



1971
Fact and Fiction
Views and Perceptions in Pakistan, India and
Bangladesh

By

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AFRASIAB

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Mehdi Hashmi Qureshi

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**AND, DO NOT MIX TRUTH WITH
FALSEHOOD OR CONCEAL THE TRUTH
WHILE YOU KNOW (IT).**

The Quran (Al-Baqarah)

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PREFACE

Since the Crusades and earlier, the West has never felt comfortable with the idea of a Muslim state. Same has been the case with Hindu India and some others.

One of the undiscussed problems faced by Pakistan since its birth in 1947, has much to do with this silent antagonism.

‘1971’ needs to be looked at from this perspective as well.

Pakistan has had major successes and major failures. Pakistan is an experimentation in Islamic statecraft in modern times. In fact, Pakistan’s soul is bigger than its size.

According to Nehru, Hindu-Muslim question in the subcontinent is “something psychological.” The growing Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh mindset is not good for India, and its future.

The world is gradually heading towards religious fascism. This is a fact. Any floccinaucinihilipilification of this view, would be counterproductive.

BANGLADESH: BRIEF INTRODUCTION

The cloth (Dhaka muslin) is like the light vapours of the dawn.

Yuan Chwang
(7th century Chinese scholar)

Way back during the Ming dynasty, the great Muslim Admiral of the Chinese fleet, Zheng He (1371 AD – 1433 AD) who is said to have discovered America even before Christopher Columbus, came to Chittagong during one of his seven voyages across the world.¹ Chroniclers who accompanied him, opined that the people of Bengal “are good at cloth-weaving” and many “go out for a living.”²

Both these aspects of the people of Bengal hold true even in the 21st century. Bangladesh has a thriving garments industry, and a large number of Bangladeshis work abroad in the Middle East, US and the UK.

Located in the eastern part of the subcontinent, the full name of Bangladesh is the People’s Republic of Bangladesh. Earlier, the name was spelt ‘Bangla Desh;’ later the two words became one. Bangladesh is bordered by India on the east, west and the north,

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- 1 The New York Times, 17 January 2006 writeup: ‘Who Discovered America-Zheng He?’ Also consult book, ‘1421: The Year China Discovered America’, by Gavin Menzies. (William Morrow Paperbacks- 2008.)
 - 2 Chroniclers include Ma Huan, Fei Xin and Gong Zhen. (Article ‘History and Legend of Sino-Bangla Contacts’ by former Chinese Ambassador Zhang Xianyi, on 35th anniversary of establishment of China’s diplomatic relations with Bangladesh.) There is a view that Zheng He visited Bengal two or may be three times. May also study ‘Cambridge History of China’, Volume 7, Cambridge University Press. (1988)

and by Bay of Bengal and a border strip with Myanmar in the south-east. Bangladesh has an area of 143,998 square kms.³

By various estimates, Bangladesh has a population of 162 million. The capital, Dhaka has a little more than 15 million inhabitants. The main port city is Chittagong.

Muslims constitute 89.5 percent of the total population of Bangladesh. Around 9 per cent of Bangladeshis are Hindus, which makes Bangladesh a country having the third largest Hindu population in the world, after India and Nepal⁴ with Pakistan on the way to becoming the fourth.⁵ The rest are mainly Buddhists and Christians. More than 90 per cent of Bangladeshis are ethnic Bengalis.

The national language and the official language of Bangladesh is Bengali, which is the mother tongue of almost the entire population of the country. The use of Bengali is mandatory in all government offices except in external relations of the country, in accordance with the Bengali Language Implementation Act of 1987.⁶

According to Syed Sajjad Husain, “The Bengali language has two distinct styles: sadhu bhasa, the literary style, which contains many words derived from Sanskrit, and calit bhasa, the colloquial style, which is the standard medium of informal discourse, both spoken and written.” Until the 1930s, sadhu bhasa was used for “all printed matter, but calit bhasa is now the basic form used for

3 For details, also see writeup on Bangladesh by Hugh Russell Tinker, University of Lancaster, by accessing Encyclopedia Britannica at <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bangladesh>.

4 See World Atlas on Religions’ by accessing <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries>.

5 Pew Research Center ‘Projected Population Change in countries with Largest Hindu populations,’ 2 April 2015.

6 ‘Bangla Bhasa Procholon Ain, 1987.’ (Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Government of Bangladesh.)

contemporary literature.”⁷ Bengali includes a large number of words from Hindi, Urdu, Arabic and Farsee.

The Constitution of Bangladesh was enacted on 4 November 1972 which became effective on 16 December 1972. It was suspended in March 1982 and later restored in November 1986. Constitution has been amended a number of times.

The main political parties in Bangladesh include: Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), led by Begum Khaleda Zia; Awami League (AL) headed by Sheikh Hasina; and the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami whose current Ameer is Shafiqur Rahman.

The road to democracy for Bangladesh has been bumpy. The founder of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was brutally assassinated. In its history, Bangladesh has witnessed military takeovers.

Bangladesh is known for rich vegetation and greenery. When it rains during the monsoon, green becomes more green; each shade having within it many shades of green. Its soil is fertile with a saying, “Throw a twig, it would become a tree.” Bangladesh has very nice tea gardens. Along with India, the country has Sunderbans and the Royal Bengal Tiger.⁸

Bangladesh faces infrastructure and energy problems. The economic growth rate has been 6 per cent. Bangladesh has

7 See article on Bengali language by Syed Sajjad Husain, former Vice-Chancellor, University of Rajshahi, in Encyclopedia Britannica, by accessing <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bangladesh>. Site visited on 10 October 2020.

8 Also study ‘The History of Bengal’ by Charles Stewart, Cambridge University Press (2013); ‘The Indian Musalmans’ by William Wilson Hunter, Trübner and Company, UK (1876); and ‘The History of Bengal’ by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, published by the University of Dhaka in 1943.

an agrarian economy. Around 21% of the GDP comes from agriculture, forestry and fisheries.

The country's total exports have been worth more than \$ 35 billion. The export products include, garments, fish & sea foods, agricultural produce etc. The main export partners are: US, Germany, UK, France and Spain. Its total imports are more than \$ 47 billion, which include machinery & equipment, chemicals, cement, and cotton. Major import partners of Bangladesh are: China, India, Malaysia and Japan.

Importantly, Bangladesh's per capita GDP in dollar terms is expected to grow 4% to \$1,888.⁹

Bangladeshi terrain includes mostly flat alluvial plains, and hilly areas in the south-east of the country. The climate is tropical with mild winter from October to March. Summers can be hot and humid. Bangladesh has been prone to cyclones and heavy floods.

Islam is integral to the psyche of a Muslim Bengali. The possibility of Islam arriving in Bengal as early as during the time of the Prophet of Islam, cannot be ruled out.¹⁰ Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, the Muslim General, conquered Bengal in 1204, thus integrating the province into the Delhi Sultanate.¹¹

Bangladesh has been an LDC (Least Developed Country) since its birth. In 2018, Bangladesh fulfilled all the three eligibility criteria for graduation from the UN LDC list for the first time. Now, it "is on track for graduation in 2024."¹²

9 Deccan Herald, 15 October 2020 ('Bangladesh to overtake India in per capita GDP').

10 Al Jazeera, 18 August 2012 ('Ancient mosque unearthed in Bangladesh.')

11 May study 'Tabaqat e Nasiri,' by Abu Umar-e-USman, translated by Major H. G. Raverty, page 548, Gilbert and Revington, London. (1881)

12 World Bank (<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/bangladesh/overview>).

But, Bengal was rich. For later Mughals, Bengal was a gem and a jewel. During the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir, Bengal was a paradise, with its Muslim citizens enjoying, according to a view, “the highest standard of living in the world.”¹³

Then came the colonizers. It is said that the treasury of Bengal valued at approximately US \$ 40 billion or by some estimates, US \$ 1 trillion in today’s currency, was looted by Robert Clive and Great Britain after the Battle of Plassey.¹⁴

Muslim Bengal’s connectivity with the Islamic world is psychological. It is not only logical, but natural.

13 Angus Maddison, ‘The World Economy Historical Statistics’, pages 259-261, OECD Publishing (2003). Also see Daily Star, 31 July 2015 (‘Which India is claiming to have been colonised?’ by Hissam Khandker).

14 The Daily Star, 31 July 2015.

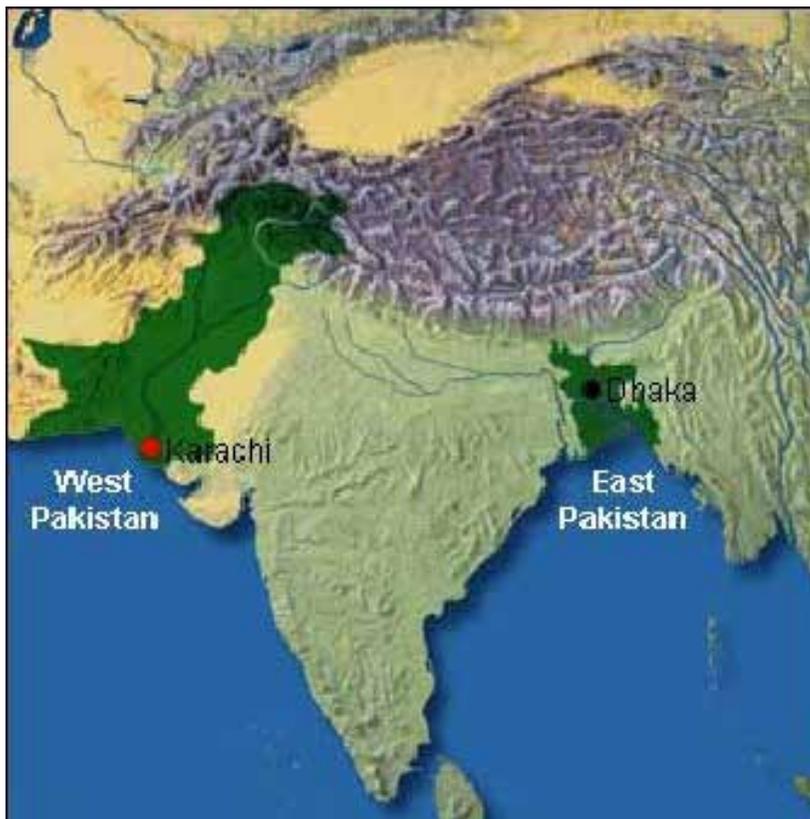
MAP: BANGLADESH



15

15 Encyclopædia Britannica (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Bangladesh/Languages>). Site accessed on 2 October 2020.

**MAP: EAST PAKISTAN AND WEST PAKISTAN
(1947-1971)**



MAP OF PAKISTAN
(earlier, West Pakistan 1947-1971)



OVERVIEW

East Bengal (East Pakistan) is the most important component of Pakistan, inhabited as it is by the largest single block of Muslims in the world.

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah
(Address in Dhaka - March 1948)

Pakistan considers Bangladesh, a brother Muslim country.

The people of the two countries struggled together for independence from the colonial rule. Both share a common religion and common history. Pakistan and Bangladesh enjoy mutually beneficial relations. The two countries follow a cooperative approach at the international fora especially, OIC and SAARC.

Taking a peep at the past would be relevant. The Muslims of Sindh, Punjab, Frontier regions, Balochistan and Kashmir in British India launched a valiant struggle for the establishment of the new country, Pakistan. And, the Muslims of Bengal played their important role in the creation of Pakistan.

When Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947, it had two administrative units i.e. West Pakistan (consisting of Sindh, Punjab, Frontier regions, Balochistan and parts of Kashmir); and East Pakistan (comprising East Bengal.)

Significantly, the Muslim League which established Pakistan in 1947, was set up in 1906 in Dhaka. The person who tabled the Resolution calling for the creation of Pakistan, for adoption at the historical session of the Muslim League in Lahore on 23 March 1940, was a Bengali from Bengal. Today, Sher-e-Bangaal

Abul Kasem Fazlul Haque is remembered with respect both in Pakistan and in Bangladesh.

East Pakistan had more population than West Pakistan. East Pakistan had much less area than West Pakistan. East Pakistan constituted one of the least developed regions of British India. East Pakistan was located two thousand kilometers away from West Pakistan, hostile India being in between the two parts of Pakistan.¹⁶

The Muslims of Bengal were in the forefront of the Pakistan movement. East Pakistanis were proud citizens of Pakistan. Their Father of the Nation was Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who is the Father of the Nation of Pakistan; their national poet was Allama Muhammad Iqbal; their federal capital, Islamabad, and their national anthem was the national anthem of Pakistan.

Sheikh Hasina who took over as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh in January 2009, was a Pakistan national. So was her father, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who in his youth, raised full-throated slogans in favour of Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib also acted as the 'chief polling representative' of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah (sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah) in East Pakistan, when she contested the Presidential election against President Ayub Khan in 1965.

Same is the case with other Bengalis, including the three times Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Khaleda Zia, who is the wife of the former President of Bangladesh, General Ziaur Rahman. As a Major in the Pakistan Army, Ziaur Rahman valiantly fought for Pakistan in the 1965 war with India.¹⁷ Mention here of former Bangladeshi President, Hussain Muhammad Ershad, would also be relevant, who as a professional officer of the Pakistan Army

16 Distance Check (<https://www.distancefromto.net/distance-from-bangladesh-to-pakistan>).

17 Major Ziaur Rahman served as Instructor in the Pakistan Military Academy in Kakul (West Pakistan).

was decorated with honours for his dedicated services to the state of Pakistan.

East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971. Muslim brothers turned against each other. A brother killed a brother. Mistakes were made. Fatal mistakes were committed by some in West Pakistan and some in East Pakistan. The common man in West Pakistan and the common man in East Pakistan, was not responsible for 1971.

Many in East Pakistan felt seriously alienated. They were genuinely hurt. The common man in West Pakistan never wanted alienation to take place in East Pakistan in the first place.

The year 1971 is perhaps the saddest chapter in the history of Pakistan. Not just Pakistan, but for the Muslims of the subcontinent, if not the Muslims of the world. Some say, 1971 constitutes the 'Second Granada.'¹⁸

Those responsible for the tragedy of East Pakistan, have gone to the Creator; those few still alive, will be going to Him soon.

To say that 1971 happened only due to the mistakes of West Pakistan and East Pakistan, would be too naive a conclusion. India played the pivotal role in the break-up of Pakistan, which was the largest Muslim country in the world.

Later, good sense prevailed. Pakistan and Bangladesh recognized each other in February 1974. Subsequently, Pakistan set up its diplomatic Mission in Dhaka.

While memories of the past have faded from the minds of many, 1971 in Bangladesh is understandably remembered as part of the country's history.

18 Fall of Granada in 1492.

History is important, just like root is to a shoot. History is the best teacher. It teaches lessons.

History is written by victors, not by the vanquished. History can be correct, and history can be incorrect. History can beautifully conceal ugly pogroms and heinous crimes; and history can inflate facts and figures.

Bangladesh has its perspective on 1971. The narrative varies.

The Awami League ideologues forcefully stress that the Bengali people gave the “supreme sacrifice” to liberate their homeland from the more than 90,000 Pakistani “occupation forces” in 1971. In the process, it is underscored that, “3 million Bengalis were butchered to death and 200,000 women raped” by the Pakistan army, in the “worst ever genocide” during the “War of Liberation” of Bangladesh.

The theme of 3 million killed and 200,000 women raped, is a regular feature, repeated again and again in Bangladesh.

The focus on history can become more intense during the National Days in Bangladesh. These are: 16 December, which is called the ‘Victory Day’ when units of the Pakistan army in East Pakistan surrendered in Dhaka on 16 December in 1971; 21 February, the ‘Language Day’ when demonstrations took place in favour of Bangla language in East Pakistan in 1952; and 26 March, the Independence Day when Ziaur Rahman declared independence from Pakistan in 1971.

The National Day functions in a normal country would normally remain within normal limits. However, the case is different in Bangladesh especially when the Awami League government is running the country. The media, both print and electronic, would start to focus on the Victory Day from day one of the month of December, with write-ups, articles, films and talk shows, which continues down to the last day of the month. The stress

on matters relating to the Language Day would start from 1 February, ending only when the month is over. Similarly, the re-energized focus on 1971 would continue from 1 March onwards in respect of the Independence Day, and would end on 31 March.

The propaganda against Pakistan promoted in Bangladesh, can be understood from the following comments:

- In an article titled ‘Gently blow the winds of change’ in Bangladeshi newspaper, The Daily Star of 16 December 2011, Sharmeen Soneya Murshid, underlines, “Bangladesh was born out of the ashes of a demolished Pakistan, a religion-based state that imploded because of its narrow, intolerant and divisive politics.”
- In a write up in the Special Supplement carried by the Bangladeshi media on 16 December 2013, Anisuzzaman referred to the statement by Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad, when he “informed the entire world” in 1971, that “Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses.”
- In her analysis in the same Supplement, Rifat Zafreen stresses that the “war of liberation cannot be completed” without the mention of the unparalleled contribution from “the then honorable Prime Minister of India Smt. (Indira) Gandhi.”
- Sanat Kumar Saha commented on the occasion (16 December 2013), “a section” of people (in Bangladesh today) “still” seek “refuge in, and try to glorify the Middle Eastern form of fundamentalism 1400 years back.”

At international conferences/seminars organized in Dhaka, the Awami League government show-cases its version of history on 1971 to foreign delegations. During the cultural programs

presented on the occasion, graphic scenes of rape of Bengali women by the Pakistan army 'in uniform' are re-enacted with loud sound-effects, to the horror of foreign dignitaries. The dignitaries may also include some from Pakistan, who have been formally invited to attend the event by the Government of Bangladesh.

Addressing a public rally in Dhaka on 30 August 2014, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina branded Begum Khaleda Zia, Chairperson of BNP, as a "killer" and "a person with a sick mind." She asked Khaleda Zia to "go to Pakistan." Prime Minister Hasina emphasized, "There are many people in Bangladesh who still wish to be slaves of Pakistan and they do not believe in the country's independence. Khaleda Zia is one of them, and she is still with the defeated forces (of the Liberation War of 1971). People, who want to be Pakistan's slaves, may leave the country for Pakistan." Hasina also underscored that the BNP-Jamaat alliance had killed people in the name of movement to resist the general elections (in Bangladesh), the same way as Pakistan army had killed Bangladeshis in 1971.¹⁹

Not everybody agrees with the aforementioned statistics (3 million killed and 200,000 raped) being propagated in Bangladesh. Many emphasise that these figures are a 'pure fiction.' A large number of members of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party do not agree with the accuracy of these figures. The overwhelming majority of the members of the third largest political force in the country, Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami, does not agree with the figures. So is the case with many common Bangladeshis.

Importantly, nobody in Bangladesh, especially when Awami League is in power, would publicly question the party's 1971 narrative for understandable reasons. Nobody in Bangladesh would like to be branded as one of the 'anti-liberation' elements who supported the cause of united Pakistan in 1971.

19 The Daily Star, 31 August 2014.

At the same time, analysts have, despite pressures, undertaken serious research work, questioning the statistics propagated in respect of 1971. These include American, British and even Indian and Bengali scholars.

Here, it would be relevant to refer to the views expressed by the Indian scholar, Sarmila Bose. In her book, ‘Dead Reckoning-Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War’ published in 2011, Bose opines, “...it appears possible to estimate with reasonable confidence that at least 50,000–100,000 people perished in the conflict in East Pakistan/Bangladesh in 1971, including combatants and non-combatants, Bengalis and non-Bengalis, Hindus and Muslims, Indians and Pakistanis. Casualty figures crossing one hundred thousand are within the realm of possible, but beyond that one enters a world of meaningless speculation.”²⁰

Sarmila Bose has been working as a senior Research Associate at Oxford University, and has held important positions at Harvard and George Washington Universities. Her paternal grandfather was the real brother of Subhash Chandra Bose. Subhash is respected in India even today, for his services for the freedom of India from the British rule during World War 2.²¹

Also, textbooks in Bangladesh today, refer to the period from 1947 to 1971 when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan, as an ‘era of exploitation of Bengalis by (West) Pakistan.’ Bangladeshi analysts would emphasise that the movement for Bangladesh started in East Pakistan when the legitimate rights of Bengalis were trampled upon by West Pakistan, otherwise Bengalis never wanted to separate from Pakistan. At the same time, other commentators underline that Bengalis supported the idea of

20 ‘Dead Reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War’, Sarmila Bose, page 181, Oxford University Press, London. (2011)

21 See ‘Subhas Chandra Bose, Indian leader’ by ‘the editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica’; last updated on 14 August 2020. ([https://www.britannica.com/biography/Subhas-Chandra-Bose.](https://www.britannica.com/biography/Subhas-Chandra-Bose)) Site accessed on 6 October 2020.

Pakistan in 1947 ‘only as a political tactic’ to separate at a later stage.

On its part, the Government of Pakistan has remained circumspect. Seldom has Islamabad commented on events relating to 1971. Political observers ascribe this circumspection to the desire to look ahead, and not to hurt the sentiments of the common man in Bangladesh ‘since many Bangladeshis even today look up to a strong Muslim Pakistan.’

Another myth that has generally become acceptable is that 93,000 soldiers of the Pakistan Army surrendered to India in Dhaka on 16 December 1971. The fact is that the total fighting force of the Pakistan army in East Pakistan in December 1971 was only 34,000. Indians deliberately exaggerated the actual figure to magnify their success against Pakistan during the war. Bangladesh did the same for identical reasons. And, Pakistanis did not correct the gross exaggeration due to domestic political considerations.

In fact, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who became the President of Pakistan (West Pakistan) immediately after the 1971 war, had launched his democratic struggle against the military dictatorship of Field Marshal Ayub Khan. As such, he wanted to keep the army under pressure. He and his government therefore, never wanted to correct the exaggeration.

Then there were bloody pogroms and rapes carried out by the Awami League-led ‘Mukti Bahini’, the India-organised Bengali militant force to fight against Pakistan.²² These heinous atrocities

22 The earlier name of Mukti Bahini was ‘Mukti Fauj’. Later, on India’s instructions, the name of the militant force was changed to Mukti Bahini. (Fauj is an Urdu word, the national language of Pakistan. Bahini is a Hindi word, the national language of India.)

were also committed by members of the Hindu fundamentalist organisation, Rashtrya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and soldiers of the Indian army in the disguise of soldiers of the Pakistan army.²³ Fully trained in terror and armed by India, Mukti Bahini massacred those patriotic Bengalis who did not agree with the viewpoint of the Awami League and never wanted the dismemberment of Muslim Pakistan. Importantly, Mukti Bahini also massacred Biharis and West Pakistanis in large numbers, who were living in the then East Pakistan.

James Bartleman, the first Canadian High Commissioner to Bangladesh, witnessed “huge refugee camps” in Bangladesh administered by the International Committee of the Red Cross. These camps “housed millions of people driven from their homes and jobs for siding with Pakistan.”²⁴ In his book, ‘On Six Continents’, he also writes about the vicious propaganda against Pakistan on ‘war babies’ of 1971. In his view, the exaggerations were deliberately done by the Bangladeshi government to attract international attention for foreign assistance. Importantly, Bartleman was appointed High Commissioner in June 1972, less than a year after the creation of Bangladesh.

In the words of the British historian, Laurence Frederic Rushbrook Williams, “It seems to me that there is something very odd about the way in which the East Pakistan tragedy has been presented to the outside world. As a historian, I can find plenty of parallels in the past to what has happened; but in the past, such happenings have never been made the occasion for violent attacks upon a particular government.” He adds, “India’s occupation by armed might of the most fertile portions of the

23 See detailed article on Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) in the Annexures to this publication.

24 ‘ON SIX CONTINENTS—A Life in Canada’s Foreign Service’, Ambassador James K. Bartleman, page 59, Douglas Gibson Books, (2005). ISBN: 9780771010910.

former State of Jammu and Kashmir, certainly against the will of the majority of the population, aroused little emotion outside Kashmir and Pakistan; and India's skillful torpedoing of the Plebiscite planned to ascertain the real wishes of the Kashmiris, has left the world opinion largely unmoved."²⁵

Nobody would disagree with the view that today there is a need to sift fact from fiction on 1971, and the truth from untruth. This study makes an effort in this direction.

In the following pages, the narrative of 1971 has been dealt with by tabulating the views of scholars and others in exact quotes, who have focused on the subject. Those interested in history should form their own opinion on an important chapter in the history of the subcontinent that continues to haunt so many even today. The analyses portion of this study should be an interesting reading, followed by Annexures some of which one might not have come across before.

The 1971 issue has deep sensitivities for the people of Bangladesh and for the people of Pakistan. Even today, 1971 is a highly emotional subject. The study is not meant to downplay the sufferings of those who suffered, but to try to clarify its many unpleasant shades and complexities.

This study has been undertaken at the specific request of a large number of nationalist Bangladeshis, earnestly made in private, to make an effort to tell the truth even though it seems that the truth has already been buried under untruth. In many cases, I have avoided mentioning names of the persons in this book who made significant comments to me on 1971. This has been done for reasons of their safety.

All effort has been made to avoid inaccuracies. However, if there has been an oversight, I regret and deeply apologise.

25 'The East Pakistan Tragedy', L F Rushbrook Williams, Drake Publishers Inc, New York, 1972. (See first two pages of the Foreword.)

The endeavour to write this research work is a private initiative. The views expressed in this study are entirely my own. It would not be correct to construe these as the views of the Government of Pakistan. Similarly, the texts of the agreements/treaties etc included in it, may not be considered the official documents of the Government of Pakistan.

My late father, Mian Muzaffar Mehdi Hashmi, served as Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan (MNA) from 1965 to 1969 when Bangladesh was East Pakistan. His best friends were Bengali Parliamentarians from East Pakistan. Many of my best friends were Bengalis from East Pakistan when I was studying at Lawrence College, Ghora Gali, a public school located not far from Islamabad. One such friend, has been Abdullah Hashem from Dhaka. His father was a senior civil servant in the Government of Pakistan. I held him and his family in high esteem. Abdullah Hashem held me and my family in high regard. So much so, later in life, he named his son after my name. I asked him, "Why did you name your son, Mehdi?" He said, "because of you."

Many in Bangladesh focus on Pakistan, with negativity. On their part, Pakistanis especially youngsters, do not focus on Bangladesh at all. According to a senior Professor of History at the Punjab University, Lahore, on one occasion he wanted to test the general knowledge of his students in respect of East Pakistan. On a 16 December, a few years ago, he asked his students to make a guess on the significance of the day. One bright student asked, "Sir, is today your birthday? "

The people of Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh do not know many important aspects of 1971. May be now, the level of amenability to listen to the truth has increased.

As a young Pakistani, I was sad at the tragic turn of events in 1971. I could not understand, why our own people had turned against their own country!

During my more than three-year stay in Dhaka, I met many Bangladeshis and interacted with many Bangladeshis. I met Bangladeshis who hate Pakistan; I met Bangladeshis who like Pakistan. I met Bangladeshis who hate India; I met Bangladeshis who like India.

At a dinner in a posh locality in Dhaka, a former Bangladeshi Naval Chief (a Muslim), looked me straight in the eye and said, “Rabindranath Tagore is my hero. Tagore is my role model.” At a wedding function, a Bangladeshi boy, hardly 8/9 years old, came to me and remarked, “I don’t like Pakistan.... Why did you kill us in 1971... India helped us.”

During a Pakistan-India cricket match in Dhaka, I saw a number of Bangladeshi teenagers having Pakistani flags painted on their cheeks. I asked, “Why are you clapping for the Pakistan cricket team?” They said, “because, Pakistan is a Muslim country.”

On many occasions, so many Bangladeshis albeit in private, also spoke bitterly about ‘Hindu India.’ They spoke of “Indian interference and Indian hegemony.” They said, “Bangladesh has become an Indian colony – a surrogate.” A crestfallen young man, commented, “Maybe, now it is our destiny, to remain at the mercy of Hindu India till eternity, for stabbing the idea of Muslim Pakistan in the back.”

Some wept and cried, and cried bitterly. I shared their grief. I could not ask them, why did they break their own country, Pakistan!

Perhaps, this is the time to reflect and introspect.

To Islamabad, 1971 is a past and distant history. Unfortunately, history is mainly remembered by historians and students of history.

If the initiative to undertake this study is good, may Allah reward me; if otherwise, may Allah forgive me.

Pakistan wishes Bangladesh well.

Afrasiab Mehdi Hashmi Qureshi,
Former High Commissioner of Pakistan
to Bangladesh,
Islamabad.
(October 2020)

It is natural for India, the emerging super-power, to harbor some sort of hegemonic ambition. It is understandable if that country expects Bangladesh to walk in its shadows. India surely demands respect, and by no means should we step on its toes even in our wildest imagination.

India is even expected to bully us. It suits us best to patiently overlook many of its vagaries. For all practical reasons, India will want to dominate us. It will impose its likes and dislikes on us, its wishes being our command.

(Comments by Badrul Ahsan, Awami League scholar-journalist)²⁶

26 Article 'India shouldn't make Bangladesh feel small' by Syed Badrul Ahsan, published in Bangladeshi newspaper 'The Daily Star' of 14 February 2014.

GROSS EXAGGERATION IN THE NUMBER OF VICTIMS IN 1971

Views expressed by Dhaka-based British journalist, David Bergman ²⁷

(The important points made in the article titled, 'Sayeede indictment-1971 deaths' dated 11 November 2011, written by David Bergman, are given below. The article was posted by Bergman on his blog, onbangladeshwarcrimes.blogspot.com. David Bergman is son-in-law of Dr. Kamal Hossain, a close associate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Dr. Hossain served as the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh from 1973 to 1975 in the government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Kamal Hossain also signed the well-known 'Pakistan, India, Bangladesh' Agreement of 9 April 1974 on behalf of the Government of Bangladesh, which provided the platform for the development of relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh.)

- It seems that the figure of 3 million may first have appeared in a daily 'Purbodesh' on 23 December 1971, when an editorial stated that the 'enemy occupation' had resulted in the deaths of 'about 3 million innocent people.' Subsequently, Soviet newspaper 'Pravda' is reported to have published a report quoting this figure. Later, the figure was more widely distributed in the Bangladesh media.
- The figure became widely popularized when Sheikh Mujib on 10 January (1972), the day he returned to

27 On 17 April 2014, the 'Bangladesh War Crimes Tribunal' in Dhaka initiated 'contempt proceedings' against David Bergman for 'questioning the death toll in the 1971 war.'

Bangladesh, stated, “Three million people have been killed. I believe there is no parallel in the history of the world of such a colossal loss of life for the struggle of freedom.”

- Sayyid A. Karim, Bangladesh’s first Foreign Secretary, expressed the view, “As for the number of Bengalis killed in the course of the liberation war, the figure of 3 million mentioned by Mujib to David Frost in January 1972, was a gross overstatement.”
- There is, of course, another story that is often recounted, which suggests that Sheikh Mujib made a mistake when he said 3 million died, and that he really meant 3 lakh (300,000) were killed.
- In late January 1972, according to press reports at the time, the then government (in Bangladesh) set up a Committee to look into the number of war dead, under the chairmanship of the Deputy Inspector General of Police. However, no final report was published, and there have been suggestions that the decision not to publish the report was because the inquiry had not found anywhere near the number of 3 million deaths.
- In their book, ‘War and Secession: Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh,’ Sisson and Rose focused on the number killed, and stated, “... it is still impossible to get anything like reliable estimates as to how many of these were ‘liberation fighters’ killed in combat, how many were Bihari Muslims and supporters of Pakistan killed by Bengali Muslims, and how many were killed by Pakistani, Indian or Mukti Bahini.....One thing is clear - the atrocities did not just go one way, though Bengali Muslims and Hindus were certainly the main victims.”
- The Peace Research Institute in Norway along with Uppsala University in Sweden, have collected

information on the numbers of deaths in all wars since 1900. Apparently, on the basis of eye-witness and media reports as well as other data, they have estimated that about 58,000 people died in 1971 in Bangladesh.

- In her book, Sarmila Bose quotes an interesting paragraph from the book by Sisson and Rose. It states: India set the number of victims of Pakistani atrocities at three million and this is still the figure usually cited. We interviewed two Indian officials who had held responsible positions on the issue of Bangladesh in 1971. When questioned about the actual number of deaths in Bangladesh in 1971 attributable to the civil war, one replied ‘about 300,000.’ Then when he received a disapproving glance from his colleague, he changed this to 500,000.
- The Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report states, “... the latest statement supplied to us by the GHQ shows approximately 26,000 persons killed during action by the Pakistan Army.”
- The figure of 200,000 women raped by the Pakistan Army in 1971, appears to have come from an estimate given by the Australian doctor, Dr. Geoffrey Davis. The Australian based academic, Bina D’Costa who is amongst the few who has researched this area in some detail, thinks that this number is ‘too high’.

Views of Serajur Rahman, former Deputy Head of BBC Bangla Programme in the UK ²⁸

(Born in Noakhali in East Bengal, A. N. M. Serajur Rahman, was a well-known Bangladeshi journalist and broadcaster. He studied at Dhaka College. It is said that the BBC broadcasts “under

28 The Guardian, 23 May 2011.

his leadership” played a “critical role” in keeping the people across the then East Pakistan informed of the developments during “the Liberation War of Bangladesh” in 1971.)

- After he was released by President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman arrived in London from Islamabad by a special aircraft of the Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) on 8 January 1972.
- A number of Bangladeshis met him at the Claridge hotel. During the discussion, he was informed that, based on information from various sources, up-to “three lakh (300,000)” people might have died in the conflict.
- However, during his interview with journalist David Frost later, Sheikh Mujib was heard as saying that “three million of my people” were killed by the Pakistanis.
- Excerpts from the article on trials in Bangladesh and 1971 victims, by David Bergman published in Indian newspaper, The Hindu (April 2014) ²⁹
- Is the Bangladesh government’s official figure of three million a fair estimate of the number of people killed by the Pakistan military and its collaborating forces in the country’s 1971 independence war? Though over 40 years have passed since the end of the conflict, in Bangladesh, this question continues to be a sensitive one.
- In part, the sensitivity is because Bangladeshis have grown up with this number — it is taught in schools and has become embedded in the country’s poetry and

29 The Hindu, 24 April 2014. (Article ‘Questioning an iconic number’). Visit www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/questioning. Site accessed on 4 May 2014.

culture. So, for many people, even questioning the accuracy of the number seems to cut across deeply held beliefs...The three million figure also forms a part of the orthodox nationalistic discourse about the 1971 war which continues to be crucial to the political positioning of the Awami League government vis-à-vis the Opposition Bangladesh Nationalist Party.

- Even raising uncertainties about the three million figure is considered by many Awami Leaguers as reflecting an “anti-liberation” war and “oppositional” mindset. Therefore, those in Bangladesh who might seek to question the accuracy of the ‘three million dead’ tend to keep their heads down — fearing political backlash and personal attacks.
- Nonetheless, it is important that journalists and independent researchers do assess the accuracy of this figure of three million....On January 18, 1972, eight days after Mujib returned to a newly independent Bangladesh following his nine month imprisonment in a Pakistani jail, he gave an interview to the British broadcaster, David Frost. “...3 million people have been killed, including children, women, intellectuals, peasants, workers, students,” he said. When Frost asked him how he knew that the “number was as high as 3 million,” Mujib replied, “Before my coming, my people had started collecting the information. I have messages coming from all areas where I have a base. We have not finally concluded, it might be more, but definitely it will not be less than three million.”...At the time, some of Mujib’s confidantes were surprised to hear him suggest such a high number and suspected that the country’s independence leader had meant to say three “lakh (300,000).”
- To his credit, Mujib sought accurate data on the numbers of those killed, and within days of the Frost

interview, established two committees to obtain the lists of the war dead. However, the government never publicly released the committees' findings — and it has been suggested that this was because details of only 57,000 people could be identified.....since then, no Bangladesh government has undertaken any further research on this matter.

Views expressed by Indian-origin Bengali scholar Sarmila Bose

(Sarmila Bose is a senior Research Associate at Oxford University. She held important research positions at Harvard, George Washington University and University of Warwick. Sarmila's paternal grandfather was the real brother of Subhash Chandra Bose. Subhash Chandra Bose is held in high esteem in even today's India as a war hero.)

-the number 'three million' appears to be nothing more than a gigantic rumour. Until and unless credible accounting can be produced to substantiate it, scholars and commentators must cease repeating it.³⁰
-it appears possible to estimate with reasonable confidence that at least 50,000–100,000 people perished in the conflict in East Pakistan/Bangladesh in 1971, including combatants and non-combatants, Bengalis and non-Bengalis, Hindus and Muslims, Indians and Pakistanis. Casualty figures crossing one hundred thousand are within the realm of possible, but beyond that one enters a world of meaningless speculation.³¹

30 'Dead Reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War,' Sarmila Bose, page 177, C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., London. (2011)

31 'Dead Reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War,' Sarmila Bose, page 181, Oxford University Press, London. (2011)

In an article carried by Economic and Political Weekly, India, Sarmila Bose stresses: ³²

- The issue of sexual violence in the 1971 war is long on political rhetoric but short on reliable material, with only a handful of accounts available as “evidence” of sexual violence during 1971.
- Unsubstantiated and implausible claims of hundreds of thousands of victims have distracted attention for three decades....
- Many of these shrill voices seem motivated more by a desire to smear the enemy and shore up an ideology of victimhood than any concern for the real victims.

Views expressed by William Drummond in the Los Angeles Times of 11 June 1972

In this reporter’s judgment based on numerous trips around Bangladesh beginning last December (1971) and on an extensive discussion with many people at the village level as well as in the government, the figure of 3 million deaths is an exaggeration so gross as to be absurd....no more than 25,000 people died.

Views expressed by Tajammul Hussain

(Tajammul Hussain studied at Dhaka University and later at Oklahoma State University. He has been writing as a freelance journalist)

- On the killing figure itself, the late Hamidul Haq Chowdhury, once the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in mid-1950s, in his *Memoirs* noted that his guess was that about 10 to 15 thousand people were killed in

32 Article titled, ‘Losing the Victims: Problems of Using Women as Weapons in Recounting the Bangladesh War’ by Sarmila Bose in the Economic and Political Weekly of 22 September 2007.

