. Their breasts were torn out with special knives. Children did not escape the horror of this tragedy as well as most of them



were killed alongside their parents. More than 20,000 bodies of non-Biharis were found in Khulna, Chittagong and Jessore, however the total number of deaths were much more than that. American Professor Rudolph Rummel in his book “Death by Government” assessed that around 150,000 Biharis were massacred by Mukti Bahini forces. Many Biharis continued to reside in Geneva camp in Bangladesh having difficulties to fulfill the necessities of life. Italian Journalist Oriana Fallaci during an interview with Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman asked about the massacre of Biharis at Dacca Stadium conducted by Mukti Bahini, which he witnessed himself. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman was of the view that they must have been Razakars and Abdul Qadir Siddiqui, who was leading the Mukti Bahini forces was compelled to eliminate them (Khurshed Printers, 2016). By mid-1972, around 750,000 Biharis were residing in Bangladesh while around 278,000 were based in peripheries of Dhaka and another 250,00 were residing around Saidpur in the north-west (Siddiqui et al., 2016). However, Biharis expressed their desire to be repatriated by Pakistan. As of 1981, around 163,000 Biharis were repatriated by the Government of Pakistan (Minority rights Group International, n.d.) however some figures suggest that the number had reached 170,000 in 1974 (Hali, n.d.). A Tripartite agreement was signed by Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India in 1974 for the repatriation of Biharis. This agreement states that,

“The Pakistan side stated that the Government of Pakistan had already issued clearances for movement to Pakistan in favor of those non-Bengalese who were either domiciled in former West Pakistan, were employees of the Central Government and their families or were members of the divided families, irrespective of their original domicile. The Pakistan side reiterated that all those who fall under the first three categories would be received by Pakistan without any limits to numbers” (Sattar, n.d.).

More than a million Biharis are currently based in Karachi while their community is spread in various cities of Punjab, Sindh, and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. In Karachi, they are pre-dominantly based in Orangi town (Ghosh, 2014) and Bihari Colony however they are spread in small fringes in different cities of Pakistan. These cities include Gujrat, Jhelum, Mandi Baha Uddin, Muzaffargarh, Rahim Yar Khan, Rawalpindi, Daska, Faisalabad, Sheikhupura, Sialkot, Bahawalpur, Mianwali, Lahore, Bahawalnagar, Gujranwala, Multan, Chinniot, Khanewal, Gujar Khan, Attock, Islamabad, Sargodha, Peshawar, Kohat, D.I. Khan, Daddu, Hyderabad, Thattha, Jamshoro, and Sukkur.

Projection of Pakistani by Bihari Community in 1971 War:

Biharis extensively fought alongside Pakistani forces during the 1971 war. They showed their resilience and commitment to stand beside and fight along with Pakistan's security forces when it was needed (Costa, n.d.). They bravely honored the pride of a united Pakistan, however feeble decisions from political and military leadership led to the separation of East Pakistan. Biharis fought alongside Pakistani forces in paramilitary groups such as Al-Shams, Al-Badar, and Razakars. Approval of raising a proper Razakar force was given by GHQ at the end of August 1971 and hence they were not properly trained as well. They were tasked to undertake specialized operations while rest of them were responsible for guarding important points, bridges, and other areas. They were much



less in number than Mukti Bahini forces who according to General Niazi were 287,500 with an addition of 50,000 Indian military personnel (Niazi, 1998). Sultana Kamal Testimony headed by Justice Nizam-ul-Hoque Nasim claimed that the most horrible and desperate acts of massacre were committed by the Razakars, Al Shams and Al Badar forces through the merciless killing of intellectuals from the 10th to the 14th of December, however, if such was the case, just two days later on 16th December, Pakistan Army wouldn't have surrendered and given up on a part of its territory. Most of the members of these groups were brutally killed by Mukti Bahini forces while some of them managed to flee Bangladesh after 16th December 1971. Bihari community faced the wrath of Mukti Bahini forces after the state of Bangladesh was created. Thousands of people were brutally killed. Out of 27,000 Biharis, only 22 managed to save their life in Muhammad-Pur camp in Dhaka. Fingers of children were cut down while parents were forced to drink blood of their kids. Non-Bengali patients were buried alive. Elders and old Biharis were forcefully drowned in rivers and streams. Indeed, every horrific and horrendous crime was done by Mukti Bahini forces, however unfortunately these incidents were seldom reported by national and international media. During the 1971 war, it is argued by the analysts that Biharis were left with no choice but to unite with West Pakistan as Bengalis were looking for Biharis to vent on their anger. They were an easy target for the Bengalis as their entire communities were robbed, burned, women raped while several communities were mass massacred (Wilson, 1981).

