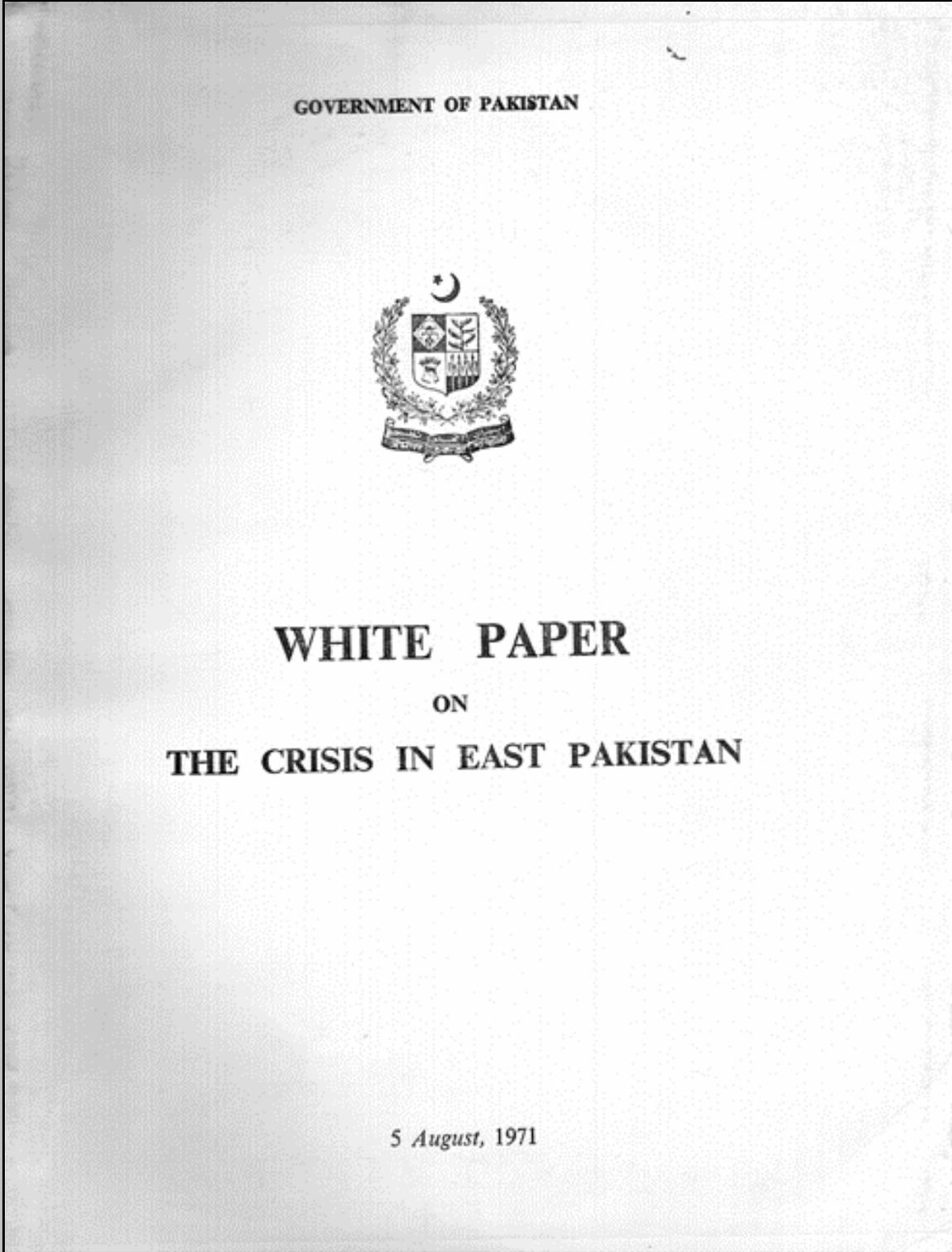


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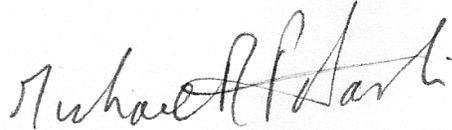
## WHITE PAPER

ON

### THE CRISIS IN EAST PAKISTAN

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## INTRODUCTION

This White Paper provides, for the first time, a full account of the events which led to the present crisis in East Pakistan. The crisis arose from the failure of the elected representatives of the people to reach a consensus on the essentials of a federal constitution, due to the attitude of the Awami League leadership which sought to escalate a mandate for autonomy into a move for secession.

These events have attracted the attention and concern of the international community. However, the world has so far been fed on incomplete and tendentious information. The White Paper sets out in detail the background of these developments, which culminated in armed rebellion aimed at the break up of Pakistan.

The salient facts fundamental to an understanding of the crisis East Pakistan are:

- (i) The electoral process in Pakistan was based on the Legal Framework Order 1970, which was accepted by all political parties, including the Awami League, and which left no doubt that the unity and integrity of Pakistan was a basic pre-condition of any future constitutional set up;
- (ii) The action of the Federal Government on 25 March, 1971 was designed to restore law and order, which had broken down completely during the period of the Awami League's "non-violent, non-cooperation" movement. The **disturbances and atrocities** which marked this phase are documented in this Paper;
- (iii) The situation would have returned to normal fairly soon but for interference and incitement by India.

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CHAPTER – I      TOWARDS CONFRONTATION

CHAPTER – II     THE CRISIS DEEPENS

*Chapters not presented because contents are not relevant to the issue at hand*

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## CHAPTER – III

### TERROR IN EAST PAKISTAN

Side by side with the pursuit of political talks, the Awami League cadres were also finalising their preparations on the ground for seizing by force what they might fail to get by constitutional contrivance.

The success of terrorist tactics in the Elections had emboldened Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his party to start a campaign of undermining civil administration, inciting the student community, and subverting the Bengali elements in the police and the armed forces. "Sangram Parishads" (Revolutionary Councils) were set up in one town after another, and college campuses began to be used as training ground for terrorist activities. A campaign of intimidation was unleashed against the Central Government personnel and institutions. As early as 14 December, 1970, the pro-Awami League daily "The People", Dacca quoted the President of Rajshahi District Awami League as openly talking of "a free and independent Bangla Desh."