1971. His figure is not believable because, he had not substantiated the number by any enumeration. Besides, he stayed abroad in the later part of 1971 and then in West Pakistan until 1977. As is seen in his book, he did not care to make any classification of persons actually killed. The Morning Sun Editor (Dhaka) Anwarul Islam Bobby, however, in a long item published in his English daily, seriously questioned the figure given by Sheikh Mujib. He showed by simple arithmetical calculation that if 3 million were to be killed in 9 months, that is, actually in 267 days between the 25th March to 16th December by the Federal army of Pakistan, then they were to kill each day on the average 11,236 people. Killing and disposing off the bodies of such a huge number of people was no mean a task. ³³

-the Indian army chief during 1971 war General Manekshaw seriously felt embarrassed at Shaikh Mujib's figure of 3 million having sharp contrast with the figure he had himself guessed and earlier given to the BBC as one million before Mujib's return to Dhaka....It is as such very clear that the figures of three million killed in 1971 and of 200,000 women alleged to have been violated seem fictitious, baseless and far removed from the truth. They are in no way even near the truth. (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 69.*)
- As far as it is known, the circle which quotes the figures maintains that as the "Bangabandhu", that is, Shaikh Mujibur Rahman (Mujib) had given the figures,

33 'Bangladesh: Victim of Black Propaganda, intrigue and Indian hegemony' Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, page 66, Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London. (1996)

these became sacred and inviolable. Should not any sensible person make scrutiny of the figures? Should not one question the validity of the figures known to us but having had no basis whatsoever? Should not one intelligently recollect about the period and occasion as to when did Shaikh Mujib first give the figures to the public? Any time except immediately after his return to Bangladesh on the 10th January, 1972? It is well known that Mujib remained in confinement at Mianwali jail in West Pakistan for almost the whole period of nine months from April to December 1971. During this internment period, he had no access to any media. He had therefore no idea of what had happened. Then after Bhutto took over the Presidency of Pakistan on the 20th December, Mujib was brought to Islamabad and kept in confinement for another ten or eleven days.... One source holds that Moscow had fed him with the figures and another source claims that Delhi had given the figures to Mujib. Because, both Delhi and Moscow had to make the 1971 aggression against Pakistan look rational, reasonable and moral. (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; page 53-55.*)

Observations by Qutubuddin Aziz

(Aziz served as correspondent for the 'Christian Science Monitor' from 1965 to 1977. He also wrote for a number of American and British publications. In mid-1980s, he worked as a correspondent of the 'American Phoenix Newspaper Service'.)

- Since his advent to power in Dacca, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has drummed the phoney charge that the Pakistan Army had killed three million of his countrymen in 1971. In civil strife, there is undoubtedly loss of life on both sides. But it is unbelievable that all

through the nine months of strife in East Pakistan, the Pakistan Army's barely three divisions, thinly spread out along more than 1800 miles of explosive, often flaming, border with India, did no other work except engage in the gory pastime of slaughtering 13,000-plus Bengalis every day.

- A correspondent of the Daily *Los Angeles Times*, William J. Drummond, who toured Bangladesh in the first quarter of 1972, exposed the absurdity of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's charge. Similarly, the falsity of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's oft-repeated allegation that the Pakistani troops had raped 200,000 Bengali girls in 1971 was borne out when the abortion team he commissioned from Britain early in 1972 found that its workload involved the termination of only a hundred or more pregnancies.³⁴

Swedish journalist Ingvar Oja

(Ingvar Oja focused at length on South Asia, and matters relating to 1971. He witnessed the surrender in Dhaka on 16 December in 1971.)

In an article published on March 1, 1973 in *Dagens Nyheter*, the largest daily newspaper of Stockholm, Oja wrote, "The allegation regarding the killing of three million people is highly exaggerated."³⁵

Views expressed by Peter Gill, Daily Telegraph, London

(Peter Gill served as a foreign correspondent for the Daily Telegraph in South Asia and the Middle East. He dealt with subjects including Pakistan-India war in 1971.)

34 'Blood and Tears' Qutubuddin Aziz, page 234, United Press of Pakistan Ltd, Karachi. (1974)

35 The Financial Express, Dhaka dated 13 December 2010. (vlex.in/vid/232323267). Site accessed on 29 May 2014.

The Pakistan soldiery in the East during 1971 was suppressing a rebellion, and not in occupation of a foreign country. Sheikh Mujib's wild figure of three million Bengalis killed during those 10 terrible months is at least 20 times too high, if not 50 or 60. And what of all the killings that the Bengalis did whenever they had a chance? (*Article titled 'Pakistan holds together' by Peter Gill in the Daily Telegraph of 16 April 1973.*)

Dr. M. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury

(Mu'min Chowdhury was educated at the universities of Dhaka, Exeter and London. As a teacher of Sociology, he taught in his early career at the Dhaka University from 1967 to 1973.)

- Many myths have been formed around the creation of Bangladesh. Among them is the fiction that the defeated Pakistan Army savagely killed three million people and raped three hundred thousand women during their less than nine month unsuccessful fight to preserve the integrity of a united Pakistan. Recalling this 'heinous' Pakistani crime with suave moral indignation was made into a national ritual. Not only the beaten Pakistan Army but also the subverted Pakistan came to be portrayed as inherently evil and her dismemberment a triumph of civilized values over barbarism. No less a figure than the 'Father of the Nation' was made to consecrate the lore. With his stamp of authority behind, it, his grateful children were implicitly compelled into faithfully repeating it. Not to accept it as 'the whole truth, nothing but the truth' with unquestioning faith was to fall short of being a 'Bengalee patriot'. (*Book titled, 'Behind the Myth of 3 million' by Dr. M. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury, published by Hamidur Rahman Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London, in 1996; Page 1.*)
- In May 1973, Abdul Gaffar Choudhury, a well-known newspaper columnist and close associate of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, said: 'We are now saying three

million Bengalees have been martyred. Without any survey we are telling three million Bengalees have died.’ After openly raising doubts about the alleged figure, Choudhury left Bangladesh for good for Britain. It took another twenty years for the question to be raised again. Participating in a debate in the National Assembly of Bangladesh on 15 June 1993, Col. Akbar Hussain, a decorated ‘Mukti Juddha’ and a Cabinet Minister under both General Ziaur Rahman and Mrs. Khaleda Zia, returned to the question. Making a pointed attack on the Awami League for its ‘propensity to falsify history’, he said that the Awami League had created the myth of ‘three million killed’, whereas in reality it was closer to a tenth of that figure. On the following day Shudhangshu Shekar Haldar a Hindu member of Awami League, challenged Col. Hussain to substantiate his assertion with ‘recorded proof’. Responding to the challenge, the Minister told the National Assembly that after the creation of Bangladesh an announcement was made to pay Tk. 2,000 to every family that suffered loss of life where upon only three hundred thousand families had claimed such compensation. Had there been three million individuals dead, their families would have claimed for compensation. Poignantly, Haldar could not, and did not, challenge the figure of those who actually claimed compensation. (*Book titled, ‘Behind the Myth of 3 million’ by Dr. M. Abdul Mu’min Chowdhury, published by Hamidur Rahman Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London, in 1996; pages 6-7.*)

- ...in a mass produced video interview Lt Gen. Jagjit Singh Aurora said that ‘all of us knew’ that the Pakistan Army had brutally killed ‘about a million people’; yet Sheikh Mujib who ‘was more an agitator and less an administrator’ decided to ‘make it more brutish’ by saying that the Pakistan Army had killed three million Bengalees. He pointed out that Mujib’s figure was

‘absolutely impossible’ because the Pakistan army had ‘simultaneously fought within the country and at the borders’. Earlier, Maj. Gen. D.K. Palit, who also had a hand in ‘the birth of Bangladesh engineered by the Indian Army’ gave the same one million figure... The ‘absolutely impossible’ figure of three million to which Mujib publicly tied up his own name was not absolutely his own invention. The ‘credit’ for its fabrication was due to one Ehtesham Haider Choudhury, editor of the Dhaka daily Purbadesh and his Russian friend, the Pravda representative in Dhaka. (*Publication entitled, ‘Behind the Myth of 3 million’ by M. Abdul Mu’min Chowdhury; published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London in 1996; pages 11 and 12.*)

- While the Indians professed to having trained 130,000 ‘freedom fighters’, 3,300,000 actually claimed that distinction and obtained certificates by all manner of means to prove that they were bona fide. Those who could not make such a claim because of age, domicile, or some such reason, became seers, soothsayers or at the very least, sufferers for Bangladesh. All of them sang and swore. Indeed, what better target for swearing could there be, other than the ‘abnormal Pakistan’ and the ‘abominable Pakistan Army’? (*Book titled, ‘Behind the Myth of 3 million’ by Dr. M. Abdul Mu’min Chowdhury, published by Hamidur Rahman Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London, in 1996; page 36.*)

Bangladeshi speakers at a conference in the US, stress that official Bangladeshi figure was close to 300,000, deaths (and not 3 million)³⁶

In late June of 2005, the Office of the Historian of the United States' Department of State held a two-day conference on US policy in South Asia between 1961 and 1972. Bangladeshi speakers at the conference stated that the official Bangladeshi figure of civilian deaths was close to 300,000, which was wrongly translated from Bengali into English as three million. Ambassador Shamsheer Mobin Chowdhury acknowledged that Bangladesh alone cannot correct this mistake and suggested that Pakistan and Bangladesh should form a joint commission to investigate the 1971 disaster and prepare a report. (*Write-up titled 'Bangladesh: A Nation Divided? – Part 4' by Dr. Habib Siddiqui.*)

Noted Indian writer Khushwant Singh³⁷

The Punjabi soldiers whether in the Indian army or in the Pakistan army are of the same stock. Both believe in basic human values. It is difficult for me to believe that Pakistan army killed 3 million Bengalis and raped 200,000 Bengali women in East Pakistan in 1971. Such gross allegations must stop.

Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci

(Oriana Fallaci was an Italian journalist. Her interviews with President Ziaul Haque, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi have been read with interest.)

- The vice-secretary asked me to sit in the corridor crowded with at least 50 persons. He then walked into

36 Asian Tribune (www.asiantribune.com). Site accessed on 28 April 2014.

37 Khushwant Singh emphasised this during a conversation with the Pakistani Deputy High Commissioner in New Delhi, Afrasiab, when the latter made a courtesy call on him on 3 July 2006.

the office and informed Mujib of my presence. I heard a terrible growl and the poor man reappeared shaken, asking me to wait. I waited. One hour, two hours, three hours, four hours, then at eight o' clock I was still there in that damned corridor. At 8-30 a miracle occurred: Mujib was ready to receive me. I was asked to enter. I entered into a large room with a sofa and two armchairs. Mujib was sprawled all over the sofa and two fat ministers were seated in the armchairs with their bellies in the air. No one rose. No one made a greeting and no one responded to mine. There was a very long silence until Mujib gestured to me to sit down.

- I sat on a small corner of the sofa and opened up the tape recorder preparing the first question. But, I didn't

have time for that. Mujib started to shout: 'Hurry up. Quick, understand? I have no time to waste, is that clear? The Pakistanis have killed three million people, is that clear? Yes, three, three, three.' (How he arrived at that figure, I'll never understand. The Indians speaking of the victims have never gone over the one million figure). I said: 'Mr. Prime Minister ...' Mujib started to shout again: 'They killed my women in front of their husbands and children, the husbands in front of their sons and wives, the sons in front of their fathers and mothers, the nephews before their grandfathers and grandmothers, the grandfathers and grandmothers in front of their nephews, cousins in front of cousins, aunts in front of uncles, brother-in-law in front of sister-in-law....' 'Mr. Prime Minister, I would like....' 'Listen to her, she would like! She would like. You have no right to want anything, understand? Is that clear?'³⁸

38 An account of an Interview by Oriana Fallaci with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, in *L' Europeo*, Rome dated 24 February 1972.

Views expressed by Javed Jabbar, former Federal Minister of Pakistan

(Javed Jabbar served as a Member of the Senate. He also served as Minister for Information in the Government of Pakistan. He is a well-known political analyst.)

-in the narrative adopted by Bangladesh and echoed by India and most of global discourse, about 3 million Bengalis were killed and about 300,000 women were allegedly raped by the Pakistani Army during the 9-month conflict resulting in the secession of Bangladesh. These numbers fail spectacularly on the anvil of factual scrutiny, documentation and rationality. In the 262 days between 26th March and 16th December 1971, Pakistan's Armed Forces did not exceed 45,000 troops at optimal levels. The 90,000 prisoners-of-war held by India included over 50,000 non-combatant, unarmed West Pakistani civilians. Spread out in small, embattled formations across East Pakistan, facing a newly unfriendly or uneasy population, an India-supported insurgency, preparing for an Indian invasion, constantly under-supplied and under-equipped, the Pakistani forces would have had to kill 11,450 Bengalis and rape 1145 women every single day for 262 days to reach the levels claimed. Not a single credible document has been cited in the 40 years to substantiate such absurd allegations of this scale.

- Some atrocities by Pakistani troops did take place. Several eye-witness accounts state that the targets were almost always adult males, that women and children were spared. The killings were not one-sided. Many thousands of non-Bengalis and West Pakistanis, including women and children were brutally slaughtered by Bengalis between 1st March and 26th March 1971,

and subsequently as well, as also after 16th December 1971. About 4000 Pakistani troops also perished in the conflict.³⁹

Observations of Lieutenant General Kamal Matinuddin

(Kamal Matinuddin served with distinction in the Pakistan army. He is a scholar on strategic issues.)

Mujib claimed that over 3 million were killed during the military crackdown. Indians reduced the figure to 1 million. General Tikka Khan admitted 34,000 casualties.⁴⁰ The missionaries in East Pakistan estimated a loss of life of about 30,000.

(Book titled 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; page 248.)

US Congressman Charles Wilson⁴¹

....To say that 40,000 or so soldiers of the Pakistan army deployed in East Pakistan in 1971, massacred 3 million Bengali people and dishonoured 200,000 Bengali women, "to me is an allegation so gross that it goes beyond human imagination."

A view from Kathmandu⁴²

According to a write-up in the 'People's Review,' "A major falsehood spread by India and later parroted by some

39 Article titled, 'Estranged siblings-Pakistan and Bangladesh, 40 years later' by Javed Jabbar, in 'The Holiday' of 30 December 2011.

40 Interview, Brig A. R. Siddiqui.

41 Dinner at the Residence of Pakistani Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, in Washington DC, on 9 December 1987.

42 Write-up titled 'Mukti Bahini and Indian Army were the initiator and executor of the genocide' in 'People's Review.' (See website peoplesreview.com.np/). Site accessed on 25 April 2014.

Bangladeshis is that Pakistan Army carried out genocide of three million Bengalis.”

Brigadier Asif Haroon Raja

(Asif Haroon Raja is a Pakistani defense analyst and columnist. He participated in the 1971 war. He is also an author.)

In his write up titled, ‘Myth of three million killed in Bangladesh’,⁴³ Asif Raja made the following points:

- Sheikh Mujib’s atrocious claim of three million Bengalis killed by the Pakistan Army in 1971 was a falsehood of unprecedented proportion...After March 1972, the field investigators of Mujib’s own government could collect only about 2000 complaints from citizens of deaths at the hands of Pak soldiers. *(The Guardian, London, June 6, 1972).*
- William J. Drummond stated, ‘*Figure of three million deaths is an exaggeration so gross as to be absurd*’. About alleged mass graves, he clarified that *those didn’t account for more than about 1000 victims. (Los Angeles Times, June 11, 1972).*
- In another article, ‘Myth of 300,000 Raped’ Asif Raja stressed the following:⁴⁴
- The falsity of Sheikh Mujib’s repeated allegation of rapes was exposed when the abortion team he had commissioned from the United Kingdom in early 1972,

43 (<http://www.opinion-maker.org/2013/04/bangladesh>). Writeup posted on 9 April 2013. Site accessed on 26 May 2014.

44 See ‘Myth of 300,000 Raped in Bangladesh’ by Brigadier Asif Haroon Raja, by accessing www.seerahwest.com/2013/04). Article posted on 9 April 2013. Site visited on 30 May 2014.

found that there were no more than a hundred or so pregnancy cases they could deal with throughout their stay in Bangladesh.

Article titled ‘Myth of killings–1971 War,’ by Tariq Khalil in ‘Pakistan Observer’

(Tariq Khalil served in the Pakistan Army. He retired as a Brigadier. He has been contributing articles on various subjects, including 1971.)

The myth of killing of millions and raping hundreds of thousands of Bangladeshi women is absolutely fabricated. In a civil war, there is bound to be casualties....In February 1974, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman came to Lahore to attend the Islamic Summit meeting. During the visit, “he did not demand” any “apology” from the Government of Pakistan in respect of 1971. *(Article titled ‘Myth of killings – 1971 War,’ by Brigadier Tariq Khalil, published in the ‘Pakistan Observer’ of 16 December 2012.)*

Brigadier Mohammad Rafiq, Principal Lawrence College, Murree (1973-1977) ⁴⁵

(Brigadier Rafiq performed active duty in East Pakistan during the 1971 war. Later, he served as Principal of The Lawrence College, Ghora Gali, which is one of the oldest public schools in the subcontinent.)

Bengalis are our brothers and sisters. They are Muslims, we are Muslims. In East Pakistan, we were not fighting against them; we were fighting against India and those who wanted to break up Pakistan, the largest Muslim country in the world.....

45 Talk on 1971 India-Pakistan war to the students of Lawrence College, Ghora Gali, by Brigadier Rafique in August 1974.

Pakistani military analyst, Major General Naseer Khan⁴⁶

(Naseer Khan served as General Officer Commanding, Lahore, during India-Pakistan war in 1965.)

The 1971 tragedy was very painful. I know the Muslims of Bengal. They are a wonderful, lovely people: simple, courageous, and deeply religious....Pakistan army was there only to restore law and order, after the political talks broke down....We feel very bad...but, what was the way out?

Write up titled ‘Muzzling Speech in Bangladesh’ which appeared in International New York Times⁴⁷

- The fine is modest, about \$ 65, but the message from Bangladesh’s International Crimes Tribunal is ominous: anyone who challenges – however legitimately, however respectfully – the official number of three million people killed during the 1971 Bangladesh war for independence, is guilty of contempt of court. The tribunal was created to try persons responsible for violations of international law during the war.
- David Bergman, whom the tribunal found in contempt of court on December 2 and fined the equivalent of \$ 65, is a respected journalist who lives in Bangladesh. Mr. Bergman attracted the court’s ire by reporting, as any good journalist should, disagreements over the number killed during the war.

46 Detailed discussion on 1971 at Thatta Qureshi, Muzaffargarh, by General Naseer Khan in February 1973.

47 Write up ‘Muzzling Speech in Bangladesh’, International New York Times of 24 December 2014.

VIEWS ON FORGOTTEN MASSACRES OF PRO-PAKISTAN POPULACE IN EAST PAKISTAN/BANGLADESH

Killing pro-Pakistan Bengalis in the very presence of foreign journalists

According to Lawrence Lifschultz⁴⁸ Mukti Bahini (Awami League) leader Abdul Kader Siddiqui “personally bayoneted” three prisoners to death and the entire incident was filmed by foreign film crews whom Siddique invited to witness the spectacle.⁴⁹

Bengali analyst Tajammul Hussain

(Tajammul Hussain studied at Dhaka University and later at Oklahoma State University. He has written much as freelance journalist.)

- Neutral observers know that killing in East Pakistan did not start just on the 25th March 1971 when the Federal army had cracked down. The truth is that arsoning, riot, looting and killings started soon after the announcement on the 1st March by President of Pakistan Yahya Khan of the postponement of the newly elected National Assembly scheduled earlier to meet on the 3rd March at Dacca.....On the 25th March night sudden army action resulted in killing of some people in Dacca, mainly Bengalees. Immediately after

48 Lawrence Lifschultz has been a South Asia correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review. He has written extensively for The Guardian, Le Monde Diplomatique and BBC.

49 Bangladesh: The Unfinished Revolution'; Zed Press, 1979, page 64.

25 March, however, mass killings of non-Bengali speaking people, no matter civilians or non-civilians staying in far lying areas and towns started more or less all over East Pakistan, as a reaction to the army action at Dacca. Thus the widespread killings of non-Bengalis all over the country in far-lying areas had continued until the arrival of the Federal army.... The figure of killings during the period of war in the period from 25th March to 3rd December 1971, as recorded by New York based COW (Co-relates of War) quoted in Small and Singer (1982) and reported by Dr. A. Rob Khan (BIIS, Dhaka, quarterly journal, October 1993) noted as 50,000. (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 57-60.*)

- Security of life and living had become a rare commodity in Mujib's Bangladesh. Lawlessness was promoted by Mujib himself and his own clans and his bully boys. His own son Shaikh Kamal, nephew Fazlul Haq Moni, his pet Dacca Police chief, S.P. Mahbub, etc. became a synonym for terror in Dacca. The unconstitutional paramilitary force, Rakhi Bahini, raised under the guidance of Indian General Ovan, having been under the control of Mujib himself from about mid-1972, became another terror symbol for peaceful and patriotic people of Bangladesh. (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; page 97.*)
- Possibly the worst and most inhuman killings took place during the post 16th December period. The victorious Mukti Bahini men in thousands killed civilians, Rajakars and pro-Pakistani and Islamic scholars, and

Muslim nationalists all over the country. In the capital city of Dacca itself, those who wanted to preserve Pakistan's unity and integrity as loyal Pakistanis, no matter linguistically Bengalees or non-Bengalees, were indiscriminately butchered by the Mukti Bahini men and their commanders. Mukti Bahini commander Kader Siddiqui alone, for example, according to reports by foreign journalists, is well known to have butchered many Bengali speaking federalist Pakistani patriots publicly in the open in Dacca Stadium....According to my own personal reliable source, I knew that in the Serajganj town in the then district of Pabna in northern Bangladesh, many non-Bengali Muslims were dumped into the jail campus which was later set on fire; thus, all inmates were burnt down to death there. In the same town of Serajganj there was a killing house where non-Bengalis in the main used to be killed almost every day until 15 August 1975, the day when Shaikh Mujib fell from power, and the killers fled to India immediately afterwards....But killings of this nature were common games and sports by Mujib's private armies including the unconstitutional and notorious Rakhi Bahini, which killed, it is well known, nearly 37,000 (32,000 according to another count) civilians during the period 1972 to 1975. (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 62-63.*)

-the new Bengalee rulers led by Shaikh Mujibur Rahman started to change symbols, names, insignia, etc. whatever and wherever anything of Muslim identity and values prominently existed. Even the highly eminent and symbolically inspirational Quranic verses like *Rabbi Jidney Elma*, *Iqra Bayisme Rabbik Allazi Khalaq* were replaced from monogrammes of educational and academic institutions by Bengali

words or symbols. Furthermore, the new ruling class of Bengalees started to depict anything Muslim as alien and despicable. (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda, Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 71-75.*)

- The post-1971 Bangladeshi rulers being themselves Muslim in identification though, it was significantly important to note, did adopt a new national anthem for the country which was not only polytheist in spirit and content conforming to Hindu religious belief but was, on the contrary, against the monotheistic belief of the Muslims. (*'Bangladesh: Victim of Black Propaganda, Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London, 1996. See pages 72-73.*)

Views of British historian L F Rushbrook Williams

(Laurence Frederic Rushbrook Williams (1890-1978) was a British historian and a senior civil servant who spent many years in South Asia. He established a school of Mughal studies at the University of Allahabad, where he worked as Professor of Modern Indian History. He was Eastern Services Director of the BBC and also worked on editorial staff of The Times, London.)

- Whenever the (Pakistani) troops went into action, a minimum of force was used; they did not interfere with peaceful processions or political meetings, but only with mobs engaged in looting and arson. But the fact is that there were far too few of them to maintain order effectively in an enormous city like Dacca...(*Book 'The East Pakistan Tragedy' by L F Rushbrook Williams, published by Drake Publishers New York in 1972; page 54.*)

-on March 7 he (Sheikh Mujib) announced plans for setting up a parallel government of his own. These included the complete closure of all educational institutions, Government Offices and Courts; the stopping of all remittances to West Pakistan; and the organization of Revolutionary Council in every union, mohalla, thana, sub-division and district, who were to take over the administration under the direction of the local Awami League units. Later, the original directive to pay no taxes was modified to ensure that taxes were collected, but were to be paid into two private banks. Detailed directives were issued to the press and to radio and TV stations, ensuring that nothing went out which did not conform to the liking of the Awami League... Many peaceful citizens, including those in high positions, went in fear of their lives and of the lives of their families; even the Chief Justice did not dare to administer the oath of office to the new Governor, Lieutenant General Tikka Khan, until the Awami League's reign of terror had been brought to an end. Nor were these things confined to Dacca, in many places in East Pakistan, frightful atrocities were inflicted by Awami League ruffians upon non-Bengalis and upon all who were not open supporters of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. (*Book titled, 'The East Pakistan Tragedy' by L F Rushbrook Williams, Drake Publishers Inc, New York, 1972; pages 55-56.*)

Bengali Vice Chancellor of Rajshahi University, Syed Sajjad Hussain

(Syed Sajjad Hussain was born in Magura district of what is today Bangladesh. He joined Dhaka University in 1948 as a Lecturer. Later, he served as Vice Chancellor of the Rajshahi University.)

- As I have explained in the text of the book, these memoirs were written in 1973 in the Dacca Central

Jail where I was being held as a ‘collaborator’ for not supporting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in his campaign against Pakistan. I was not a politician, had never been a member of any political party, but I had agreed at the request of Yahya government in July 1971 to visit London and the USA to explain to those whom I might meet that the struggle in East Pakistan was a struggle between those who were determined to wreck Pakistan and those whose loyalty to its ideology would not let them align themselves with a movement against its integrity. (*Book titled ‘The Wastes of Time - Reflections on the Decline and Fall of East Pakistan’ by Syed Sajjad Hussain, printed by City Press, Dhaka, in February 1995; page 1 of the Preface.*)

- There was talk of the Biharis being sent away to West Pakistan, which is all that was left of Pakistan now. In speech after speech, the Prime Minister (Sheikh Mujib) disowned them, declaring that Bangladesh could not tolerate the continued presence of a large community of what he termed Pakistanis on its soil.....If the logic of the Prime Minister’s suggestion was accepted, every time there was a civil war in a country, a section of the population could be driven into exile on the grounds that they had not supported the winning side. If the International Red Cross had not come to their rescue, thousands would have perished in the concentration camps into which the Biharis were herded. They had to depend on the meager rations of wheat, rice, milk and other edibles which the Red Cross supplied. The supply was neither regular nor adequate, not because of the fault of the Red Cross, but because of dishonesty at this end. We heard that many children died in the camps. (*Book titled ‘The Wastes of Time - Reflections on the Decline and Fall of East Pakistan’ by Syed Sajjad Hussain, printed by City Press, Dhaka in February 1995; pages 56, 57.*)

American Professor, Rudolph Rummel

(Rudolph Joseph Rummel served as professor emeritus of political science at the University of Hawaii. He spent much time in collecting material on 'collective violence.' Rummel who did his PhD from the Northwestern University, authored around 24 books.)

In his book – 'Death by Government,' Professor Rummel estimates that perhaps 150,000 Biharis were murdered by the vengeful victors (Mukti bahini) in a brutal bloodletting following the expulsion of the Pakistani army after 16 December, 1971.⁵⁰

Bengali educationist Dr. M. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury

(Mu'min Chowdhury, a native of Sylhet, was educated at the universities of Dhaka, Exeter and London. As a teacher of Sociology, he taught in his early career at Dhaka University from 1967 to 1973.)

- Ajmal Ali Choudhury, a Muslim League leader and a Minister of Commerce of Pakistan at one time, who played absolutely no part during the conflict was taken out from the Dargha of Hazrat Shah Jalal in the heart of Sylhet town in broad day light and killed. Thereafter, his body was mutilated and left in an open field for public display near the Government College. For three days his family was kept away from collecting his body. Thus, this good patriot and decent Muslim was deprived of his entitlement of a decent burial. Dr. Abdul Majid, another Muslim League leader, was similarly gunned down and his dead body was desecrated. Earlier during the conflict, Abdul Mu'nem Khan, another Muslim League leader and a former Health Minister of Pakistan and

50 May study write-up titled 'Bangladesh: A Nation Divided?' Visit Asian Tribune site www.asiantribune.com. (Site accessed on 28 April 2014.)

former Governor of East Pakistan, was gunned down at his Dhaka residence in the presence of his family. Like Ajmal Ali Choudhury, Abdul Mu'nem Khan was also living in retirement and had no role either way during the conflict. Their only 'crime' appeared to have been that they worked for the creation of Pakistan, served it faithfully, and did not renounce their allegiance in favour of 'Joy Bangla.'

- Maulvi Farid Ahmed, Vice President of Pakistan Democratic Party and a former Commerce Minister of Pakistan, was detained in Dhaka. While under detention, he was 'whipped first and then his skin was cut by sharp blades and salt was added to his wounds'. After this beastly treatment, he was put to death. His dead body was mutilated and 'desecrated in a wild fury'. Maulana Asadullah Shirazi, a former Member of the National Assembly, writer, poet and sufi and the eldest son of the famous poet and Khilafat Leader Ismail Hussain Shirazi, was dragged through the streets of Sirajgonj, with a hook pierced through his nose. After this act of utter barbarity, he was 'trailed to the place of his martyrdom'. Professor Tariqullah of the Bengali Department of Choumuhani College, Noakhali, was arrested and then taken before a gathering where he was commanded to recant his support for Pakistan. This man of true faith told his captors that if he was not convinced that Pakistan was created mainly in the interest of the Bengali Muslims and that they still needed the Muslim State of Pakistan in their own interest, he would have joined them. Since that was his faith, he could not recant his support for Pakistan even if it meant death to him. And death he met, under a hail of bullets.

- Muhammad Ilyas, a student leader belonging to Islami Chatra Sangha, was tied to the rear wheel of a slowly

moving motor vehicle and was trailed to Feni from Dagan Bhuiya, ten miles away, where he was whipped by the Indian Army. Hot iron rods were used on the moribund body of helpless Ilyas. His eyes were gouged out, his ears and nose were clipped. Finally, he was tortured to death and his dead body was displayed at the crossroads in Feni. Maulana Azharus Sobhan, a prominent aalim and the Principal of Mithachara Madrasa, Chittagong, was severely flogged, breaking several of his bones. Three of his students were beheaded in his presence. (*Book titled, 'Behind the Myth of 3 million' by Dr. M. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury, published by Hamidur Rahman Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London, in 1996; pages 59-61.*)

- Lest doubt remains, let me give another instance with regard to Mujib's own ingenious argument in support of these brutal killings by his own Mukti Bahini. "As a frenzied, shouting mob of 5,000 Bengalis screamed encouragement, young Mukti Bahini guerrillas methodically tortured four suspected Pakistani quislings. For 30 minutes, the guerillas battered the bound bodies of the helpless prisoners with kicks and karate blows with bayonets. Quietly and systematically, they began stabbing their victims over and over again – all the time carefully avoiding the prisoners' hearts. After more than ten minutes of stabbing, the grisly performance seemed at an end. The soldiers wiped the blood from their bayonets and began to depart. But before they left the scene, a small boy- perhaps a relative of one of the victims – flung himself on the ground next to a prisoner's near lifeless body. In an instant the guerrillas were back, kicking the boy and beating him with their rifle butts. And as he writhed, the child was trampled to death by the surging crowd." This horrendous blood-letting took place next to Dhaka stadium. The man who ordered the public killing and

personally saw the order being carried out is Abdul Kader Siddiqui, the Mukti Bahini commander from Tangail. (*Book titled, 'Behind the Myth of 3 million' by Dr. M. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury, published by Hamidur Rahman Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London, in 1996; pages 59-61.*)

Oriana Fallaci's interview with Sheikh Mujib, in the words of Dr. M. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury⁵¹

During her interview with Mujib, Oriana Fallaci, the Italian journalist, wanted to know what the Bangladeshi leader thought of the massacre in the Dhaka Stadium by Mukti Bahini. The following conversation took place:

Mujib: Massacre? What massacre?

Fallaci: The one committed by the Mukti Bahini at the Dacca Stadium.

Mujib: There has never been a massacre at the Dacca stadium. You are lying.

Fallaci: Mr. Prime Minister, I am not a liar. I saw the massacre with other journalists and 15,000 persons. If you'd like, I'll show you photographs. My paper has published them.

Mujib: Liar, they were not Mukti Bahini.

Fallaci: Mr. Prime Minister, please do not repeat the word liar, they were Mukti Bahini and they were led by Abdul Kader Siddiqui and were in uniform.

51 Book, 'Behind the Myth of 3 million' by Dr. M. Abdul Mu'min Chowdhury, published by Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London, in 1996; pages 63-64.

Mujib: Then it means that those were Razakars that had opposed resistance and Siddiqui was compelled to eliminate them.

Bangladeshi journalist Mukul's narrative of the fiendish killing of Biharis according to Dr. Habib Siddiqui ⁵²

(M.R. Akhtar Mukul used to run a radio program against Pakistan from India, in 1971. Later, he became head of the Bangladesh Radio. He also worked as a journalist.)

In his book 'Ami Bijoy Dekhechi' (I have seen victory), Akhtar Mukul stated: "For three days in Shantahar, medieval fiendish killings have been carried out. Now the town cannot be entered into, because of the stench from the dead bodies." He continued, "The non-Bengalis from Jaipurhat-Pachbibi area who have been fleeing towards Dhaka through Bogra were finished off here on the bank of the river."

Extracts from the book by Rushbrook Williams ⁵³

(As mentioned earlier, Laurence Frederic Rushbrook Williams was historian and a senior British civil servant who spent many years in South Asia.)

Evolving situation in East Pakistan in 1971

Developments in Dhaka and outskirts

1 March

Sheikh Mujib called a strike in Dacca in protest against the temporary postponement of the meeting of the National Assembly. Awami Leaguers raided the Narayanganj Rifle Club for arms, which were collected by student militants in the Iqbal

52 'Bangladesh: A Nation Divided?' by Dr. Habib Siddiqui. See www.asiantribune.com. Site visited on 28 April 2014.

53 Book titled, 'The East Pakistan Tragedy' by L F Rushbrook Williams, pages 127-140, Drake Publishers New York. (1972)

and Jagannath Halls of Dacca University....During the night there was widespread looting and extensive damage to property. The troops were confined to barracks.

2 March

Two firearms shops were raided and the arms taken to Dacca University. Practice firing was heard all day on the campus. Mobs armed with firearms and iron bars raided business premises in Jinnah Avenue and Baitul Mukarram. The Shalimar Hotel and the Gulistan Cinema were attacked and set on fire, as were two private houses in the Farm Gate area. Student groups burned the Pakistan flag. Police Officers reported that their men could not be trusted to restrain mob violence and the Civil authorities asked the help of the military. A curfew was imposed and the troops were called out. An Army truck was attacked at Sadarghat, and in the firing six rioters were killed. Another mob attacked the TV Station and another rioter was killed when the Army fired in defending the Station....Arson and looting continued throughout the night.

3 March

Mob violence spread to Islampur, Patuakhali Bazar, Nawabpur and other suburbs of Dacca. Shops, business premises and private houses were looted and set on fire....Sheikh Mujib announced a civil disobedience movement to 'secure the rights of the people of Bangla Desh'. Schools and colleges were closed. Radio and TV Stations were compelled to play the new 'Bangla Desh' anthem.

4 March

Looting in Dhanmandi and Nawabpur districts takes place.

5 March

Telephone and telegraph employees stop work on Awami League orders, cutting off normal communication between Dacca and other parts of East Pakistan and between East Pakistan and the outside world including West Pakistan. Militant students attack British Council offices.

6 March

Jail break of prisoners from Central Prison, Dhaka. Security personnel open fire, killing seven. Sergeant and six wardens injured. Prisoners and Awami Leaguers march in procession through Dacca chanting defiant slogans. The Government Science Laboratory attacked and all explosive chemicals and dangerous acids, removed.

7 March

Sheikh Mujib proclaims plans for running a parallel government and issues directives for non-payment of taxes; closure of all government offices and courts; closure of all educational institutions; strict adherence of all newspapers, TV and Radio Stations to Awami League directives; ban on bank remittances to West Wing banks; Revolutionary Councils to be set up in each union, Mohalla, Thana Sub-division and District under the leadership of local Awami League units. Explosives thrown into Radio Pakistan building. Student groups seized cars, jeeps, pick-up trucks and micro-buses by force.

8 March

Awami Leaguers, after obtaining official lists of license-holders, forcibly collect from them all their arms and ammunition. Meetings and processions of a militant character held by armed mobs in many parts of Dacca. Tajuddin Ahmed, General Secretary of the Awami League issues clarifications of the previous day's directives, including prohibition of all remittances 'outside Bangla Desh'.

9 March

Check-points set up by Awami Leaguers in various parts of Dacca; belongings of passers-by searched; money confiscated. This process continues over the next few days and was extended to the harassment and intimidation of persons suspected of lukewarm support of the League....Chaos and terrorism throughout Dacca. People trying to leave the city stopped and molested. Acid thrown at a government office near Kakrail;

passengers taken out of trains at the railway station and charged with supporting West Pakistan.

14 March

Sheikh Mujib issues fresh directive; one ordered Deputy Commissioners and Sub-divisional Officers to act in cooperation with local Awami League Revolutionary Councils. Customs dues to be credited, not to the Central Government but to two private banks.

15 March

Taxes to be paid to Awami League Action Committee in Dacca. Action Committees set up throughout East Pakistan in towns and villages to resist the Army should it try to restore governmental authority.

17-18 March

Terrorism, looting and acid-throwing continues....acid bottles thrown inside government office in Azimpura, Dacca. The Central Government High School at Motijheel raided and acid and chemicals taken away.

19 March

An Army vehicle on a routine journey from Mymensingh ambushed at a level crossing. All six occupants, along with their weapons, taken away.

23 March

Pakistan Day is celebrated as 'Resistance Day', with parades and marches by para-military 'Liberation Front' troopers and ex-Service men. The Pakistan flag is torn down from buildings and the 'Bangla Desh' flag hoisted. Scuffles break out between Awami Leaguers and those who resist this process. At an armed-march-past outside his residence Sheikh Mujib takes the salute and the "Bangla Desh" flag is ceremonially unfurled....Outgoing passengers stoned and mobbed at Dacca Airport.

24 March

Written and cyclostyled posters and leaflets calling the people to arms to resist the troops and bidding them to make preparations for house-to-house resistance in the revolutionary struggle are circulated throughout Dacca.

25 March

Extensive manufacture of acid bombs reported in Iqbal and Jagannath Halls of Dacca University; also in the Engineering College. Barricades and roadblocks set up in many parts of the city.

25-26 March

President Yahya Khan orders the Army to restore governmental authority.

Developments in Jessore

3 March

Mob armed with cudgels and spears attacks the Telephone Exchange; two killed and nine wounded.

4 March

Deputy Commissioner's office raided; Pakistan flag torn down and a hand grenade thrown. A train coming from Khulna derailed and passengers pulled out and murdered.

6-16 March

Reign of terror. Many grenades and bombs thrown. The armoury of the Rajendra College O.T.C. raided; ten rifles and 15 bayonets taken away. The Pakistan flag was burned at Bargana. Awami Leaguers in complete control; 'Bangla Desh' flag flown on all government buildings.

17-19 March

Powerhouse damaged and supply interrupted. Jessore-Khulna road barricaded and blocked at several points. Large supplies of arms from India brought in through Satkhira. Active preparations made to resist the Army if it came.

Developments in Khulna

4 March

The Telephone Exchange attacked by armed mob and non-Bengali employees savagely beaten to death.