“Blood and Tears” authored by Qutubuddin Aziz highlights 170 eye-witness accounts of atrocities committed by the Indian forces on West Pakistanis and Biharis in 55 cities of East Pakistan by Awami League militants during the time of chaos and instability in March-April 1971. One of the incidents quoted by him in his book said that,

“In the night of March 23, 1971, an armed gang of Awami League thugs raided our house. They looted it and set it ablaze. We had no guns. The raiders overpowered my father, my husband, and my two young brothers and shot them. They kidnapped my teenage sister. In the encounter between my male relatives and the killers, my mother and I succeeded in escaping through the backyard into the house of a God-fearing and gentle Bengali neighbor who sympathized with us and hid us in his home. Aged 15, my sister was a student in the 9th class in school. After the federal troops routed the rebels on March 26, I did my best to trace her, but we could not locate her. The Bengali rebels had kidnapped non-Bengali girls by the hundreds in Dacca and slaughtered them before the federal army crushed their rebellion. The souvenir I have of my loving husband is our two and half-year-old son who was born to me a few months after the slaying of Feroz Ahmed, my husband” (Aziz, 1974).

Another independent analyst Sarmila Bose in her book “Dead Reckoning” highlighted the cruelty of Awami league members and misery of Biharis in these words,

“The Awami Leaguers' way of killing was both incompetent and gruesome-they killed the



Bihari by first shooting him, then burying him alive and finally throwing him into the river in a sack. The torture and mutilation of civilian or military victims and the manner of killing them by Bengali nationalists were barbaric and robbed the pro-liberation side of any moral authority on the question of atrocities” (Bose ,2012).

Countless such incidents happened across Bangladesh where patriotism of Bihari families was challenged by Bengalis as well as the members of Mukti Bahini forces. Limits of Barbarism and cruelty were crossed by the Bengalis while Biharis were left with no other option but to give sacrifices because of their loyalty with Pakistan. Biharis were burnt alive in masses and beheaded in Jute mills turning the river water red choked with human bodies (Datta, 2010). Young women were subject to gang rapes while the survivors of brutality were turned in to sex-slaves. Awami League members ensured the painful death of non-Bengalis. Pregnant women were not spared either as their unborn babies were raised as trophies of barbarism (Ahmad, 2016). Humanity was completely lost as these crimes were unquestioned, rather supported by the Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman led Awami League members and India led Mukti Bahini forces. Bihari community paid a huge price of their patriotism and their support of a united Pakistan and unfortunately, their patriotism has been merely acknowledged by the successive political governments of Pakistan. Heroes of the country should never be forgotten and should be treated like heroes. Patience, Resilience, Patriotic passion, struggle, and sacrifices has been given by Bihari community in the name of Pakistan, however after almost five decades, they are living miserable lives in Pakistan as well as in Bangladesh. Over a million Biharis reside in Karachi, however a great number of people still do not have the National Identity Card (NIC) of Pakistan. When they approach NADRA (Pakistani Government institution responsible to issue citizenship cards to its nationals), they are asked to show documents issued between 1970 and 1979 by the Government of Pakistan. Repatriation certificates were only issued to those who arrived in Pakistan in 1974 under the repatriation agreement. Others, who came until 1980 were not given those documents (Rehman ,2018) Resultantly, most of the Bihari community does not own the repatriation certificate and are facing serious difficulties due to their stateless status. People who led their lives for Pakistani state are not acknowledged by the Pakistani state and its relevant institutions. Without NIC (National Identity Card), Biharis have been unable to fulfill the basic necessities of life. They are living a low standard life, mostly working as laborers and daily wagers. Their daily income varies from \$2-\$3 dollars a day. Biharis living in Geneva camp in Bangladesh are no different as well. They are known as Stranded Pakistanis, with each family living in a small compartment of 3*5 ft. in camps which were established in 1972. More than 400,000 people live in 66 such camps across the country. These camps are being run by Bangladeshi government and U.N High Commissioner for Refugees. Though these stranded Pakistanis and their next generations was given Citizenship cards by the Bangladeshi government according to a court ruling in 2008, they are still restricted from making passports or attain visa to visit any foreign state (Majumder, 2008). Though Bangladeshi government gave Biharis identity after almost four decades, yet miserably failed to improve the living standards of this community. Biharis in Pakistan as well as in Bangladesh have been subject to a miserable life for believing in Pakistan, however their sacrifices remain unacknowledged since almost five decades. Pakistan lost a part of its territory in the 1971 war and now it is the responsibility of