Having thus prepared the ground for launching his **movement for secession**, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made the President's announcement of 1 March, 1971, for temporary postponement of the National Assembly, the occasion for organised lawlessness. A chronology of terror unleashed by the Awami League under cover of a "non-violent non-cooperation movement" follows.

#### 1 March, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, at a press conference, gave the call for a strike in Dacca. Immediately after his call, Awami League militants went on the rampage in various parts of the city, indulging in loot, arson and other acts of vandalism. They raided the Narayanganj Rifle Club and took away arms and ammunition. Armed gangs were formed at Iqbal Hall and Jagannath Hall of Dacca University to fan out into the city for collecting arms, vehicles and funds.

Acts of violence grew in size and intensity during the night of 1 March throughout Dacca and Narayanganj.

#### 2 March, 1971

Two firearms shops at Baitul Mukarram and one in New Market were looted and firearms taken to Dacca University campus where a practice firing range had been set up earlier and the noise of firing was heard throughout the day.

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On the streets, mobs roamed with guns, iron rods and staves in their hands, raising anti-Pakistan slogans. A number of business houses on Jinnah Avenue and Baitul Mukarram as well as Shalimar Hotel and Gulistan Cinema were attacked. Plying rickshaws were subjected to brickbatting. One jute mill (Ghawasi) in Narayanganj, and two private residential houses in the Farm Gate area of Dacca were set on fire.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman held another press conference and called for a general strike throughout East Pakistan on 3 March, 1971. While his press conference was still in progress, student groups supporting the Awami League desecrated and burnt the Pakistan National Flag at 'Dacca University. When Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's attention was drawn to this, he replied: "No comment". He went on to reiterate that he would launch a mass disobedience movement against the Central Government, and announced that he, would unfold his "action programme" in a public meeting on 7 March, 1971.

Meanwhile violence continued to grow. Civil law enforcing agencies found themselves incapable of coping with the large-scale disturbances which gripped the city, and at their request troops which had so far remained in the barracks, were called out, and curfew was imposed during the night. '

There were large-scale violations of the curfew. Six persons were killed when a mob attacked an army unit at Sadarghat (Dacca) and one person was killed when the Army tried to protect the local TV Station from a violent mob.

### **3 March, 1971**

Five persons were killed and 62 wounded in mob violence as lawlessness spread to other areas of Dacca, including Islampur, Patuakhali Bazar and Nawabpur. Several shops and business premises as well as residential houses were set on fire and a number of citizens were burnt to death. On the main Jinnah Avenue, a general store and a watch shop were raided and more weapons were looted from arms shops. Fifty huts were set on fire.

By now mob violence had spread to other parts of the province. In Jessore, mobs armed with sticks and spears attacked the local Telephone Exchange. The guards protecting the Exchange opened fire, killing two and injuring nine persons before the mobs dispersed.

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A local train from Bhairab to Laksham was stopped at Comilla in the morning and attempts were made to set it on fire.

The Telephone Exchange at Daulatganj near Laksham was attacked and damaged. The Comilla Telephone Exchange was disconnected from the rest of the Province. The Akaura, Sylhet, Habiganj and Beani Bazar Exchanges were also forced to close down.

Radio and Television in Dacca played a new 'Bangla Desh' anthem in compliance with Awami League instructions.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced the launching of a civil disobedience movement throughout the Province "for the realisation of the rights of the people of Bangla Desh".

#### 4 March, 1971

On the night of 3-4 March, 1971 trouble spread to Chittagong and, Khulna. At Chittagong, violent mobs led by Awami League storm troopers attacked the Wireless Colony and several other localities, committing wanton acts of loot, arson, killing and rape. In one locality (Ferozeshah Colony), 700 houses were set on fire and their inmates including men, women and children were burnt to death: Those who tried to flee, were either killed or seriously wounded. Apart from those burnt alive, whose bodies were found later, over 300 persons were killed or wounded on 3 and 4 March.

At Jessore, a train coming from Khulna was derailed and the passengers were pulled out and killed. At the office of the Jessore Deputy Commissioner, mobs desecrated and burnt the Pakistan Flag, and a hand bomb was thrown.

At Khulna, the Telephone Exchange was attacked and a number of employees were brutally done to death.

In Dacca, cases of looting were reported from Dhanmandi and Nawabpur Road. One firearms shop was raided and arms taken away.

#### 5 March, 1971

Cases of stabbing and of burning of houses continued in Chittagong.

In the Khalispur and Daulatpur areas of Khulna, hand bombs, daos (sickles) and spears were used to kill 57 persons. Their dead bodies were later found mutilated. In Khulna town, mobs armed with lathis and shot-guns looted four shops and set fire to a hotel.

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Reports from other areas in the interior of the province indicated that widespread violence had erupted and civil administration throughout the province had been paralysed.

Telecommunications between East and West Pakistan remained suspended. East Pakistan was also cut off from the outside world as Telephone and Telegraph employees stopped sending and receiving messages on the orders of the Awami League.

### 6 March, 1971

On the night of 5-6 March, 1971, students of Salimullah Muslim Hall entered the British Council premises in Dacca, spread kerosene oil, and attempted to set it on fire, but troops arrived in time and opened fire.

In a jail-break at the Central Prison in Dacca, 341 prisoners escaped. Police opened fire, killing seven prisoners. One police sergeant and 6 warders were wounded. Later, the escaping prisoners, abetted by militant Awami League and student groups, paraded the streets of Dacca, shouting threatening slogans.

Elements of Awami League and the East Pakistan Students' League started looting science laboratories for procuring acids and chemicals. The Government Science Laboratory Dacca was robbed of all explosive chemicals. The Polytechnic Institute was also attacked for the same purpose but the hooligans dispersed when fired upon. Similar reports were also received from all major towns of East Pakistan, including Comilla and Jessore where several cases of bomb explosions occurred. In Jessore, 10 rifles and 15 bayonets of Rajendra College University Offices Training Corps were stolen.

In Chittagong, loot and arson continued. Two houses and a number of huts were gutted. Sniping cases occurred at several places.