5 March

Mobs armed with spears, grenades and cudgels kill 57 non-Bengalis whose mutilated bodies are later found...shops looted and a hotel set on fire.

Developments in Chittagong

1 March onwards

The port city and the Headquarters of the East Bengal Regiment, become a major focus of armed resistance.

3-4 March

Armed mobs attack Wireless Colony and Ferozeshah Colony. 700 houses set on fire and the occupants burnt to death. Apart from these victims, whose bodies are found later, over 300 more non-Bengalis were killed or wounded.

5 March

Stabbings of non-Bengalis and burning of their houses continues. Right up to the time when the troops restored order in April, the city was completely under the control of Awami Leaguers. Regular mass-executions of non-Bengalis take place.

25 March – 11 April

Mass executions, burning and looting continues. Following the projected 'D' day on the night of March 25-26, massive barriers are erected to shut off the port. An estimated 10,000 more non-Bengalis massacred, including women and children as well as men. Non-Bengali port workers killed in cold blood.

In the Ishpani Jute Mills Recreation Club, 152 women and children slaughtered – their bloodied clothing, and the children’s toys mingled with the corpses are found by the Army.

Nepalese publication, the ‘People’s Review’

According to a write-up titled ‘Mukti Bahini and Indian Army were the initiator and executor of the genocide,’ “After the fall of Dhaka, Indian army and Mukti Bahini arranged mass slaughter ceremonies of Pakistanis and Bihari Muslims in the Dhaka Racecourse ground. Thousands of Bengali Muslims were also butchered who had sided with Pakistan against India and Mukti Bahini. In front of cheering crowds of Mukti Bahini terrorists and Indian army troops, one by one, these Pakistanis were brought, tortured, their eyes taken out and they were bayoneted in a sadistic macabre....”⁵⁴

Write up ‘History’s forgotten orphans’ by Saurabh Kumar Shahi in ‘The Sunday Indian’ dated 9 August 2009⁵⁵

(After 16 December 1971), violent reprisals were unleashed on the (Bihari) community (in the newly established Bangladesh). Very little emerged about their ordeal, thanks to the newly formed Bangladeshi administration and Indian officials who refused to let the story out as it hampered the national interest. However, foreign correspondents who reported during the reprisals, recount the morbid tale. “Around 5000 (Awami League) guerrillas armed with automatic weapons roamed on trucks and dispensed mob justice,” recounts the then Washington Post reporter Dennis Neeld. Similar stories are told by Alan Hart, the then BBC correspondent in Dhaka.

54 See website of the political and business weekly, ‘People’s Review’, peoplesreview.com.np (Site visited on 25 April 2014.)

55 Sunday Indian (www.thesundayindian.com/article). Site accessed on 30 May 2014.

Write-up ‘The heart-breaking story of the Biharis stranded in Bangladesh’ by Tahir Mahmud in ‘Crescent International’ of September 2009⁵⁶

Armed Awami League supporters, their ranks swelled by students and deserters from the army and police, went on a rampage in East Pakistan, in which tens of thousands of non-Bengalis were butchered between January and March 1971. The victims included the Urdu-speaking people (Biharis) as well as officials and their families from West Pakistan. The (Pakistan) army made the mistake of antagonising western journalists by mishandling and expelling them from Dhaka.

It was a propaganda coup for India, Pakistan’s arch-enemy, which had never reconciled with the creation of Pakistan. The allegation of mass rapes, impregnating 200,000 (women) in a matter of a few weeks (by Pakistan Army), was circulated endlessly. How an army in the midst of an insurgency had time for such an activity is mind-boggling.

Article titled, ‘The other side of history’ by Batool Zehra in the Sunday Magazine feature of ‘The Express Tribune with the International New York Times’ of 26 February 2012⁵⁷

- History is always written by the victors, and in the case of the 1971 war, the dominant narrative has been that of atrocities committed against the Bengali population. But in her upcoming novel, ‘Of Martyrs and Marigolds,’ Aquila Ismail dredges up the memories of her traumatic past in order to shine a light on the lesser-known atrocities of that conflict. “My mother forgot how to speak Bengali after the trauma of 1971. It just went out of her head. She cannot speak it to this

56 (<http://www.crescent-online.net/2009/09/the-heartbreaking-story-of-the-biharis>). Site accessed on 26 May 2014.

57 Tribune (<http://tribune.com.pk/story/340653/the-other-side-of-history/>). Site accessed on 21 May 2014.

day,” says Aquila, as we sip tea in her sitting room on a winter evening in Karachi. One of the few Biharis who managed to flee Bangladesh after what is known in that country as the War of Liberation, Aquila now lives in the UAE.

- On March 1, 1971, Yahya Khan announced the postponement of the Assembly session. Two days later, Aquila witnessed the strange spectacle of the flag of Bangladesh being raised in her university. She also saw armed young men on the streets — Bengali civilians who now comprised the Mukti Bahini, the resistance force against West Pakistan....The university had been closed down when the curfew was imposed and the students’ hostels and teachers’ accommodations were sparsely occupied.

- Knowing this, Aquila was shocked to hear claims that 10,000 people had been killed in the operation. A week later, when she went to university, she found out that at least four to five people she had known were slain. The list put up in the university had 149 names in all. “An army assault had taken place — this much is true. But 10,000 people were not killed — 10,000 is a huge figure. The myth starts from there. There must have been about 200-250 dead in all, from my estimation.”

EXAGGERATION IN THE NUMBER OF PAKISTANI TROOPS WHO SURRENDERED IN 1971; AND THE QUESTION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST EAST PAKISTAN

Sarmila Bose rejects the view that 93,000 Pakistani soldiers surrendered in 1971⁵⁸

- One of the most notable ‘numbers’ of 1971 in circulation is the assertion that ‘93,000 Pakistani soldiers’ were taken prisoner by India at the end of the war. This statement has been repeated, virtually unchallenged, in practically every form of publication. It is a number about which one expects a certain precision – after all the number of POWs in India had to be an exact figure, not an approximation. Yet it turns out that 93,000 soldiers were not, in fact, taken prisoner.
- In March 1971, the number of West Pakistani troops in East Pakistan was reported to be 12,000. More forces were brought in to cope with the crisis and Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi, Commander of the Eastern Command in 1971 from April to December, wrote: ‘The total fighting strength available to me was forty-five thousand – 34,000 from the army, plus 11,000 from CAF and West Pakistan civilian police and armed non-combatants. Out of the 34,000 regular troops, 23,000 were infantry, the rest being armour, artillery, engineers, signals and other ancillary units.’

58 ‘Dead Reckoning – Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War’ Sarmila Bose, page 174, C. Hurst & Co. Ltd., London. (2011)

- How did 34,000 army personnel plus 11,000 civilian police and other armed personnel, a total of 45,000 men, more than double into '93,000 soldiers' who were reported taken prisoner by India in December?

Air Marshal Rahim Khan, Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Air Force (1969-1972) ⁵⁹

The number of regular Pakistani troops in East Pakistan never exceeded 33,000-34,000. The rest is just propaganda by India and the Awami League, to magnify their success....As regards, genocide and calculated policy of rapes, this is a very, very serious allegation without any foundation whatsoever. We were certainly fighting for our country and not involved in heinous activities....Bengalis are our brothers....Ramadhan fell in October-November in 1971. You tell me, can a Muslim indulge in a calculated policy of rapes in this holy month?

US Congressman Charles Wilson ⁶⁰

.....In 1971, it was certainly not possible for the 35,000 Pakistani army in Dhaka to fight against the combined strength of 200,000 Indian army and the more than 100,000 India-trained Bengalis.....

US Congressman Stephan Solarz ⁶¹

Like Israel, Pakistan has its strong points. Pakistanis are energetic, vibrant and resilient. We must not be misled by 1971. It was certainly not possible for the 40,000 odd Pakistani army in Dhaka to fight against much larger Indian army and India-

59 During a talk on 1971, in Washington DC in December 1987.

60 Discussions with the author in Washington DC on various occasions when the author was posted in the Pakistan Embassy in Washington DC from 1987 to 1991.

61 In response to a question, at a talk on US relations with Pakistan, in Washington DC, in June 1989.

trained Bengali Bahini in a hostile territory...I also get a strange feeling that Pakistanis never wanted to win the war.

Comments by Former Defense Minister of India K C Pant ⁶²

Peace is important between Pakistan and India. We respect the professional competence of the Pakistani soldier. Had democracy continued in Pakistan, Islamabad would not have suffered the debacle resulting in the surrender of its 40,000 military personnel to India in East Pakistan.

Analyst S. M. Hali ⁶³

A major falsehood spread by India and later parroted by some Bangladeshis is that Pakistan Army carried out a genocide of three million Bengalis....The total strength of Pakistan Army in East Pakistan (in 1971) was 40,000.

A view from Nepal

According to a write-up titled ‘Mukti Bahini and Indian Army were the initiator and executor of the genocide,’ in the People’s Review, “The total strength of Pakistan Army in East Pakistan was 40,000 appr.” ⁶⁴

62 The former Defense Minister of India made these remarks during a talk on India’s relations with Pakistan, at the India International Centre in New Delhi. (September 1994)

63 Article posted by S M Hali on December 18, 2013. Visit <http://www.opinion-maker.org/2013/12/breaking-myths-of-1971-pak-india-war/>. (Site visited on 4 May 2014.)

64 See website of the political and business weekly, ‘People’s Review’, peoplesreview.com.np/. (Site visited on 25 April 2014.)

Comments by General Akhtar Abdul Rahman, former Director General ISI of Pakistan⁶⁵

Bengalis are a very nice people...very good people. They were us and we were they....They were and are our brothers, and will always be....1971 was a tragedy for them and for us. We wish them well. As regards the conflict with India, please understand, it was impossible for the 34,000 Pakistani troops in East Pakistan or for that matter any army in the world, to fight against the combined strength of 200,000 Indian army and 170,000 Mukti Bahini, if not more, that too in a hostile environment....

Air Chief Marshal Zulfikar Ali Khan, former chief of Pakistan Air force and later Ambassador of Pakistan to the United States⁶⁶

(Zulfikar Ali Khan had been posted in Dhaka, where he commanded the Eastern wing of the Pakistan Air Force.)

At the maximum, our regular fighting force in East Pakistan in December 1971 stood at 34,000. This figure does not include paramilitary personnel, military police etc. Even if you include the auxiliaries, the total does not cross 45,000.

Highlights of the write-up ‘Hasina must apologise to Pakistan!’ by Mahmood Riazuddin in Pakistan Observer of 18 December 2012⁶⁷

- The fateful day of December 16 every year reminisces dismemberment of world’s largest Muslim Republic of Pakistan, and some brethren from our former eastern wing particularly Awami Leaguers, demand apology

65 During a discussion on the separation of East Pakistan, at Pearl Continental Hotel, Rawalpindi in September 1986.

66 In a detailed conversation on India-Pakistan war of 1971, in his office in the Embassy of Pakistan in Washington DC in March 1989.

67 Pakistan Observer (<http://pakobserver.net/detailnews>). Site accessed on 3 April 2014.

from the Pakistani leadership for the so-called massacre of Bengalis in 1971.

- Sheikh Mujib's Awami League had connived with India and run propaganda campaign to defame and malign Pakistan. The Mukti Bahini which fought guerilla war against Pakistani troops was organized and trained in India and it had moved into the eastern wing for hit and run actions. But, Pakistan Army was blamed for genocide and mass scale-massacre of Bengalis.
- As regards the number of Pakistani troops deployed in eastern wing, several researchers disagree that they were 93,000.....the total number of Pakistani soldiers in East Pakistan was only 34,000 plus another 11,000 civilian police and other armed personnel...

Bengali journalist Tajammul Hussain

(Tajammul Hussain, studied at the Dhaka University and later at Oklahoma State University.)

- During the British period, the Bengali speaking Muslims were not welcomed in the army. Nor would the Bengalis come forward to work in the armed forces. It was the Pakistan's founder Jinnah who for the first time in March 1948, in a bid to raise a regiment in East Bengal, inspired its people to join the armed forces of Pakistan. *(Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; page 15.)*
- One has to recognize the truth that raising of armed forces needs a long period of rigorous and continuous training; nothing can be done effectively in just a matter of days or even months. No country can produce an army officer much less a general in a period, say,

of less than 25 years. An East Pakistani could name only two officers Col. Osmani and Major Gani, Bengali Muslims in the Pakistan Army in the late 1950s; while during the same period, there were many generals in the Pakistan army from the Pathans and the Punjabis of West Pakistan. When Ayub Khan was GOC East Pakistan, he visited the Dacca University campus in 1955 to motivate them to join the armed forces. But the response he received, was not encouraging. In 1956, applicants for recruitment from East Pakistan were 22, as against 110 from West Pakistan; and in 1957 the figure for East Pakistan rose to 39 while the figure for West Pakistan nearly trebled from 110 to 294. (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 16-17.*)

- ...when Pakistan came into being in August 1947 there was no ICS officer among the Bengali Muslims except Nurunnabi Chowdhury, who was a nominated member of the service. The vacuum that inevitably occurred in the administrative ladder had to be filled up by non-Bengali ICS officers drawn from different provinces of the Western wing (of Pakistan). (*Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; page 22.*)
- Historical evidence shows clearly that East Bengal had nothing of an industrial base prior to 1947. It was the largest producer of jute (80% of the world), but it did not have a single jute mill. The Jute mills were all based around Calcutta in West Bengal (India). The rapid industrial development that took place during the Pakistan period, was not done by local people but by experienced business houses like the Adamjees,

Ispahanis, etc. (Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 23-24.)

Other details on the Question of Discrimination

LEGISLATURE, CABINET, ETC

Representation of the provinces of Pakistan in the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan ⁶⁸

East Bengal	44
West Punjab	22
Sind	5
North-West Frontier Province	3
Baluchistan	1
Baluchistan States	1
Bahawalpur	1
Khairpur	1
N.W.F.P. States	1

68 G.W. Choudhury, pages 35-36, as cited in 'Bengali Elites Perceptions of Pakistan' by Khawaja Alqama, published by Royal Book Company, Saddar, Karachi in 1997. Page 139.

Power structure between West Pakistan and East Pakistan (1947-1958) ⁶⁹

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Heads of State	2	2
Prime Ministers	3	4
Members, Constituent Assemblies	27	27

Federal Cabinet in the early years of Pakistan ⁷⁰

Total number of Ministers/Ministers of State/Deputy Ministers	West Pakistanis	East Pakistanis	Percentage of East
Liaquat Ali Khan's Cabinet (15 August 1947 to 16 October 1951)			
19	13	6	31.2%
Khwaja Nazimuddin's Cabinet (19 October 1951 to 17 April 1953)			
15	9	6	40%
Mohammad Ali Bogra's Cabinet (17 April 1953 to 24 October 1954)			
14	9	5	35%

69 Raunaq Jahan, 'Pakistan: The Failure of National Integration,' published by Columbia University Press in 1972, p.25. This reference was quoted by Pakistani defence analyst Lt. Gen (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin on page 58 in his book, 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971,' published by Wajidalis, Lahore, in 1994.

70 'Bengali Elites Perceptions of Pakistan' by Khawaja Alqama, published by Royal Book Company, Saddar, Karachi in 1997. Page 213.

Federal Cabinet in later periods⁷¹

Total number of Ministers/Ministers of State/Deputy Ministers	West Pakistanis	East Pakistanis	Percentage of East
Reconstituted Cabinet (24 October 1954 to 11 August 1955)			
16	9	7	44%
Ch. Mohammad Ali's Cabinet (11 August 1955 to 12 September 1956)			
17	10	7	41%
H.S. Suhrawardy's Cabinet (12 September 1956 to 18 October 1957)			
14	6	8	57%
I. I. Chundrigar's Cabinet (18 October 1957 to 16 December 1957)			
16	9	7	44%
Mr. Feroze Khan Noon's Cabinet (16 December 1957 to 7 October 1958)			
27	15	12	44.5%
Ayub Khan's Cabinet (1 st) (28 October 1958 to 17 February 1960)			
12	9	3	25%
(2 nd Cabinet) (17 February 1960 to 8 June 1962)			
16	11	5	26%
(3 rd cabinet) (8 June 1962 to 23 March 1965)			
17	9	8	47%
(4 th Cabinet) (23 March 1965 to 25 March 1969)			
17	11	6	35%
Yahya Khan's Cabinet (4 August 1969 to February 1971)*			
11	6	5	45.4%

71 Safdar Mahmood, *The Deliberate Debacle*, Lahore: S. H. Muhammad Ashraf, 1976, page 42. (Also see book titled, 'Bengali Elites Perceptions of Pakistan' by Khawaja Alqama, published by Royal Book Company, Saddar, Karachi in 1997. Page 214.)

CIVIL SERVICE OF PAKISTAN

By 1963, only 20% candidates for the superior civil services were being taken on merit, 40% seats were reserved for Bengalis and the other 40% being shared between Balochistan, Sindh and the Frontier. Because of this, percentage of Bengali civil service officers began to rise. In 1947, there was only one officer in the civil service from East Pakistan. In 1965, 34 percent of them were Bengalis and by 1969 the figure had risen to 40.9%. By 1966, 60 percent of all seats were reserved for East Pakistan.

The table below gives the number of officers in Grade 17 and above on 1 July 1971. From only one class I officer in 1947 the Bengali representation in the superior services had reached the figure of 196. It is worth noting that, contrary to what was being propagated, East Pakistan was given preference over the West Pakistanis in the administrative services.

Province-wise Grade-17 and above, officers list (July 1971) ⁷²

Punjab	199
East Pakistan	196
Sindh	62
NWFP	40
Balochistan	6
Total	503

(In the important Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Education, Home Affairs, Planning Division, Economic Coordination and External Assistance, East Pakistanis had either a greater number of Class I officers in 1971 or only marginally less than those from Punjab.)

72 Compiled from Civil List, July 1, 1971, Class I Officers Government of Pakistan, Cabinet Secretariat, Establishment Division, Islamabad; pages 381-424. This reference was quoted by Kamal Matinuddin on pages 100-101 in his book 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971,' published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994.

East-West Representation in Class I Officers in some Pakistan
government departments in 1969 ⁷³

Government Departments/ Ministries	East Pakistan		West Pakistan	
	(Number)	(Per cent)	(Number)	(Per cent)
Economic Affairs	20	44.0	29	56.0
Commerce	20	33.0	41	67.0
Finance	12	30.0	30	70.0
Agriculture	6	17.0	28	83.0
Industries	10	32.0	21	68.0
Cabinet Division	4	16.0	22	84.0
Establishment Division	11	30.0	25	70.0
Planning, Information and Broadcasting	6	26.0	17	74.0
Labour and Social Welfare	5	33.0	10	67.0
Defence	5	13.0	31	87.0

⁷³ R Jahan, page 99, as quoted in book, 'Bengali Elites Perceptions of Pakistan' by Khawaja Alqama, published by Royal Book Company, Saddar, Karachi in 1997. Page 191.

PAKISTAN ARMY

Selection of candidates for commission in ‘Regular Courses’ of Pakistan Army ⁷⁴

Year	Qualified Preliminary Selection		Recommended by ISSB		% Recommended		Inducted		Passed out	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	West Pak	East Pak	West Pak	East Pak	West Pak	East Pak	West Pak	East Pak	West Pak	East Pak
1966	538	106	179	29	33%	28%	219	29	156	23
1967	1187	163	321	50	27%	31%	307	46	246	36
1968	1215	122	209	33	17%	27%	209	26	184	26
1969	1132	82	287	40	25%	50%	285	49	241	37
Total	4072	4731	996	152	22.4%	32.1%	1020	150	827	122

Heads of Planning Commission of Pakistan ⁷⁵

From East Pakistan:			
Mafizaddin Ahamd	3.7.54	to	4.9.59
M.A. Majid	5.9.59	to	4.9.61
Dr. M.N. Huda	1.3.62	to	29.3.65
Prof. A.F.A. Husain	3.11.65	-	-
From West Pakistan:			
G.S. Kehar	3.7.59	to	21.9.63
M.L. Qureshi	15.8.67	to	-

⁷⁴ Adjutant General’s Branch, General Headquarters of Pakistan Army, letter number 05/797/PA-3(a) dated 4 June 1992. This reference was quoted by Kamal Matinuddin on page 69 in his book ‘Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971,’ published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994.

⁷⁵ Parliamentary Papers, 14 December 1967.

VIEWS ON INDIAN EFFORT TO DISMEMBER PAKISTAN SINCE ITS CREATION IN 1947

Scholars, Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre

(The two American and French authors have written well known works, including on South Asia.)

Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck observed in 1947: “I have no hesitation whatsoever, in affirming that the present Indian cabinet (led by Jawaharlal Nehru) is implacably determined to do all in its power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan.” *(Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, ‘Freedom at Midnight,’ Panther Books: Granada Publishing Ltd. U.K. 1984 reprint, p. 340.)*

British historian Rushbrook Williams

(As mentioned earlier, Laurence Frederic Rushbrook Williams was a British historian and a senior civil servant who spent many years in South Asia. Rushbrook Williams served as Eastern Services Director of the BBC and also worked on the editorial staff of The Times, London.)

Ever since 1947, Pakistan has been deeply conscious that influential sections of Indian opinion have resented the mere fact of her existence, and have made no secret of their hope that the entire subcontinent will one day be reunited under the rule of New Delhi. Pakistan is determined to survive; many people in India want her to break up. *(Book titled, ‘The East Pakistan Tragedy’ by L F Rushbrook Williams; published by Drake Publishers Inc, New York in 1972; page 77.)*

Views on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's desire to break up Pakistan just a year after the creation of Pakistan expressed in articles by Bangladeshi intellectual Syed Badrul Ahsan published in August 2014 and earlier in August 2012

In his article in the Bangladeshi magazine 'dhakacourier' in August 2014, Badrul Ahsan stated, "And he (Sheikh Mujibur Rahman) matters because he remains the one political being who comprehended the ethos of the nation, knew where it needed to go if it meant to reassert itself in history. The irony in the Mujib story is that having come into politics, like thousands of others, on the bandwagon of Muslim League politics in the 1940s, he quickly determined that he did not need to be like the others. Within a year of the establishment of Pakistan, he knew that the new state was a threat to the Bengali. And so began a struggle that would dominate Pakistani politics for nearly a quarter of a century until a secular Bangladesh would carve its niche in global politics after the dismemberment of the communal Pakistani republic...."

It was in 1957, that early in his arduous and long struggle for political independence for the Bengalis, that he began toying with the idea of Bangladesh. His question to Suhrawardy, his mentor and guide and yet quite removed from him in the formulation of ideas, was simple enough: should Bengalis continue to be part of the Pakistani state? One hardly needs any telling that Suhrawardy, then Pakistan's Prime Minister, was propelled into a condition of intense amazement by the query...By 1964, he had already determined....that Bengal needed to go its own, separate way."⁷⁶

In a write up in the Bangladeshi newspaper, The Daily Star in August 2012, Syed Badrul Ahsan stated that sometime in the later part of the 1950s, Sheikh Mujib, then a young politician,

76 Article titled '15 August 1975-A nation's nadir' by Syed Badrul Ahsan in Bangladeshi magazine 'dhakacourier' of 15 August 2014.

threw a question at the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy (Suhrawardy was from East Pakistan). He asked, "Is it not possible for East Pakistan to become independent someday?" In a state of disbelief, the Prime Minister admonished Mujib, saying, "Do not ever entertain such thoughts. Pakistan has been achieved at a huge cost and its unity needs to be preserved". Mujib murmured, almost muttered: "We shall do our job when the time comes."⁷⁷

Views of Lieutenant General Kamal Matinuddin

(Senior Pakistani analyst.)

- The partition of the subcontinent (in 1947) was not willingly conceded to by the Hindus of India. They opposed it tooth and nail and only gave in when there was no other way. The holocaust that followed in which

one million people lost their lives and around four million had to flee their native land leaving all their property behind left deep scars on both communities. It was natural, therefore, for a spirit to develop among the top leadership in India and to an extent amongst the people of that country to undo the perceived 'wrong' that had been inflicted on them. Mother India had been vivisected. Bharat had been forcefully divided. A 'handful of converts' had succeeded in creating the two-nation theory. They could not be allowed to get away with it.

- Gandhi, the revered leader of the Hindus of India, and internationally acclaimed as the 'apostle of nonviolence,' told the Congress party in East Bengal in July 1947 that the Congress Committee there (East Bengal) must never look upon Bengal as divided. Jawaharlal Nehru,

77 The Daily Star of 14 August 2012.

architect of India's independence from British rule and the first prime minister of the new dominion, confided to Joseph Corbel that "one day (Pakistan) would be inevitably integrated with India". S. Radhakrishnan, a former president of India, felt that the division of the country was a grievous wrong which India was made to suffer. He is reported also to have said "re-union of the two successor states of British India was necessary and inevitable."⁷⁸ (Book titled 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; pages 259-260).

Rahul Gandhi, grandson of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and great grandson of the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru⁷⁹

You know, when our (Nehru) family commits to a task, it also completes it. In the past too, members of the Gandhi family have achieved the goals they have initiated like the freedom of the country, dividing Pakistan into two, and leading the nation into the 21st century.

Bengali journalist Qutubuddin Aziz⁸⁰

(Aziz served as correspondent of the 'Christian Science Monitor' from 1965 to 1977.)

- Seizing it as the golden opportunity of the century to undo Pakistan, India used the Bengali rebels it

78 War and Secession, Pakistan, India and the Creation of Bangladesh, Sisson and Leo E. Rose, page 43, University of California Press, Berkeley. (1990)

79 Rahul Gandhi at public rally in Bareilly while campaigning for state elections in Uttar Pradesh in April 2007.

80 Book titled 'Blood and Tears' published by United Press of Pakistan Ltd, Karachi in 1974; page 226.

had trained and armed for the war of attrition against Pakistan in its eastern wing for some nine months. After the Bengali guerrillas had been used by India as cannon fodder to soften the Pakistani defences in East Pakistan, Indian tanks, guns and troops rolled over the border on November 22, 1971, to accomplish India's armed grab of East Pakistan and the establishment of its client state of Bangladesh. India's Bengali surrogates, who operated the Indian-propped, Calcutta-based Government of Bangladesh, were installed in Dacca as the new rulers of Bangladesh on December 17, 1971 by the victorious Indian Army.

- On January 8, 1972, President Bhutto of Pakistan freed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and sent him from Rawalpindi in a PIA Boeing to London en route to Dacca where he took over the leadership of the new Bengali state. He made a public declaration, soon after his return to Dacca, that for the past quarter of a century he had been working for the separation and independence of Pakistan's eastern wing.

Indian Army Lieutenant General JFR Jacob ⁸¹

(Jacob was Jewish, with close connections with Israeli intelligence. He actively participated in Pakistan-India war in 1971.)

On the request of the Provisional Government of Bangladesh, the Government of India directed the (Indian) Army to provide assistance to the Mukti Bahini who controlled areas of East Pakistan contiguous to our borders. The code name given to the guerrilla operations in East Pakistan, was Operation Jackpot.

81 'Surrender at Dacca- Birth of a Nation', Lt. Gen. J F R Jacob, pages 90 and 91, Manohar Publishers & Distributors, Daryaganj, New Delhi. (1997)

Statement by the serving Deputy Speaker of Bangladesh Parliament, Shawkat Ali on Indian support to dismember Pakistan⁸²

Deputy speaker of Bangladesh Parliament Shawkat Ali today said “I would give hundred per cent credit to India for the liberation of Bangladesh.” Ali said this on the sidelines of the ‘Vijay Diwas’ celebrations at the Army’s Eastern Command headquarters Fort William in Kolkata, according to a PTI report reaching Dhaka.

American diplomat Archer K Blood⁸³

(Archer Blood served as American Consul General in Dhaka in 1971. He wrote a book titled, ‘The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh - Memoirs of an American Diplomat,’ which was published by the University Press Limited, Dhaka, in 2002.)

India also became the seat of the Bangladesh Government-in-exile, and the Indian Government established close working ties with the government headed by Tajuddin Ahmed, Mujib’s principal lieutenant in the Awami League and de facto head of the party while Mujib was imprisoned in West Pakistan. Equally, if not more important, Indian soil was made available for training camps, hospitals and supply depots for the Mukti Bahini. Mukti Bahini came to enjoy that great asset of a guerilla army, a safe haven to which it could retire for rest, food, medical supplies and weapons....India was in fact waging a proxy war against Pakistan.

82 Bangladeshi newspaper ‘The Independent’ of 17 December 2011.

83 ‘The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh - Memoirs of an American Diplomat’, Archer K Blood, page 304, University Press Limited, Dhaka. (2002)

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim ⁸⁴

....Let me tell you, I was one of the saddest persons in 1971. Just as Austria had to face international conspiracies in its long history, Pakistan also fell victim to the same game plan.

Brigadier Balwant Singh of Indian army ⁸⁵

Many in India stress that by defeating Pakistan in 1971, we took the revenge of the thousand-year Muslim rule of Bharat. We mocked our Muslim population in India, we taunted them and emphasized that look, Bengali Muslims had disintegrated their own Muslim Pakistan by creating Bangladesh.....As a Hindu, I was happy at Pakistan's defeat, but as a military man, I think, "Indira Gandhi made a serious mistake; ours was not the correct approach."

Hamoodur Rehman Commission Report

- Since the army action in East Pakistan on the 25th of March, 1971, important leaders of India, like J P Narian, Jagjivan Ram, Karan Singh, Y B Chavan and D P Dhar, started making frequent statements supporting the demand for an independent Bangladesh, and insisting that the only solution acceptable to India would be the one demanded by Sheikh Mujib. They also started threatening Pakistan with an open war.
- It appears that for the first time this was hinted by the Indian Prime Minister on the 18th of May 1971 when she declared that "India was fully prepared to fight Pakistan." On the 13th of June, the Indian Minister for

84 Pakistan Day function in Vienna on 23 March 1998.

85 Balwant Singh stated this during a discussion with a Pakistani diplomat at the German National Day function in New Delhi in 2008.

Industrial Development said in Hague, “public opinion in my country is inclined towards the view that war with Pakistan would be less expensive than the aid to refugees.” On the 25th of June, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, told a meeting of the ruling Congress party, “We may have to take action on our own if a satisfactory solution to the Bangladesh crisis is not found soon.”

- After signing the Indo-Soviet treaty on August 9, 1971, Mr. Swaran Singh made a statement in the Lok Sabha on August 10 in which he said, the “Indo-Soviet Treaty did not prevent India from taking unilateral action in Bangladesh.”⁸⁶

Indian-origin analyst Sarmila Bose

- The date of the start of full-fledged war between India and Pakistan in 1971 is a contested issue. The date popularly given out is 3 December, the one announced by India, but this is merely the date the war spread to include the Western sector. In a sense India’s involvement in the war may be taken to be from March, and its involvement in the politics of the province perhaps from even earlier.
- Numerous Bangladeshi pro-liberation accounts blithely recount close contact and coordination with Indian authorities prior to the military action taken by the Pakistani regime, as well as Indian involvement and casualties in ‘actions’ in East Pakistan throughout the year.⁸⁷

86 The Report of Hamoodur Rehman Commission of Inquiry into the 1971 War, pages 136-137, Vanguard Books, Lahore. (It is said that only limited portions of the original report were leaked. Select few had access to the complete report.)

87 Dead Reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War, Sarmila Bose, page 172, C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., London. (2011)

Asif Haroon Raja (his article posted on 9 April 2013)⁸⁸

- India, which spearheaded the propaganda campaign of genocide against Pakistan and then invaded East Pakistan, may be asked whether it was driven by pure noble instincts to help the people of East Pakistan or their motives were selfish and evil-ridden. Even if we hypothetically grant Indian leaders the status of noble saints, was war the only remedy to the problem? Do saints opt for war or peace? In former East Pakistan it was not a popular freedom movement but a rebellion against the state by miscreants and terrorists of Awami League only.

- The Mukti Bahini had been established in July 1970 with Indian assistance and was used to terrorize the masses during the election campaign. The Indian BSF under Major General Rustam Ji trained them. Spate of terrorism was unleashed from January 1971 onwards the intensity of which peaked after March 1, 1971.... On April 29, 1971, Indian Eastern Command was officially given the responsibility of assisting the rebels and the BSF was placed under its command. (*Lt Gen JFR Jacob, Surrender at Dacca, p. 40-41*).

- India initiated the concept of cross-border terrorism in South Asia for the first time. London Times dated December 1, 1971 published a report stating, ‘There is substantial evidence to prove that, if not all, at least a major portion of Mukti Bahini consisted of Indian soldiers’. Indian former premier Morarji Desai in his interview to Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, which was published in Washington Post of December 14, 1971,

88 <http://www.opinion-maker.org/2013/04/bangladesh-myth-of-3-million-killed/> (Site accessed on 26 May 2014.)

stated: ‘Thousands and thousands of Indian regular soldiers disguised as Mukti Bahini, were dispatched to East Pakistan from April to December 1971; 5000 of them died.

Excerpts from the book on Indian intelligence agency RAW, by Indian writer Asoka Raina

- The Bangla Desh Operation (it never had a code name, at least not the entire operation), possibly began a year before the actual operation was underway. Even when the world did get a whiff of it in the shape of the Mukti Bahini, many remained unaware of RAW’s involvement. By then Phase-one of the operation was already completed. Phase-two saw the Indian Armed Forces poised for the liberation of Bangla Desh..... In order to present a clear synopsis of the events that finally brought RAW into the Bangla Desh ops, one must review the intelligence activities that started soon after its formation in 1968. But by then Indian operatives had already been in contact with the “pro-Mujib” faction. A meeting convened in Agartala during 1962-63, between the IB foreign desk operatives and the Mujib faction, gave some clear indications of what was to follow. (*Book titled ‘Inside RAW - the story of India’s Secret Service’ by Asoka Raina, published by Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi in 1981; pages 48 and 49-50*).
- Soon after, RAW sources in Karachi had indicated a movement of troops from the Karachi harbour for Dacca. The appointment of Lt.-General Tikka Khan was also significant. The arrival of the Baluchi Regiment battalion in Chittagong on March 3rd, the curtailing of Bengali officers movements and the movement of armour from the Indian borders towards Dacca, had all the indications of impending disaster...While the

troops in Chittagong disembarked, RAW operatives were frantically trying to comply with the message they had received. They had been trying to convince Mujib to leave Dacca for the last twelve hours. But Mujib had stubbornly declined to do so.....Finally, a few hours before the crackdown, Mujib agreed to a few of the members leaving for India, they were Tajuddin Ahmed, Secretary General of the Awami League, along with a few others who were to travel overnight with the RAW operatives to Mujib Nagar (as it was subsequently called), and establish the Bangla Desh government in exile.....After a brief sojourn in Calcutta, Tajuddin was flown to New Delhi. Soon afterwards, Mujib Nagar was established, a 100 yards inside East Pakistan, near Jessore. But for all practical purposes, Mujib Nagar was a nondescript house in the heart of Calcutta, from where the Bangla Desh government in exile, functioned. *(Book titled 'Inside RAW - the story of India's Secret Service' by Asoka Raina, published by Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi in 1981; pages 53 and 54.)*

- Every six weeks, 2,000 guerillas (of Mukti Bahini) were being trained by RAW, capable of taking on the enemy in hit and run encounters, thereby seriously disrupting Pakistani forces in many places. Until July (1971), raids had been conducted on a restricted scale. Small groups, with the assistance of RAW operatives and loaned BSF personnel, operated within a ten mile radius in East Pakistan. The underground penetration produced the desired effect as they set out deep into enemy held territory, resulting in the deployment of Pakistani troops over a large area. *(Book titled 'Inside RAW - the story of India's Secret Service' by Asoka Raina, published by Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi in 1981; page 59.)*

Lieutenant General Kamal Matinuddin

(Pakistani defense analyst.)

- As a result of the military action a very large number of Bengalis, most of them Hindus had moved across the border. The Indians capitalised on this *Vishnu* (Hindu God) sent opportunity and, in addition to internationalizing the issue, began to arm, train and organise the refugees to assist them in their plan to dismember Pakistan. *(Book titled 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; page 217.)*
- The resistance needed planning, weapons training and leadership, and only India could provide them," accepted Brigadier Jagdev Singh. While the organisation of the rebels and volunteers had commenced in April (1971), their proper training by the Indian army began in May. A total strength of 70,000 Bengali dissidents excluding the police was available to the Indians. Out of this force it did not take long for them to organise eight equipped and fully trained Mukti Bahini battalions. Six training centres were established in India. Each commanded by a brigadier. The six sectors, as they were called, were:

Designation	Location	Commander
Alpha Sector	Moorti West Bengal	Brig Joshi
Bravo Sector	Raiganj, West Bengal	Brig Prem Singh
Charlie Sector	Chakulia, Bihar	Brig N. A. Naik
Delta Sector	Decta Mura, Tripura	Brig Shah Beg
Echo Sector	Masirpur, Assam	Brig M.B.Wadia
Foxtrot Sector	Tura, Meghalaya	Brig Sant Singh

- These training sectors provided all the weapons and military equipment needed for training and equipping the Mukti Bahini. Each sector had a number of training camps under it. Over 83 training camps were established (according to some, there were 150 training camps) on Indian soil all along East Pakistan, barely a few kilometers from the border. First two days were spent in documentation followed by three weeks of intense training. An Indian major general was put in charge of the training of the Mukti Bahini. The rebels were reformed into subunits, units and formations. Between 600 to 800 officers of the Mukti Bahini were trained at regular Indian army institutions including the prestigious Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun. Indian army engineers trained them in the handling of mines and explosives. They were also given training in the use of mortars, machine guns and PRC 25 wireless sets supplied to them by the Indian army. Every 6 weeks 2,000 trained guerillas were turned out for operational purposes. Over 5,000 men were trained at these camps in three months. About 600 rebels received under water training at Cochin and Plassey (West Bengal)...Arms and ammunition came from the Indian ordnance factories (IOF) with no attempt to hide even the IOF markings. (*Book titled 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; pages 218 & 219*).

- The most colorful, arrogant and defiant amongst the resistance leaders was Abdul Kader Siddiqui. He raised his own force and named it Kader Bahini. It operated independently around Mymensingh close to Dacca. He crossed into India in June 1971 and contacted the Indian authorities, who assisted him in organising, equipping and training his force to act as informers, saboteurs and fifth columnists for the Indian army in their planned

invasion of East Pakistan. Kader Siddiqui the self-styled 'Tiger' of Tangail was a 23 year old student from that city and controlled the area between Tangail and Dacca. He claimed to have 5,000 men under arms, later he increased it to about 20,000. He was a 'devotee' of Sheikh Mujib and is reported to have crossed into India from Bangladesh after Mujib's assassination in 1975 with 2,000 rebels in order to revive pro-India Mujibism. (*Book titled 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; page 222*).