political forces, civil and military establishment as well as the civil society to acknowledge the bravery and courage of the Bihari community. 1971 war will always be remembered as one of the tragic and painful events in the history of Pakistan however, the patriotism and bravery depicted by the Bihari community during the war will forever be remembered as the only worth recalling chapter for the people of Pakistan.

Analytical Assessment:

Analyzing the documents of history, it can be assessed that the bravery and patriotism depicted by the Bihari community during the separation of East Pakistan has been merely discussed. Incidents of horrific brutality committed by the Awami League members as well as Mukti Bahini forces have been seldom mentioned, however, the role of pro-Pakistani forces has been seriously misinterpreted and misconstrued by the Bangladeshi as well as the Indian authors. The Bihari community was in favor of a united Pakistan. Their ideological orientation, as well as loyalties, lied with the Pakistani forces. They stood with the idea of pacifying the conflict and control of the central government however intrusion of Indian forces in the conflict changed the realities and turned the scenario of the battleground in favor of Awami league. Resultantly, Biharis gave sacrifices with their blood just in the name of Pakistan. Though the successive regimes of Pakistan have failed to honor the heroes of Pakistan, however, it is late than never. The federal government of Pakistan along with Pakistan's security forces need to honor and acknowledge the bravery depicted by the heroes of Pakistan in 1971 war. Loyalty of Bihari community unconditionally lies in the name of Pakistan and heroes of Pakistan should be honored and acknowledged as of their right.



References

- "1971 Fact and Fiction: Views and Perceptions in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh." (2016). Khursheed Printers Pvt. Limited.
- Ahmad, J. (2016). *Creation of Bangladesh: Myths Exploded*. AJA Publishers
- Asadullah, M.N (2010) "Educational Disparity in East and West Pakistan, 1947-71: Was East Pakistan Discriminated Against?". *The Bangladesh Development Studies* : 1-46.
- Aziz, Q. (1974). *Blood and Tears*. Publications Division, United Press of Pakistan, 1974.
- Baixas, L (1974). "Thematic Chronology of Mass Violence in Pakistan." Retrieved June 21 (2008): 2015.
- Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists (1972), "Bengal: Balance of Power Revisited: India-Pakistan War, 1971."
- "Biharis." Minority Right Group International, <https://minorityrights.org/minorities/biharis/>.
- Bose, S. (2012). *Dead Reckoning*. Hachette India,.
- Clodfelter, M. (2017). *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and Other Figures, 1492-2015, 4th Ed*. McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers.
- Coakley, J. (2006) *The Territorial Management of Ethnic Conflict*. F. Cass, 2003.
- D'Costa, B. (2011). *Nationbuilding, Gender and War Crimes in South Asia*. Routledge.
- Dalim, S.H. (2005) *Bangladesh: Untold Facts*. Nobojagoron Prokashoni.
- Damodaran. V. (1995) "Bihar in the 1940s: Communities, Riots and the State." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 18, no. s1 (1995): 153-76.
- Datta, A. (2017) "'Pakistaniat a Symbol of Nation's Strength, Integrity'." *The News*.
- Datta . A. (B) *Ordering South Asia: War, Violence and Displacement in 1971*. Harvard University, 2010.
- Farzana, K. F. (2009) "An Artificial Minority: The Stateless Biharis in Bangladesh." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29, no. 2: 223-35.
- Ganie, N. A. (n.d.) "War on Terror: Repercussions on Pakistan's Socio-Economic and Political Set-Up."
- Ghosh, P. (2014) *Partition and the South Asian Diaspora: Extending the Subcontinent*. Taylor & Francis, 2014.
- Ghosh, P.S. (2016) *Migrants, Refugees and the Stateless in South Asia*. SAGE Publications, 2016.
- Ghosh, P. (1997) "Partition's Biharis." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 17, no. 2 (1997): 21-34.
- Hali, Sultan M (2018). "Biharis: Their Crime Was Their Belief in Pakistan " *Global Village Space*, 14 December 2018.
- Jabeen, Mussarat, Amir Ali Chandio, and Zarina Qasim. "Language Controversy: Impacts on National Politics and Secession of East Pakistan." *South Asian Studies* 25, no. 1 (2010): 99.
- "Lecture on 'What Is Pakistaniat'." *Business Recorder*, March 23 2017.
- Lumby, E.W.R. *The Transfer of Power in India, 1945-7*. Praeger, 1954.
- Mahmood, Amna, Sadaf Farooq, and Nadia Awan. "Bangladesh Pakistan Relations: A Hostage to History." *International Journal of Contemporary Research* 5, no. 2 (2015): 66-67.
- Majumder, Azad. "Bangladesh Citizenship Right Divides Biharis." *Reuters*, 20 May 2008.