In-Rajshahi, the office of the City Magistrate was set on fire.

In Khulna, violent processionists, shouting racial and antistate slogans, attempted to loot arms shops. The owners opened fire, killing one and injuring seven persons.

### 7 March, 1971

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced plans for running a parallel Government, and formally issued a number of 'Directives' (Appendix - D). He made public a week-long programme "to continue the non-violent, non-cooperation movement ", (started on

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2 March, 1971). The programme included (i) a No-tax campaign, (ii) closure of all educational institutions, Government and semi-Government offices, High Courts and other courts throughout "Bangla Desh". Detailed directives were issued to Radio, Television and newspapers on the pattern of Awami League coverage failing which "Bengalis working in these establishments shall not cooperate". Telephone consultation between East and West Pakistan was stopped. One directive ordered that "banks shall not effect remittances to the Western Wing either through the State Bank or otherwise". Another directive specifically laid down that a Sangram Parishad (Revolutionary Council) was to be organised in each union, mohallah, thana, sub-division and district" under the leadership of the local Awami League units".

Meanwhile in Dacca, explosives were thrown inside the Radio Pakistan building.

From various areas of the town, reports were received of Awami League student groups forcibly taking away jeeps, pick-ups and minibuses.

In Jessore, the Pakistan National Flag was burnt at Bargana.

### **8 March, 1971**

In Dacca, weapons and ammunition were collected forcibly from license holders by Awami League volunteers. Similar reports were received from other towns of East Pakistan.

The Awami League organised meetings and violent processions shouting racial and anti-Pakistan slogans throughout the province.

The General Secretary of the East Pakistan Awami League, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmad, announced "certain exemptions and clarifications pursuant to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Directives". These included a categorical directive that " No remittances shall be effected outside Bangla Desh either through State Bank or otherwise".

### **9 March, 1971**

Awami League volunteers and student groups set up "checkposts" in various parts of Dacca "to stop the flight of wealth from Bangla Desh". Under the pretext of "checking ", money and belongings of those "searched" by these volunteers were seized in the name of "Bangla Desh ".

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In Rangpur, a violent mob in Lalmonirhat stopped and damaged a train, harassing and molesting some of the passengers on racial and political grounds. Awami Leaguers also attacked residents of a number of localities in the town.

In Rajshahi, an "Independence Flag" was hoisted at the City Town Hall.

In a despatch from its correspondent, Kenneth Clarke, London "Daily Telegraph" (9 March 1971) said: " Reports said that Dacca collapsed into complete lawlessness on Sunday night (7 March, 1971) as Sheikh Mujib took the province to the **edge of secession**". The paper added: "Terming his movement one of independence the Sheikh, leader of the Awami League, laid down conditions for cooperating in National Assembly which cannot be met by President Khan". The paper also noted Sheikh Mujib's directive that "liberation committees be formed under Awami League leaders in all villages ".

### **10 March, 1971**

The Awami League announced that "there shall be no operation of (bank) lockers and that no cooperation was to be extended by Port authorities, except as indicated in Sheikh Mujib's directives.

In Comilla, reports were received of disturbances and panic in the tea gardens.

### **12 March, 1971**

On the night of 11-12 March, there was a jail-break in Barisal, and several prisoners escaped. A jail-break was also reported from Bogra, where seven prisoners escaped. In Comilla, 300 prisoners attempted to escape, police opened fire, killing two and injuring 18 prisoners.

"Liberation Fronts" and para-military organisations started mushrooming across the province. More and more cyclostyled and hand-written leaflets on behalf of these "Liberation Fronts" were clandestinely circulated, aimed at inciting racial hatred and violence.

A convoy of five Army trucks, while proceeding to Comilla from Sylhet for drawing rations, was obstructed en route at Brahmanbaria by armed mobs.

### **13 March, 1971**

In Dacca, passengers at the railway station were 'gheraoed ' (surrounded) by Awami League volunteers for "interrogation" on charges of being "dalals' " (pimps) of West Pakistan.

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In a Government office near Kakrail (Dacca) two bottles of acid were thrown, causing fire.

In Jessore, the Pakistan National Flag was replaced by a " Bangla Desh" flag at the office of the Deputy Commissioner.

In Comilla, Awami League leaders threatened to break open the jail for the release of two prisoners arrested for burning the National Flag at Shamshearnagar.

#### **14 March, 1971**

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman issued a statement, superseding all previous 'Directives', and announced a new "programme of action commencing from 15 March, 1971" in the form of fresh directives. One of these laid down that "in discharging their duties and functions, the authorities concerned, viz the Deputy Commissioners and Sub Divisional Officers will maintain close contact with and act in cooperation with the Awami League Sangram Parishads at their respective levels."

Another directive laid down that "the Customs Department shall function and shall allow clearance of goods against deposit of the full amount of duty assessed," in Special Accounts to be opened for this purpose in Eastern Banking Corporation Limited and Eastern Mercantile Bank Limited (private regional banks) to be operated by the Collector of Customs, who shall operate these accounts in accordance with the directives of the Awami League which may be issued from time to time. Such realisations shall not be credited to the "account of the Central Government".

#### **15 March, 1971**

In a joint statement, four members of the "Swadhin Bangla Desh Kendria Chhatra Sangram Parishad (Free Bengal Central Students' Revolutionary Council) admitted that "some armed miscreants using vehicles were still raiding different houses and collecting money forcibly in the name of Sangram Parishad".

Meanwhile reports kept pouring in from several areas that on racial and political grounds people were being subjected to brutal treatment as part of the "search" operation at various Awami League checkpoints in Dacca.

In Comilla, armed mobs 'gheraoed' (surrounded) and attacked an Army field unit at Feni.

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The BBC, London, (15 March 1971) reported: "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman made a statement urging civilian defence workers to defy the Army order to return to work today. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whose Awami League wants greater autonomy for East Pakistan, also issued more than thirty directives aimed at tightening control of the region. They included orders that taxes should be paid to his regime rather than the Central Government".

### 16 March, 1971

In Rangpur, chemicals and acids were stolen from Mahraj High School, Natore.

In Chittagong, a firearms shop was looted by Awami League volunteers.