- Mrs. Indira Gandhi, however kept on insisting that her government was only providing humanitarian assistance to the refugees. She did not allow western observers to go and study the situation along the Indo-East Pakistan border, for fear of their coming to know about the presence of the training camps established by the Indians to train the Mukti Bahini. (*Book titled 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; page 224*).
- Radio Bangladesh was allowed to be set up in Calcutta and was used extensively for broadcasting exaggerated stories of alleged genocide of the Bengali population by the Pakistan army. When Mr. Hussein Ali of the Pakistan foreign service serving as Pakistan's deputy high commissioner in Calcutta defected, he established the first Bangladesh mission in an outside country eight months before Bangladesh became a reality. This was only made possible by the encouragement and support received from the Government of India. (*Book titled 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; pages 271*).

Interview with Major General (Retd), M.A. Matin, former Director General, DGFI (Bangladeshi intelligence) ⁸⁹

It is a fact that India aided in our liberation war. But it is not true that she helped us without its interest. They hid their evil motive and objectives during our liberation war. Its evil design was revealed after our independence. So to speak the truth, they helped us to attain a particular objective.

Interview with Major General (Retd) M.A. Halim, former Director General, DGFI (Bangladeshi intelligence) ⁹⁰

Though India had extended a very important help during the liberation war of Bangladesh, but RAW wanted Bangladesh to be entirely dependent on India in all respects. Besides, main target of RAW was to identify the pro-Islamic people of Bangladesh as anti-liberation forces and alienate Bangladesh from the influence of other Muslim countries of the world...RAW did not extend its helping hand to our war of liberation spontaneously and without fixing its own target of interest.

National Security Advisor of India, JN Dixit

(Dixit served as the first Head of Mission in the Indian Mission in Dhaka after 16 December 1971. Later, he became India's Foreign Secretary.)

Apart from setting up a special unit in the External Affairs Ministry to deal with the crisis already mentioned, Mrs. Indira

89 Excerpt from an interview with Major General (Retd), M.A. Matin, former Director General, DGFI, in book titled, 'Raw in Bangladesh-Portrait of an Aggressive Intelligence' by Abu Rushd, published in Dhaka in March 2005; page 294.

90 Excerpt from an interview with Major General (Retd) M.A. Halim, former Director General, DGFI of Bangladesh, in book titled, 'Raw in Bangladesh-Portrait of an Aggressive Intelligence' by Abu Rushd, published in Dhaka in March 2005; pages 311 and 313.

Gandhi established a separate branch secretariat of the Ministry in Calcutta to liaise with the Bangladesh Government in exile. A.K. Ray, who led it, had intimate knowledge of East Pakistani politics and had extensive contact with the leadership of Pakistan across the board. He was known for his high intellectual caliber and courage of conviction. He was assisted by another foreign service officer, Ms. Arundhati Ghose, then a Deputy Secretary who, later, was to become India's permanent representative to the UN at Geneva and Ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament. (*Liberation and Beyond– Indo-Bangladesh Relations* by J.N. Dixit, page 59, published in 1999 by Konark Publishers Pvt Ltd Delhi.)

Ramachandra Guha⁹¹

(Well-known Indian historian and writer.)

By the summer of 1971, along with the hundreds of camps for refugees, India was also hosting training camps for Bengali guerrillas. Known as the Mukti Bahini, these fighters numbered some 20,000 in all; regular officers and soldiers of the once united Pakistani army, plus younger volunteers learning how to use light arms. The instruction was at first in the hands of the paramilitary Border Security Force, but by autumn the Indian army had assumed direct charge. From their bases in India, the guerrillas would venture into East Pakistan, to attack army camps and disrupt communications.

Indian Intelligence head B. Raman

(Raman served as head of the Counter-Terrorism Division in the Indian intelligence agency RAW.)

- The R&AW's role (in the East Pakistan war) was five-fold: Provision of intelligence to the policy-makers

91 'India After Gandhi-The History of the World's Largest Democracy' by Ramachandra Guha, pages 453-454, Picador. (2007)

and the armed forces; to train the Bengali freedom fighters in clandestine training camps; to network with Bengali public servants from East Pakistan posted in West Pakistan and in Pakistan's diplomatic missions abroad and persuade them to cooperate with the freedom-fighters and to help in the freedom struggle by providing intelligence; to mount a special operation in the CHT against the sanctuaries and training camps of the Naga and Mizo hostiles; and to organize a psychological warfare (PSYWAR) campaign against the Pakistani rulers by disseminating reports about the massacres of the Bengalis in East Pakistan and the exodus of refugees...

- The R&AW's success in East Pakistan, which led to the birth of Bangladesh, would not have been possible without the leadership of Kao and the ideas of Nair. The vision was of Kao and the ideas to give shape to the vision were largely of Nair. Like Kao, Nair too was held in high esteem in the community of international intelligence professionals. (*The Kaoboy's of R&AW – Down Memory Lane* by B. Raman, former head of the counter-terrorism division of the Indian intelligence agency RAW, pp. 10, 56, published in 2007 by Lancer Publishers & Distributors, 2/42(B), Sarvapriya Vihar, New Delhi.)

A view from Sri Lanka (excerpts from article, 'How India created Bangladesh and lessons for Sri Lanka' by Shenali Waduge, in The Asian Tribune of 25 March 2012 ⁹²

- With a population of 1.2 billion living across a landmass of 29,73,190 square kilometers, there is no denying India's power. Yet, if not for its inferiority,

92 Visit <http://www.terminalx.org/2012/03/how-india-created-bangladesh-and.html> (Site accessed on 19 May 2014).

we cannot comprehend why India would desire to adopt a consistent policy and go to great lengths to destabilize each of its neighbors while pretending to be their friend....The example of Bangladesh is perfect, to partition Pakistan and create Bangladesh in 1971... What we are taught to believe is that Bengali leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman resented political power vested with West Pakistan elite and had formed the Awami League demanding autonomy for East Pakistan. Though he won the 1970 general election, he was put in jail leading to the Bangladesh Liberation War which created Bangladesh. A missing piece in this incident is the role India's intelligence played...The resentment of East Pakistan towards West Pakistan was triggered by none other than India's RAW, using the card of "discrimination" similar to what they used against the Sinhalese by the Tamils. What India eventually did was to protect the Awami League leaders, and train and arm the insurgents which ultimately led to the dismemberment of Pakistan.

- RAW had even funded Mujibur Rahman's general election in 1970 and trained and armed the Mukti Bahini....How many illegal refugees do we have in Sri Lanka – the people that our army rescued and what is their role like to be in future unless checked... RAW continued its presence in Bangladesh even after the latter's independence by training Chakma tribes and Shanti Bahini to carry out subversive activities in Bangladesh....As in Sri Lanka's case, India keeps using its media to invent fictitious stories about how both Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are a threat to India's security interests to pressurize these Governments into functioning according to the Indian dictates.....
- All the SAARC nations have experienced India's backstabbing. It hired the LTTE to storm Maldives and then pretended to save Maldives. More recently

India has sided with the US to oust President Nasheed and install a puppet leader. There was also a rumor of an LTTE plot to kill Bangladesh's Sheikh Hasina in 1999. It does all types of activities to keep Nepal from developing and the list goes on.

- In Sri Lanka's case, what first angered India appears to have been the Sri Lankan government's decision to allow refueling facilities to Pakistan's civil and military aircraft and ships during the Indo-Pak war of 1971.

Admission by (serving) Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, in a public speech in Dhaka, on his country's role in the dismemberment of Pakistan

*English Rendering of the Text of PM's Acceptance Speech at the conferment of the 'Bangladesh Liberation War Honour' on Former Prime Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee (Dhaka; 7 June 2015)*⁹³

Honorable President, Honorable Prime Minister, esteemed members present on the dais and all the honorable people present here; Respected people of Bangladesh and India.

Today, it is a heart-felt moment of privilege for me; it is a moment of pride and dignity for all the Indians. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has been an epitome of greatness. He has dedicated his entire life to serving the Indian nation.From political viewpoint too, he has been an inspiration for lots of workers like me – and now the moment has come when a beloved son of his motherland, Bharat Ratna Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, is being honored by Bangladesh. I feel indebted to Bangladesh that the contribution of various freedom fighters - and the Indian armed forces who shed

⁹³ Indian Express, June 7, 2015. May also visit <http://www.pib.nic.in/newsite> (Site accessed on 1 July 2015). This is not the complete text of the speech.

blood and every common Indian who struggled for Bangladesh's dream during the Bangladesh War under the leadership of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, though he was in opposition, his rigorous tryst to curb the political path in a positive direction - is being appreciated and honorably remembered today.

If Vajpayee ji would have been in good health and had been present in person here, it would have multiplied the grace of the occasion....Today, this occasion is a subject of immense pleasure that an award is being given by the honorable President who had been a prominent freedom fighter himself. This itself is a matter of pride. Secondly, my dear friends, this award is being presented in the presence of the daughter of the person under whose leadership and guidance Bangladesh fought this war and won it. Thirdly, I want to share something which I think I had not mentioned before; and I take pride in telling this. I entered into politics very late....As a youth activist,.... I came as a volunteer all the way from my village to Delhi. This war was full of pride for the people of Bangladesh. Every Indian wanted this dream to be realized. And among those millions, I too whole-heartedly wanted this dream to be realized.

Today, on this exceedingly auspicious occasion I want to quote a paragraph from Vajpayeeji's speech from 6th December, 1971, which he delivered in the Parliament as an MP of the Opposition. We can understand what far-sighted leadership is from his speech. I am quoting him from his speech:

“Though it is late but by giving recognition to Bangladesh, a right step has been taken. History is being changed. Destiny has placed this Parliament, this country in such a critical position that, in this movement we are not only fighting those who are sacrificing their life but also trying to give a new direction to history. At the moment, the blood of those fighting for Bangladesh's liberation and that of Indian soldiers is bleeding together in this movement. This blood will lead to formation of

ties that would never break under any pressure or fall prey to any diplomacy. The freedom of Bangladesh is near.”

Vajpayeeji had said this on 6th December, 1971, in the Indian Parliament. Today, when I am accepting the award on behalf of Vajpayeeji, it is time to renew our pledge towards the relationship which Vajpayeeji had mentioned in his speech. I am repeating again what he had said in his speech that day. He said- “This blood will lead to formation of ties that would never break under any pressure” and secondly, he had said “or fall prey to any diplomacy.”

OTHER RELATED VIEWS

Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw

The Pakistan Army in East Pakistan fought very gallantly, but they had no chance. They were a thousand miles away from their base. I had eight or nine months of preparation time; I had almost a fifty to one advantage. They had no chance, but they fought very gallantly. (Interview with Karan Thapar; video posted by S. Kulshrestha in October 2016.)

Asoka Raina of Indian intelligence agency RAW⁹⁴

- The war for liberation was over. Bangla Desh was established as a sovereign state with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as its head. RAW agents continued to keep an eye on developments in the newly born country. By the end of 1973, RAW reports began to indicate unrest in the country. By February 1974, the reports turned out to be correct, as two major general strikes were followed by a massive demonstration of hungry marchers. The growing unrest forced Mujib to establish a one-party government on February 24, 1974.
- According to RAW sources, the situation in Bangla Desh had become critical...Four months later, RAW agents received information of a meeting between Major Rashid, Major Farooq and Lt. Col Usmani at Zia-ur-Rahman's residence. The discussion, among other things, had centered on the coup...Kao [First RAW Chief], convinced that a coup was in the offing,

94 Book titled 'Inside RAW - the story of India's Secret Service', Asoka Raina, pages 61-64, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi. (1981)

flew into Dacca, under cover of a *pan* exporter. After his arrival at Dacca, he was driven to a rendezvous arranged beforehand. Mujib is reported to have found the exercise highly dramatic and just could not understand why Kao could not have come to see him officially. But having known him personally, he went along with the charade.

- The Kao-Mujib meeting lasted one hour. Kao was unable to convince Mujib that a coup was brewing and that his life was threatened...on the night of August 14 (1975), in the hot sweltering monsoon night, an army maneuver took place. The Bengal Lancers and the Bangle Desh Armoured Corps moved out of the cantonment to the capital's half built airport. Similar manoeuvres had taken place earlier. Those who had seen them, thought nothing of them. A few hours later, the same evening, 40 members of the Mujib household along with Sheikh Mujib, lay dead. The killings lasted three minutes....Operation Bangla Desh was over.

Response of Sarmila Bose to the criticism leveled against her on her book on 1971 ⁹⁵

- In all the excitement about the “Arab spring,” it is instructive to remember the 1971 war in South Asia. Then too there was a military regime in Pakistan, easily identified as the “baddies” -and a popular uprising in its rebellious Eastern province, where Bengali nationalists were reported to be peacefully seeking freedom, democracy and human rights. When the regime used military force to crush the rebellion in East

95 Al Jazeera (<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/05/20115983958114219.html>). Site accessed on 4 May 2014.

Pakistan, India intervened like a knight to the rescue, resulting in the defeat of the bad guys, victory for the good guys and the independence of Bangladesh... Or so the story went for forty years....

- As soon as I started to do systematic research on the 1971 war, I found that there was a problem with the story which I had grown up believing: from the evidence that emanated from the memories of all sides at the ground level, significant parts of the “dominant narrative” seem not to have been true. Many “facts” had been exaggerated, fabricated, distorted or concealed.
- Many people in responsible positions had repeated unsupported assertions without a thought; some people seemed to know that the nationalist mythologies were false and yet had done nothing to inform the public. I had thought I would be chronicling the details of the story of 1971 with which I had been brought up, but I found instead, that there was a different story to be told.

Kashmiri leadership of Indian occupied Kashmir ⁹⁶

Pakistan has always helped promote the cause of Jammu and Kashmir. We are grateful to the people and the Government of Pakistan, for all their diplomatic support especially at the UN and other international platforms.

President Clinton on Kashmir issue and 1971 ⁹⁷

During his visit to India in 2000, US President Bill Clinton emphasised the need to resolve the issue of Jammu and Kashmir between India and Pakistan. In an interview with Peter Jennings

96 Comments made during interaction in 2008.

97 Author’s personal notes.

of the ABC World News at the Maurya Sheraton Hotel in New Delhi on March 21, Clinton added that the United States was now not much focused on the UN Resolutions on Kashmir due to a number of factors especially 1971.

Indian Major General Thapliyal⁹⁸

- Although creation of Bangladesh was hailed as a defining moment in the history of the subcontinent, it is turning out to be a strategic nightmare now. Bangladesh would have been created, perhaps of its own steam, sooner or later. But by our intervention we have created a problem for us with serious strategic disadvantages. By creating Bangladesh, we have made an implacable enemy of Pakistan for whom Balkanisation of India by whatever means, has become an article of faith.
- With Bangladesh as its Eastern Wing, Pakistan was always unbalanced. With its severance, Pakistan is now a viable and cohesive entity with its Armed Forces much more capable of not only defending her territory but carrying the war into India as per its doctrine of ‘Offensive Defence.’
- Bangladesh in the meantime has reached the other extreme. Not only its history has been falsified to eliminate Indian Army’s role in the creation of Bangladesh, it is firmly in the Pakistani camp – lock, stock and barrel.
- Bangladesh is becoming a safe haven for all militant groups of North East but it consistently denies existence of militant camps even when presented with

98 Article ‘Creation of Bangladesh: Shining Moment or Strategic Blunder’ by Major General Sheru Thapliyal. (Indian Defence Review, September 2011.)

irrefutable evidence. Pakistan ISI is also having a field day in Bangladesh, carrying out anti-India activities in collusion with the militant groups based there. In future, Dhaka may well claim India's North East to be an integral part of Bangladesh.

General (later Field Marshal) Sam Manekshaw ⁹⁹

.....an impression has been created that Pakistanis had not fought well. They fought extremely well. If they had not, India would not have suffered heavy casualties.

The then Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh says many in Bangladesh are anti-India (June 2011) ¹⁰⁰

With Bangladesh, our relations are quite good. But we must reckon that, at least 25 percent of the population of Bangladesh, swears by the Jamaat-e-Islami and they are very anti-Indian; and they are in the clutches, many times, of the ISI (of Pakistan). So, the political landscape in Bangladesh can change at any time.

⁹⁹ Indian Express of 1 February, 1972.

¹⁰⁰ Bangladeshi newspaper, The Daily Star of 3 July 2011.

ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE

Pakistan is the Mother of India; not only India, but the subcontinent. India takes its name after River Indus, which “mainly flows through Pakistan.” The name of the Pakistani province of ‘Sindh’, is an integral part of the National Anthem of India. India is proud of its ancient Indus Valley Civilization, whose main sites ‘Harappa and Mohenjodaro’ are located not in India, but in Pakistan. The Hindu scripture ‘Mahabharata’ was recited the “first time in history” in Taxila, a city located close to Pakistan’s capital, Islamabad. Similarly, the Rig Veda originated from the region of the present day Pakistan. Taxila is the birthplace of the Indian ‘diplomat philosopher’ Kautilya, also called Chanakya, after whom the diplomatic enclave in New Delhi is named ‘Chanakyapuri.’ The founder of the Sikh religion, Guru Nanak was born in the land of Pakistan, and he died in what is today Pakistan. Guru Padmasambhava, the ‘Second Buddha’ for a large number of Buddhists, was born in Swat in Pakistan.

Trying to understand Pakistan a little better

In order to understand Bangladesh, first one must try to understand Pakistan.

Pakistan is a Muslim country having a population close to 215 million. Located in one of the most strategic areas of the world, Pakistan is an ancient civilization and a modern state.

The land that constitutes Pakistan, has been one of the oldest sites of human habitation. Archaeologists opine that the “oldest stone tool in the world, going back 2.2 million years,” was found

near Pakistan's modern capital, Islamabad.¹⁰¹ It is said that the first dentistry operation in the world, took place in southern Pakistan when dental drills made of flint were being used in this land "9,000 years ago."¹⁰² Wheeler asserts that Pakistan "boasts of Indus Valley Civilization" (3000-1300 BC), which is one of "the first three mature civilizations of the world."¹⁰³

Pakistan is also cradle to the Gandhara civilization. Islamabad stands close to Taxila which, analysts assert, is the city where "the world's earliest university was set up" in 8th century BC if not earlier.¹⁰⁴ A view is expressed that the world's first brain surgery operation took place at Takshashila University, where Chanakya taught International Politics, and Panini focused on Mathematics.¹⁰⁵

The British governed what is today Pakistan for 90 years or so.¹⁰⁶ The Greeks, after the invasion by Alexander around 320 BC, administered Pakistan for 200 years. At that time, Pakistanis used to speak Greek language; they adopted Greek

101 See the works by renowned Pakistani archaeologist Ahmed Hasan Dani. (Book, 'History of Pakistan: Pakistan through Ages' published by Sang-e-Meel in 2007. Book 'Tareekh-e-Gilgit' published by Sang-e-Meel in 2000. Book 'Romance of The Khyber Pass' published by Sang-e-Meel. Book 'Peshawar' published by Sang-e-Meel. Book 'History of Civilizations of Central Asia (7-volume Series),' published by Motilal Banarsidass India, in December 2003.)

102 'Diastema -The Quarterly Drill' Spring 2014 issue. ('Ancient History of Dentistry' by Andy Nguyen.)

103 Consult book titled 'Five Thousand Years of Pakistan' by R. E. M. Wheeler, published by the Royal India & Pakistan Society, (1 January 1950). ASIN: B000GR8E1E

104 'Encyclopedia of Post - Colonial Literatures', Eugene Benson and L.W. Conolly, page 1193, Routledge (2004). May also see publication titled, 'Ancient History of Hinduism and its Important Dimensions' by Hari Laal, published in Hyderabad Daccan in 1941; pages 25 and 298.

105 'Ancient History of Hinduism and its Important Dimensions' by Hari Laal, published in Hyderabad Daccan in 1941; page 49.

106 The British governed what is today Bangal (Bangladesh and the Indian State of West Bengal), for almost 190 years.

culture and the Macedonian way of life. Women, especially in the Pashtoon belt of Pakistan, it is said, wore Greek dresses and Greek perfumes. European technology of that time was in vogue and Pakistanis used to travel from Taxila to Persepolis, and from there, to Europe. From Taxila, roadways also traversed towards China and places in the subcontinent.

What is Pakistan today was for centuries, a province and an integral part of the Persian Empire especially during the time of Cyrus the Great.

Pakistan has spiritual dimensions.

Pakistan means “the Land of the Pure.”¹⁰⁷

Pakistan is a Muslim country. Earlier, what is Pakistan today was a Sikh country; before that, it was the land of the Buddhists; and earlier, it was the land of the Hindus. Significantly, Hindu sage Vaisampayana recited Mahabharata in Taxila. This “formal recitation was made the first time in the history of the world.”¹⁰⁸

Guru Padmasambhava, who is worshipped not only in Bhutan, China’s Tibet and the entire Himalayan region as the ‘Second Buddha,’ was born in the Swat region of Pakistan.¹⁰⁹ Swat is also the hometown of Malala Yousafzai, the youngest Nobel Laureate in the world.

For the followers of the Sikh religion, Pakistan again carries a special spiritual significance. The founder of the Sikh religion, Guru Nanak was born near Lahore at Nankana Sahib. Importantly,

107 Interestingly, Holy Land is the term used in the context of Israel.

108 See publication titled, ‘Ancient History of Hinduism and its Important Dimensions’ by Hari Laal, published in Hyderabad Daccan in 1941; page 15.

109 Encyclopedia Britannica article, ‘Padmasambhava - Buddhist mystic’. (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Padmasambhava>). Site accessed on 22 October 2020. Also see Guru Padmasambhava’s sketch in the Annexures to this publication.

the first Gurdwara (Sikh temple) in the world, was built centuries ago at Kartarpur Sahib in what is today Pakistan. Guru Nanak is said to have died at Kartarpur. Thousands of Sikhs proceed to Pakistan on pilgrimage visits every year.

Pakistan is situated at the confluence of West Asia, South Asia and Central Asia. Pakistan is adjacent to China, Iran, India and Afghanistan. Pakistan is separated from Tajikistan by a narrow Wakhan strip in Afghanistan.¹¹⁰ Pakistan is also located not far from the Sultanate of Oman. In this regard, a note is also taken of the importance of Gwadar Port in southern Pakistan.¹¹¹

Historically, as mentioned earlier, Pakistan consists of different provinces which include: Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The people of each province have a different language, and varied features and complexion. The common element is Islam, and Islamic values of humanity as taught by Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. This is the reason why Pakistan strongly associates itself with the Muslim world; and the Muslim world has feelings for Pakistan.

The people of Pakistan are a strong mixture of races. Pakistanis have in their veins the blood of Central Asia, Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan and India. The Pakistani mind, mannerism and mindset, have ingredients of the cultures of these diverse regions.

While English is the official language, Urdu is the national language of Pakistan.

When it came into being in 1947, Pakistan was the largest Muslim state in the world. Pakistan today again is the largest

110 Also see *The Roof of the World* by T. E. Gordon, (Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, Taipei, 1971).

111 Gwadar Port will cater to imports and exports for Pakistan. Goods to and from Central Asia will also be transported through this port, which is located in Pakistan's province of Balochistan.

Islamic state in the world.¹¹² In fact, Pakistan is the sixth most-populous country in the world with a projected population of over 240 million in the next few years.

Pakistan's economy has been resilient. A few years after its creation in 1947, the country's economic growth rate touched 9 per cent. Almost same was the case in 1968 and 1969.¹¹³ Some of the largest dams and water-works in the world, Tarbela and Mangla, are located in Pakistan. Some assert that the largest salt mine in the world is in Khewra near Islamabad.¹¹⁴ Pakistan is known to have the third largest coal reserves in the world in its province of Sindh. Importantly, one of the largest gold and copper mines is at Reko Diq in Pakistan.

The port city Karachi, is the third largest in the world in terms of population; and the largest among the cities in the Muslim countries. Pakistan produces one of the best varieties of rice 'Basmati', cotton and fruits, especially mangoes. Pakistani textiles and carpets can be captivating.

Chess was invented in Persia when Pakistan was part of that empire during the time of Cyrus the Great.¹¹⁵ Sports enthusiasts assert, 'Polo is Pakistan's gift to the world'; it originated from Gilgit in the north of Pakistan.¹¹⁶

Those who have seen Northern Areas of Pakistan especially the world's second highest peak 'K-2', opine that the terrain

112 Indonesia has larger population, but the country does not call itself an Islamic Republic.

113 'Historical Records' by historian and former Member of the Pakistani Parliament, Muzaffar Hashmi dated June 2008.

114 It is also said that Khewra is the second largest salt mine in the world.

115 Lecture by Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani on 'Ancient Pakistan' at Pearl Continental, Rawalpindi in June 1987.

116 Also see 'Extreme Polo' by Paul Raffaele, SMITHSONIAN MAGAZINE, January 2007.

is beautiful...just captivatingly mesmerizing.¹¹⁷ According to the American Ambassador in Dhaka, Dan Mozena, “....I have seen the world. But, when I went to the north of Pakistan, I was bewitched by the beauty. There is no place in the world which can be more beautiful than the north of Pakistan.”¹¹⁸

It is Pakistan’s national carrier ‘PIA’ that had established the airlines of Jordan, Thailand, People’s Republic of China, Malta and ‘even the Emirates.’¹¹⁹

Pakistan has the sixth largest army in the world. Pakistan has been producing tanks, missiles and fighter aircraft, besides submarines and frigates. Pakistan is the only nuclear power in the Muslim world.

In August 1947, Pakistan’s Foreign Office located in Karachi, had just one type-writer. Today, more than 500 officers work in the country’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A large number of them have studied at Fletcher, Oxford and Cambridge.

Since it became a Member of the United Nations on 30 September 1947, Pakistan has actively participated in UN activities. Pakistan contributed to the liberation of the Muslim people in the Middle East and North Africa from the colonial rule. In 1962, Pakistan’s Foreign Minister, Zafarullah Khan was elected to the high office of the President of the UN General Assembly. Earlier, he served as Judge at the International Court of Justice in The Hague from 1954 to 1961.¹²⁰

117 May also study The National Geographic article ‘Pakistan’s Most Wild and Beautiful Places- Journey from the Arabian Sea to the ivory cones of the Himalayas’, by Gulnaz Khan. (5 April 2018)

118 Discussion with Ambassador Dan Mozena and his wife Grace in Dhaka in October 2014.

119 Air Marshal Nur Khan of the Pakistan Airforce played a vital role in the development of the Pakistan International Airlines.

120 Zafarullah Khan was a prolific author. He had also written a book on the Prophet of Islam.

Pakistan has been a member of the UN Security Council during the periods 1952-1953, 1968-69, 1976-1977, 1983-1984, 1993-1994 and 2003-2004.¹²¹ In October 2011, Pakistan was again elected to the Security Council. In September 2010, Pakistan was also elected Chairman of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for the third time. (It held this office earlier in 1962-63 and then from 1986 to 1987).¹²²

Pakistan played an important role in Bandung Conference in 1955. Pakistan is an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). Pakistan has been playing an important role in United Nations Human Rights Council.

Significantly, Pakistan has been one of the largest contributors, if not the largest contributor, to the UN peace-keeping operations in the world. From 1962 onwards, Pakistan has participated in more than twenty-eight such missions.

The above are some important hallmarks of Pakistan, a country that at the time of its creation, literally started from scratch.

Genesis: Why, Pakistan was created ¹²³

It would be important to note, why was Pakistan established, and what were the factors that led to the creation of this largest Muslim country in the world.

Islam reached the subcontinent by way of trade and Sufi saints. These Muslim holy men were men of peace. They just spread the message of peace.

121 Dawn dated 22 October 2011.

122 The Hindu of 27 September 2010.

123 May also study 'The Struggle for Pakistan' by Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, University of Karachi. (1965)

Traders came to the coast of Malabar; Lal Shahbaz Qalander spread the message of harmony and love in Sindh (today's Pakistan); Nizamuddin Auliya propagated peace and amity in Delhi; and Shah Jalal did the same in Sylhet.

The year 712 AD is important, which marks the start of the Muslim rule in Sindh.¹²⁴ Subsequently, Muslim presence expanded in the rest of the subcontinent. Delhi became the seat of Muslim emperors of different dynasties including Ghauris, Tughlaqs, Lodhis and then the mighty Mughals.

The almost 800 year-old Muslim rule in India had its origins in Arabia, Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan and Turkey. As such, the process of a 'grand acculturation' got underway, which led to major changes in the subcontinent in terms of demography, language, dress, food, music, and art and architecture. Hindustan became rich, and its coffers full.

During the time of Mughal emperor Akbar, three of his ships were commandeered by British pirates, the value of the gold that was looted from the vessels was more than the total five-year budget of the then England. Emperor Shah Jahan had the Taj Mahal constructed, a building which even in the 21st century is considered as the most beautiful piece of architecture in the world. Qawwali is that genre of music in South Asia, which was developed by one of the greatest Muslim musicologists of all times, Amir Khusro. Urdu language evolved during that period and the dress transformed from dhoti to shalwar/pajamas.

Then came 1857, when the British established themselves in the subcontinent. Almost overnight, the Muslims all over were displaced from their positions of significance and dignity to insignificance and indignity. The once rulers became paupers and mendicants. The one time scholars and litterateurs became

124 Muslim army reached south-western Balochistan province of Pakistan much earlier in 644 AD, during the time of Caliph Omar.

illiterate, as the official language of India changed from Persian to English. Thus, employment opportunities opened up only to those who could speak English. Understandably, the principal beneficiaries became the Hindus of the subcontinent who were eager to please the new masters; and the principal victims were the Muslims for whom learning English was tantamount to adopting the culture of the 'infidel enemy.'

The first victims of the British victory in the subcontinent were the Muslims of Bengal, ancestors of the Muslims of what is today Bangladesh who lost to the British much earlier in the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The following passages on the plight of the Muslims of Bengal, as narrated by Syed Tajammul Hussain, would be noteworthy: ¹²⁵

- The coming of the British as the rulers of the Indian subcontinent started to create a new value system and a culture to suit and serve their colonial interests. Unfortunately, they made their beginning here and in near about the land of Bangladesh having made their capital in the newly built city of Calcutta. Their initial onslaught was on education, when the 700 year-old Muslim education system was replaced almost overnight in 1833.
- Thus the educated Muslim gentry was made illiterate, almost overnight. Muslims were replaced from every profession with newly English educated local Hindu elites who being equipped with English education entered into different professions of fortune, prestige and dignity.
- One may recall the effects of change in educational system, introduction of the new land tenure system by the Permanent Settlement of 1793 and of more rigorous

125 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 79-81.

implementation of the so-called Sunset Law of 1841, which made the Muslim landlords landless almost overnight.¹²⁶

- Muslims turned poor and illiterate. In William Hunter's own vocabulary, "A hundred and seventy years ago, it was almost impossible for a well-born Mussalman in Bengal to become poor; at present, it is almost impossible for him to continue to be rich."¹²⁷

Then started the introspection. Muslim thinkers emerged to infuse confidence in the downtrodden Muslim masses, which included Syed Ahmed Shaheed and others in what is today Pakistan.¹²⁸ Muslim revivalist Sayyid Ahmed Khan emphasised the importance of modernity in their thought process, to keep up with the changing times.¹²⁹ In Bengal, Titu Mir, Haji Shariatullah and Dudu Mian tried to fight the Hindu domination.

The long process was conceptualized by the philosopher-poet, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, born in Sialkot not too far from what is today Islamabad, who dreamt of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. Eventually, the idea of Pakistan fructified in 1947 with the efforts of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the Father of the Nation of Pakistan, who was given the title, 'Quaid-e-Azam' by, according to some, Karamchand Gandhi, the Father of the Nation of India.

126 The text of the Permanent Settlement Regulation is included in the Annexures to this publication.

127 'The Indian Musalmans', William Wilson Hunter, Trübner and Company, UK. (1876)

128 'Historical Dictionary of Islam' by Ludwig W. Adamec, Scarecrow Press (2009).

129 Writeup titled, 'Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan' by S.M. Ikram, Director, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. (See Encyclopedia Britannica by accessing <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sayyid-Ahmad-Khan>). Site visited on 8 October 2020.

Here, it would also be relevant to focus on the plight of the Muslims of the subcontinent from 1857 to 1947, which convinced them, be it in Bengal, Punjab, Sindh or Kashmir, that it was essential to support the cause of Pakistan. The following views tabulated by analyst Khan Zia, need to be noted: ¹³⁰

- *In the years between 1858 and 1878, only 57 out of 3,100 graduates of Calcutta University, the premier institution for modern education in India, were Muslims. The faculty and staff in all of the universities in India, barring Aligarh and Usmania, remained mostly Hindu. Out of the 160 Fellows at Calcutta University in 1918, only seven were Muslims.¹³¹ The university Senate and Syndicate did not have even one Muslim member. Out of the 895 examiners, there were only nine Muslims. The situation was not much different at the Dacca University. In 1937, of the ninety students who received B.Sc. degrees only seventeen were Muslims. It was the same for the Masters programme which had eighteen Muslims out of a total of one hundred and eight.*

- *In the Punjab University out of a total of sixty-eight professors in 1933 only nine were Muslim.¹³² In 1945, it was sixteen out of a total of eighty-two. The Boards of Studies had a total of one hundred and two members in the twenty-one university departments in 1921. Only fourteen of these were Muslims and in 1932 their number was still only nineteen. In the first half century of the university's existence, not a single Muslim was appointed to the key Registrar's position.*

130 Article titled, 'Why Muslims Chose Not To Live With Hindus,' by Khan Zia. Visit <https://groups.google.com/forum>. (Site accessed on 21 May 2014.)

131 The University of Calcutta was established on 24 January 1857.

132 Punjab University was established on 14 October 1882.

- *In the Government College Lahore, regarded as the premier educational institution in Punjab, out of a total of 42 professors in 1928, only five were Muslims ---- three of them teaching Arabic and Persian and none in any of the science departments.*¹³³ *King Edward Medical College, Lahore, had a teaching staff of forty two professors and demonstrators in 1917. Only three of these were Muslims.*
- *In 1930, the exclusively Hindu schools in Punjab received three times greater grants from the provincial government than did the Muslim schools.*
- *There were a total of 957 judges and magistrates officiating in the Bengal courts in 1901 out of which only 98 were Muslims. In the five major railway companies, EBR, EIR, GIP, NWR and Burma Railways, that operated in India in 1933, out of a total of 1,048 gazetted officers there were only 45 Muslims. In the North Western Railways whose network was confined to Muslim dominated areas, of the 247 clerical staff the Muslims numbered 31 in 1927. In the Telegraph Department of the Government of India in 1910, there were a total of forty Divisional Officers. Not one of these was a Muslim.*
- *Hindus had almost exclusive control of the national press in British India and they used it with great effectiveness to formulate public perceptions and opinion and project these to the authorities and the world at large. Hindu vernacular press, in particular, persistently used such terms as 'ruffians', 'debauched', 'cruel', and maleech (unclean) to prefix the word 'Muslim' in their pages. The English press was hardly*

133 'A History of Government College, Lahore 1864-1964,' H. L. O. Garrett and Abdul Hamid; published in 1964 by Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Principal, Government College, Lahore.

any better and mostly tried to portray the Muslims as genetically backward, uncouth and given to extremism by nature.

- *The situation was much the same in films and theatre that were also almost exclusively under Hindu control. Many of the films and plays were based on historical characters and episodes. The roles of Muslim figures were falsified and presented in derogatory terms while those of the Hindus exaggerated and glorified.*
- *The printing and publishing industry was dominated by the Hindus making it difficult for Muslim writers to get their works published. Even copies of the Quran had to be printed in Hindu-owned press because there were so few Muslims in the business. In the circumstances, the vast majority of textbooks prescribed for schools and colleges were authored by Hindus. History, in particular, suffered badly as a consequence.*
- *All India Radio, although a government controlled institution, was also dominated by the Hindus and their bias was reflected in its transmissions. Urdu programmes were systematically excluded and Hindi compositions took their place. There were constant complaints from the Muslims with little effect because most of the administrative and technical staff happened to be Hindu. The Hindu press raised much hue and cry when a Muslim, Z.A. Bukhari was appointed its controller. In 1939, A.I.R's Bombay station invited Congress leaders Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru to give talks but when Bukhari, wanted to invite Jinnah on the occasion of Eid, he was turned down by the Bombay government on the plea that 'it would not have a helpful effect on the Hindus.'*
- *Perhaps, the most telling contrast in the situation of Hindus and the Muslims in India was in the economic*

field. The preferential treatment accorded to the Hindus under the British rule eventually led to their complete domination in commerce, banking and industry. Muslims had no national bank until Habib Bank was set up in the mid-forties. All sources of finance were more or less closed on them. They hardly owned any industrial units.

- *Any Muslim venturing into the rest of the commercial arena was denied credit and systematically squeezed out by the Hindus. In 1922, Hindu mill owners and wholesale dealers refused to supply cloth to Muslims who tried to set-up shops outside the Delhi Gate in Lahore.*
- *Any Muslim in need of cash, had to turn to a Hindu money-lender who charged high rates of interest. Most of the time, the borrower had little understanding of the terms of the loan. Before long, he found himself deprived of the property he had pledged.*
- *The end result was that virtually all of the wealth had accumulated in the hands of the Hindus. The extent of this domination became starkly evident at the time of Partition when all the Hindus and Sikhs had moved out of West Punjab. The cities appeared like ghost towns. In Lahore, for instance, all of the shops in Anarkali Bazaar and The Mall were closed down. The main roads were deserted and houses in the more affluent areas, empty.*
- *The railways ceased to operate and the road transport was reduced to a fraction of the original. It was the same with the Post and Telegraph and other service departments. All economic activity had been brought to a grinding halt. It took years to bring it to life again.*
- *Hindus regarded and treated the Muslims in social matters as 'Untouchables'. Even highly placed Hindu*

leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Madan Mohan Malavya refused to eat at Jinnah's house. At most official functions, the tables for Hindus were laid out separately to the rest. After any meeting with a non-Hindu, at the first opportunity, a devout Hindu cleaned himself by taking a ritual bath. Most Hindu shopkeepers would not hand over merchandise directly to a Muslim customer. It was placed at the end of a long wooden flat-board and dropped into his hands or a sack to avoid any contact with the maleech.

- *The differences were not simply confined to religion. Hindus wore dhotis¹³⁴ while the Muslims dressed in shalwars or pajamas. The head dress too was different and they tied their turbans differently, even the cuts of their coats and shirts were different. They lived apart in separate villages and in segregated mohallas and katras in towns and cities. Any Muslim straying into a Hindu locality was frowned upon for even his shadow was considered 'unclean' and a source of pollution. It was rare indeed for a Hindu to rent any property to a Muslim as its occupation by the latter rendered it bharisht and unusable afterwards without extensive ritual cleansing and renovation.*
- *The food Hindus ate was different from that of the Muslims. Hindus stayed in separate hotels where Muslims and Christians were not welcome. Similarly, there were separate hostels and cooking facilities for Hindu and non-Hindu students in schools and colleges. Food and water were served by separate vendors at the railway stations. Their social customs and traditions, indeed the entire approach to life, was different.*

134 Loin cloth.

To a casual observer, even today, the people of the subcontinent look more or less alike. His or her impressions are based on contacts with westernized elites, both Hindu and Muslim, who outwardly dress and act in ways that make them appear similar. Indians capitalize on this misperception to suggest that there was no real cause for Muslims to separate, and create Pakistan.