- Markovits, Claude. "India from 1900 to 1947." *Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*, Paris, Sciences Po, CERI, <http://www.massviolence.org/Article> (2007).
- Mirza, Z .L.(2017) "Reflections on Indo–Pak 1971 War through Theories of War and Peace." *Margalla Papers* 21.
- Mookherjee, N.(2012). "Mass Rape and the Inscription of Gendered and Racial Domination During the Bangladesh War of 1971." In *Rape in Wartime*, 67-78: Springer.
- Moten. A.R. (1998)"Nationalism, Elite Politics, and the Break-up of Pakistan." *The Muslim World* 88, no. 1 : 93-101.
- Muhammad, P(2013). "The Assembly That Never Met." *The Express Tribune*.
- Naqvi, T(2012). "Migration, Sacrifice and the Crisis of Muslim Nationalism." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 25, no. 3: 474-90.
- Nault, D.M.(2010). *Asia Journal of Global Studies: Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2*. Universal Publishers..
- Niazi, A.A.K. (1998). *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*. Oxford University Press.
- Parveen, G. (2015)."Communal Strife in Bihar 1946-1992." Aligarh Muslim University.
- Prasad, P.H. (1996). *The Tragedy of Bihar*. Manak Publications.
- Raghavan, S.(2013). *1971*. Harvard University Press.
- Rangan. K.(1971). "Bengalis Hunt Down Biharis, Who Aided Foe." *The New York Times*, December 22 1971.
- Rehman. Z. (2018)"Aliens since 1971." *The News*.
- Rizwan, M. (2014)."Aftermath of the Elections 1970: From Disparity to Dissection." *Asian journal of management sciences & education* 3, no. 4 (2014): 127-34.
- Rummel, R.J.(1997) *Death by Government*. Transactions Publishers.
- Sajjad, M.(2014). *Muslim Politics in Bihar: Changing Contours*. Taylor & Francis..
- Sattar. N.(2013) "The Rejected Biharis." .
- Sen. S.(1999). "Stateless Refugees and the Right to Return: The Bihari Refugees of South Asia Part 1." Oxford University Press.
- Siddiqui, K., J. Ahmed, K. Siddique, S. Huq, A. Hossain, S. Nazimud-Doula, and N. Rezawana.(2016). *Social Formation in Dhaka, 1985-2005: A Longitudinal Study of Society in a Third World Megacity*. Taylor & Francis.
- Skutsch .(2013).C. *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*. Taylor & Francis.
- Wilson, C. (1981) ."Citizens of Nowhere: The Biharis of Bangladesh." *Institute of Current World Affairs*