A report from Dacca in the "Guardian", London (16 March 1971) by correspondent Martin Adeney, described the meeting of one of the Awami League action committees: "They were discussing, like similar action committees set up throughout this province, their next step in what they already regard as independent East Bengal – Bangla Desh. Out of 58 villages, they have about three hundred of them formed into an action committee ready to resist the army if need be and already being trained by a villager whose claim to expertise in service was as a lance corporal in the Royal Indian Army Service Corps".

The Indian daily "Statesman" (16 March 1971), while reporting the Awami League directives of 14 March, said: "Mr. Mujibur Rahman, in issuing the directives, said he was assuming the control of Bengal Desh". The paper also reported: "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had stated that the 'President will be our guest', which observers in Dacca interpreted as meaning that East Pakistan considers itself a separate territory from West Pakistan".

### 17 March, 1971

On the night of 16-17 March, two acid bottles were thrown at a Government office in Azimpura, Dacca.

In Jessore, the power house was damaged and power supply interrupted. The Jessore-Khulna road was blocked at various points. About 300 survivors of the 5 March, killings in Khulna were threatened with fresh attacks.

In Rangpur, students burnt 12 houses in village Lalibari, police station Kaliganj, district Dinajpur.

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### 18 March, 1971

In Dacca, the Central Government High School, Motijheel, was raided and acids and chemicals were taken away.

In Jessore, two acid- bottles were thrown at Army personnel in a camp.

### 19 March, 1971

In Dacca, an Army vehicle returning from Mymensingh was ambushed by a crowd at a level crossing. Six occupants, along with their weapons were taken away by the attackers.

In Joydevpur town, 22 miles from Dacca, curfew was imposed: following exchange fire between the armed mob and Army personnel when barricades were put up by placing a tram on the level crossing in Joydevpur Bazar. The troops tried to push the train aside to make their way but they were fired upon by the crowd. Three soldiers were seriously wounded. The troops returned the fire, killing two persons and injuring another five. At the Joydevpur roundabout, the troops were again fired upon by a violent crowd. The soldiers returned the fire, killing one person. Half a dozen more barricades were put up on the Dacca-Mymensingh highway.

### 20-21 March, 1971

In Jessore, large-scale smuggling of Indian arms was reported from India via Satkhira. Movement of smuggled arms and ammunition from Chittagong to Comilla was also reported.

"The Far Eastern Economic Review" Hong Kong (20 March 1971) reported: "While President Yahya Khan was pondering his next move in the West Wing, Sheikh Mujib in his Dacca house adorned with traditional Bengali symbolism told me: 'This is the final round'. Asked what he meant, he answered with the slogan he has hurled at adoring crowds a thousand times: 'Joy Shadin Bangla' Long Live Independent Bengal".

### 22 March, 1971

In Dinajpur, Awami Leaguers led a violent procession carrying the effigy of President Yahya with an arrow in his chest.

Reports were received of Indian arms in some of the tea gardens in Sylhet.

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### 23 March, 1971'

"Pakistan Day" was renamed "Resistance Day" and Pakistan National Flags were replaced by the new "Bangla Desh" flags atop public and private buildings in Dacca and other towns of East Pakistan." March pasts and parades were held by paramilitary "Liberation Fronts" and ex-servicemen. Under instructions from the Awami League, Dacca Television did not show the Pakistan Flag on this day. The situation was reported tense in Mirpur and certain other areas where residents insisted on flying the Pakistan Flag and refused to hoist the new "Bangla Desh" flag.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman took the salute at an armed march-past at his residence on which the **Bangla Desh flag was ceremonially unfurled.**

Student groups kidnapped West Pakistani businessmen and demanded ransom. Armed crowds brick batted and harassed outgoing passengers near Dacca airport.

### 24 March, 1971

Militant student and labour groups began circulating handwritten and cyclostyled posters in various parts of the province inciting people to violence. One of these, issued by the Zilla (District) Committee of Purbo Bangla Sramik Andolan (East Bengal Labour Movement) read as follows: –

"The National Liberation Movement of East Bengal is on. Spread this wild fire to every place. Patriotic and revolutionary people, take up arms. Resist and liquidate the enemy troops. Defend the freed areas through armed resistance.

"People, get armed with the available weapons to stop the inroads of the enemy, cut off the roads, bridges, rail links etc. in those areas which are not in their control. Keep ready hand bombs and molotov cocktails in every house. If we have to surrender or we are directly attacked by the enemy, we will have to resort to a bloody war of resistance.

"Please keep in mind that the national liberation of East Bengal is only possible through armed struggle which will be of long duration. Hence, without guerilla war tactics, we shall not be able to resist the enemy. Be ready to protect the freed areas at any price. The long struggle of liberation of East Bengal is not at its end. It is just the beginning: To weaken us, the enemy may impose economic blockade. The victory of East Bengal is inevitable. We have torn off the shackles of Pakistani colonialism. Independent East Bengal-Zindabad"

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In Rangpur incidents of arson were reported from Golahat, North Saidpur. A violent mob of 8,000 persons armed with lathis and lethal weapons converged on Saidpur to attack the residents there. Fifty homes were set on fire.

### **25 March, 1971**

Acid bombs were reported under preparation on a large scale in Engineering College, and Iqbal and Jagannath Hans, Dacca. Barricades and road-blocks appeared all over the city of Dacca.

A report from Paul Martin in the London "Times" of 25 March, 1971, said: "In the ground of Dacca University, radical groups have started training students in the use of firearms. In many of the villages of East Pakistan brigades of 'volunteers' have been established as the basis of a people's militia whose future task is to 'confront the Pakistan Army. Already petrol bombs and other hand-made bombs manufactured from chemicals stolen from laboratories in the past few weeks have made their first appearance in the eastern capital, Dacca".

In Saidpur, four violent mobs armed with rifles, shot-guns, and daggers, who had come from neighbouring villages, converged on Saidpur town and attacked Golahat, an adjacent locality, killing three persons and injuring 17. Among the wounded, two had sustained bullet injuries while another seven were hurt from shotgun fire. The remaining persons were injured by lath is and clubs. 50 houses were also burnt. The troops had to open fire and three persons were injured. Later, another violent mob attacked Saidpur Cantonment. They fired at troops with shot-guns. The soldiers had to open fire injuring five persons.