Pakistani apprehensions with regard to India, are not unnatural.

At the time of the Partition in 1947, India delayed Pakistan its due share of finances to run the new country. India created difficulties by stopping the flow of river waters to Pakistan. Pakistan had to face fatal threats from New Delhi when India attacked Pakistan in 1948, 1965 and in 1971.¹³⁵

The most unfortunate aspect of the problem in India-Pakistan relations is the ‘Hindu-Muslim rivalry’ which, the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, described as “something psychological.” On his part, Jinnah metaphorically commented that Pakistan was created in 712 AD when “the first Hindu” in the subcontinent converted to Islam. Interestingly, Jinnah’s own ancestors were Hindus who centuries ago had converted to Islam at the hands of Mujaddid Alif Saani.¹³⁶

Just to give one example.

When Pakistan loses one cricket match against India, “more than a billion” Indians cannot sleep because “they are so happy.” When Pakistan wins one cricket match against India, Indians cannot sleep “because they are so unhappy.”

Perhaps, political psychologists and political psychiatrists need to dissect the existing mindsets in South Asia.

¹³⁵ May also study ‘1965 War: The Inside Story’ R.D. Pradhan, 1st Edition (Kindle), 2017.

¹³⁶ ‘Tribute to Mujaddid Alf Sani’ The Nation, November 23, 2016.

To understand this complex issue, one must be conversant with religion and history.

Case in point being the ‘Battle of Tarain,’ fought near Delhi way back in 1192 AD. The Muslim ruler from today’s Afghanistan, Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghauri won the battle against the Hindu king, Prithvi Raj Chauhan. The valiant Prithvi Raj felt so humiliated at the defeat that he committed suicide “by burning himself to death.” Eight hundred years later, India conducted its missile tests in the 1980s, and named its missile ‘Prithvi.’ This provoked Pakistan to reciprocate; Islamabad named its missile ‘Ghauri.’

Much earlier, noted Muslim scholar from Persia (today’s Iran), Abu Rehan Al-Beruni (973 AD-1048 AD), expressed the view that the Hindus of Hindustan (today’s India) “are entirely different from the Muslims in every respect.” In his masterpiece ‘Kitabul Hind,’ he underscored, “We believe in nothing in which they believe,” highlighting that the Hindu mindset, culture and way of life, “is entirely different” from that of the Muslims of the subcontinent.¹³⁷

Offering a rare insight into the animosity between Pakistan and India, Joseph Korbel (father of former US Secretary State, Madeleine Albright) wrote in his book, ‘Danger in Kashmir’, “To India, the subcontinent is inescapably one nation. To Pakistan it is, just as inescapably, two.” Pandit Nehru (the first Prime Minister of India) believed “deeply and passionately in the national unity of all India. To him it was a natural consequence of the centuries of common history, of common achievements, common suffering, and the mutual influence of the varied cultures and customs of its diverse peoples.”

137 Also see write up ‘Al-Biruni: A Great Muslim Scientist, Philosopher and Historian,’ by Riaz Ahmad, by visiting pu.edu.pk. (Site accessed on 8 February 2015.)

On the other hand, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (the Founder of Pakistan) “had no patience with Nehru’s philosophy on the oneness of the Indian nation.” To Jinnah, the “Hindu-Muslim differences were of fundamental character, the cleavage too deep and sentiments too bitter for any lasting unity. What was to Nehru ‘unity in diversity’ was to Jinnah ‘conflicting idea’, and even more aggravating to him was the idea of political unity.”

To quote Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from his autobiography,¹³⁸ “One particular incident left a deep impression on my mind; in fact, I still remember it vividly. I had a friend called Noni Kumar Das. We used to study together and he lived close by. He used to spend the whole day with us and would secretly eat with us. One day, I went to his house. He took me to a room inside their house and made me sit there. He used to stay with his uncle. His aunt used to treat me affectionately. After I returned, Noni came to my house close to tears. I asked, ‘Noni, what is the matter?’ Noni said, ‘Don’t come to my house anymore. After you left, my aunt scolded me a lot for bringing you inside the house. She had the whole floor cleaned with water afterwards and forced me to wash everything.’ ‘All right (I told Noni). I won’t come to your house anymore but you can keep coming to my house.’ ”¹³⁹

Muhammad Ali Jinnah was not a bigot. He was “a devout Muslim in heart and thought.” Jinnah was a Western oriented barrister who studied in the UK.

During the early years of his political career, for almost twenty years, Jinnah advocated the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. In fact, he was called the ‘Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity.’ Unfortunately, he had bitter experiences. He became

138 Autobiography titled, ‘Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-The Unfinished Memoirs’ by The University Press Limited, Dhaka, published in 2012. Analysts in Bangladesh raise question marks on the authenticity of the book.

139 ‘Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-The Unfinished Memoirs’ by The University Press Limited, Dhaka, published in 2012; page 24.

disillusioned. He found that “Hindus were too inflexible; the Hindu mindset towards the Muslims too negative.”¹⁴⁰

Jinnah was constrained to focus on the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent, Pakistan, when he felt that the Muslim religion, culture, identity and basic rights, would be under existential threat at the hands of the Hindu majority, once the British left the subcontinent.¹⁴¹

Here, a reference also needs to be made to the British government’s ‘Cabinet Mission Plan’ of 1946. According to the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission, the subcontinent was to be categorized into three groupings ensuring that “India was not partitioned,” with the Central Government only to deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah accepted the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission Plan as in his view, there could be adequate safeguards available for the Muslims of the subcontinent.

It was Jawaharlal Nehru who rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan.¹⁴²

Thus, India was partitioned.

This is not all.

In a radio address on 3 June 1947, just before the Partition, Jawaharlal Nehru observed, “It may be that in this way we shall reach that united India sooner than otherwise.” In the same vein, the All India Congress Committee adopted a Resolution agreeing

140 ‘Jinnah; important aspects of personality,’ by Raheemuddin Sheikh, written at University of London, London, dated 11 September 1957.

141 May also study book titled, ‘Jinnah of Pakistan’ by Stanley Wolpert, Oxford University Press (2005). ISBN-13 : 978-0195678598.

142 Also study book ‘Gandhi on Nehru’ by Anand T. Hingorani, (1993). ISBN: 19938172640013

to the establishment of Pakistan, by stating, “The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and our hearts. The AICC earnestly trusts that when the present passions have subsided, India’s problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India, will be discredited and discarded by all.”¹⁴³

In his book, ‘India Wins Freedom’, Abul Kalam Azad,¹⁴⁴ the first Education Minister of India, disclosed that Sardar Patel (a close associate of Nehru) was “convinced that the new State of Pakistan was not viable and could not last.”¹⁴⁵ Patel perceived that the “acceptance of Pakistan would teach the Muslim League a bitter lesson. Pakistan would collapse in a short time.”¹⁴⁶ Subsequently, then President of the Congress Party, Acharya Kriplani, confessed, “Neither the Congress nor the nation has given up its claim of a united India.” President Ayub Khan writes in his book ‘Friends not Masters’ that Sardar Patel had confidently predicted, “Sooner than later, we shall again be united in common allegiance to our country.”¹⁴⁷

The partition of British India in 1947 was not peaceful. By various estimates, a million or more people got killed.

These are not the only brutalities that happened in the subcontinent. There are other systematic genocides of Muslims at the hands of the Hindus, that history and historians have forgotten.

143 ‘Historical Records’ Muzaffar Hashmi. (June 2008)

144 ‘India Wins Freedom’ Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Orient Blackswan (January 2009). ISBN-10 : 8125005145

145 Full text of “India Wins Freedom : An Autobiographical Narrative” (https://archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.114825/2015.114825.India-Wins-Freedom--An-Autobiographical-Narrative_djvu.txt). Site accessed on 22 October 2020.

146 ‘Friends Not Masters, a Political Autobiography’, Mohammad Ayub Khan, Oxford University Press, 1st Edition: January 1967). May also visit, www.amazon.com/India-Wins-Freedom. (Site accessed on 8 February 2015.)

147 RAND Corporation (www.rand.org). Site visited on 8 February 2015.

Thousands of Muslims were massacred in Bengal during the Calcutta riots of 1946, when ancestors of the people of what is today Bangladesh, died for the cause of Pakistan. Between 16-19 August of that year, around 10,000 died.¹⁴⁸

One of the most macabre slaughters of the Muslims in India took place when Jawaharlal Nehru was the Prime Minister of India.

In 1947, the Muslim Nawab of the State of Hyderabad indicated his intention to declare independence from India. Fearing the establishment of another Pakistan within the territory of India, Nehru ordered a massive military operation against Hyderabad. Cleverly dubbed as ‘Police Action,’ the military operation resulted in incalculable atrocities perpetrated by the Indian security forces on the Muslims of the state. William Dalrymple mentions that according to the estimates of the ‘Sunderlal Report’, “as many as 200,000 Muslims were slaughtered.”¹⁴⁹

Perhaps, nobody would ever know the exact number of the Muslims killed and Muslim women raped, during the military action in Hyderabad.

The situation in Kashmir, was far worse.

According to AG Noorani, in 1947, Hari Singh “presided over the ethnic cleansing, rather genocide, of his own subjects, the Muslims of Jammu. This gory episode is documented beyond doubt.”¹⁵⁰ Horace Alexander wrote in *Spectator* of 16 January 1948 that the killings had the tacit consent of State authority and put the figure at 200,000. In August 1948, *The Times* published a

148 ‘Case Study-The Calcutta Riots of 1946’ by Claude Marcovits; Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence (www.massviolence.org). Site accessed on 2 February 2015.

149 *The Age of Kali*, William Dalrymple, Penguin Books India (2004). ISBN 9780143031093. (May also visit <https://books.google.com>).

150 Article ‘Dogra Raj in Kashmir’ by AG Noorani in Indian magazine, *Frontline* dated 24 November 2017.

report by Special Correspondent, according to which “2,37,000 Muslims were systematically exterminated” by the forces of the Dogra State, “headed by the Maharaja in person and aided by Hindus and Sikhs.”¹⁵¹

In fact, history is replete with incidents of assaults, violence and calculated pogroms aimed at destroying the Muslim property, life and culture in India.¹⁵²

It is said that the first recorded communal violence in India occurred in 1714 in the city of Ahmedabad. This was followed by communal violence in Kashmir in 1719, Delhi 1729 and in Bombay in 1786. Riots were also reported in 1820 in Koil; in 1833 in Sanhbal, Kashipur and Moradabad; 1837 in Shahjahanpur and from 1837 to 1852 such incidents took place in Kanpur, Bareilly and Allahabad.¹⁵³

The Hindu-Muslim violence also took place in 1873 in Malabar, Ayodhya in 1912, Agra in 1913 and Kartarpur in 1918. All this was followed by riots in Multan in 1922, and in 1923, in Amritsar, Lahore and Saharanpur. Major violence also took place in Allahabad, Delhi, Nagpur, Lukhnow, Kohal and Jabalpur in 1924. Major riots occurred in 1961 and 1964 in a number of places in India including Rourkela, Jabalpur and Jamshedpur; and this was followed by pogroms in 1967 in Bihar and Ranchi, and in 1969 in Gujarat and Ahmedabad.

Violence against Muslims was also seen in Moradabad in 1980; Nellie, Nowgang in 1983; and Bombay in 1984. Reportedly, more than 2000 people got killed in 1990 during L.K. Advani's Rath Yatra. All this culminated in the death of thousands of Muslims following the destruction of the Babri mosque in December 1992.

151 The Times (London) dated 10 August 1948.

152 See among others, 'India must face up to Hindu terrorism,' by Kapil Komireddi in *The Guardian* by visiting www.theguardian.com. (Site accessed on 8 February 2015.)

153 'Historical Records' Muzaffar Hashmi dated June 2008.

Muslims living in Aligarh, Varanasi, Gurgaon and Mewat had to see the Hindu wrath in the early 1990s. Earlier during the time of Indira Gandhi, her son Sanjay Gandhi enforced sterilization campaign on the Muslims to decrease their population growth rate. This happened when the infamous Emergency was imposed in India. In the process, hundreds of families were attacked and numerous incidents of gang-rape of Muslim women took place, some of which were reported, others just went unnoticed.¹⁵⁴

In October 1995, the Hindu fundamentalist leader of India, Bal Thackeray dismissed the views expressed by organisations like Amnesty International, according to which Indian troops were committing human rights violations in Indian occupied Kashmir. He emphatically said, “Amnesty says our forces raped women in Kashmir. They did right. They should rape Kashmiri women.” He then asked, “What else should be meted out to them? Should we invite them to a five-course meal?”¹⁵⁵

Needless to emphasise the importance of the Muslim massacres in Gujarat in 2002. As Chief Minister of the Indian state of Gujarat, the present Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi, followed a calculated policy to decimate the Muslims. It was he who gave orders to the state machinery “not to move into action for three days” as he had given permission to the Hindu fundamentalists to play havoc with Muslim lives and honour. In the ensuing days, thousands were killed and raped.¹⁵⁶ Later in a television interview with Indian journalist Karan Thapar, Modi did not respond to the question, whether “he had any regrets” on the massacre. Modi just walked away from the live interview.

154 The Emergency imposed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi is sometimes described as ‘Mini- Martial Law in India.’

155 May also see ‘Hitler is Popular in India’ posted on 2 December 2015 by visiting <http://www.shiachat.com/forum/topic/235008762-hitler-is-popular-in-india/>. (Site accessed on 9 February 2015.)

156 The Jewish Journal (www.jewishjournal.com/). Site accessed on 8 February 2015.

The Government of India has the tendency to conceal statistical information relating to religious composition of its state employees. One can gather the religious identity of an individual through his name or from some other source. Yet even the authenticity of such sources is questionable.

By various accounts, on 1 January 1947 British India had, 980 ICS officers of which the Muslim component was 101. Shockingly, in January 1984, only around 2 per cent of the entire IAS cadre in India, was Muslim. Zafar Jung in a write up carried by *The Times of India* of 21 September 1993, opined that not even one per cent Muslims are employed in class IV jobs in the Central Secretariat of the Government of India in New Delhi.

According to the ‘Gopal Singh Committee Report on Minorities,’ out of 258 Central government employees in Andhra Pradesh, 27 were Muslims; of the 3135 employees in Assam, 255 were Muslims; of the 6617 in Bihar, 359 were Muslims; of the 897 employees in Haryana, 6 were Muslims; and of the total of the 4782 employees in West Bengal, only 136 were Muslims.¹⁵⁷

The data compiled by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) in 1987-88, revealed that 52.3 per cent of Muslims in India live below the poverty line. The system of absentee landownership in India was abolished in 1949. All this badly affected the landed aristocracy many of whom were Muslims. The condition of Muslims in the Indian industrial sector has been equally pathetic.

The statistics compiled by the Economic Intelligence Service of the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy, Bombay, in July 1981, indicated that of the prominent 2832 industrial units in India, only four were owned by Muslims.

In their 1973 write-up titled, ‘The Military Elites and Problems of National Integration in India and Pakistan’, analysts Daljit

¹⁵⁷ See January 1986 issue of the journal, ‘Muslim India.’

Singh and Katherine Singh opined that before 1947, Muslim presence in the Indian Army was as much as 34 per cent. Today, it is perhaps even less than 2 per cent.¹⁵⁸

In his 'Traditions and Customs of the Indian Armed Forces, Major General Chand N. Das referred to the battle cries used by the Indian Army. Slogans include 'Har Har Mahadev,' 'Bajrang Bali Ki Jai,' 'Bol Javala Man Ki Jai' etc.¹⁵⁹ Paradoxically, these are the cries used by the Hindu demonstrators when they attack Muslims in India. Similarly, the July 15, 1993 issue of 'India News' reported that the then Indian Army Chief, General Joshi, issued a commandment in 1993 which included quotes "only from the Hindu Vedas."

Paul Brass expressed the view that in 1964, the Muslim presence in the Uttar Pradesh Police cadre was only 7.6 per cent.¹⁶⁰ According to the publication, 'Muslim India,' the number remained the same in 1981. Omar Khalidi in his journal 'Indian Muslims since Independence' (published in 1995) wrote that in May 1993, it was reported that "there are 1120 Muslim police personnel in Delhi out of a total of 50,934, and in the neighbouring state of Haryana a mere 271 out of 28,718."

A reference to the 'Sachar Committee report' presented to the Indian Lok Sabha in November 2006, would be relevant. The report concluded that the status of the Indian Muslims was below that of the scheduled castes in the country. It expressed the view that the overall percentage of the Muslims in Indian bureaucracy was just 2.5 percent, when the Muslim population in India was 14 percent.¹⁶¹

158 Muslim analysts India generally agree with these figures.

159 Book 'Traditions and Customs of the Indian Armed Forces' by Chand N. Das, Vision Books Pvt. Ltd (1985). ISBN-10: 185127071X.

160 Paul Brass, 'Language, Religion and Politics in North India.' (1974)

161 Sachar Report carries much credibility among the intellectuals in India, both Hindu and Muslim.

Earlier, the Prime Minister of India, Deve Gowda candidly admitted that the Indian Muslims “have been neglected” during the fifty years of India’s independence. Addressing the valedictory session of the ‘Third International Educational Conference’ organized by the American Federation of Muslims from India, in Patna in December 1996, Gowda, underscored, “You have been cheated as vote banks, and political parties have exploited your goodness.”

According to Indian magazine ‘Outlook,’ Muslims in India are not employed in the Indian intelligence agency RAW (Research and Analysis Wing).¹⁶² Analysts in India also confess that Muslims have not been included in the VVIP security set up of the Prime Minister of India.

Indian newspaper Asian Age in December 1996, quoted the then working President of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Ashok Singhal as stating that “52,000 Muslims returned to Hinduism recently” in Ajmer district alone.¹⁶³ In a recent article published in December 2012, former Indian High Commissioner to the UK and well known journalist, Kuldip Nayar, opined, “Not only in Gujarat but all over the country, the Muslim community feels insecure and helpless. It has been seen that young Muslims have been picked up by the police on mere suspicion. Some have been set free and some still await justice. The law courts are responsible for their detention and the years they have spent in jail. Worse is that none has been held accountable....Even otherwise, Muslims have never been as demoralised after Partition as they are today. There is despondency and lack of hope...I am optimistic that the day is not far when Muslims would be able to rent a house in posh localities in big cities...”¹⁶⁴

162 See Cover Story of Indian magazine, ‘Outlook’ dated 13 November 2006.

163 The Asian Age of 8 December 1996.

164 Article titled, ‘No compromise on injustice’ by Kuldip Nayar published in the Bangladeshi newspaper ‘The Daily Star’ of 6 December 2012.

Kashmiri leader Sheikh Abdullah had differences with the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah on whether Kashmir should join India or Pakistan. At the same time, it is important to note that Sheikh Abdullah was a Muslim; he was not a Hindu. His son, Farooq Abdullah married a Christian lady. Today, Farooq Abdullah is also seen singing Hindu Bhajans on videos. Farooq Abdullah's son, Omar Abdullah has a Hindu wife. Their children and grandchildren, God knows, would remain Muslim or not. When Omar's grand-children have their children, Islam might have disappeared from the family of Sheikh Abdullah.

Indian Union Minister Dr. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, who at one time also served as Deputy Chairperson of Rajya Sabha (Senate), has been eulogizing Hindu gods and goddesses. On one occasion, she emphasised that Hindu gods include female goddesses such as 'Shyamala,' after whom Shimla was named in ancient India. Ironically, Neelam is the descendant of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the first Education Minister of India. Most importantly, Azad is the author of 'Tarjuman-ul-Quran.'¹⁶⁵

Salman Khurshid, former Minister for External Affairs of India has a Christian wife.¹⁶⁶ Salman is the maternal grandson of a devout Muslim, Dr. Zakir Hussain who served as President of India from 1967 to 1969.¹⁶⁷ Same is the case with Salman Haider, who is projected as the first Muslim Foreign Secretary of India. Ironically, Salman Haider's son Nadeem, is married to a Hindu journalist Sohasni Haider. Sohasni is the daughter of the Hindu fundamentalist leader, Subramanian Swamy who has very close connections with Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

165 The book is an elaborate commentary of the Quran. Maulana Azad was not able to complete it.

166 'VISIBLE MUSLIM, INVISIBLE CITIZEN: Understanding Islam in Indian Democracy', Salman Khurshid, Rupa Publications India, (Kindle Edition: July 2019).

167 Encyclopedia Britannica (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Zakir-Husain>). Zakir Hussain was the class teacher of the author's father Muzaffar Mehdi Hashmi when he was studying in Jamia Millia Dehli.

Needless to emphasise, Swamy is well known in Dhaka for his anti-Bangladesh statements.

A word on ‘Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh’ (RSS), would be relevant.¹⁶⁸ Established in September 1925 by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, this Hindu fascist organisation emphasizes the importance of ‘Hindu rashtara’ in India. RSS hates Muslims and Islam.

The ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India has been described as the political face of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. In fact, RSS is to BJP what SS (Schutzstaffel) was to the Nazi party in Germany. The difference being that SS under Himmler, was subordinate to the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDAP) under Hitler. In India, BJP draws inspiration, and takes instructions from RSS.

The RSS attained notoriety when one of its activists Nathuram Godse assassinated Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Father of the Nation of India, on 30 January 1948. Godse committed this act of terror to punish Gandhi for what he perceived as Gandhi’s “leanings” towards the Muslims. Consequently, RSS was banned by the government of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

Earlier during British rule, ban was placed on RSS because of its association with right-wing organisations in Europe, especially German Nazis. RSS was banned again when Emergency was imposed in India by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975-77; and later when Babri Masjid was demolished by Hindu fundamentalists in December 1992.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi who joined the organisation when he was eight years old, is an active member of RSS. So is

¹⁶⁸ May also see a detailed writeup on RSS by Ambassador Afrasiab in the Annexures to this book.

the case with most of his cabinet ministers, and close civil and military advisers.

While neo-Nazi websites in Europe declare Hitler as the “reincarnation” of Hindu God Vishnu, some in India especially RSS activists, have emblazoned Adolf Hitler as “India’s Swastika God.” Slogans of “Hail Shree Ram; Hail Hitler”, have been frequently raised at RSS gatherings.¹⁶⁹

Significantly, solid accusations of terror against RSS, have continued in India.

- Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956) is considered to be the architect of the Constitution of India. He was India’s first Law Minister. In a statement in January 2019, his grandson Prakash Ambedkar described RSS “a terrorist organisation.”¹⁷⁰
- In a statement in November 2018, CPI (M) leader Ramchandran Pillai equated RSS “with Taliban and the Khalistan terrorists.”¹⁷¹
- Senior Congress leader Digvijaya Singh said in June 2018, “All Hindu terrorists who have been caught, have association with RSS in some way or the other. This ideology is spreading hatred; hatred breeds violence, and from violence is bred terrorism.”¹⁷²
- The then Home Minister P. Chidambaram urged India to be aware of saffron terror in an August 2010 meeting of the State Police heads in New Delhi.¹⁷³

169 May also study ‘Hitler’s Hindus: The Rise and Rise of India’s Nazi-loving Nationalists,’ by Shrenik Rao. Published in Israeli newspaper, Haaretz of 14 December 2017.

170 ANI Report, 28 January 2019.

171 NDTV report, 21 November 2018.

172 Economic Times, 19 June 2018.

173 May also see Business Standard dated 2 April 2019.

- In his address to the Congress party in Jaipur on 20 January 2013, the then Home Minister Sushilkumar Shinde emphasised, “The BJP and RSS are promoting Hindu Terrorism through their training camps in India.” He added, “BJP and RSS are conducting training camps to spread terrorism.”¹⁷⁴ Supporting this view, Union Minister Mani Shankar Aiyar said, “I am hundred percent with Shinde on this. This is not a secret. I want to thank the Home Minister for saying what everyone knows, but does not have the courage to say.”¹⁷⁵

To look at Pakistan only from the perspective of Hindu-Muslim rivalry in the subcontinent, would be a fallacy.

In fact, the creation of Pakistan in 1947 was a development of monumental significance in modern world history. The creation of Israel, a year later in 1948, was another important development, which nobody should ignore. One state has connections with Allama Iqbal; the other is connected with Theodore Herzl. One has connections with Islam; the other has connections with Judaism.

The Debacle

1971 is a watershed in South Asia.

The year is as important as 1757 (Battle of Plassey), 1857 (War of Independence), and 1947, when the new states of Pakistan and India were born out of British India.

The following chronological account based on media reports, needs to be looked at:¹⁷⁶

174 The Hindu, 20 January 2013.

175 The ‘Encyclopaedia’ on Pakistan’s foreign relations, page xi, by Ambassador Afrasiab, published in Dhaka in 2013.

176 See ‘East Pakistan: the End Game’ by Abdul Rahman Siddiqi published by Oxford University Press, UK, in 2004. Detailed chronology is included in the Annexures to this publication.

1970

11 January

East Pakistani politician Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, speaking at a rally in Dhaka, asks President of Pakistan, Yahya Khan, not to grant autonomy to East Pakistan before the election.

1 July

One unit in West Pakistan is dissolved; the provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, North-West Frontier, and Balochistan restored.

2 August

Floods in East Pakistan cover 15,000 square miles, affecting 10 million people; President Yahya Khan flies to Dhaka, announces that elections will be postponed to 7 December.

23 November

East Pakistani leader Maulana Bhashani calls for an 'independent East Pakistan.'

7 December

General Elections are held in (united) Pakistan (East Pakistan and West Pakistan).

1971

3 January

At a public ceremony in Dhaka, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, administers oath of allegiance to his party MPs ensuring that they adhere to the Awami League's 'Six Points.'

14 January

After talks with Mujib in Dhaka, Yahya calls him the 'future Prime Minister of Pakistan'.

25 January

An Indian airlines aircraft is 'hijacked' to Lahore where, after letting the passengers leave, the culprits blow it up on 27 January. India uses the incident to ban over-flight of Pakistani

aircraft over Indian territory while flying between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. (The hijack incident is organised by Indian intelligence agency, RAW.)

15 February

President Yahya Khan announces that the National Assembly of Pakistan will meet in Dhaka on 3 March. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (who won majority of seats in West Pakistan only, and not in East Pakistan) says in Peshawar that he and the Pakistan People's Party would not attend the assembly session on the date announced by the President.

1 March

Yahya Khan postpones the National Assembly session *sine die*. Dhaka paralyzed by strikes; curfew imposed, police fire on mob, killing one.

3 March

Mujib rejects Yahya's invitation to an all-party conference to resolve constitutional problems.

6 March

Yahya meets Bhutto and announces that the national assembly will meet on 25 March; Bhutto agrees to attend; Lieutenant General Tikka Khan appointed Governor of East Pakistan.

7 March

At a rally in Dhaka, Mujib announces four conditions for attending the assembly session; immediate transfer of power; withdrawal of martial law; return of troops to the barracks; inquiry into the conduct of troops.

8 March

Mujib's non-cooperation movement in full swing; government offices closed down; no taxes to be paid.

14 March

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto says, 'power in East Pakistan should be transferred to the majority party there and in West Pakistan to majority party here'.

16 March

Yahya and Mujib meet in Dhaka for two and half hours.

21 March

Bhutto arrives in Dhaka with twelve of his party 'advisers'.

22 March

Dhaka Radio reports that 'President Yahya and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman have reached a compromise formula to end the country's political crisis'; National Assembly session again postponed.

23 March

Republic Day in Pakistan; Pakistan national flag hauled down from buildings in Dhaka, the new Bangladesh flag flies over hundreds of houses including schools, and many government offices. The Awami League calls it the 'Resistance Day' and Bhashani dubs it 'Independence Day'.

25 March

President Yahya Khan flies back to Karachi; Mujib arrested.

26 March

Yahya Khan, in a broadcast from Karachi, calls Mujib a traitor, and bans Mujib's political party, Awami League.

28 March

Indian parliament debates the civil war in Pakistan. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi says Indian sympathies for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman rise from the fact that he stands for 'values cherished by India-democracy, secularism, and socialism'.

31 March

Indian parliament passes a resolution calling on other governments to put pressure on Pakistan.

17 April

Bangladesh proclaimed at a ceremony at 'Mujibnagar.'

24 May

Sheikh Mujib's party associate, Tajuddin Ahmed, 'Prime Minister' of 'Bangladesh', says in Calcutta, 'We wanted to keep Pakistan together and I assure you there was no thought of secession until the army cracked down on us on 25 March'.

5 August

Yahya's White Paper on East Pakistan published.

9 August

Indo-Soviet Treaty of 'Friendship, Peace and Co-operation' signed in New Delhi.

11 August

Mujib put on trial in West Pakistan.

5 September

Yahya announces, 'general amnesty'.

12 October

Yahya Khan announces that the new Constitution drafted by experts would be published on 25 December.

19 October

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi rules out talks with Yahya Khan. 'What is there to discuss between India and Pakistan?' she asks.

29 October

Indira Gandhi arrives in London at the start of her world tour.

10 November

Three battalions of the Indian army, supported by tank and artillery, attack Belonia in Noakhali district of East Pakistan.

22 November

Indian troops cross into East Pakistan at several points along the international frontier. Pakistan declares a state of emergency.

Yahya calls Bhutto and other leaders for talks in Islamabad. General Niazi says in Dhaka that Indian troops had occupied 'three or four areas in East Pakistan'.

3 December

Pakistan Air Force strikes at Indian airfields. Indian and Pakistani land forces cross each other's borders in the Punjab, Rajasthan and Kashmir.

4 December

The Security Council meets to consider ceasefire. The US president says in Washington that 'India bears the major responsibility for the war with Pakistan'.

6 December

After three Russian vetoes had blocked a ceasefire resolution, the Security Council agrees to transfer the question to the General Assembly. India recognizes Bangladesh.

7 December

The UN General Assembly passes a ceasefire resolution by 104 votes to eleven with ten abstentions.

14 December

As Indian troops close in on Dhaka, Dr. A. M. Malik, governor of East Pakistan, and his cabinet resigns.

16 December

Surrender in Dhaka. Yahya says: 'we may lose a battle but final victory in the war of survival shall be ours...the armed forces will not cease their struggle until aggression is vacated and justice prevails'.

17 December

Yahya accepts ceasefire in the west.

20 December

Bhutto succeeds Yahya as president and chief martial law administrator.

21 December

Mujib moved out from prison to be put under house arrest.

1972

7 January

Mujib flies to London on his way to Dhaka. Yahya Khan put under house arrest.

Why did it happen in the first place!

The developments relating to the debacle of East Pakistan are complex and complicated. The tragedy involves ideology, geography, nation-states, individuals and destiny. In short, the story is not simple: there is no black and white, but grey.

In the words of Kamal Matinuddin, “It is an irony of fate that the very people who were in the vanguard of the Pakistan movement, whose area was the only Muslim majority province of undivided India which had a Muslim League ministry and whose illustrious son had not only moved but drafted the Lahore Resolution, fought a bitter struggle, years later, to destroy a country which they themselves had helped to build.”¹⁷⁷ Considerable research has been undertaken by many on factors that led to the tragedy.

Without going into details, the following needs to be looked at:

- Early demise of the Father of the Nation of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September 1948 just 13 months after the creation of Pakistan.
- Difficulties in establishing sound political institutions.
- Distance between the two parts of Pakistan with hostile India in between.

¹⁷⁷ Book titled, ‘Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971’ by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin; page 9.

- International conspiracy.
- Personal ambition of stalwarts in both East Pakistan and West Pakistan, and imprudent top military and civil leadership.

It is also opined in Dhaka today that the November 1970 ‘Bhola cyclone’ which killed around half a million East Pakistanis, played an important role in the alienation of the people of East Pakistan.

There is another side to the story as well. According to Rushbrook Williams,¹⁷⁸ “No foreign country, no correspondent of a foreign newspaper, criticized India’s handling of the results of such natural catastrophes as the successive floods and droughts which have brought tragedy to millions of her people; it was assumed, perfectly correctly, that her government were doing all that lay in their power to afford succor and relief.” In contrast, international criticism unjustly focused on Pakistan. “The important facts that meteorological warning was duly given – unfortunately, such warnings are necessarily so frequent in the cyclone areas that they are too often ignored – and that the armed forces worked day and night to bring relief, and can proudly claim that not a single life was lost through lack of food or medical supplies after the force of the cyclone was spent, were ignored both locally and by the outside world.”

Had there been a Prime Minister of India in 1971 other than Indira Gandhi, the conflict could have been averted. After all, Pakistan and India had improved relations when later Morarji Desai became the Prime Minister of India.¹⁷⁹

178 ‘The East Pakistan Tragedy’ by L F Rushbrook Williams, published by Drake Publishers Inc, New York, in 1972. (See second page of the Foreword.)

179 ‘Morarji Desai — Indian Prime Minister who won Pakistan’s highest civilian honour’, Simrin Sirur, The Print, 29 February 2020.

Pakistan wanted to avoid war. Islamabad made a number of proposals to New Delhi including the following:

- Pakistan proposed that a Committee constituted by the Security Council visit the areas of tension. India did not accept.
- Pakistan offered a mutual withdrawal of troops to agreed distances away from the borders to relieve tension. India refused.
- Pakistan accepted UN Secretary General U Thant's proposal of July 19, 1971, to station UN observers on the borders to assist in the repatriation of refugees. India refused.
- President Yahya Khan repeatedly offered to meet Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to discuss the East Pakistan situation. India did not agree.¹⁸⁰

After coming into power in January 2009, the Awami League Government started to honour Bangladeshis and outsiders for their "outstanding services and invaluable contributions" in the establishment of Bangladesh. In this regard, an award was posthumously given to Mrs. Indira Gandhi which was received by Mrs. Sonia Gandhi.

The long list of people honoured by the Awami League government included among others, Indian Lieutenant General JFR Jacob; British journalist Mark Tully; Swedish human rights activist Lars Leijonborg; and one Father Marino Rigon, from Italy. While going through the Bangladeshi newspaper, 'Daily Star' of 21 October 2012,¹⁸¹ my attention got focused on one gentleman, Thomas A Dine, who was also given the award for the services rendered in 1971. The relevant news item only

180 'The East Pakistan Tragedy', Rushbrook Williams, Drake Publishers Inc, New York, 1972. (See fourth page in the Foreword of the book).

181 'Foreign friends of 1971 who were honoured', Daily Star, 21 October 2012.

described him as “politician and a social worker” from the United States.

Tom Dine does not need any introduction. He is Jewish, who for almost ten long years, served as head of the Jewish pressure group in the United States, ‘American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). AIPAC is described as “the most feared lobbying group” in the US.¹⁸² This is not all. Tom Dine also served as Assistant to Chestor Bowles when the latter was serving as American Ambassador in New Delhi way back in the 1960s.

I just wondered how important a contribution Tom Dine might have made in the creation of Bangladesh; or in the dismemberment of the largest Muslim country in the world, Pakistan! A senior Bangladeshi journalist from Sylhet later confirmed to me that Tom Dine, in consultation with the Jewish General mentioned above J.F.R. Jacob, had devised “a comprehensive strategy to breakup Pakistan.” The plan included “a strong and active collaboration” between the intelligence agencies of India and Israel which “began in April 1969.”

A word on the general elections in Pakistan (East Pakistan and West Pakistan) held in December 1970.

Every Bangladeshi intellectual would agree with the view even though he may not say it in public, that the election was “fair and free.” It was “not rigged.” If Islamabad had any ill-intention towards the people of East Pakistan, the election could have been manipulated to ensure that those candidates who were against the unity of Pakistan, “do not win.” Ironically, according to Bangladeshi observers, “since that election in 1970, all general elections held in Bangladesh have been controversial.”¹⁸³

182 Also study ‘They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel’s Lobby’ Paul Findley, Lawrence Hill Books (2003). ISBN: 978-1556524820

183 This is a common view expressed by analysts in Bangladesh.

Bangladeshi Mindset

Before proceeding further, it would be important to try to understand the Bangladeshi mindset.¹⁸⁴

The psyche of a people is developed and conditioned by history, geography, climate, beliefs and some unique experiences. This is particularly true in respect of the people of Bangladesh.

According to a senior Pakistani military officer, Major General Hakeem Qureshi, “Bengalis are a cultured people. A love of fine arts is their hallmark.”¹⁸⁵ Pakistani Parliamentarian, Muzaffar Hashmi opines, “Bengalis are a good, thinking people; they are politically alert and sensitive. They established Muslim League which later created Pakistan.”¹⁸⁶

In a discussion in Islamabad in late 1960s, Makhdoom Sajjad Hussain Qureshi, who later became Governor of the Punjab (province of Pakistan), remarked, “Bengalis are sensitive Pakistanis.” On the occasion, Ghulam Mustapha Jatoi, who later became Chief Minister Sindh, expressed the view, “Bengalis are not arrogant, they are a friendly people who struggled for Pakistan.”¹⁸⁷ In the same vein, Nawab Sadiq Hussain Qureshi, who subsequently served as Chief Minister of Punjab, joined in to say, “Bengalis are humble, they like simplicity. This is what Islam is all about.”¹⁸⁸

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman writes in his autobiography, “We Bengali Muslims have two sides. One is our belief that we are

184 Also study ‘Ethnic Groups of South Asia and the Pacific: An Encyclopedia:’ by James Minahan, published by ABC-CLIO (2012). ISBN 9781598846607

185 ‘The 1971 Indo-Pak War: a Soldier’s Narrative,’ Major General Hakeem Arshad Qureshi, page 104, Oxford University Press, Pakistan. (2003)

186 Discussions with Muzaffar Hashmi on various occasions.

187 Jatoi also later served as the Interim Prime Minister of Pakistan.

188 The informal discussion took place at the MNA’s Hostel in Islamabad in August 1968.

Muslims and the other that we are Bengalis. Instances of envy and treachery can be often found in our history. Surely no other language in the world has the equivalent of the Bengali word for envy. Translated literally, the word would mean ‘mortified at another’s good fortune’. You will find word such as envy and malice in all languages and these are qualities people all over the world have but only Bengalis are stricken by grief at another’s prosperity. They are never happy to see their brothers do well.”¹⁸⁹

Bangladeshis have a tremendous capacity to resist and assert.

According to a former Indian diplomat, “inferiority complex, coupled with pride, is an important ingredient of the Bangladeshi psyche. In 9th century AD, ‘Hindu Brahmins’ of Bengal considered ancestors of the people of what is today Bangladesh, their ‘Hindu shooders’ (low caste Hindus.) If by mistake, a Bengali shooder overheard the recitations of the Hindu holy book, Geeta, hot water was poured into his ears, so that he could not hear the holy verses ever again.”¹⁹⁰ A Russian intellectual who knows Bengal well, opined “the Muslims of Bengal were prosperous... Then, started the downfall. They were severely repressed by Hindus with all out support of the British, and repression by nature in terms of floods, has been there as well.” In his view, “lust for money and disloyalty run deep in the blood of many in Bengal, both East Bengal and West Bengal, which accounts for the colossal instances of treachery in their history.”¹⁹¹

Nobody would disagree with the view that people of Bangladesh are politically alert and sensitive.

189 ‘Sheikh Mujibur Rahman- The Unfinished Memoirs’, pages 51-52, University Press Limited, Dhaka. (2012)

190 Discussion on 1971 in Defense Colony in New Delhi in September 1994.

191 Discussion after the nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in 1998, on the sidelines of an international event in Vienna International Centre, in the Austrian capital in December 1988.

Former Minister for External Affairs of India Natwar Singh, writes in his autobiography published in 2014, “I left Delhi on 2 April 1971 for Warsaw to assume charge as Ambassador of India...” Later, the “Pakistani Ambassador to Poland, a Bengali, asked to see me.” The meeting was held. A few days later, there was “a dramatic sequel.” The Ambassador “met me late at night at my residence. Without wasting any time, he said, ‘Here is the cipher code which Pakistani Ambassadors use.’ I was flabbergasted.” For an Ambassador, the cipher code “is of the highest importance,” as it is “the key for conveying top secret information” to the Ministry (headquarters). “Only two people in an Embassy are privy to this code; the Head of Mission and the Cipher Assistant. I personally took the Pakistani cipher code to Delhi and handed it over to the RAW Chief, Rameshwar Nath Kao.”¹⁹²

Islam has been strong in Bangladesh. Islamic ethos made the Muslims of Bengal stay in the forefront of the Pakistan movement. Bangladesh has mosques and shrines of the *sufia*. Every other person in Bangladesh has ‘Islam’ as one of his names.

In the view of an Arab scholar, “Islam that is in Bangladesh, is more of ritualistic nature.” At the same time, it would be important to note that in Noakhali area, located between Dhaka and Chittagong, almost every family has made at least one of their children, a Hafiz of the Quran.

Looking at 1971, today

While returning to the subject of excesses in 1971, it would be clear from the quotes reproduced earlier, that there is a wide divergence of views in Bangladesh.

192 ‘One Life is Not Enough- an Autobiography’ by K. Natwar Singh, published by Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, in 2014; pages 152-153.

To a question on 1971 killings and rapes if asked by a foreigner, common man in Bangladesh could be careful in his response. Most probably, his answer would be in accordance with his mindset. The following need to be noted:

- Awami League ideologues and the party's die-hard supporters would fully subscribe to the view that 3 million Bengalis were killed and 200,000 Bengali women were raped by the Pakistan army in 1971. To them, these figures are sacrosanct, never ever to be doubted or questioned, as they were given out by the Father of the Nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Awami Leaguers would even underscore that questioning these figures amounts to questioning the very basis of the creation of Bangladesh.
- The Awami League statistics have, by and large, influenced the mind of a very large number of Bangladeshis.
- Those not carrying the Awami League mindset, would have altogether a different opinion on 1971. According to some Bangladeshis, "200,000 to 400,000" Bengalis were killed while others would say that at the maximum, Pakistan army killed around 30,000 to 50,000 Bengalis in 1971. Interestingly, the figures seldom go beyond 400,000 and come down to less than 26,000.
- Many people in Bangladesh would even term the high figures of '3 million and 200,000' as the ones "manufactured by the Awami League not just in consultation with India, but under specific instructions of New Delhi."
- Generally, a number of serious-minded people in Bangladesh, tend to agree with the figures given by the Indian writer Sarmila Bose. As mentioned earlier,

according to her, “50,000–100,000 people” perished in the conflict in East Pakistan/Bangladesh in 1971, including “combatants and non-combatants, Bengalis and non-Bengalis, Hindus and Muslims, Indians and Pakistanis.”¹⁹³

- While specifically focusing on the issue of rapes, a few Bangladeshi women would opine that the figure of 200,000 is a good rhetoric. According to them, a thousand or so women, at the maximum, were dishonoured in 1971, and perpetrators of the heinous crime, included “the Mukti Bahini, Pakistan Army, Indian Army and the common miscreants.” They would hasten to add that the victims were “certainly not just Bengalis,” but also “Biharis, West Pakistanis, Hindus and Muslims.”
- On a number of occasions, Bangladeshis would even stress that “Indian RAW agents, dressed up as soldiers of the Pakistan army, indulged in mass killings and rapes of Bengali women, to discredit Pakistan.”

All those Bangladeshis who disagree with the view that 3 million Bengalis were killed and 200,000 women raped by the Pakistan Army in 1971, would never express their opinion in public. They fear reprisals.

Another point which is not really mentioned, relates to the ‘war babies’ of 1971. According to a view expressed by some Bengali nationalists in Dhaka, if 200,000 Bengali women were raped by the Pakistan army, as is alleged, “then, at least 10,000 war babies, should have been there. The question is, where have those war children, who would have been now in their forties, gone? Since the colour, physique and features of Pakistanis are different from those of Bengalis, it would not have been difficult to identify them in Bangladesh.”

193 ‘Dead Reckoning: Memories of the 1971 Bangladesh War’, Sarmila Bose, page 181, Oxford University Press, London. (2011)

The first Canadian High Commissioner to Bangladesh (appointed in 1972), James Bartleman, has opined that the Bangladeshi government greatly exaggerated the number of war babies. His perspective on the alleged rapes is reproduced as under, from his Memoirs published in Toronto in 2005:¹⁹⁴

Quote

The Bangladeshi Ministry of Information, in a propaganda effort to encourage the flow of more aid money to Bangladesh, claimed that more than 200,000 women were pregnant as a result of the rapes (committed by the Pakistan Army in 1971)... Without seeking confirmation about the scale of the problem as depicted in the media, Canadian Cabinet authorized the dispatch of special flight of a Canadian (armed) forces 707 to Dhaka to pick up a planeload of infants for adoption in Canada. The (Ministry of) Foreign Affairs (in Ottawa) sent instructions telling me to select at least 300 of these infants...A Canadian team of paediatricians, nurses and a lawyer, also arrived in Dhaka. Eventually, we found 15 babies and children including abandoned street waifs, and departed with them on a regular Air India flight for Canada via Calcutta.

Unquote

It would be pertinent to also mention the views of foreign diplomats based in Bangladesh. There is a strong realization of the sensitivity of the issue. While no foreign representative would, in private, agree with the accuracy of the statistics propagated by the Awami League, the general view has been that “Bangladesh needs to be rational and pragmatic.” Dhaka needs to “look ahead not backwards.” Dhaka must not remain “stuck in 1971” which is now history.

194 ‘ON SIX CONTINENTS—A Life in Canada’s Foreign Service’, Ambassador James K. Bartleman, pages 62-64, Douglas Gibson Books, (September 2005). ISBN: 9780771010910

Giving an example, a visiting American intellectual commented at a diplomatic reception in Dhaka, “We fought with England. Many many were killed on both sides. Today, UK and the US are the best of friends. Our national anthem has stanzas against England. In deference to British sensitivities, we do not read them out.”

On its part, the Government of Pakistan has not emphasised that excesses did not take place in 1971. Pakistan by no means has defended the policies and actions of the past regimes.

Guided by its policy of reconciliation with Bangladesh, the Government of Pakistan avoided argument over the dimensions of the 1971 tragedy. On February 29, 1973, Pakistan issued a statement denying the false and exaggerated claims of killings and destruction. It underlined:

- For more than a year, the Government of Pakistan has remained silent in the face of the exaggerated propaganda about the loss of life and property caused by the events of 1971.
- Whatever the numbers of those who perished and whether they were Bengalees, Biharis or West Pakistanis, the fratricidal strife was an indescribable tragedy.
- The loss of life and property during 1971 is deeply regretted, lamented and mourned by everyone.

According to the noted historian, Muzaffar Hashmi, “the killings of so many by all sides, was so tragic, so sad a chapter....The question is, has Bangladesh ever admitted that it committed excesses against West Pakistanis, Biharis and the pro-Pakistan Bengalis of East Pakistan, in 1971?”¹⁹⁵

195 While talking to the Lecturers and students of Government College, Muzaffargarh, on 29 January 2009.

Many Bangladeshis would mention in private that after attending the Islamic Summit meeting in Lahore in 1974, even Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had a change of heart. He toned down the rhetoric on 1971 against Pakistan.

It would not be irrelevant to quote the words of JN Dixit, the first Head of the Mission of the Indian Embassy in Dhaka, after 16 December 1971. In his book, 'Liberation and Beyond – Indo-Bangladesh Relations,' Dixit who later became India's Foreign Secretary and National Security Advisor, refers to the first visit to Bangladesh by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1974, as under: ¹⁹⁶

Quote

Bhutto arrived in Dhaka in July 1974. I drove to the airport through dense crowds lining both sides of the streets all the way from the Tejgaon airport to "Banga Bhavan" resounding with slogans like "Bangladesh-Pakistani maitri (friendship) Zindabad" and "Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Zindabad." This was a far cry from the massive anti-Bhutto demonstrations held in Dhaka in the second fortnight of March 1971.

All heads of the diplomatic missions were lined up at the tarmac. Bhutto descended from the special (Pakistan) air force aircraft in the uniform of the supreme leader of the People's Party of Pakistan. I was introduced when he reached me in the reception line. Shaking me by the hand, he turned to Mujibur Rahman and said: "So, he represents the country which re-arranged the map of the subcontinent in 1971." Then, addressing me, he said: "Maybe he (would) help us a second time in re-arranging the map by resolving the Kashmir problem which has been pending for such a long time."

¹⁹⁶ 'Liberation and Beyond – Indo-Bangladesh Relations,' by J. N. Dixit, pages 189-190, published in 1999 by Konark Publishers Pvt Ltd, Delhi.

...It was the journey back from the airport which was a politically and emotionally disturbing experience for me. As the motorcade moved out, the frenzied enthusiasm of the mass of the people lining the route reached a high pitch, with slogans and shouting in favour of Bhutto and Pakistan. The new and striking features of this show were the many slogans very critical of the Awami League and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. I was told later that people threw garlands of shoes at Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's car on his journey back to the President's House.

My flag car was vandalized and the Indian flag tampered with by the crowds as it slowed down near the road-crossing at the Inter-Continental Hotel. Abusive slogans were shouted against the Indian High Commission and the Government of India. I have to confess that I had tears of anger in my eyes when I returned to my office, and sat down to draft my telegram reporting on the arrival ceremonies and attendant political events.

Unquote

The question is, if Pakistan and its army were as 'monstrous' as is alleged in Bangladesh today, then why was the Prime Minister of Pakistan given such a tumultuous welcome in Dhaka in 1974, just a little more than two years after the creation of Bangladesh? Why did the people of Bangladesh garland the official car of their Father of the Nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, with shoes?

If the common man in Bangladesh considered India a benefactor of Bangladesh, then why was the Indian Ambassador's official car garlanded with shoes? If Pakistan has been such a hated country in Bangladesh, why is it that so many Bangladeshis came to the airport to welcome Zulfikar Ali Bhutto? They should have raised full-throated slogans against Bhutto, rather shouting 'Bhutto Zindabad (Long live Bhutto).'

A view is also expressed by some former Bangladeshi Ambassadors that during the above visit, Bhutto actually

wanted to address the mammoth gathering at the Dhaka airport in which he intended “to refer to the issue of apology in respect of 1971.” Sensing that if Bhutto actually did “say something to this effect,” Bangladeshi crowd might “raise slogans in favour of reunification with Pakistan,” Mujib “whisked Bhutto away” from the airport straight to the hotel.

Correct date of the Indian attack on East Pakistan

Indian and Bangladeshi analysts keep asserting that New Delhi was forced to react militarily when Pakistan launched a pre-emptive air-strike on Indian air-bases on 3 December in 1971 from West Pakistan. They congratulate each other on the “signal victory” against Pakistan in a short war which according to them, lasted “just 13 days.”

Contrary to the above view, India had actually launched a full-scale attack on East Pakistan earlier, on 21 November, and not on 3 December (1971). Sisson and Rose have expressed the view that India had started assisting the Bengali rebels since April 1971, adding, “...mid-October to 20 November...Indian artillery was used much more extensively” against the Pakistan Army. They opine, “After the night of 21 November...Indian forces did not withdraw. From 21 to 25 November, several Indian army divisions launched simultaneous military actions on all key border regions of East Pakistan, and from all directions, with both armored and air support.”¹⁹⁷

Interestingly, every year, the Government of Bangladesh observes the Armed Forces Day on 21 November. At the function, presided over by their Prime Minister, in Dhaka, it is stressed that on this day in 1971, a “coordinated attack” was launched against Pakistan army by all the three wings of the Bangladesh

197 ‘War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh’, Richard Sisson, Leo E. Rose, page 213, University of California Press (1990).

armed forces (Army, Navy and Air force). Without taking the name of India, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh also conveys her appreciation to “friendly countries” for their assistance in the “Liberation War.”

Controversy created in Bangladesh on the Pakistan Resolution (1940)

Some ideologues in Bangladesh stress that “Jinnah tinkered” with the language of the Pakistan Resolution adopted in March 1940 which had the word ‘states,’ by later removing the letter ‘s’ to make it ‘state’ at a subsequent meeting of the Muslim League.

It may be recalled that in the session of the Muslim League in Lahore on 23 March 1940, the Pakistan Resolution was moved by (a Bengali) AK Fazlul Huq, the then Chief Minister of Bengal. The Resolution was unanimously adopted on 24 March 1940, as under:

“Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz; that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the north-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute ‘Independent States’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.”

The Resolution did not use the word “Pakistan” but merely spoke of “areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority” being grouped to constitute ‘Independent States,’ but in April 1946 at the Convention of Muslim League legislators in Delhi, the above Resolution was modified as follows:

“That the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, north-west frontier province, Sindh,

Baluchistan in the north-west of India, namely, Pakistan zones where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a sovereign independent state and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay.”

Significantly, the Muslim League legislators from Bengal fully supported this amendment. Not a single legislator from Bengal expressed any reservations whatsoever, at the modification in the language. Henceforth, Pakistan became the demand of the Muslims of India, including the Muslims of Bengal.¹⁹⁸

Language issue

It is said that the seeds of alienation were sown in East Pakistan when authorities in West Pakistan did not accept the demand to make Bengali the national language of Pakistan. In this regard, the March 1948 visit of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah to Dhaka is frequently cited during which he stressed that ‘Urdu only’ will be the national language of Pakistan.

The general impression in Dhaka has been that while Bengali was spoken in East Pakistan, Urdu was the language of the people of West Pakistan; and that West Pakistanis tried to impose their language on East Pakistan.

This is incorrect.

As mentioned earlier, (West) Pakistan has comprised Balochistan, Sindh, Bengal, Punjab and NWFP (later name changed to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). Each province of Pakistan has a different language: Punjabi is spoken in Punjab, Balochi in Balochistan, Sindhi in Sindh, and in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa

¹⁹⁸ The Report of the Hamoodur Rehman Commission of Inquiry into the 1971 War; published by Vanguard Books (Pvt) Ltd; Lahore; page 24.

the language is Pashto. The language of each province is very different from the language of the other provinces of Pakistan.

Urdu has been civilizationally the language of the Muslims of the subcontinent. By and large, Urdu was understood by the people of both wings of the country (East and West Pakistan). Moreover, Urdu is the language which is close to Arabic, the language of the Quran thus more akin to the identity of the new Muslim country, Pakistan.

Had Quaid-e-Azam agreed to the demand on Bengali language, the newly created Pakistan would have run into serious problems. Centrifugal elements in Sindh, Balochistan, Punjab and the NWFP, would have demanded the same status for their provincial languages. Some in Bangladesh today have even been misled by the impression that “Muhammad Ali Jinnah spoke Urdu,” without realizing that his mother tongue was Gujarati.

It was Dhirendranath Datta, a Parliamentarian from East Pakistan (who happened to be a Hindu), who raised the issue of Bangla language for the first time in the Constituent Assembly session in Karachi on 23 February 1948. Datta had opposed the very creation of Pakistan just five months back, in 1947. Along with Rabindranath Tagore and Surendranath Banerjee, Datta had also bitterly opposed the Partition of Bengal in 1905 which had taken place at the overwhelming demand of the Muslims of Bengal.

Interestingly, when the language controversy took a serious turn in East Pakistan in early 1952, it was a Bengali Prime Minister of (united) Pakistan from East Pakistan, who opposed the demand to make Bengali the national language of Pakistan.¹⁹⁹ At the

199 Note the writeup ‘International Mother Language Day 2015’ by the Bangladeshi Students Association at University of Alberta (<https://sites.ualberta.ca/~bsaua/ekushey2015.html>). May also consult writeup on Language Movement in the National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh.

Dhaka session of the Muslim League on 27 January 1952, Prime Minister Khawaja Nazimuddin had asserted that the people of East Pakistan could decide what would be their provincial language, but “only Urdu will be the national language of Pakistan.” He even went on to suggest that Bangla language be “written in Arabic script.”²⁰⁰

This re-assertion of the importance of Urdu was made by Prime Minister Nazimuddin in the presence of a number of Bengali politicians including (Bengali) Chief Minister Nurul Amin. No speaker on the podium, opposed the view expressed by Nazimuddin who had earlier served as Governor General of Pakistan after the demise of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September 1948.²⁰¹

In any case, the language issue was resolved when the Constitution was adopted by Pakistan in 1956 even though the whole process came to a standstill by the imposition of martial law in the country in 1958.²⁰²

The issue of exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan

Intellectuals in Bangladesh have been asserting that Bengal was ruled by Mughals, British “and by Pakistan.” What is not mentioned in Bangladesh today at all, is that during the short period of 24 years when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan, a number of persons from East Pakistan had occupied the topmost positions in the united Pakistan. For instance, Khawaja Nazimuddin was appointed Governor General of Pakistan in

200 Writeup ‘Pakistan’s new Governor-General Khwaja Nazimuddin maintains Urdu stance,’ 1952 BHASHA ANDOLON.

201 <http://www.londoni.co/index.php/24-history-of-bangladesh/1952-bhasha-andolon/211-bhasha-andolon-bangladesh-language-movement-1948-1952-khwaja-nazimuddin-maintains-urdu-stance-history-of-bangladesh>.

202 See salient features of the ‘1956 Constitution of Pakistan’ by visiting <https://historypak.com/constitution-of-1956/>. (Site accessed on 2 October 2020.)

1948, and later he served as Prime Minister. Mohammed Ali Bogra became the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1953. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy took over as Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1956. (Iskandar Mirza, who became the President of Pakistan in 1956, was from West Bengal.) Similarly, Nurul Amin was appointed the Prime Minister in 1971. Later, he also served as the Vice President of Pakistan.

It is true that the above persons stayed in power for a short time. But did others in the 1950s, who were from West Pakistan, stay in power for a long time, such as Chaudhry Muhammad Ali and Malik Feroze Khan Noon? The answer is no. Noon stayed as Prime Minister of Pakistan for less than a year (16 December 1957 to 7 October 1958); and Muhammad Ali, remained the Prime Minister of Pakistan for a period of 13 months only (12 August 1955 to 12 September 1956). In the same vein, another West Pakistani, Ismail Ibrahim Chundrigar served as Prime Minister of Pakistan for just two months (17 October 1957 to 16 December 1957.)

In fact, Pakistan had to face a difficult time in terms of political stability after the passing away of the Quaid-e-Azam just a year after the creation of Pakistan, and later the assassination of Prime Minister Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951.

Yes, President Ayub Khan who ruled Pakistan from 1958 to 1969 was from West Pakistan; but, he was a military man. He was neither the elected representative of the people of West Pakistan, nor was he the elected representative of the people of East Pakistan.

It is alleged that Islamabad did not provide equal job opportunities to the people of East Pakistan. As mentioned earlier, there was just one Muslim Bengali civil servant from British India in East Pakistan in August 1947, Nurunnabi Chowdhury. Similarly, the number of Bengali Muslims serving in the armed forces of British India, was negligible. According to some, there were a

little more than 10 officers from Bengal serving in various ranks in the Royal Indian army, navy and the air force in 1947.

However, when East Pakistan became Bangladesh in 1971, there were thousands of East Pakistanis working in different ranks in every department of the civil service and in all the three services of the armed forces of Pakistan. All of them had been recruited and trained by their own country, Pakistan. Even there were scientists from East Pakistan doing research in the field of nuclear energy along with their counterparts from West Pakistan; and many occupied important positions in the intelligence agencies of their Pakistan.

In fact, East Pakistan got more than its due share in employment and allocation of funds for various sectors during the Pakistan time, as compared to (southern) Punjab, Balochistan and (interior) Sindh in the then West Pakistan.²⁰³ Unfortunately, the major development works in the then East Pakistan undertaken during the Pakistan time, are also never mentioned in Bangladesh today. All references on this count have been removed from history books.

Lest all is forgotten, the Mongla port, which is the second largest port in Bangladesh after Chittagong, was constructed during the Pakistan time. Same is the case with the major irrigation project in East Pakistan, Kaptai dam which was completed in 1962. Dhaka has an impressive Parliament building, a project which was initiated during the time of Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan. East Pakistan had Steel Mills in Chittagong when West Pakistan did not have any such enterprise. The main Railway Station building in Dhaka having a unique architecture of its time, was constructed during the Pakistan time.²⁰⁴

203 The total area of Pakistan's province of Balochistan is larger than the total area of former West Germany.

204 May also see the photographs in the relevant portion of this book.

Importantly, the Adamjee Jute Mills was set up in Narayanganj in the then East Pakistan in 1951, by an entrepreneur from Karachi, Abdul Wahid Adamjee. With the passage of time, the enterprise became the largest jute mill in the world, employing more than 26,000 workers. To house the labour force, a massive housing complex was set up which came to be known as ‘Adamjee Nagar.’ The products of the mill were exported to more than 50 countries.²⁰⁵

Same is the case with education.

The Quaid-e-Azam College was set up in Dhaka in 1949. The premier institution attained excellent reputation. Later, wife of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Malik Feroze Khan Noon, set up the ‘Begum Viqarunnisa Noon School and College.’²⁰⁶

Ayub Khan set up a number of Cadet Colleges in East Pakistan along the lines of Bismarck’s Germany and Napoleon’s France. The Faujdarhat Cadet College, Chittagong was the first such institution established in East Pakistan on 28 April 1958. Another Cadet College was set up in Jhenaidah in October 1963. This was followed by Cadet Colleges in Rajshahi and Tangail. By 1971, East Pakistan had four Cadet Colleges.

Today’s diplomatic enclave in Dhaka was developed during the Pakistan time. Even the Pakistan Television started its transmissions from Dhaka in 1964, and later from Karachi. Moreover, the largest mosque in Dhaka today, Baitul-Mukarram, was constructed during the Pakistan time by industrialists from Karachi.

205 The Adamjees (adamjees.net/Jute-Mills.aspx.) Site accessed on 19 May 2014.

206 Malik Feroze Khan Noon was from Sargodha in West Pakistan.

All this needs to be looked at in the context of the fact that at the time of the Partition in 1947, the less developed areas of British India came to the share of the new state of Pakistan. While West Pakistan was a little better, the territory that became East Pakistan constituted the least developed areas of the subcontinent. This held true in respect of every field, be it infrastructure, industry, education, health and employment opportunities.

Did Pakistan really consider East Pakistan as its colony?

The decades of 1950s and 1960s witnessed the power of civil-military bureaucracy in the then united Pakistan. Yes, the attitude of the bureaucracy which consisted of officers from both West Pakistan and East Pakistan, was arrogant towards the people of East Pakistan. But, the question is, was the attitude of that very bureaucracy towards the people of West Pakistan, any better!

A Deputy Commissioner of that time proudly called himself a CSP, and in the absence of democratic institutions of checks and balances, considered himself ‘jack of all trades.’ When posted in a district, in East Pakistan or West Pakistan, his behavior was taken by many as assertive.²⁰⁷

The last Chief Secretary of East Pakistan was Shafi-ul-Azam, a Bengali CSP officer from East Pakistan. He belonged to the 1949 batch of the civil service. He continued to hold the pivotal post of the senior most civil servant of the province till August 1971. Later, he proceeded to Islamabad where he was posted as Secretary, Communications in the Government of Pakistan.

Interestingly, this old CSP class of the united Pakistan days, is held in high esteem in Bangladesh today. They are remembered for their impartiality and competence.

207 CSP are the initials for the Civil Service of Pakistan.

A view on why power was not handed over to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman?

A question which has been generally asked with “all sincerity and earnestness” is, why Islamabad did not hand over power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, when he had won the majority of the seats in the general elections in united Pakistan in 1970? It is certainly a very relevant question.

In an important interview given by the sitting Deputy Speaker of the Bangladesh Parliament, Colonel (Retd) Shawkat Ali, openly admitted his and Sheikh Mujib’s involvement in the break-up of Pakistan. In an interview with the Bangladeshi magazine, ‘Dhakacourier’ (issue 10 February 2012), Ali stated:

- I joined the (Pakistan) army in 1958. In the 1960s, army personnel from the then East Pakistan banded together and decided on a plan to attack and take over all cantonments in East Pakistan on a given date, in an attempt to stage a coup.
- It was also decided that under the leadership of Sheikh Mujib, who wasn’t yet “Bangabandhu” — he was Mujib bhai to us; we would declare the independence of East Pakistan from Pakistan. I got involved with the plan in 1966 when I was stationed at the Comilla cantonment as a captain in the (Pakistan) army. In the plan, I was in charge of the takeover of the Comilla cantonment. Sadly, the plans were leaked before they could be executed. And that is how the historic Agartala Case came to be.
- The name “Agartala Conspiracy Case” is a misnomer. The actual name of the case filed against us was State vs Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and others. The name of Agartala became associated with the case due to a small incident. A two-member delegation from our group went to Agartala, India, to meet Indian authorities to

discuss with them our plans and ask them if they could aid us.

- Until recently, it was believed this case was a ploy to get rid of Sheikh Mujib, when in reality it was a case filed on very concrete and true accusations.
- We did conspire for secession of East Pakistan! The accusations were 100 percent true.

The following comments by Sheikh Hasina, about her father's interaction with India, would also be relevant.

In a dispatch from Dhaka dated 7 March 2010, Bangladeshi online news agency bdnews24.com quoted Sheikh Hasina as stating that her father Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had formulated detailed war plans for Bangladesh's eventual liberation from Pakistan during a stay in London in 1969.

Hasina was addressing a discussion in Dhaka to mark the historic March 7 speech, the day in 1971 when Sheikh Mujib called on the Bengali nation to prepare for the secession struggle from Pakistan. She (Hasina) said Bangabandhu made war plans just months after his release from Kurmitola where he had been detained in the Agartala Conspiracy Case, in which the Pakistan government had brought sedition charges against Bangabandhu and 34 others.

"He went to London on 22 October 1969, following his release in the Agartala case on 22 April that year. I reached London the next day from Italy, where I was living with my husband," she recalled. "It was there that Bangabandhu at a meeting, made plans for liberation, including when the war would start, where our freedom fighters would be trained and where refugees would take shelter....All preparations were made there (London). I was serving tea and entered the room several times where the meeting was being held. I heard their discussions," the Prime Minister said.

To presume that Islamabad was not aware of Sheikh Mujib's collusion with India to eventually break up Pakistan, would be rather too naive. Occasionally, it is pointed out in Dhaka even today that the Indian intelligence agencies had funded Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's election campaign not just for the 1970 general elections in Pakistan, but money was provided to him whenever he needed it to destabilize Pakistan.

Army action, ignored facets

The view propagated in Bangladesh that in 1971, the Pakistan army was 'trigger-happy, wanting to just kill,' should be noted. Analyst M. Hanif opines that the Army was "initially trying to restore law and order," later it was "battling India-engineered guerilla war", and then it had to "fight a war with India."²⁰⁸ The fact of the matter is that the army came into action only after the political settlement could not be achieved.

Pakistan Army has been an all-country force having within its ranks officers and soldiers of all provinces of Pakistan. Same was the case in 1971, when officers and jawans of both East Pakistan and West Pakistan were serving in the armed forces of their country. Defections started to take place March 1971 onwards. Ultimately, the Army mainly consisted of soldiers from West Pakistan who did not understand the Bengali language, culture, sensitivities and even the terrain. They were brought to fight from a land which was very different, and a place more than a thousand miles away from Dhaka.

The Pakistan army has been a professional force, which is not trained to fight a 'Muslim antagonist,' as it confuses their mind. Given the complexity of the situation in East Pakistan, the Pakistani soldier was perplexed. He simply could not understand,

208 Write-up on Bangladesh published in the 'Pakistan Observer' of 26 April 2014.

why his own country men in East Pakistan who were Pakistanis and Muslims themselves, were trying to dismember their own country, that too with help of the common enemy India.

Importantly, the Awami League-led Mukti Bahini, who were Bengalis, were assisted even in the field by the officers and soldiers of the Indian Army disguised as Bengalis. Pakistani soldiers could not make a distinction between the enemy and a friend. Also, here there is a need to briefly refer to the secret military operations in East Pakistan by the not much publicised ‘Tibetan Force’ of the Indian army. Set up by RAW and trained by Indian Army to resist China in Tibet, the Tibetan Force was actively involved in terror activities against Pakistan even before the Indian attack on East Pakistan in November 1971. Led by Major General Sujan Singh Uban, the Tibetan Force also provided guidance to the Mukti Bahini in terror activities against Pakistan.²⁰⁹

As mentioned earlier, the total fighting strength of the Pakistan army in East Pakistan in December 1971 was 34,000. Fighting against around 175,000 India-trained and India-armed Mukti Bahini, and more than 200,000 soldiers of the Indian Army, in a territory whose populace had turned hostile, was indeed a herculean task. Hats off to the Indian propaganda machine, New Delhi has convinced itself and many that 1971 was a decisive victory for India against Pakistan.²¹⁰

The Indian army had an overwhelming edge over the Pakistan army also due to the geographical contiguity between East

209 See interview by Eapon Ratuk Ngawang, senior commander of the Tibetan Force with Claude Arpi, by visiting www.rediff.com/news. (Site accessed on 30 April 2014.) Also study the book ‘Phantoms of Chittagong: The Fifth Army in Bangladesh’ by Sujan Singh Uban, published by Allied Publishers in 1985.

210 It is difficult to confirm the exact number of the total number of Mukti bahini and soldiers of the Indian armed forces who were involved in operations against Pakistan in East Pakistan in 1971.

Pakistan and the territory of India, and there was no disruption in the supply line of communications, rations and weapons.

Importantly, Ramadhan fell in October-November in 1971. Only a Muslim would be able to understand how a Muslim should behave in this holy month of fasting. To state that Muslim soldiers of the Pakistan army were killing and raping the Muslim brothers and sisters of their own country in a systematic genocide, in the month of Ramadhan, is rather going way too far.

The Army action was ordered only when the civil administration in East Pakistan could not restore law and order. The Army got involved when the Pakistani flag was being desecrated in Dhaka March onwards in 1971, when public and private property was being attacked, when pro-Pakistan civilians were being slaughtered and raped, and when the India-armed and India-trained Mukti Bahini were trying to take complete control of the affairs of the State of Pakistan.

Which country would not order army action under such circumstances?

Had Pakistan army not acted in 1971, it would have been later blamed by both the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan for sitting on the fence while the country was being dismembered. Had the army not reacted, India would have been emboldened to create more problems for Pakistan in Sindh and Balochistan.

The Polish Resolution in the Security Council (14 December 1971)²¹¹

The Indian armed forces crossed the international border in East Pakistan on 21 November 1971. Armed hostilities broke out on the border with West Pakistan on 3 December 1971.

211 See write up 'The Polish Resolution ', by A. G. Noorani in Criterion Vol 7 No 2, posted on web on 13 May 2012, by visiting <http://www.criterion-quarterly.com/the-polish-resolution/>.

On 4 December, at the UN, Pakistan's Ambassador Agha Shahi argued that Pakistan's internal crisis was outside the ambit of the Security Council.²¹² On his part, the Soviet delegate held Pakistan army responsible for the then ongoing developments. Later, the USSR vetoed resolutions proposed by China and the US, stressing 'immediate cessation' of hostilities.'

To take charge of the debate at the UN, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto arrived in New York on 11 December. As described by an analyst, he "stayed away for full three days from the UNSC debates, resting in his Waldorf Astoria Hotel suite 'indisposed' due to common cold!"²¹³

On 14 December 1971, Poland proposed a draft resolution which among other matters, provided for the peaceful transfer of power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, followed by his release, cessation of "military actions," and withdrawal of the Pakistan armed forces. The Revised version of the Resolution next day, 15 December, was identical except for one significant change. References to the release of Sheikh Mujib and to the government headed by him, were dropped.²¹⁴

Why was it difficult for Pakistan to accept the Resolution proposed by Poland! In his memoirs, Pakistani Ambassador Jamsheed Marker opines as under:

"In the first place, the Pakistan delegation had decided to reject the Polish draft, even before entering the Security Council chamber. I believe this decision to be correct on two counts... First, only someone like Bhutto could have had the combination of statesmanship and courage to push it through. Secondly, the

212 'Bhutto and the Polish Resolution', Pak Tribune of 12 December 2016.

213 'Bhutto and the Polish Resolution' Pak Tribune dated 12 December 2016.

214 'The Polish Resolution', 13 May 2012 in Criterion, Vol 7 (No 2), by A. G. NOORANI.

paper that Bhutto tore up and threw on his table was not, in fact the draft resolution document, but a piece of paper containing his rough notes and some doodling....As for the substance of the draft resolution (United Nations Security Council Document S/10453/Rev. 1, Poland: revised draft resolution, Original: English, Security Council 1614th Session, 15 December 1971), it envisaged a ceasefire and the immediate installation of an Awami League government in East Pakistan, to be followed by troop withdrawals and repatriation of West Pakistanis, without specifying the timing and modalities for the implementation.

This meant, in reality, that the Government of Pakistan would formally accept and legally endorse, in an international forum, the forcible occupation of a large part of its territory, a commitment unprecedented in history. In my view, such a formal abdication of national sovereignty is as demeaning as it is unthinkable and unacceptable. Finally, we need to look at the sequence of events connected with the introduction of the Polish resolution. Viewed with the benefit of hindsight, it emerges as one of the quirks that one finds dotted about in the history of all nations. The ceasefire in Dacca had commenced at 1700 hrs. local time on 15 December 1971, and the surrender was signed the next morning (16 December).

The UN Security Council took up consideration of Draft Resolution S/10453/Rev. 1 at its meeting that commenced at 1210 hours EST (New York time) on 15 December 1971. By this time the ceasefire had already gone into effect in East Pakistan, and the members of the UN Security Council, as they took their seats and assumed consideration of the 'Polish Resolution', were blissfully unaware that the break-up of Pakistan, one of the United Nations' member states, was already a fait accompli." ²¹⁵

215 See Jamsheed Marker's book, 'Quiet Diplomacy- Memoirs of an Ambassador,' page 141, Oxford University Press, 2015. ISBN: 9780199066179.

It is understandable, that Pakistan's acceptance of the Polish resolution would have clearly meant that it had agreed to the secession of East Pakistan. Consequently, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declined to take upon himself the responsibility of conceding defeat. This is one view.

According to Sisson and Rose, "In our interviews with him in 1979, Yahya Khan related a rather curious account of his experience with Bhutto on the Polish Resolution. Yahya had been talking to Bhutto who was at the UN meetings in New York – by telephone about several matters. At one point, Yahya said that he was far away, of course, but that the Polish Resolution looked good, and 'we should accept it.' Bhutto replied, 'I can't hear you.' Yahya repeated himself several times, and Bhutto kept saying, 'What? What?' The operator in New York finally intervened and said, 'I can hear him fine,' to which Bhutto replied, 'Shut up.' ”²¹⁶

More misunderstandings about West Pakistan in East Pakistan

There is a general view in Bangladesh that West Pakistanis were aware of what was going on in East Pakistan in 1971; and regrettably, the civil society there did not intervene in favour of the Bengalis to prevent the bloodshed.

The fact of the matter is that common man in West Pakistan was not aware of what was happening in East Pakistan. Pakistan is quite a large country. At the maximum, a handful of people in Islamabad associated with power corridors, would have been aware of the ground realities; certainly not the common man in the country. This had been the case also on account of strict censor imposed on the news by the military regime of President Yahya Khan.

216 'War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh' by Sisson and Leo Rose; pages 306, 307; University of California Press, Berkeley. (1991)

The reason being apprehension by the government in Islamabad, that there could be a violent backlash against Bengalis in West Pakistan, in response to the news of massacres of Biharis and West Pakistanis in East Pakistan by the Bengali Mukti Bahini.

Even otherwise, 1960s and the 1970s was not the age of computers and internet. Few had access to television, and the main channel of information was radio and newspapers. As is the case today, even at that time, an average Pakistani was of the view that BBC and other western media houses, have not been unbiased in their reports and commentaries on Muslim Pakistan. Paradoxically, strict censorship on the news created a chasm between the government and the common man in (West) Pakistan, which continues even today.

The general view in Bangladesh has been that “Pakistan has been and is ruled by the Punjabis.” This would not be entirely correct. From 1947 onwards, a large number of senior civil servants and military officers who enjoyed important positions in Pakistan, were not from Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan or Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa; they were the ones who migrated to Pakistan from what became India after partition. The long list among others, includes Agha Shahi, M.M. Ahmed, Mustapha Zaidi, Agha Hilaly, Akhtar Hussain, Aziz Ahmed and Ijlal Haider Zaidi. The list also includes Mirza Aslam Beg, Zia ul Haq, Pervez Musharraf, Nawaz Sharif and others. Many Bangladeshis considered President Ayub Khan a Punjabi, without realizing that he was a pathan from Haripur in the Frontier province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) of (West) Pakistan.

Interestingly, out of sheer ignorance, Bangladeshi analysts have been frequently mentioning that the Baloch soldiers (from Balochistan province of West Pakistan) of the Pakistan army were kind and polite in their interaction with the Bengalis in East Pakistan in 1971. In this regard, what they are actually referring to, are soldiers of the Baloch Regiment of the Pakistan

army. What they do not realize is the fact that the overwhelming majority of officers and soldiers of the Baloch Regiment of the Pakistan army have consisted of Pathans and Punjabis from West Pakistan's Frontier (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) and Punjab provinces, and not from Balochistan.

US-China rapprochement facilitated by Pakistan ²¹⁷

One of the most important developments in post-World War 2 period, was the rapprochement between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China. The breakthrough would not have been possible, without the facilitation by Pakistan. ²¹⁸

In July 1971, US National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger undertook a visit to Islamabad, from where he took off for Beijing (9 July) on an unannounced visit in the special aircraft of the Pakistan International Airlines. In the Chinese capital, Kissinger held detailed parleys with the Chinese leadership which resulted in forward movement, paving the way for a subsequent visit to Beijing by President Richard Nixon.