Yet another mob attacked a postal service van on Saidpur – Dinajpur Road. They dragged out the conductor and the driver. The conductor was beaten to death on the spot while the driver was seriously wounded.

In Chittagong, huge barricades were put up on the road leading to Agrabad from the Chittagong Port to prevent the transport of military personnel and arms to the cantonment. A number of trenches were dug on the main road while trucks and lorries, bitumen drums, dustbins and 'bricks were put up along the route' to prevent passage of vehicular traffic.

The Awami League's elaborate preparations for an armed uprising were pushed forward. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman appointed ex-Colonel Usmani as Commander of "the Revolutionary Forces"

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directly answerable to him, and he deputed Major General (Retd) Majeed and Lt-Commander (Retd) Moazzam to enlist the support of ex-servicemen. Lists had been compiled and maintained at Awami League headquarters and arrangements were made to arm them. To that end, arms shops were looted at Dacca, Narayanganj, Khulna and Jessore and stocks piled up in all big towns for the use of mutineers. At Dacca Police Station headquarters alone there was a stock of 15,000 fully loaded rifles.

The various outposts of EPR and EBR were connected by wireless transmitters and instructions were quickly passed from one unit to another. The biggest operational headquarters was located at the East Bengal Regimental Centre in Chittagong.

The operational plan was worked out in meticulous detail: it was arranged that on a signal from the Awami League headquarters in Dacca, the **armed uprising** would begin. It was arranged that

- (a) ERR troops would occupy Dacca and Chittagong, to prevent the landing of Pakistan Army by air or sea;
- (b) the remaining EBR troops with the help of EPR, Police and armed Razakars would move to eliminate the Armed Forces at various cantonments and stations;
- (c) EPR would occupy all the key posts of the border and keep it open for aid from outside;
- (d) **requirements of further arms and ammunition would be met from India; and**
- (e) **Indian troops would come to the assistance of the Awami League rebel force once the latter succeeded in the first phase of occupying key centres and paralysing the Pakistan Army.**

**Early hours of Friday morning were fixed as the zero hour for the armed uprising.**

On the night of 25-26 March, a few hours before the Awami League plan for an armed uprising and launching of the "Independent Republic of Bangla Dosh" was to be put into effect, the President called upon the armed forces of Pakistan to do their duty and "fully restore the authority of the Government". The Army took the initiative and thwarted the Awami League plan for armed take-over of East Pakistan through armed infiltrators from India and subverted elements in the East Bengal Regiment, East Pakistan Rifles, East Pakistan Police and para-military forces.

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The Pakistan Army units, largely deployed along the borders with India, set out to suppress the rebellion and drive out the Indian Infiltrators over the next few weeks. During this period, in the areas which came temporarily under the control of the rebels and Indian infiltrators, the Awami League reign of terror, unleashed from 1 March, 1971, onwards claimed the lives of more than a hundred thousand men, women and children., besides incalculable damage to public and private buildings, transport and communications an industrial establishments etc.

The mass killings by the Awami League cadres and EBR / EPR rebels assumed the character of genocide. The victims were those who refused to conform to the designs of the Awami League secessionists. Unmentionable brutalities were committed. In one area of Santahar, in Bogra district, more than 15,000 persons were surrounded and systematically murdered. Women were paraded naked in the streets and mothers were made to drink the blood of their own children. In Chittagong, over 10,000 persons were killed including 250 women and children in one small locality who were bayoneted to death. In Serajganj, near Pabna, 350 women and children were locked in a hall which was set on fire, and the inmates were roasted to death. In Mymensingh, an entire colony of 2,000 families was exterminated in Sankipara area, the men being taken out of their houses and shot, while women were made to dig their graves before themselves being raped and in most cases killed. Some of these atrocities have also been reported in the foreign press, extracts from which are reproduced below:

"The millions of non-Bengali Muslims now trapped in the Eastern Wing have always felt the repercussions of the East-West tensions, and it is now feared that the Bengalis have turned on this vast minority community to take their revenge".

**"Statesman", New Delhi, 4 April, 1971.**

"Thousands of helpless Muslim refugees who settled in Bengal at the time of partition are reported to have been massacred by angry Bengalis in East Pakistan during the past week.

"The facts about the massacres were confirmed by Bihari Muslim refugees who crossed the border into India this week, and by a young British technician who crossed the Indo-Pakistan frontier at Hili today".

**"The Times", London, 6 April, 1971.**

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"Passengers on a British ship which docked in Calcutta yesterday told of **mass executions**, burning and looting in the East Pakistan port of Chittagong.

"Leon Lumsden, an American engineer on a U.S. aid project, said that for two weeks before the Army moved last week, Chittagong's predominantly Bengali population had been butchering West Pakistanis in the port".

**"Northern Echo ", Darlington, Durham, 7 April, 1971.**

"When the EPR (East Pakistan Rifles) mutinied, their first reaction was to wipe out the non-Bengalis in their own ranks.

"Some 40 percent of the 10,000 to 15,000 strong EPR consisted of West Pakistanis, including most of the officers.

"One cart-load of bodies was dumped by EPR men one night across the border near the Indian checkpoint town of Haridaspur ".

**"Far Eastern Economic Review", Hong Kong, 24 April, 1971.**

"The impression, based on the testimony of hundred of witnesses, is that when it seemed that the Awami League was about to come to power, Bengalis in some communities **looted and burned Bihari houses and slaughtered their occupants**".

**"New York Times", New York, 10 May, 1971.  
 (Malcolm Browne).**

"The European manager of a local bank said: 'It was fortunate for every European living here that the Army arrived when it did; otherwise, I would not have lived to tell the tale".

**"New York Times", New York, 11 May, 1971.  
 (Malcolm Browne).**

"There is evidence that non-Bengalis, **largely immigrants from India who sought refuge after the 1947 partition, were attacked**, hacked to death and burnt in their homes by mobs.

"Eye witnesses told stories of 1,500 widows and orphans fleeing to a mosque at Mymensingh, in the north, as armed men identified as secessionists slaughtered their husbands and fathers ".

**"Ceylon Daily News", Colombo, 15 May, 1971.  
 (Maurice Quaintance).**

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"Newsmen visiting this key port yesterday said there was massive shell and fire damage and evidence of **sweeping massacre of civilians by rebels**.

"At the jute mills owned by the influential Ispahani family, newsmen saw the mass graves of 152 non-Bengali women and children reportedly executed last month by secessionist rebels in the mills recreation club.

"Bloody clothing and toys were still on the floor of the bullet-pocked club. Responsible sources said **thousands of West Pakistanis and Indian migrants (Muslims settled in East Pakistan since 1947) were put to death** in Chittagong between March 25, when the East Pakistan rebellion began to seek independence from the Western Wing and April 11, when the Army recaptured the city.

"Residents point to one burned out apartment building where they said Bengalis burned to death three hundred and fifty Pathans from West Pakistan".

**"Washington Post", Washington, 12 May, 1971.  
 (Associated Press Report)**

"In the port city of Chittagong, a blood-spattered doll lies in a heap of clothing and excrement in a jute mill recreation club where Bengalis butchered one hundred and eighty women and children.

"Bengalis killed some West Pakistanis in flurries or chauvinism.

"Bengali civilians and liberation troops began **mass slaughter of Mohajirs (Indian migrants) from the Indian State of Bihar** and raced through market places and settlements stabbing, shooting and burning, sometimes stopping to rape and loot".

**"Washington Evening Star", Washington, 12 May, 1971.  
 (Mort Rosenblum)**

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**CHAPTER – IV INDIA’S ROLE**

*Chapter not presented because contents are not relevant to the issue at hand*

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## CHAPTER – V

### CONCLUSION

The recent tragic events in East Pakistan can be seen in their perspective in the light of the foregoing chapters. The fact that the atrocities and acts of lawlessness committed by the Awami League militants prior to 25 March, 1971 had not been publicised, to avoid possible reprisals, has led to the impression that action of the Federal Government was directed at suppressing popular movement. It can now be seen that armed forces moved to restore law and order and the authority of the Government which had been gravely undermined in the 25 days of the Awami League's "non-violent non-cooperation" movement.

A dispassionate study of the facts and documents provided in the White Paper should further make it clear that the President went as far as he possibly could to help create conditions for transferring power to elected representatives by evolving a consensus among the various parties without which a true Federal set up could not be established. He persevered in negotiations with the Awami League and delayed the assertion of the Government's authority to a point that is being considered in retrospect by some as having been too close to disaster. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the other leaders of the Awami League, however, progressively escalated their demands, with complete disregard for the fact that their mandate was for autonomy within a Federation, even in terms of the League's own Six Points. Towards the concluding phase of talks, their draft proclamation spoke of a "confederation" which is a loose association of independent and sovereign states, and included other unmistakable indications of their resolve to break up the country. This was not only unacceptable to the leaders and parties of the other federating units but also clearly violated the terms of the Legal Framework Order, under which elections had been held, and which contained a basic commitment by the President to safeguard the unity and integrity of Pakistan.

The Awami League leadership had counted on their success in paralysing the civil administration, combined with their subversion of the loyalty of many units of the armed forces and their collusion with India to present the world with a fait accompli in case negotiations did not secure their secessionist demands. Having tried all avenues of compromise and having failed to evoke a statesmanlike or moderate response consistent with the concept of a united Pakistan, the President was left no choice but to make the painful decision to preserve the integrity of the country as he had repeatedly warned he would, should the need arise.

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**APPENDICES:**

- A** Extracts from Policy Statements by the President
- B** Legal Framework Order, 1970
- C** “Six-Points” of the Awami League
- D** Awami League Directives, March 1971
- E** Awami League Draft Proclamation
- F** Third Schedule (from 1962 Constitution)
- G** List of Major Atrocities

*Most appendices not presented because contents are not relevant to the issue at hand.*

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Appendix 'G'

### LIST OF MAJOR ATROCITIES

(Acts of violence and lawlessness before 25 March 1971, are listed in Chapter III entitled "Terror in East Pakistan")

District	Date and Area	Incident
Chittagong	26-30 March 1971 Chittagong Town	The town remained under control of rebel elements of East Bengal Regiment (EBR), East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) and Awami League (AL) volunteers, who went on the rampage looting, massacring and setting fire to entire colonies in the main town as well as in outlying-areas. Slaughter houses were set up, including one in the Chittagong office of AL, where men, women and children were systematically massacred. In many cases blood was drained through syringes before bodies were dismembered (10,000 to - 12,000 killed).
	27 March 1971 Usmania Glass Works	West Pakistani staff tortured and killed. (Casualties 17 killed)
	15 March 1971 Amin Jute Mills, Bibirhat.	Managing Partner and Manager kidnapped and believed to be killed. A number of other employees missing reported to have been taken hostages. (Casualties could not be ascertained).
	19 April 1971 Isphahani Jute Mills and adjoining areas.	Women and children brutally murdered. West Pakistani Officers and workers missing / kidnapped (Casualties: about 1,000).
	27/28 April 1971 Hafiz Jute Mills	Mill premises attacked and a number of employees killed. House of the owner set on fire. All inmates burnt alive except some minor children who escaped. (Casualties believed to be about 150 killed).
	26-30 April 1971 Karnaphuli Paper and Rayon Mills, Chandraghona and adjoining areas.	Large-scale looting, arson and killing. Women locked up in houses, rescued later, narrated unmentionable stories of rape and brutalities (Casualties about 2,000 killed)
	27-30 April 1971 Rangamati.	West Pakistanis all over Rangamati rounded up, tortured and massacred. (Casualties about 500 killed)