Importantly, on the sidelines of his meetings with Zhou Enlai, the Chinese Premier gave Kissinger a little advice. He underlined, "Do not forget the bridge you walked over while coming to Beijing; you may have to use this bridge again." The bridge he was referring to, was Pakistan.

217 'China's Decision for Rapprochement with the United States, 1968-1971' by John W. Garver, Westview Press (1982). ISBN: 978-0865319158. May see some relevant documents, by accessing <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB66/>.

218 Noe 'The Kissinger Transcripts-Top Secret talks with Beijing' by accessing The New York Times archives (<https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/kissinger.htm>). Further study 'Getting To Beijing: Henry Kissinger's Secret 1971 Trip' US - China Institute, University of Southern California. (21 July 2011)

Later, President Nixon conveyed his gratitude to Islamabad. In a handwritten letter on 7 August 1971, addressed to President Yahya Khan, he stated, “Through this personal note, I want you to know that without your personal assistance, this profound breakthrough in relations between the USA and the PRC would never have been accomplished.” Nixon added, “Those who want a more peaceful world in the generations to come, will **forever** be in your debt.”²¹⁹

The Sino-US rapprochement was noted the world over. More so, with deep concern in New Delhi and Moscow, which resulted in the signing of the Indo-Soviet defense treaty on 9 August 1971. This treaty played an important role in the break-up of Pakistan four months later in December.

Perceptions in Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal and Burma (Myanmar) on 1971

Analysts tend to overlook the help that Pakistan received in 1971 from Sri Lanka when Colombo took a conscious decision, despite Indian pressure, to allow vessels of the Pakistan Navy refueling facilities in the wake of the Indian ban on flights of Pakistani aircraft over the Indian territory. Pakistani aircraft were also extended the same refueling facility in case of a need. It is said that subsequently, New Delhi decided to “teach Colombo a lesson,” by creating the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka which lingered on for decades.

Some Bangladeshi analysts assert that Bhutan was the first country to recognise Bangladesh.²²⁰ This is not true. Thimphu accorded recognition to Dhaka on 7 December 1971.²²¹ On the other hand, New Delhi formally recognized Bangladesh a day earlier on 6 December.

219 See Nixon’s letter in the Annexures to this publication.

220 Retired Bangladeshi Ambassador Ashfaqur Rahman, who has also served in Beijing, has been making this claim verbally and in writing.

221 See article titled, ‘Bhutan King’s visit to Bangladesh: Cementing Bilateral Partnership’ in Dhakacourier of 14 February 2013.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that Thimphu was forced by New Delhi to recognise Bangladesh.

Paradoxically, years later, it was India that Bangladeshis felt apprehensive of, when Bhutan allowed Dhaka to set up its Embassy in Thimphu. According to a senior Bangladeshi Ambassador who had earlier worked as Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dhaka, “Indira Gandhi never wanted Bangladesh to establish a diplomatic Mission in Bhutan.”

Importantly, Bhutan and Pakistan enjoy ancient spiritual ties. Guru Padmasambhava is revered as the ‘Second Buddha’ in Bhutan. Not only Bhutan, but in the entire Himalayan region including Tibet (China) and Sikkim. The Guru was born in 8th century in Swat, in what is today Pakistan. To Bhutanese, Swat is one of the holiest places in the world.

Nepal has, for a long time in the past, been the only Hindu state in the world. An average Nepali Hindu, is forward looking and large hearted. Given the importance of religion in South Asia, New Delhi should have been the natural ally of Kathmandu. This has not been the case, with India often interfering in the internal affairs of Nepal.²²² Many even assert that Indian RAW was involved in the assassination of the royal family of Nepal in June 2001.²²³

Many in Nepal were saddened at the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971, as in their view, the balance of power in South Asia would ‘now shift to New Delhi,’ allowing India to follow “more aggressive” policies towards its neighbours.

Analysts in Myanmar mention that there was an “atmosphere of sorrow” in Rangoon (Yangon) on 16 December 1971.

222 Quote citing Dr. Shireen Mazari, in article titled, ‘India’s Hand in Nepal Royal Palace Massacre-2001,’ by former Member Parliament Dirgha Raj Prasai, in ‘News Blaze’ dated 9 August 2009.

223 Also see ‘India’s Hand in Nepal Royal Palace Massacre-2001,’ by Dirgha Prasai, in ‘News Blaze’ of 9 August 2009.

Importantly, Rangoon provided assistance to the inmates of the 6 Pakistani helicopters that flew to Burma from East Pakistan on 16 December 1971, hours before the surrender in Dhaka.²²⁴

Indian Army could not detect the heavy Pakistani machines overflying them when it was deployed along with the Mukti Bahini, in and around Dhaka, that too at the time when Indian Air force had total control of the skies of East Pakistan.

India-Bangladesh ties: early period

After the surrender, the Pakistani military hardware now belonged to India, not Bangladesh. It was taken to India, some of which is on display even today in the military museums in New Delhi and other places in the country.

On a number of occasions, looting incidents by some Indian army personnel of private residences in Gulshan and other areas of Dhaka, were also reported. According to eyewitness accounts, the loot was also taken with them by the returning soldiers.

After having been successful in breaking up Pakistan in 1971, India started to employ the same tactics against Bangladesh which it used against East Pakistan.

Soon came the realization in Dhaka about the actual purpose of New Delhi. Bangladeshis understood that the Indian desire was not to assist East Pakistan, but to dismember Pakistan. In the words of Major General Z.A. Khan, head of the Bangladesh intelligence agency DGFI, “There is no doubt that RAW played a vital role during our liberation war. But their motive was to divide Pakistan at any cost....Indian strategists did not accept the division of India in 1947. Their hidden objective was to establish undivided India ‘Akhand Bharat’. When they saw that

224 ‘Last Flight from East Pakistan’, Sher Khan, Defense Journal (February 2001)..

it was not possible to proceed in the normal course, they first decided to divide Pakistan in two parts.”²²⁵

Mention of the 25-year Friendship Treaty between India and Bangladesh of 19 March 1972, would be relevant. Article 8 of the Treaty emphasized that the two countries shall not enter into any military alliance directed against the other. Its Article 9 stressed that in case either country was attacked, mutual consultations will take place immediately to eliminate the threat. In short, Bangladesh gave up its right for an independent foreign policy. The Treaty was not renewed by Dhaka when it expired in 1997.²²⁶

Earlier in January 1972, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had preferred travelling from Islamabad to London by the Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) special aircraft. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi offered him an Indian plane to bring him to Dhaka from London. Mujib declined, instead preferred to travel by the aircraft provided by the British authorities.

Participation by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the OIC Summit in Lahore in February 1974, was also not looked at positively by New Delhi.²²⁷ Bangladeshi diplomats stress that it was a “good move” for Bangladesh to attend the Summit, as it “signaled a message to the world” that Bangladesh was “moving away from India’s influence.”²²⁸

225 Excerpt from an interview with Major General (Retd) Z.A. Khan, former Director, DGFI of Bangladesh, in book titled, ‘Raw in Bangladesh-Portrait of an Aggressive Intelligence’ by Abu Rushd, published in Dhaka in March 2005; page 303.

226 ‘Observer Research Foundation’ Issue Briefs and Special Reports 26 July 2018, ‘India-Bangladesh defence cooperation: Coming of age, at last?’ JOYEETA BHATTACHARJEE.

227 See ‘History of Organisation of Islamic Conference’ by accessing the OIC site, <https://www.oic-oci.org/>.

228 ‘Bangladesh-India Relations Living With a Big Neighbour’ by Harun ur Rashid, page 20, A H Development Publishing House, Dhaka. (2010)

There have been serious misgivings in Bangladesh on water issues with India. The problem may not be looked at in the same light as the waters issue between Pakistan and India. Bangladesh has 54 rivers common with India.²²⁹ New Delhi has been fencing the India-Bangladesh border.

Border killings of innocent Bangladeshis by the Indian Border Security Force (BSF), have continued since 1971. The Hindu of 10 December 2010 quoted Human Rights Watch as stating, “over the last decade, more than a thousand people had been killed by the Indian BSF.” Dhaka Tribune in a writeup ‘Threefold rise in border killings in 2019,’ reported in early 2020 that “At least, 43 Bangladeshi citizens were killed by the Indian BSF in 2019.”²³⁰

Insurgency, high-level or low-level, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, has been irritating Dhaka for decades. Sheikh Mujib once remarked, “Bangladesh had to fight for its independence from Pakistan; now it is facing a similar situation on its own soil.” After his assassination, Chakma rebels intensified their struggle for freedom from Bangladesh.

Bangladeshi commentators insist that India has been giving training in arms and weapons to the rebel outfit PCJSS (Parbatya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samiti). According to former Bangladeshi Ambassador Harun-ur-Rashid, “India was well within its power to have helped Prime Minister Sheikh Mujib in handling this problem at its inception... The question is how did they (the insurgents) acquire arms and ammunition? It appears obvious that they received it from across the border in India.”²³¹

229 ‘Bangladesh-India Water Sharing Disputes: Possible Policy Responses’, Shariful Islam, University of Rajshahi (https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330512925_Bangladesh).

230 Dhaka Tribune of 3 January 2020.

231 Book titled ‘Bangladesh-India Relations, Living with a Big Neighbour’ by Harun-ur-Rashid, published in 2010; A H Development Publishing House, Dhaka; pages 50-51.

The following from the Dhaka datelined story ‘Bangladeshi Insurgents say India is supporting them,’ which appeared in The New York Times, would be noteworthy:²³²

For more than a decade, India has secretly provided arms and money to tribal insurgents fighting for an autonomous state in Bangladesh, rebels given sanctuary in this border area say. A senior security official here confirmed the assistance and said an undetermined number of rebel fighters had stayed along the border near camps of Indian paramilitary forces. “The Government is giving them help,” the official added, without elaborating...A spokesman for the rebels said Indian officials began to provide arms and money in 1976, after the assassination in a military coup of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Bangladesh’s first President and a friend of India.

Importantly, the Chittagong Hill Tracts agreement signed in 1997 remains largely unimplemented.²³³ The Dhaka Tribune earlier reported on the “recent attacks” on the indigenous people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and “rapes” of their women by the Bangladeshi side “with impunity.”²³⁴ The general view is that sleeper-cells of the secessionists continue to exist in India, to be reactivated whenever New Delhi takes the decision against Bangladesh in future.

In early 1980s, a serious friction took place between India and Bangladesh on the ownership of the ‘South Talpatty Island.’ It became a serious issue. Bangladeshi Ambassador Harun ur Rashid recalls that at one stage, “India sent warships in 1981 to defend its fishermen, who had no legal right to be on the island...Both countries sent their naval boats to the area. If

232 The New York Times, 11 June 1989, (Story by Sanjoy Hazarika).

233 ‘The Chittagong Hill Tracts- A Victim of Indian Intervention’ by Mohammad Zainal Abedin, published by Eastern Publications, 16, Silvester House, London in February 2003; page 230. Zainal Abedin has been a researcher and journalist who studied at Dhaka University.

234 Dhaka Tribune, 12 February 2015.

Bangladesh had not restrained itself to contain the explosive situation, there would have been an armed conflict...Newspaper reports suggested that India adopted an attitude of 'let-us-teach-a-lesson' to Bangladesh."²³⁵

Bangladeshis resent the superior attitude of the Indian envoys in Dhaka. It is argued that Bangladeshi High Commissioners in New Delhi do not receive the importance Indian High Commissioners are accorded in Dhaka. Some Bangladeshis would even complain that "New Delhi looks down upon Bangladesh, and New Delhi looks up to Pakistan."

Bangladesh-bashing has been common in India with Indian analysts frequently repeating their favorite phrase, "Bangladeshis are the most ungrateful nation on earth." There have been calls made, again and again in Delhi, for the "expulsion of millions of Bangladeshis from India." Addressing a rally in late April 2014 in Serampore (East India), Narendra Modi underlined that "Bangladeshis" will be deported. Modi added, "You can write it down...these Bangladeshis better be prepared with their bags packed."²³⁶

In the same vein, another Hindu fundamentalist leader, Subramanian Swamy, underlined that Bangladesh should compensate India with land for the influx of its citizens to India. Addressing the media in Guwahati, he said, "I am extremely distressed by the extent of illegal infiltration from Bangladesh. According to my estimate, one-third of Bangladesh's population lives in India."²³⁷

It is an open secret that in the aftermath of 1971, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi wanted Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to agree to a

235 'Bangladesh-India Relations Living with a Big Neighbour' by Harun ur Rashid published by A H Development Publishing House, Dhaka in 2010; pages 60 and 61.

236 NDTV (www.ndtv.com/.../come-may). Site accessed on 8 May 2014.

237 Bangladesh News (bdnews24.com/world/2014/04/19.) Site accessed on 8 May 2014.

permanent deployment of the Indian army in Bangladesh the way India has deployed its military in Bhutan. When faced with resistance, she demanded that an Indian Advisor be allowed to sit in each and every Ministry of the Government of Bangladesh, to provide “professional guidance and advice” to the new country, in the running of its affairs. This demand was also not accepted except some say, in the intelligence set up of Bangladesh.

India did not like continuation of the services of those civil servants in Bangladesh who had earlier served during the time of united Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib also did not trust them. He accused them of pro-Pakistan leanings. As such, many of them were forced to take a ‘special examination’ to ensure that “they had been cleansed of the Pakistani germs.”

Senior military officers in Dhaka sometimes confide that important promotions in the Bangladesh armed forces, take place after the specific approval of New Delhi. All this happens not only in the civil-military bureaucracy, but in the Bangladeshi cabinet as well.

According to a former Bangladeshi Foreign Secretary, “one fine rainy evening” immediately after the December 2008 general election in Bangladesh, Joint Secretary dealing with Dhaka in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, “summoned” the Bangladeshi High Commissioner in New Delhi. During the brief meeting, “a list of names including that of Dipu Moni,” was handed over to the diplomat with “clear instructions” that these persons “be included” in the new Cabinet. The High Commissioner was directed to transmit the names to the quarters concerned “without delay.” Later, when the Cabinet was announced in Dhaka, Dipu Moni had been appointed the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh.

In the view of one of the Ministers who had once been holding an important portfolio in the Bangladeshi cabinet, “As Foreign Minister, Dipu Moni did a good job for India.” Subsequent to

each OIC meeting in Saudi Arabia or at other Muslim capital, Dipu Moni normally returned to Dhaka after having first visited New Delhi to “brief her Indian masters” on what had transpired on matters relating to Kashmir and Palestine. Understandably, Indians “were pleased with the information shared with them on Kashmir.” As regards Palestine, “the information given by Dipu Moni was immediately transmitted to Tel Aviv.”

Illegal annexation of Sikkim by India ²³⁸

After the Fall of Dhaka, the independent kingdom of Sikkim was the next target with its annexation by India in May 1975. Quoting a passage from the book by Asoka Raina, would be interesting:

...a senior civil servant walked through the familiar corridors of South Block (New Delhi) that housed the office of the RAW chief. Before he could knock, the door opened and the visitor was ushered in. Four men sat quietly. After a moment's silence, the visitor spoke: “Well gentlemen, one job's well done (he was referring to Bangla Desh), we've got to think of the next one now.” The others present were taken by surprise, for they had no clue what was the “next one.” The visitor said: “Sikkim, Gentlemen, Sikkim.” ²³⁹

New Delhi had bought over influential political figures of Sikkim, including Kaji Lhendup Dorjee of the Sikkim National Congress who played a vital role in facilitating the unfortunate annexation. ²⁴⁰ As a number of Bangladeshis are great fans of

238 Study book titled, ‘Smash and Grab: Annexation of Sikkim,’ Sunanda K. Datta, Westland Ltd (2013). Also take a look at writeup ‘Why this book on India’s annexation of Sikkim needs to be read today.’ (*Scroll.in*, 10 October 2020.)

239 See ‘Inside RAW- the story of India’s Secret Service’ by Asoka Raina, published by Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi in 1981; pages 61-64.

240 ‘The Pain of Losing a Nation-Story of Lhendup Dorji and Sikkim’ (blg.com.np/2013/01/31). Site accessed on 10 May 2014.

Rabindranath Tagore, the Chogyal of Sikkim was also a great admirer of Karamchand Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It is said, “Not in his wildest dreams did he think, India would ever swallow up his kingdom.”²⁴¹

Later, Indian Prime Minister Morarji Desai made an interesting comment. In March 1978, he said that the government of his predecessor, Indira Gandhi, should not have annexed Sikkim. “But”, added, “I cannot undo it now.” The New York Times quoted Desai as stating: “It is wrong for a big country to do – that. Many of the neighboring states were bothered about it because they are smaller, and they thought that if it could be done to Sikkim it could be done to others.”²⁴²

There are deep apprehensions among some in Dhaka that New Delhi is preparing the ground for a full annexation of Bangladesh, “at an appropriate time in the future.” In December 2013, Begum Khaleda Zia of Bangladesh Nationalist Party, almost implored Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina “not to slavishly follow the Indian diktat,” rather “take a lesson from the annexation of Sikkim.” In particular, she referred to the “traitorous attitude” of Lhendup Dorjee urging Hasina “not to betray the interests of Bangladesh.”²⁴³

Bangladeshi intellectuals even stress that New Delhi regrets extending formal recognition to Bangladesh (on 6 December 1971); otherwise, it would have been easier for India to annex Bangladesh. Mahbubur Rahman opines, “Although Dhaka’s relations with New Delhi are close and friendly and borders are generally peaceful, India’s military intervention may not

241 Write up titled, ‘25 years after Sikkim’ in Nepali Times of 23-29 March 2001.

242 The New York Times, 8 March 1978 (‘Desai Deplores Annexation of Sikkim, but Says He Cannot Undo’, Paul Grimes).

243 See ‘Bangladesh-Audacity of Hope’ by Syed Badrul Ahsan, posted on January 2, 2014 by visiting mygoldenbengal.wordpress.com/2014/01/02/of-gopali. (Site accessed on 10 May 2014.)

be altogether discounted in the event of any development in Bangladesh considered prejudicial to the regional giant's perceived security threat.”²⁴⁴

Bangladesh: paradoxes and dilemmas

Immediately after 1971, Bangladesh tried to discard and abandon anything which may be construed as ‘Pakistani’ and ‘Pakistaniat’.

Urdu became the first victim. Ironically, it is the Hindi movies which have allowed remnants of Urdu to remain in Bangladesh, since many Bangladeshis enjoy Bollywood movies. Islamic inscriptions as mentioned earlier, like ‘Bismillah’ and ‘Rabaezidni Ilma,’ were expunged. Similarly, books and literature on Pakistan and the Pakistan movement, were burnt to ashes.

Later, President Ziaur Rahman brought about some reforms. The slogan ‘Joy Bangla’ was changed to ‘Bangladesh Zindabad’; ‘Bangladesh betar’ became ‘Radio Bangladesh’, and Islamic verses were printed on the official letterhead of the Government of Bangladesh.

Discussing Pakistan in public, positively or in a balanced manner, became a taboo in Bangladesh in the aftermath of 1971, which continues to remain the case. The Quaid-e-Azam is seldom mentioned. If discussed at all, it would be in negative terms. Same is the case with Allama Iqbal. His contributions to the cause of the Muslims of South Asia are seldom referred to. On the other hand, Rabindranath Tagore has a name in Bangladesh. His works are extolled and his personality eulogized by the Awami League.

A large number of Muslims of East Bengal have never felt comfortable with Hindu India. Partly because of their own short-

244 Article titled, ‘National security and security strategies’ by Mahbubur Rahman in The New Age of 18 January 2012.

term motives, many in East Pakistan sought Indian help in respect of 1971. Understandably, India was more than eager to oblige as it would ultimately break up Pakistan. After 16 December, Bangladeshis celebrated their victory for a while; they got their “Sonar Bangla,” they got as they say, “their freedom.”

Gradually, hard realities started to dawn. After 1971, Bangladesh had to directly confront the same Hindu India which Muslim Bengal used to confront before 1947.

The Muslims of East Bengal had been demanding the partition of Bengal. They welcomed the partition when it materialized in 1906. The division brought considerable benefits to the Muslims in terms of development in East Bengal. Unfortunately, this partition was vigorously opposed by the Hindus of West Bengal. Finally, the partition was annulled in 1911. Paradoxically, the poem written by Rabindranath Tagore against the partition of Bengal, was later adopted by Bangladesh as its national anthem, as some say, on the specific instructions of India.

Interestingly, many Bangladeshis do not consider Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the Father of the Nation of Bangladesh. Analysts also lament that “in independent Bangladesh, we have had precious little dearth of Bangabandhu baiters.” A retired military officer “informed a relative without shame,” that, “he did not regard Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as Bangabandhu... This man retired as a general in the Bangladesh army.”²⁴⁵

On 12 May 2014, Begum Khaleda Zia made comments critical of Sheikh Mujib. She was quoted by the media as stating, “How can a man who has divided the people of Bangladesh in two camps be called the father of the nation? If so, how come all are Bengalis? We are Bangladeshi nationalists as citizens of an independent state. But we cannot be Bengali as a nation....As a

245 Article titled, ‘Tales of wicked, ignorant men’ by Badrul Ahsan, in The Daily Star of 27 August 2014.

result, there are now questions about the father of the nation.”²⁴⁶ Many also complain that some media houses in Dhaka “take pride” in “refusing to accord Sheikh Mujib his place in history.”²⁴⁷

Controversy on who declared the independence of Bangladesh from Pakistan first, also continues to rage. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party supporters underline that it was Ziaur Rahman who had declared independence, as such he “is the real hero” of the country as compared to Mujibur Rahman.

According to a senior Bangladeshi civil servant, General Osmani, the first head of the Bangladesh armed forces, had “two pet dogs.” He gave the name “Indira Gandhi” to one after the name of the Indian Prime Minister; and the other, he called “not Ayub because it is the name of a Prophet in Islam, but just Field Marshal.” Many complain, that it was India that did not allow Osmani to attend the surrender ceremony in Dhaka on 16 December.

Earlier, during the Pakistan-India war on Kashmir in 1948, Osmani was one of the three Pakistani army personnel, if not the only one, to be taken as prisoner by India. Some say, Osmani was “well looked after” by Indians during his captivity. Bangladeshis also opine that when on death-bed, Osmani “deeply regretted the break-up of Pakistan.”

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated by his own army on 15 August in 1975. Ironically, a large number of Bangladeshis celebrated his death. Sweets were distributed in Dhaka. Coincidentally, 15 August is also the birthday of Begum Khaleda Zia. Whenever 15th August approaches, tensions grip

246 Bangladesh News (bdnews24.com dated 13 May 2014). Site accessed on 17 May 2014.

247 Article titled, ‘Tales of wicked, ignorant men’ by Badrul Ahsan, in The Daily Star of 27 August 2014.

Bangladesh, as Khaleda Zia publicly celebrates her birthday by cutting a cake to the utter disappointment of Sheikh Hasina.

In the words of Anthony Mascarenhas, “Few men in history have betrayed the aspirations of their people as did the first leaders of Bangladesh. Once the darling of the independence movement in whose magic name all things were done, Sheikh Mujib as Prime Minister and President became the most hated man in Bangladesh within three short years of its founding. And the hatred lingers. Ten years after Mujib’s death, his daughter, Hasina, told me that she could not get the agreement of relatives and neighbours in their home village of Tungipara, to erect a suitable monument over the grave of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.”²⁴⁸

Some say, Sheikh Mujib was assassinated by the Indian intelligence, as he was trying to improve relations with Pakistan. Years later, when President Ziaur Rahman was assassinated, Bangladeshis would again point fingers at India.

Today, many in Dhaka sadly admit that “Bangladesh is a vassal state of India.” Barrister Haroon opines, “India considers Pakistan as its only neighbour in South Asia, and does not deem others as neighbours because their relations do not weigh much in India’s concern.”²⁴⁹

Some would even emphasise that the head of the personal security of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, “is an officer of the Indian intelligence agency, RAW.” At the military academies in Bangladesh, young cadets are given training, without being pinpointed to them, the ‘enemy country.’ According to a former head of the Military Academy in Chittagong, “Everybody knows

248 Book titled, ‘Bangladesh-A Legacy of Blood’ by Anthony Mascarenhas, page v of the Preface; Hodder and Stoughton (London, Sydney, Auckland, Toronto), 1986. Printed in Great Britain by Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press) Ltd, Bungay, Suffolk.

249 Article ‘Why is India so insensitive to our affairs?’ by Barrister Harun-ur-Rashid, The Daily Star of 29 February 2012.

that India is our enemy, but nobody dares to identify India as the enemy country.”

Bangladesh has two immediate neighbours, India and Myanmar. There is not much focus in Dhaka on Myanmar. Relations between Bangladesh and Myanmar have seldom been warm.

In the view of a veteran Bangladeshi Foreign Service Officer, it was “Dhaka’s helplessness vis a vis New Delhi” that resulted in the concept of SAARC, proposed by Bangladesh in the late 1970s. He also opined that “every ambitious officer of the Bangladesh Foreign Service knows too well, the road to success in his country’s diplomatic service, passes through New Delhi.” Bangladeshi High Commissioners in India have gone out of the way to please New Delhi, by backbiting on Pakistan and Pakistani diplomats in the Indian capital. The main purpose being to enlist Indian support so that at a later stage, they could become the Foreign Secretaries of Bangladesh.

Sometimes, Muslimness in Muslim Bangladesh also reacts to Hindu India’s provocations. Occasionally, Bangladeshi nationalists have their day of revenge. The story goes on that, “some anti-India elements” in the Bangladeshi intelligence, have always tried “to keep a tab on the Indian diplomats.” In so many unreported cases, the residences of the Indian diplomats have been “trespassed, and their computers stolen, to see what was going on.”

In February 2009, Bangladesh Rifles (BDR), a para-military force responsible for guarding the borders, staged a bloody mutiny in Dhaka which later spread to other cities of the country. By various estimates, 57 officers of the Bangladesh Army were shot to death by their subordinates, including the BDR head, a Major General and his wife. In the revolt, rebellious jawans also killed the Deputy Chief of BDR besides all the 16 formation commanding officers. Later, the soldiers entered the Cantonment residential area and raped the wives of their own officers.

Most of the officers killed in the mayhem were highly “professional and nationalistic” in their approach. As such, it is said, they had been black-listed by the Indian intelligence RAW.

An opinion is stressed in Dhaka that it was New Delhi that had engineered the rebellion to take revenge from BDR for the killing of more than 80 officers and jawans of the Indian army, in a major skirmish with Bangladesh along the Bangladesh-India border that had taken place earlier. Importantly, the BDR revolt occurred when the India-friendly Awami League government had just returned to power in Bangladesh in January 2009.

Bangladeshi analysts attribute the success in the creation of Bangladesh, exclusively to “their valiant struggle against Pakistan during the War of Liberation in 1971.” In their view, Indian help came later. A large number of Bangladeshis would downplay the importance of the Indian assistance. Some would even say, “Had India not helped, we would have still been able to make Bangladesh.”

This is not the view in India.

Every year, the Pakistan High Commissioner in New Delhi is invited to deliver a talk on relations with India at their National Defence College (NDC) located in the Indian capital. During the function, he is served refreshments in an enclosure in the NDC building which displays a large painting showing the surrender ceremony of 1971. Never ever have Indians, even in private, attributed the dismemberment of Pakistan, to the Bengali struggle. Always, and always, Indians would assert that in 1971, it was India and India alone, that defeated Pakistan because of India’s superior military might.

Pakistan’s Secretary Defence visited New Delhi in 2006 for talks with his Indian counterpart on the issue of Siachen. After the talks, he made a courtesy call on the then Defence Minister, Pranab Mukherjee, who later served as the President of the

Republic of India. The call took place in the Ministry of Defence close to Rashtrapati Bhavan, in a room which displayed a huge painting of 1971.

The most unfortunate aspect of the Muslims of Bengal has been that a minority has been ruling the majority. By and large, this has happened since Plassey in 1757. A number of intellectuals, and political and media personalities in Bangladesh have traditionally looked towards Kolkata. Many of them are on the Indian payroll. On the other hand, a large number of people in Bangladesh have strong anti-India and anti-Hindu feelings. However, such persons are not vocal. Many of them have a soft corner for Pakistan. Such people have absolutely no connection with Kolkata; they look up to the Muslim world.

Bangladesh today, and how Bangladeshis look at their country

Bangladesh has made considerable progress in various fields since its inception. The country has its successes in population control. In education and women employment, Bangladesh has moved ahead of many even in the South Asia region. Its economic growth rate has been 6 per cent for the last few years. Bangladesh is moving towards becoming the top garments exporting country. Bangladesh has also made progress in ceramics and ship-building.

Detailing success stories of her country, analyst Syeda Sharmin Absar opines, since 1971, “Bangladesh has come a long way” in terms of “development and in international relations with major powers.” She has mentioned the achievements which she describes as “landmarks” in the country’s more than 40 year history. The highlights are as under: ²⁵⁰

- Women’s empowerment in terms of dynamic entrepreneur-ship and effective political participation.

250 Article titled, ‘A wake-up call for Bangladesh’ by Dr. Syeda Sharmin Absar in the Bangladeshi newspaper The Independent of 16 March 2012.

- Ties with Commonwealth countries.
- Military's role in UN peace keeping missions.
- Digital payment system for utility services.
- Access to information.
- Visible progress in achieving Millennium Development Goals.
- Amicable relationship with hostile and aggressive governments, including Myanmar's military junta.
- Border vigilance against international terrorism, smuggling and trafficking.
- Diplomatic ties and trade with Pakistan instead of severing relationship for the 1971 genocide and consequent war.
- Beginning of the trial of the war criminals of 1971.
- The country has been under democratic rule for about fifty percent time of its total age.
- It is a signatory to most of the UN conventions.
- Won Nobel Prize in peace.
- Established efficient private banks of international standard.
- Increased primary education and literacy.
- Established a strong market of ready-made garments in the US, Australia, Japan, Canada and Europe.

- Built Jamuna Bridge which connected the north and south of the country.
- Improved hi-tech communication through mass use of internet, mobile phones, and satellite TV channels.
- Exported manpower and contributed in the building of modern Southeast Asia and the Middle East.
- Earned huge revenue through foreign currency remittances.
- Achieved food surplus many times.
- Established February 21 as International Language Day that is observed by the United Nations worldwide.
- Founded the SAARC and contributed significantly in improving regional and bilateral co-operation in South Asia.

There is also the other side to the story.

In an article in *The Daily Star*, known economist Rehman Sobhan writes: “It is a tragedy for Bangladesh that our nationhood emerged out of our quest for democracy, yet we have spent most of our national existence frustrating its realization.” Stressing that “We have lived through long episodes of martial rule and civilian autocracy,” he adds, “In 1990, when the Ershad autocracy was overthrown”, nobody imagined that “our confrontational style of politics” would provide an opportunity to the military “to intervene in the political process...”²⁵¹

According to Sharmeen Murshid, “One of the poorest countries in the world, Bangladesh is the third most corrupt nation, having

251 ‘The Spirit of the Liberation War’ by Rehman Sobhan in *The Daily Star* of 31 December 2011.

the fourth highest rate of violence on women globally. It has an unstable democracy reeling under confrontational politics and increased intolerance to differences in opinion. After 40 years, we still ask- is this the right road for us? ”²⁵²

In the same vein, entrepreneur Abdul Awal Mintoo observes:

“As of today, fifty percent of the population (65 million people in fact) in Bangladesh lives below the poverty line. Millions of people who are willing and able to be productive in nation-building, remain unemployed or unproductive....thousands of young children are working in hazardous places. They cannot afford to go to school because of poverty. The crime rate, as well as police atrocities are increasing day by day. The common man has lost confidence in the judicial system... The disparities between the rich and poor are increasing to a dangerous level...Corruption has penetrated every aspect of the society... Independence, it was hoped, would usher in an era of honesty, truth and integrity in public affairs. But this has not happened.... Bangladesh has been ranked as the most corrupt country in the world according to the corruption perception index of Transparency International.”²⁵³

Bangladesh continues to remain an LDC.²⁵⁴ It has been categorized as the “least food-secure country in South Asia.” Quoting the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), ‘bdnews24.com’ reported that this assessment was based on food affordability, availability and quality of 105 countries around the globe.²⁵⁵ Bangladeshi media of 15 August 2012 reported that Dhaka has been rated as “the least liveable location” among the 140 cities of

252 ‘Gently blow the winds of change’ by Sharmeen Soneya Murshid in The Daily Star of 16 December 2011.

253 Book titled, ‘Bangladesh: Anatomy of Change’ by Abdul Awal Mintoo, pages: 9-10, The University Press Limited, Motijheel, Dhaka. (2004)

254 Least Developed Country.

255 ‘The bdnews24.com of 10 August 2012.

the world, surveyed by the Economist Intelligence Unit.²⁵⁶ The situation has become somewhat better today. The Dhaka Tribune quoting ‘Global Livability Index 2019,’ reported in October 2020 that “Dhaka has been named the 3rd worst city to live in today.”²⁵⁷

Bangladesh has also been included in list of Asian countries whose economies are at serious threat from natural disasters, floods and storms. Apprehensions have been expressed about Chittagong and coastal areas of the country, getting submerged in distant future.

With the reduction in its land area, and increase in population, dependence of Bangladesh on India, is bound to increase. Indians have been stressing that influx into India of refugees from Bangladesh, would create more problems for India.

Bangladeshi media regularly comments on “the poor standard of education” in the country, especially English language. ‘The Daily Star’ reported in its 27 September 2014 issue that “22,000 failed” and “only two students qualified to be enrolled in the Dhaka University’s English Department for the academic session 2014-15.”²⁵⁸ For some strange reason, one cannot come across a single proper English book shop in the whole of Bangladesh. To underline the Indian influence, school textbooks of Bangladesh, are not printed in Bangladesh but in India.

256 News item titled, ‘Dhaka least liveable city-Say EIU study,’ in Bangladeshi newspaper The Daily Star of 15 August 2012.

257 Dhaka Tribune of 11 October 2020.

258 Daily Star (www.thedailystar.net/poor-english). Site accessed on 14 February 2015.

General perceptions of each other (Pakistan, India, Bangladesh)

Views in Pakistan about Bangladesh

- Pakistan is the only country in the world where, by and large, an overwhelming majority of people, in each and every segment and sphere of the society, have a feeling of affection for the people of Bangladesh.
- According to a common view, “The people of Bangladesh were not responsible for 1971; it was India, who from day one, wanted to break up Pakistan. Some of our people committed excesses. We feel really bad that we could not keep our Bengali brothers and sisters happy.”
- There is no real realization of the genocide and crimes against humanity committed against West Pakistanis and Biharis living in East Pakistan in 1971, by the Awami League led Mukti Bahini. Pakistanis tend to ignore and overlook these atrocities.
- Pakistanis would sadly comment, “The Islamic Republic of Pakistan which was the largest Muslim country in the world, should not have been dismembered in 1971.”
- Pakistan and Bangladesh should have the best of relations.
- Pakistanis do not consider President Yahya Khan, Lieutenant General Niazi, Lieutenant General Tikka Khan and others like them, as their heroes. A very large number of younger generation Pakistanis, especially in the age bracket of 16-30, are not even aware of the names of these persons.
- Many Pakistanis would say in all sincerity that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who had won the 1970 general

elections, should have been made the Prime Minister of Pakistan. To an average Bangladeshi, all this would come as a pleasant shock.

Views in Pakistan about India

- India is a large country with a huge population.
- India has been fortunate to have developed democratic institutions.
- India has a strong military. It also has a large industrial base and a strong economy.
- India has deep rooted animosity towards Pakistan. India broke up Pakistan in 1971.
- India must resolve all outstanding issues with Pakistan, especially the issue of Jammu and Kashmir.
- Indian movies and songs are good.
- On return from a visit to India, Pakistanis would generally comment, “Indians are so dark; they are so ugly.” During their visits to India, Pakistanis are shocked to note that some places in India “actually, stink of human urine.”
- Pakistanis are gradually becoming aware of the nefarious designs of the RSS against the Muslims.

Views in Bangladesh on Pakistan

- Pakistan runs deep in the Bangladeshi psyche. The perceptions on Pakistan can be mainly negative or positive. Overall speaking, there are shades of frustration, inferiority complex, envy, jealousy or outright hatred; and in many cases, feelings of love and affection for Pakistan.

- On their part, staunch Awami League analysts would assert that 1971 can never be overlooked while dealing with Pakistan, even though years have passed since the debacle. Importantly, they would never admit that they committed crimes against humanity when the Mukti Bahini massacred and raped Biharis, West Pakistanis and pro-Pakistan Bengalis in East Pakistan/Bangladesh.
- As regards views of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and other political parties in Bangladesh, nobody would say that history is not important. For them also, 1971 is important. At the same time, they would prefer Bangladesh to ‘move on and live in 21st century, rather than living in the past.’
- Pakistani media does not focus on Bangladesh much. If at all it does, the focus would be positive. Bangladeshi media regularly focuses on Pakistan. However, the focus is not positive. Terrorist bombings, extremism, sliding economy which gives the impression that Pakistan is falling apart, are all played up. Bangladeshi intellectuals do not have a correct picture of the ongoing developments in Pakistan. They have the tendency to view Pakistan through the Indian prism.
- Psychologically, all this gives Bangladeshis a feeling that first they defeated Pakistan in 1971; and now they are outshining Pakistan. So, there is a sense of victory in Bangladesh, against the “defeated state of Pakistan.” At the same time, many in Bangladesh have sympathy for Pakistan, and would like Pakistan to remain a strong powerful country, especially as a counterpoise to India.

Views in Bangladesh on India

- India has spent billions of dollars on Bangladesh. There is not much acknowledgement of this in Dhaka, at least among the common Bangladeshi.

- Indian music and movies are popular. A large number of Bangladeshis travel to India for education, business, medical treatment and sightseeing.
- A few Bangladeshi Muslims would feel comfortable with India. India is considered a hegemonic power. Occasionally, comments are made according to which, the “Brahmans of Kolkata look down upon the Muslims of Bangladesh.”
- Barring very few, nobody in Bangladesh would dare speak against India in public. There is a strong feeling of helplessness vis a vis India.
- At the same time, there is a feeling of connectivity with Indian West Bengal, due to the common language and common Bengali culture.
- The main view in Bangladesh is that the actual intention of New Delhi in 1971 was not to help in the cause of Bangladesh, but to dismember “the arch enemy, Pakistan.”
- Many in Bangladesh would be thrilled to see India disintegrate. In their view, this way, they would get rid of the “regional hegemon.”
- There is also a strong desire among some in Bangladesh for a ‘Greater Bengal’ or ‘Greater Bangladesh,’ according to which, “it is not really impossible for the Indian northeast to join Bangladesh in the distant future.”
- The Hindus of Bangladesh are a solid vote bank for not only the Awami League, but India.

Views in India about Pakistan and Bangladesh

- A large number of Indians would opine that Pakistan “is an unstable, fundamentalist Muslim country.” Interestingly, Indians feel threatened by Pakistan.