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District	Date and Area	Incident
Jessore	29-30 March 1971 Jhumjhumpur Colony	Entire population of <b>Biharis subjected to general massacre</b> by rebel EPR personnel. Women and children dragged towards Narail. About 400-500 women also <b>kidnapped to India</b> by river route. Human skulls and other parts of human body were found lying strewn all over the area. (About 3,000 killed, 2,000 missing).
	29/30 March 1971 Ramnagar Colony	People from Jhumjhumpur Colony took shelter in this colony, which was also set on fire. (Over 150 killed, 448 in destitute camps.).
	30 March 1971 Taraganj Colony	AL volunteers and rebel EPR personnel <b>massacred entire colony</b> . Very few survived. All houses destroyed. (About 500 killed, 400 missing).
	30 March – 5 April 1971 Hamidpur, Ambagan, Bachachar and Puratan Kasba of Jessore Town	Most of the population of the area was wiped out. Houses were first looted and then destroyed. (About 1,000 killed / missing, 175 in hospital, 172 in destitute camps).
	30 March – 5 April 1971 Mobarakganj	Men, women and children subjected to <b>torture and killing</b> ; their houses looted and set on fire. (Over 200 killed, 10 in hospital, 27 in destitute camps).
	30 March – 5 April 1971 Kaliganj	Several localities attacked, <b>women raped and men and children killed</b> . Large-scale looting and arson. (About 300 killed, 132 in relief camps).
	30 March – 10 April 1971 Kotchandpur	<b>Indiscriminate killing and arson</b> . (About 200 killed 5 injured, 55 in relief camps).
	30 March 1971 Tafsidanga	Sangram Parish ad volunteers attacked a number of houses which were pre-marked, killed men and old women, and took away younger women. (About 200 killed, 72 in relief camps).
	30 March – 10 April 1971 Narail	Pathans were the main target of atrocities. They were rounded up from all over Narail and brutally done to death. (60-70 Pathans including women and children massacred).

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District	Date and Area	Incident
	25 March – 4 April 1971 Jhenidah Sub-Division	AL volunteers attacked a number of houses which were looted and set on fire. Heavy loss of life and property. (More than 250 killed, 50 missing, 10 in hospital).
Khulna	28-29 March 1971 Khulna Town Crescent Jute Mills, Khalispur and Star Jute Mills, Chandi Mahal	AL para-military training camps established in Khulna. Organised murder and arson unleashed against so-called "brokers" of West Pakistan. Houses destroyed and large-scale massacre carried out. Before being guillotined, victims were tortured. Innocent women and children were dragged on the road and killed. Survivors found floating on the river were fished out, their stomachs were slit open and then they were again pushed back in the river which ran red with blood. Extensive damage to mill property. Some officers spared on paying ransom. (Casualties: about 5,000 killed).
	28-29 March 1971 People's Jute Mill, Khalispur, Khulna	EPR/ Ansars/ AL workers indulged in wanton massacre irrespective of their victims' age. (Casualties: 467 killed)
	28-29 March 1971 New Colony, Khalispur, Khulna	Colony surrounded by about 10,000 AL workers. Rebel police also joined in. Firing continued for over six hours. (Casualties: about 300 killed).
	30 April 1971 Satkhira Sub-Division, Khulna	West Pakistani SDO captured and taken prisoner. The area was subjected to mass killing, atrocities and large-scale looting of the town. (Casualties: about 1,000 killed).
Kushtia	29 March – 10 April 1971 Kushtia Town	Rebel EPR/ Mujahids/ local miscreants resorted to indiscriminate firing on Biharis and West Pakistani forces. Reign of terror continued for 13 days. (Casualties: 1,000 to 1,500 killed).
	26 March – 1 April 1971 Chuadanga, Kushtia	Biharis and West Pakistanis rounded up and killed. Women subjected to inhuman treatment. West Pakistani SDO mercilessly tortured and his pregnant wife beaten. (Casualties: about 500 killed and 100 missing).

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District	Date and Area	Incident
	23 April 1971 Zafar Kandi Kushtia	Bihari colonies were attacked by rebel EPR/local miscreants. After large-scale looting of property, the colony was set on fire. No survivors. <b>Women raped and later killed. Their dead bodies were found with breasts cut and wombs slit open.</b> (Casualties: about 500 killed).
	30 March – 13 April 1971 Meherpur, Kushtia	For two weeks, Meherpur was subjected to wanton killings, arson and rape. (Casualties: 400-600 killed, 200 missing, and 10 in hospital).
Bogra	26 March – 23 April 1971 Bogra Town	Jail broken open by AL volunteers and prisoners, let loose to commit acts of violence and plunder. 7,000 men, women and children huddled into the jail premises which was to be blown up by dynamite but timely arrival of Army rescued them. Eye witnesses narrated stories of mass murders, rape and arson. (About 2,000 reported killed).
	26 March – 22 April 1971 Naogaon / Santahar	AL miscreants set up road blocks to prevent movement of Biharis. Banks looted. <b>Young women raped and paraded naked</b> before being shot dead. Dead bodies strewn all over the town. Many burnt alive. Some nailed and shot dead. Surviving injured reported that <b>mothers Were made to drink the blood of their own children. Almost the whole of Bihari population wiped out.</b> (About 5,000 killed).
Pabna	23 March – 10 April 1971 Pabna Town	Awami League reign of terror continued for two weeks until the town secured by the Army (About 200 killed).
	23 March – 10 April 1971 Sirajganj	Miscreants lodged 350 men, women and children in a building and then set it on fire, (All inmates trapped and killed).

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District	Date and Area	Incident
	10 April 1971 Paksey	Railway colony residents deceived under the pretext of forming peace committee later confined in a High School building and burnt alive. (About 2,000 killed)
Rangpur	23-31 March 1971 Saidpur (Rangpur)	Hundreds of houses burnt alongwith their inmates. (More than 100 people killed)
	23 March – 1 April 1971 Nilphamari	More than half the refugee population of 5,000 was brutally massacred. (About 2,700 killed).
Dinajpur	28 March – 1 April 1971 Dinajpur Town	Atrocities began with the revolt of EBR, followed by mass killings. Men, women and children slaughtered. Only stray survivors consisted mainly of old women and children. Heads of victims were hung on tree tops. About 400 girls abducted to India. (About 5,000 killed).
	28 March – 13 April 1971 Thakurgaon	EBR revolted and most of Bihari population wiped out. Young girls abducted. Women were raped and those pregnant bayoneted. Still-born babies torn to pieces. Corpses dragged naked along the streets. (About 3,000 killed).
	Parbatipur, Ponchagarh, Chaur Kai, Phulbari, and Hilli	Railway colonies were the main target of rebel EPR and Awami League volunteers. Grenades, light machine guns and small arms were used to terrorise the residents before unleashing orgy of rape and murder. (Survivors estimate more than 5,000 victims).
Rajshahi	28 March – 16 April 1971 Rajshahi Town	Police and EPR revolted. Indian infiltrators also joined in and started killing indiscriminately. Until Army secured the town on 16 April 1971. Massacres also reported from Natore and Sarda. (About 2,000 killed).

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District	Date and Area	Incident
	27 March – 18 April 1971 Nawabganj	Rebel EPR elements, supported by Indian infiltrators, broke open Nawabganj jail, released prisoners and incited them to acts of violence and arson. An Accounts Clerk buried up to waist for refusing to accept "Bangla Desh" and killed by lathies. (Total deaths estimated at about 1,000)
	March – April 14, 1971 Brahmanbaria	Bihari men, women and children in Brahmanbaria rounded up and lodged in jail before being killed by automatic fire under orders of rebel Company Commander of EBR on 13 April, 1971. (Casualties approx 500 killed).
Mymensingh	27 March 71 Mymensingh Cantonment	EBR/EPR revolted and killed their West Pakistani colleagues, including Officers and men resting for the night in their residential quarters and barracks.
	16-17 April 71 Mymensingh Town	Ex-EPR personnel armed with machineguns, raided Mymensingh District Jail and shot 17 non-locals lodged there for safe custody.
	17-20 April 71 Shankipara and other colonies	Violent mobs, armed with rifles, swords, spears, daggers and <i>ramdaos</i> , attacked and killed the bulk of the male residents of Shanki para and 9 other colonies in and around Mymensingh town. About 5,000 reported killed. Women collected in a mosque and a school building, later rescued by the Army when the town was secured on 21 April, 1971.

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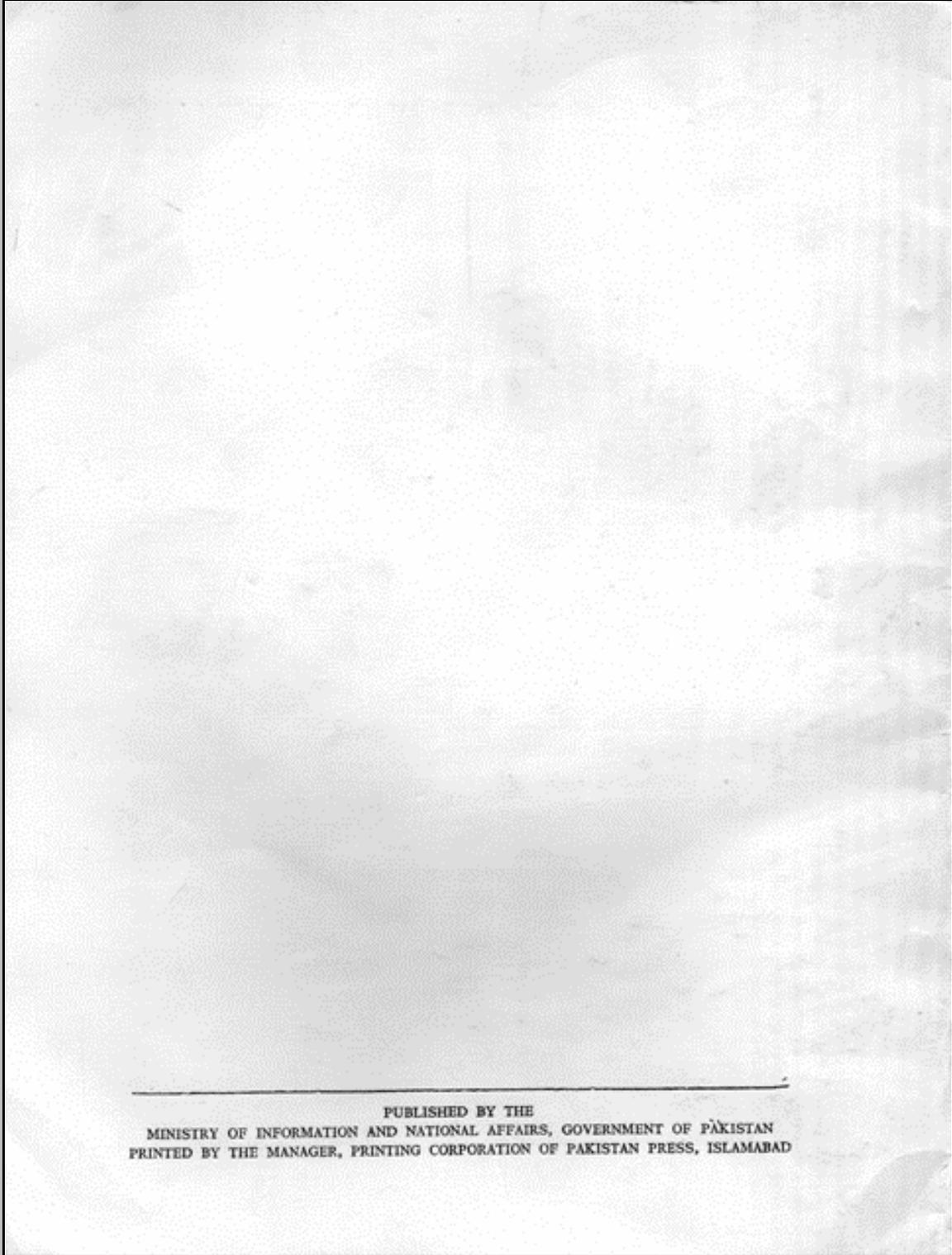
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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AL	...	...	Awami League
BOP	...	...	Border Out-Post
BSF	...	...	Border Security Post
CMLA	...	...	Chief Martial Law Administrator
EBR	...	...	East Bengal Regiment
EPR	...	...	East Pakistan Rifles
LFO	...	...	Legal Framework Order
PPP	...	...	Pakistan Peoples Party

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