- Indians genuinely feel that it was “simply unnatural” to divide British India, into Pakistan and India in 1947.
- On their visits to Pakistan, an average Indian would feel that Pakistanis are a hospitable and cultured people.
- After visiting Pakistan, Indians may say, “Pakistanis are good-looking, especially their women.”
- Many in Indian Punjab would love to watch Pakistani television dramas. A number of Pakistani songs sung by Pakistani singers, are filmed in Indian movies.
- Indians would say that Bangladesh is an important neighbour which has commonalities with India.
- There are strong apprehensions in New Delhi about security issues in the context of Bangladesh. According to the Indian view, “for New Delhi, a friendly government is absolutely essential in Bangladesh.”
- Indian analysts sometimes comment that Bangladeshis are “the most ungrateful nation on earth.” India did “everything” for Bangladesh, but Bangladeshis “are never satisfied.”
- Some right-wing Indians would sarcastically comment in New Delhi, “These Bangladeshi shooders renounced their religion (Hinduism) to accept Islam; they renounced the allegiance to Bharat by joining Pakistan (in 1947); later they broke their own country (Muslim Pakistan) to create Bangladesh; and since 1971, they are a constant irritant to India.”²⁵⁹
- Indian defence commentators sometimes underscore to Dhaka that “Bangladesh is India’s gift to the people

259 These views have been frequently expressed by RSS members during informal interactions in New Delhi.

of Bangladesh.” At times, Bangladeshis are threatened, “Look! New Delhi made Bangladesh; and New Delhi can also unmake Bangladesh.” During cricket matches, Bangladesh cricket team is sometimes described by Indians as ‘cockroaches.’

- A number of Muslims in India have sometimes been describing Bangladeshis as “traitors of Islam,” since they sided with “Hindu India” in 1971, to “break up the largest Muslim country in the world, Pakistan.”
- According to former Indian High Commissioner to Dhaka, K. Srinivasan, “Bangladesh is a quintessential diplomatic assignment for an Indian. It is a country divided by politics, by class, by gender and by communal denominations. Both India and Bangladesh continue the fiction that while India and Pakistan are known to be enemies, India and Bangladesh enjoy friendly relations- or rather would do if some few irritants were removed. But in fact the relationship is complicated by, and indeed rooted in, domestic tensions for which it becomes both a surrogate and a paradigm.”²⁶⁰

Civil wars and strife elsewhere

In the 1960s, Biafra seceded from Nigeria in a bloody civil war. Later, it was absorbed into Nigeria. In the process, thousands were killed and around a million fled.²⁶¹ A good example of resolution of conflict can be seen in the effort by Nelson Mandela. In 1994, after the transition from the White rule, Mandela saw national reconciliation as the main objective of his Presidency.

²⁶⁰ ‘The Jamdani Revolution Politics, Personalities and Civil Society in Bangladesh 1989-1992’ by Krishnan Srinivasan, pages 421-422, published by Academic Press and Publishers Library, Dhanmondi, Dhaka in 2008. (Srinivasan served as Indian High Commissioner to Bangladesh from 1989 to 1992.)

²⁶¹ See article ‘Biafra secessionist state, Nigeria’ in Encyclopedia Britannica (<https://www.britannica.com/place/Biafra>).

The ‘Velvet divorce’ in the case of Czechoslovakia, is frequently quoted.²⁶² Same is the case with the referendum for independence in Scotland in September 2014, which has been noted by scholars.

The separation of East Pakistan from West Pakistan in 1971, could have been non-violent.

Following are the reported estimates of casualties in civil wars, in various countries/regions across the globe:²⁶³

Russia 1917-1921	3 million
Spain 1936-1939	500,000
United States 1861-1865	620,000
Zaire/Congo 1997-April 2003	1.75 million
Uganda 1971-1978	300,000
Bosnia/Yugoslavia 1992-1995	200,000
Burundi 1972	250,000
Indonesia/East Timor 1975-1980	100,000
Angola 1993-1994	100,000
Rwanda 1994	800,000
Sudan 1955-1972	750,000
Angola 1980-1988	700,000
Mozambique 1980-1988	1 million
Nigeria/Biafra 1967-1970	1 million
Uganda 1981-1985	300,000
Sudan 1983-2000	2 million
Somalia 1991-1992	350,000

Legislative developments in Bangladesh relating to 1971

On 24 January 1972, the Bangladesh Collaborators (Special Tribunals) Order was promulgated by a Presidential Decree in

262 PRAGUE MORNING, 2 January 2019: ‘26 Years Ago: The Velvet Divorce’.

263 May also see ‘War and Peace’ by Max Roser. (<https://ourworldindata.org/war-and-peace>).

Bangladesh. It provided for the prosecution of “collaborators” by “special tribunals.” Between 1972 and 1974, it is said that some 37,000 persons were arrested in Bangladesh and investigations commenced against them.

The acts the Order criminalized were wide-ranging, including murder, rape, arson and genocide. A number of suspects fled the country and were reportedly never charged. In addition, at that time, India was holding 90,000 or so Pakistani prisoners of war. Of these, Dhaka had asked for return of 195 so that they could be prosecuted in Bangladesh. In response, Islamabad is said to have filed a claim in the International Court of Justice, claiming that only Pakistan could try its citizens.

On 20 July 1973, Bangladeshi Parliament passed the International Crimes (Tribunals) Act (ICTA) which provided for the detention, prosecution and punishment of persons. In February 1973, prior to the adoption of ICTA, Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman issued the Bangladesh National Liberation Struggle (Indemnity) Order, which gave the Bangladeshi “freedom fighters” immunity from prosecution for acts committed if they were in connection with “the liberation struggle of Bangladesh.”

On 16 May 1973, Sheikh Mujib declared clemency for those convicted of petty offenses under the Collaborators Order. On 30 November 1973, the Bangladeshi government announced a general amnesty for all collaborators (except those accused of murder, rape, arson, or genocide). Consequently, 26,000 persons detained under the Collaborators Order were reportedly released. In April 1974, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh signed the tripartite agreement which paved the way for the eventual recognition of Bangladesh by Islamabad.

After Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated in August 1975, the new government in Bangladesh repealed the Collaborators Order, disbanded the tribunals set up under it, and pardoned and released all those detained and convicted. The government

also passed the Indemnity Act that gave those involved in the assassination, immunity from any legal action.

More than twenty years later, the Indemnity Act was revoked in 1996. In March 2009, the Awami League government announced that it was preparing to establish the International Crimes Tribunal (ICT), to prosecute those accused of ‘war crimes’ in 1971.²⁶⁴

The saddest part of this whole process is, that no one in Bangladesh has been held accountable for the ‘crimes against humanity,’ committed against the West Pakistanis residing in East Pakistan in 1971, and the Biharis, who even today continue to live in Bangladesh in large numbers.

Pakistan’s interaction with India: undiscussed positivities

Political analysts have written about the negativities in Pakistan-India relations. Few have tried to focus on positivities, which must not be ignored.

Both Pakistan and India are successors to brave peoples; and rich civilizations and rich cultures. Both nations are intelligent and innovative, bold and enterprising; and both share a rainbow of history spanning centuries.

The ancestors of Pakistanis and Indians fought valiantly at Buxar and Plassey; and in Mysore under Tipu Sultan, they developed the world’s first rocket warfare technology. Together they shed their sweat, tears and blood in 1857, when Hindus fought side by side with Muslims and Muslims fought shoulder to shoulder with Hindus. General Bakht Khan cooperated with Rani of Jhansi, and Rani of Jhansi cooperated with General Bakht Khan.

264 International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ), New York. (Above writeup has been derived from the ICTJ Briefing document titled, ‘Fighting past impunity in Bangladesh: a national tribunal for the crimes of 1971,’ by Caitlin Reiger, dated July 2010.)

It was Muhammad Ali Jinnah who ably defended Bal Gangadhar Tilak, against charges of sedition; and it was Jinnah, who along with Tilak and Annie Besant, forcefully put forth the demand for Home Rule for India.²⁶⁵ It was also Muhammad Ali Jinnah who strongly defended Bhagat Singh.²⁶⁶

In an unfortunate act of terror when Karamchand Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu extremist Nathuram Godse on 30 January 1948, the government offices in Pakistan were closed in memory of India's Father of the Nation.²⁶⁷ In his condolence message to the people of India, Muhammad Ali Jinnah emphasized:²⁶⁸

“I am shocked to learn of the most dastardly attack on the life of Mr. Gandhi, resulting in his death. Whatever our political differences, he was one of the greatest men produced by the Hindu community, and a leader who commanded their universal confidence and respect.

I would like to express my deep sorrow, and sincerely sympathize with the great Hindu community and his family in their bereavement at this momentous, historical and critical juncture so soon after the birth of freedom, and freedom of Hindustan and Pakistan....”

When Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru died in May 1964, Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto represented Pakistan at the funeral in New Delhi. When Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was

265 Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a prominent Independence fighter who relentlessly struggled against the British rule. British authorities were so perturbed that they called him the ‘Father of the Indian Unrest’.

266 May also see ‘In memory of Bhagat Singh’ in the 1 January 2007 issue of the newspaper The Tribune.

267 May take a look at the book entitled, ‘Why I Assassinated Mahatma Gandhi’, Nathuram Godse, Hindi Sahitya Sadan (January 2017). ISBN 978-8189672287.

268 ‘Quaid-e-Azam Speeches and Statements 1947-48,’ published by Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan. (New Edition-1989)

assassinated in 1984, President Ziaul Haque personally visited New Delhi to convey his and his nation's "deep condolences" to the government and the people of India. Not only this, the Government of Pakistan also observed a three-day mourning.

In the same vein, when President Ziaul Haq died in a plane crash in 1988, not only India observe a three-day mourning, it also sent a large contingent for the funeral, which was led by the President of India, Ramaswamy Venkataraman. When former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, fell victim to the terror attack on 27 December 2007, there was a complete consternation in India with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh underscoring, "Bhutto was no ordinary political leader but one who left a deep imprint on her time and age... In her death, the subcontinent has lost an outstanding leader."²⁶⁹ Many in India also described Benazir Bhutto as "the great daughter of the subcontinent."²⁷⁰

Indian writers also highlight the support lent to Lal Bahadar Shastri's coffin in Tashkent by Field Marshal Ayub Khan in 1966. Symbolically, this augured well for Pakistan - India relations.²⁷¹

It is a paradox of history that the roots of India lie not in India, but in Pakistan.

As mentioned earlier, India derives its name from River Indus, which mainly flows through Pakistan. The Indian claim to being one of the oldest civilisations in the world is because of Indus Valley Civilisation, whose main sites Harappa and Mohenjodaro, are located not in India but in Pakistan. Even India's national

269 As Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan to India, the author received the Prime Minister of India when Dr. Manmohan Singh visited the Pakistan High Commission to offer the condolences. This wording was recorded by the Prime Minister in the Condolence Book placed at the Mission.

270 Comments appearing in the Indian media.

271 Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadar Shastri died in Tashkent after his meetings with President Ayub Khan, subsequent to the India-Pakistan conflict of 1965.

anthem carries the word Sindh, a province which is not in India but in Pakistan.²⁷² In fact, the Hindu epic Mahabharata, was recited first time in history in what is today Pakistan; and Chanakya, author of Arthashastra and Nitishastra, after whom diplomatic enclave is named ‘Chanakyapuri’ in New Delhi, was born in Taxila, which is again in Pakistan.

Significantly, so many Hindu holy places of historical importance are in Pakistan.

Ram’s younger brother Bharata and his son are said to have settled in Gandhara, in the upper Punjab region and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan.²⁷³ The Pandava family at one time resided at Katasraj, near today’s Islamabad. Hinglaj in south-western Pakistan, is another place of pilgrimage for the followers of the Hindu religion. According to Hindu mythology, “the head of Sati fell at Hinglaj when Vishnu scattered her body elsewhere.”²⁷⁴

Similarly, Multan about which some say is “one of the oldest living cities that has existed since Noah,” used to be one of the holiest places for the Hindus of the subcontinent. Artisans from Multan were among the builders of the Taj Mahal in Agra and Qutb Minar in Dehli. According to historical records, skills of Multani architects were utilized in the construction of the Great Umayyad Mosque in Damascus earlier around 713 AD. Muhammad al-Ghusani, a Muslim architect from Multan, was sent to Damascus after the invasion of Sindh by General Muhammad bin Qasim in 712 AD. Subsequently, Ghusani’s

272 Relevant lines from Indian national anthem read, “O! Dispenser of India’s destiny, thou art the ruler of the minds of all people. Thy name rouses the hearts of Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, the Maratha...Utkala and Bengal; It echoes in the hills of the Vindhya and Himalayas...”

273 Consult, Ancient History Encyclopedia: “Gandhara Civilization.” (https://www.ancient.eu/Gandhara_Civilization/).

274 ‘Do you know about this Shakti Peetha in Pakistan?’, Times Now dated 22 August 2019.

family settled in Damascus at the request of Caliph al-Walid who showered honours on them.²⁷⁵

Importantly, Muhammad al-Ghusani was one of the earliest converts to Islam. It is said that his Hindu name was Ram Metla Malli.²⁷⁶ Incidentally, Malli dynasty was ruling Multan when Alexander attacked the city in 326 BC. During the siege, Alexander was fatally wounded in Multan, when a ‘poisoned arrow’ hit him in his chest. He could not recover from the wound, and died later in Mesopotamia while on his way back to Macedonia.²⁷⁷

Sikhs are an energetic people in India. Sikhs have served in important positions in India. As mentioned earlier, the most holy places of the Sikh religion are located in Pakistan. These include, Nankana Sahib near Lahore and Panja Sahib, close to Islamabad.²⁷⁸ Guru Nanak was born at Nankana Sahib.

Some learned Sikhs would tell you in Indian Punjab that the Sikh holy book, Granth Sahib, has, in it, passages from the mystical poetry of the Muslim saint Fareeduddin Ganjshakar, buried near Sahiwal in Pakistan.²⁷⁹ Interestingly, in one of his write-ups, Arnold Toynbee commented, “The atmosphere of Amritsar strikes a Western observer as being decidedly Islamic and indeed, almost Protestant.”²⁸⁰

275 ‘The Great Mosque of Damascus,’ Finbarr Barry Flood, BRILL (2001). ISBN: 9789004116382

276 ‘Ancient history of the city of Multan’ by Qutubi al Nusair. (Manuscript as was preserved in the Mian Khuda Baksh Library in Thatta Qureshi, Muzaffargarh.)

277 Publication ‘Ancient History of Hinduism and its Important Dimensions’ by Hari Laal published in Hyderabad Daccan in 1941; page 19.

278 According to a Protocol agreed upon by both Pakistan and India, a large number of Sikhs are allowed to visit their holy places in Pakistan.

279 Study also ‘Textual Sources for the Study of Sikhism’ by W.H. McLeod, University of Chicago Press (1990).

280 Amritsar & Lahore, by Arnold Toynbee. Visit <http://lahorenama.wordpress.com/2008/03/05/toynbee>. (Site accessed on 8 December 2010).

Historians also refer to a jaagir given by Emperor Akbar which was used for the welfare of Harminder Sahib. Importantly, Gujranwala is the birthplace of Mahan Singh, and his son Ranjit Singh was also born there in 1780.

Lahore later became the capital of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.²⁸¹

Pakistan also generates apprehensions in the Indian mind as it constitutes people and territory that was used to attack Delhi in history. The traditional route followed by the armies invading India in the past, has been Kabul (in Afghanistan), Peshawar, Bhera, Multan, Sahiwal (in Pakistan), and then Delhi.

Historians have quoted invasions of India by Muslim armies led by Ghaznis, Ghauris, Mughals and others. What is not really mentioned, are the invasions of the territory which is today India from the territory which is today Pakistan, by the Hindu armies led by Hindu Kings and Hindu Generals of significance in history.

Crowned in Taxila, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty, Chandragupta Maurya, invaded India from Pakistan. Understandably, his military planning was formulated none other than Chanakya, who was himself based in Taxila. Same holds true for the Kushana emperors, who launched attacks on India from Peshawar.

India's most bloody event in history, the Kalinga War, led to Asoka's conversion to Buddhism. Asoka had served as the Governor of Taxila.²⁸² Asoka also received education in military sciences at the Takshashila University, near today's Islamabad.

281 Consult 'A History of the Sikhs: 1469-1838,' Khushwant Singh, Oxford University Press. (2004)

282 Kalinga War is one of the major battles in Indian history. By various estimates, Raja Anantha from the Kalinga side had brought in 700 war elephants to face Asoka's army which totaled 400,000. May also see 'The Edicts of King Ashoka', Kandy, Buddhist Publications Society (1994).

His son and daughter were instrumental in the spread of Buddhism from what is today Pakistan to Lanka (Sri Lanka). From there, Buddhism travelled to East Asia (today's Thailand, Vietnam, Korea and Japan).

The pioneers of the Pakistan movement, including Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, are on record, having described the Hindus and the Muslims as the “eyes of a beautiful bride.” Jinnah was an active member of the Indian National Congress which he joined prior to the creation of Muslim League. Later, Jinnah became the architect of the 1916 Lucknow Pact which endeavoured to bring Muslim League and Congress together.

Muslims would not have demanded a separate homeland, Pakistan, if they felt assured that their religion, culture, identity and basic rights, would not be under threat at the hands of the Hindu majority, once the British left the subcontinent.

Unfortunately, the prejudice has continued. A note was taken in Pakistan of the expulsion of former External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh, from the BJP in August 2009. His sin was to describe Muhammad Ali Jinnah, a “great Indian.”²⁸³ In an interview to a news channel, Singh had remarked, “Jinnah was a great man because he created something out of nothing and single-handedly stood against the might of the Congress party and against the British who did not really like him.”²⁸⁴

This was not the first instance when a high profile Indian suffered in recent times just because of praising the founder of Pakistan. Earlier in June 2005, the then Deputy Prime Minister of India, Lal Krishna Advani, also had to resign as President of Bharatiya Janata Party, for words of praise for Jinnah during his visit to Karachi.

283 Jaswant Singh is highly respected in his own right.

284 Take a look at the book ‘Jinnah: India-Partition-Independence’ by Jaswant Singh, published by Rupa in 2009. ISBN 9788129113788.

Mainly because of the commonalities, many an Indian would forcefully insist in all sincerity that “Pakistanis and Indians are of the same stock, breed and background.” Indians also say that it is illogical and absurd to divide a country on the basis of religion.

The question is, was India ever a one country in history except during the British period and at the time of Alauddin Khilji? In fact, the territory of the subcontinent which constitutes Pakistan today, has been historically, geographically and culturally different and distinct from the rest of India.²⁸⁵ Analysts point to the following:

Indus Valley Civilization (3000-1500 B.C.)

What is Pakistan today, remained separate and independent of India for around 1500 years.

Aryan period (1500-522 B.C.)

Pakistan remained separate from India for around 970 years.

Achaemenian Empire (522-326 B.C.)

What is Pakistan today constituted semi-independent states for around 196 years under the suzerainty of the Achaemenian Empire. These Pakistani states were separate and distinct from India.

Pakistan under Greek rule

Subsequently, the area which constitutes Pakistan today was invaded by Alexander of Macedonia in 327 BC. It remained under the Greek rule for around 190 years as a distinct region independent of India even though the Greek rulers did extend their rule to parts of what is today India.

²⁸⁵ May also study ‘Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan’ by Aitzaz Ahsan published by South Asia Books in 1997.

Kushan rule (70-250 A.D.)

For about 180 years, Pakistan-based kingdom ruled over a major portions of north India.

White Huns and allied tribes (450-650 A.D.)

For about 200 years, the Pakistan-based kingdoms extended their rule over parts of north India.

Ghaznavids (1010-1187 A.D.)

For 177 years, Pakistan remained part of the Ghaznavid empire, separate from India.

Muslim period (1227-1739 A.D.)

During the rule of the Slave dynasty, Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Syeds, Lodhis, Suris and Mughals i.e. about 512 years, what is Pakistan today came under the north India-based MUSLIM rule.

Nadir Shah and Abdali periods (1739-1800 A.D.)

For around 61 years, Pakistan was under the Persian and Afghan suzerainty, not a part of India.

British rule (1848-1947 A.D.)

For around 99 years, Pakistan remained part of the British empire in the subcontinent.

Archaeologists assert that the practices observed in Harappa and Mohenjodaro were at odds with the ones followed in other parts of the subcontinent. According to Norman Brown, "Evidence of the Rig Veda shows" that during the centuries when Aryans were occupying Punjab composing hymns of Rig Veda, "the north-west part of the subcontinent, was culturally separate from the rest of India."²⁸⁶

286 'Pakistan and Western Asia,' by Professor Norman Brown. (<http://www.defence.pk/forums/current-events-social-issues>). Site accessed on 1 October 2010.)

It is pointed out that not a single Hindu idol, deity, temple has been excavated from Harappa and Mohenjodaro. Richard Hines emphasizes that “unlike the Hindus who practice cremation, people of the Indus Valley Civilization buried their dead in wooded coffins with their heads facing north and the feet pointing south.”²⁸⁷ According to Kamal Lodaya, “Meat was an important part of the Harappan diet which included beef, mutton, fowl, fish and other animals.”²⁸⁸ This stands in sharp contrast with vegetarianism in India. Significantly, the Indus Valley script is written from right to left like in Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. On the other hand, Hindi language spoken in India is written from left to right.²⁸⁹

Cow is worshipped in Hinduism; bull in Hinduism has a minor role. In fact, bull was much more sacred in ancient Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures similar to the popular Harappan bull. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, “The Bull Cult was a prehistoric religious practice that originated in the eastern Aegean Sea and extended from the Indus Valley of Pakistan to the Danube River in eastern Europe...The Bull Cult continued into historic times and was particularly important in the Indus Valley and on the Grecian island of Crete. In both places, the bull’s ‘horns of consecration’ were an important religious symbol.”²⁹⁰ Hines comments: “Similar to the cultures of ancient Middle East, it appears that the Indus religion recognized some type of life after death.”²⁹¹

287 For details, see Ancient India: The Ancient Civilization of India (<http://www.theancientweb.com>). Site accessed on 9 October 2010.

288 www.oocities.org/pak (Site visited on 13 December 2012.)

289 Take a look also at Israeli newspaper Haaretz 17.6.2020: ‘Uncovering the Secrets of the Indus Valley Civilization and Its Undeciphered Script.’

290 Encyclopaedia Britannica (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/bull-cult>). Site re-accessed on 20 September 2020.

291 See ‘Ancient India-The Ancient Civilizations of India’ by visiting w.ancientweb.org/explore (Site accessed on 22 December 2012).

Unfortunately, Pakistan and India have not been able to resolve their disputes and differences. Despite sincere efforts, Pakistan and India continue to look at each other with mistrust and distrust.

The media also has had its role.

To give an example, when India was hit by plague which started from the Indian city of Surat in September 1994, an Indian newspaper emblazoned the news with a flashy headline, ‘ISI let loose 40,000 rats into India through Rajasthan.’

New Delhi considers Jammu and Kashmir as an “integral part” of India.²⁹² Islamabad does not consider Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of Pakistan. Pakistan’s position on the issue is based on the UN Security Council Resolutions, which provide for the final disposition of the state in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the people of Kashmir to be determined through a free and impartial plebiscite, under the UN auspices.

Noted Indian journalist Kuldip Nayar in an article published in August 2014, opined that “the Kashmiris would have voted for Pakistan, if there had been a plebiscite.”²⁹³

In a positive development, the Composite Dialogue process between Pakistan and India, which resumed after the 6 January 2004 Statement in Islamabad, did yield some positive results. The terrorist attack in Mumbai on 26 November 2008 again placed a semi-colon in Pakistan-India relations.²⁹⁴

292 Indian Ministry of External Affairs has emphasised this point on a number of occasions.

293 Article titled ‘Politics of Kashmir,’ By Kuldip Nayar published in the Bangladeshi newspaper, The Daily Star, of 22 August 2014.

294 Pakistan was one of the first countries if not the first to condemn the terrorist attack in Mumbai. Immediately on learning about the tragedy, Foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi offered his deep condolences to the people and the Government of India. Similarly, Pakistani leadership spoke to the Indian Prime Minister conveying the sympathies of the people and the Government of Pakistan.

Paradoxically, the attack in Mumbai took place when Foreign Minister of Pakistan Shah Mehmood Qureshi was visiting India that too at the official invitation of the Indian Minister for External Affairs.²⁹⁵ Ironically, the date of the attack in Mumbai also coincided with the Secretary-level talks between Pakistan and India in Islamabad that too on Terrorism.

A note has also been taken of the case of Sarabjeet Singh, an Indian national, who committed acts of terror in Pakistan in 1990 which resulted in the death and injury to more than 115 Pakistanis.

The following facts of the case need to be noted:

- Sarabjeet Singh (alias Manjeet Singh) was arrested in Kasur, near Lahore in 1990 for involvement in bomb blasts in Lahore, Faisalabad and Multan.
- He was awarded death sentence by Special Terrorism Court on 15 August 1991 which was subsequently confirmed by Lahore High Court on 27 December 2001. The Supreme Court of Pakistan dismissed his appeals on 18 August 2005 and 27 December 2005.
- The Supreme Court of Pakistan in the criminal review petition, confirmed the death sentence in March 2006; and later, dismissed another review petition on 24 June 2009.
- His mercy petition was also rejected by the President of Pakistan on 31 January 2008. His execution was fixed for 1 April 2008.

²⁹⁵ Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Qureshi is the direct descendant of Bahauddin Zakaria Multani, one of the well-known saints of the subcontinent.

In the meanwhile, the Government of India requested the Government of Pakistan a number of times to release Sarabjit Singh on “humanitarian grounds.” The then Minister of External Affairs and later, President of India, Pranab Mukherjee, publicly requested clemency for Sarabjit Singh. He stated in the Indian Parliament in March 2008, “I appeal to the Government of Pakistan to treat Sarabjit’s case with clemency on humanitarian grounds.”²⁹⁶ Later, during his meeting with the President of Pakistan in Islamabad in September 2012, Indian Minister of External Affairs S.M. Krishna renewed the request.²⁹⁷

Incidentally, Sarabjeet, later in a scuffle with his prison inmates, got severely injured. He died in May 2013. As a reaction, which is not uncommon in Pakistan-India relations, a Pakistani in prison in Jammu (in Indian Occupied Kashmir), Sanaullah, was murdered by his Indian prison inmates the very next day.

The case of another Indian, Kashmir Singh would also be interesting to note. He was arrested in Pakistan in 1974 on charges of espionage. He remained in Pakistani jails for more than 30 years. In March 2008, the Government of Pakistan released him on humanitarian grounds. On return to India, he publicly confessed that in Pakistan he “did the duty assigned to him as a spy.” Interestingly, he went on to complain that when he was doing his duty as Indian spy in Pakistan, the Government of India did not look after his family. The Times of India quoted him as stating that the Indian government “did not bother to spend a single penny on my family.”²⁹⁸

It would be relevant to refer to the Samjhauta Express terrorist blasts in India on 18 February 2007, which resulted in the death of more than 40 innocent Pakistan nationals. The then Indian President Abdul Kalam expressed grief over the loss of lives with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh assuring the Government of Pakistan that culprits will be brought to the book.

296 The Indian Express of 19 March 2008.

297 Times of India dated 8 September 2012.

298 Times of India dated 7 March 2008.

In his meeting with Pakistani Foreign Minister in New Delhi on 20-22 February 2007, External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee highlighted the importance of keeping the peace process on track despite the “terrible tragedy.” He gave concrete assurances to the Pakistani Foreign Minister Kasuri that New Delhi “will share the results of the investigation” with the Government of Pakistan. No concrete information has been provided to Islamabad.

Subsequently, a possible connection emerged between the Samjhauta Express blasts and Hindu extremists in India.

The names of one Lieutenant Colonel Prasad Shrikant Purohit and Sadhvi Pragya Singh Thakur, were mentioned. A view was expressed that RDX for the Samjhauta blasts was provided by Purohit. In a significant development, the Hindustan Times of 7 January 2011 quoting “sources”, reported that one Swami Aseemanand who was arrested earlier on 19 November 2010, has “confessed before a magistrate to his involvement” in the Samjhauta blasts. The newspaper added, “what makes Aseemanand’s confession valuable as evidence is that it has been made before a Magistrate under Section 164 of the Criminal Procedure Code and is thus admissible as evidence.”

Peace is important. There is a need for India and Pakistan to have good relations with each other. Both are nuclear powers and neighbours. The two countries owe peace and tranquility not only to their present generation, but to posterity.

The biggest challenge that has now come in the way of peace between the two countries, is the drastic change of the mindset in New Delhi. With the coming into power of Narendra Modi, RSS seems to reign supreme, with India no longer deriving inspiration from idealism of Gandhi but from the objectives of his assassin Nathuram Godse.

India-Bangladesh bilateral relations

The official website of the Indian High Commission in Dhaka emphasises that India was the first country to extend recognition to Bangladesh.

New Delhi has been spending billions of rupees on issues relating to Bangladesh. It offers hundreds of scholarships to Bangladeshi students to study in India. There is a massive people to people program going on. Thousands of Bangladeshis visit India every year. Indians would not like to visit Bangladesh. Dhaka has never been an attractive destination for an Indian tourist. Unfortunately, a very large number of Indians have a strong tendency to look down on the Muslims of Bangladesh. This has much to do with historical, religious and cultural prejudices.

Analysts have stressed the need to look at the covert funding by India in Bangladesh, which is not really known to many. Before the 2014 general elections in Bangladesh, Indian media reported that Indian intelligence agencies had been provided with a sum of 1000 crore rupees to support the Awami League in its election campaign.²⁹⁹

Following is the list of the visits to Bangladesh by the Indian Heads of State/Government:

- Prime Minister Indira Gandhi visited Bangladesh in March 1972
- Prime Minister Morarji Desai visited Bangladesh in April 1979
- Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited Bangladesh in June 1985

299 May also take a look at book titled, 'The Zero-Cost Mission' by Amar Bhushan, HarperCollins India. (2018)

- Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar visited Bangladesh in May 1991
- Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visited Bangladesh in April 1993
- Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda visited Bangladesh in January 1997
- Prime Minister I.K. Gujral visited Bangladesh in January 1998
- Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Bangladesh in June 1999
- Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited Bangladesh in September 2011
- President Pranab Mukherjee visited Bangladesh in March 2013
- Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Bangladesh in June 2015

Following is the list of the visits to India by the Bangladeshi Heads of State/Government:

- Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman visited India on 6-8 February 1972
- Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman visited India on 12-16 May 1974
- President Ziaur Rehman visited India on 21 January 1980
- President Lt. Gen. H M Ershad visited India 6-7 October 1982
- Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia visited India on 26-28 May 1992
- Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina visited India on 10-12 December 1996
- Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina visited India on 29-31 January 1999
- Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia visited India on 20-22 March 2006

- Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina visited India on 10-13 January 2010
- Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina visited India on 19 January 2010
- Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina visited India in August 2015

Trade Statistics

(Value in million US\$) ³⁰⁰

Financial Year	Bangladesh Exports to India	Bangladesh Imports from India
2001-2002	50.19	1018.90
2002-2003	83.61	1357.79
2003-2004	89.32	2092.63
2004-2005	143.66	2025.78
2005-2006	241.96	1868.00
2006-2007	289.42	2226.05
2007-2008	358.08	3383.94
2008-2009	276.58	2843.00
2009-2010	304.63	3213.70
2010-2011	512.51	4569.20
2011-2012	498.42	4743.30
2012-2013	563.96	4776.80
2013-2014		
(July-May)	456.63	5513.20

³⁰⁰ High Commission for India in Bangladesh (hcidhaka.gov.in). Site accessed on 6 January 2015.

India's relations with other neighbours

Notwithstanding the Western perception led by the United States, the prevailing view has been that all countries in the subcontinent have a problem with India.

India facilitated the separation of East Pakistan in 1971 through the “instrument of terror.” Many Indians have admitted, even in writing, that India had created terror camps “on the Indian soil” to dismember Pakistan. Even today, India is indulging in state terrorism against Pakistan, be it in Karachi, FATA or Balochistan. India has been blatantly violating the UN Security Resolutions on Jammu and Kashmir, yet the West and the United States support New Delhi's bid to become a permanent member of the Security Council.

India annexed the Kingdom of Sikkim in 1975, as mentioned earlier.

India has territorial disputes with China over a large area of around 125,000 square kilometers, including Arunachal Pradesh. Chinese assert that Beijing has been “offering major concessions to New Delhi to resolve the issue.” However, India has never reciprocated. The India-China war of 1962 led to the Indian humiliation, and consequently Nehru's death. In a grave border clash in June 2020, Chinese military bludgeoned more than 60 soldiers of the Indian army to death.³⁰¹

Indian army has been permanently deployed in Bhutan; some opine, “under the command of a Lieutenant General.” Understandably, this massive deployment, is to counter China. According to Bhutanese intellectuals, “New Delhi reinforced its military strength in Bhutan when Indian forces had to run for their lives in 1962.”³⁰²

301 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (‘At a Crossroads? China India nuclear relations after the border clash’ by Toby Dalton and Tong Zhao, 19 August 2020).

302 During India's war with China.

Analysts in Male would insist that “historically, Laccadive Islands have belonged to the Maldives.” However, Male “cannot stake the claim” since the area, has been under Indian occupation since long. In 1988, mercenaries tried to overthrow the government in the Maldives. Immediately thereafter, India dispatched its military force apparently to assist the Government of Maldives. According to insiders, “mercenaries were agents of RAW,” and that the whole operation was “engineered by the Indian intelligence to ensure that Male does not try to get out of its boots.”

Nepal is helpless in terms of its interaction with India. Buddha was born in what is today Nepal. On its part, many in New Delhi try to publicise the view that “Buddha was born in India.” New Delhi has been accusing Myanmar of “harbouring terror camps against India.” It was New Delhi that started the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka resulting in a bloody civil war which continued for decades. India has been using the Afghan territory to destabilize Pakistan.

Two developments which changed the world, are directly related to Pakistan. First, the Soviet defeat in Afghanistan which was one of the reasons for the collapse of the USSR. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan would not have been possible without Pakistan’s support. Second, the war against terror. This would not have made any headway had Pakistan not extended support to the international community against the scourge.

Political observers express the view that “it was the American CIA” which had brought into Pakistan “more than 40,000 extremists from the Middle East and North Africa,” during the height of the Afghan war (1981-1985). Some even assert that “CIA had made Peshawar its largest base in the world, to fight the Soviet Union.” Once Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan, it was Islamabad that emphasised to the US the need for the extremists “to go back to the countries of their origin.”

Importantly, 'suicide bombing' is not a Muslim phenomenon in South Asia. In fact, terrorism is alien and foreign to the Pakistani mind, soul and psyche. Suicide bombings never took place when the Muslims fought the British in the Battle of Buxar (1764), Battle of Plassey (1757) and during the War of Independence (1857). Such attacks did not occur earlier either at Daibal in 712 AD and later at Seringapatam in 1799. Similarly, suicide attacks did not take place when Pakistan defended itself against the Indian aggression in 1965 and 1971.

9/11 came as a boon to the Hindus of India. 9/11 came as a bane to the Muslims of the world, especially Muslims of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh.

According to Encyclopaedia Britannica, Christopher Columbus had sought permission from Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand in 1492, not to discover America, but to proceed to the subcontinent, as he wished to convert the Moors to Christianity the way it had been done in Spain. The language of his epistle, is interesting:³⁰³

...and I saw the Moorish king come out of the gates of the city and kiss the royal hands of Your Highnesses...and Your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians...took thought to send me, Christopher Columbus, to the said parts of India, to see those princes and peoples and lands...and the manner which should be used to bring about their conversion to our holy faith, and ordained that I should not go by land to the eastward, by which way it was the custom to go, but by way of the west, by which down to this day we do not know certainly that anyone has passed; therefore, having driven out all the Jews from your realms and lordships in the same month of January, Your Highnesses commanded me that, with a sufficient fleet, I should go to the said parts of India,

303 Writeup 'Christopher Columbus - Italian explorer' by Valerie I. J. Flint, Professor of History, University of Hull, England. (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Christopher-Columbus>).

and for this accorded me great rewards and ennobled me so that from that time henceforth I might style myself "Don" and be high admiral of the Ocean Sea and viceroy and perpetual Governor of the islands and continent which I should discover... and that my eldest son should succeed to the same position, and so on from generation to generation forever.

Today, a large number of Muslims in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh feel that the United States is building up India, not just to counter China but to make Muslims and Islam a surrogate of Hindu India.

The ongoing process of saffronization in India, should worry not only New Delhi but its neighbours and the world at large. Indian analysts like Praful Bidwai would not disagree with the view that "all this, would be disastrous for India in the long run."³⁰⁴ Sometime back, The Guardian carried an article by Randeep Ramesh which focused on Hindu extremism in India. It stressed.³⁰⁵

- There are calls (in India)...to ban Hindu extremist organisations such as the Bajrang Dal, which uses force when the force of argument fails.
- One Christian priest was "cut to pieces" in front of his wife....The violence, which has left nearly two dozen dead, has spread across six states. Even after the Pope intervened, the Roman Catholic archbishop of one of the worst affected areas in eastern India, said the situation was "out of control."
-in the southern Indian town of Mangalore, it was Christian churches that were attacked, yet the leaders of Hindu mobs walked free for days, untouched by the police.

304 Praful Bidwai was a highly regarded Indian columnist who had been writing on matters of importance relating to India's domestic developments and foreign relations.

305 The Guardian, 29 September 2008.

- Instead of trying to capture state power for the purpose of waging a cultural war, the Hindu right would do the country a service by reforming itself from within – promoting equality and unifying its own denominations and sects.
- Religion’s role in India must be one of restraining passions, not inflaming them.
- Similarly, *The Christian Post* in an article by Stoyan Zaimov, underlined:³⁰⁶
- The ‘International Christian Concern’ has warned that Sangh Parivar, an umbrella Hindu nationalist group, is inflicting suffering and looking to cleanse the minority Christian population in India.....The watchdog group said in a press release that the nationalist group and its associate organizations have been directing hate speech toward Christians and leading attacks on pastors and churches in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh.
- John Dayal, a member of the Indian government’s National Integration Council, said: “There has been a sharp rise in hate campaigns against Christians by political organizations. This threat of purging Christians from villages extends from Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh to now Uttar Pradesh, and to the borders of the national capital of New Delhi.”
- There have been reports of churches being turned into Hindu temples, and entire mobs attacking Christian houses....
- New Delhi Archbishop Anil J. Couto said, “The Sangh Parivar plan [is] to carry out shuddhikaran— attempts to re-convert Christians to Hinduism....This

306 *Christian Post* (<http://www.christianpost.com/news/hindu-nationalist-group>). Site accessed on 9 February 2015.

move by fundamentalist groups is a grave assault on the fundamental rights of individuals and people and groups.”

The Washington Post of 18 December 2014 also focused on the ongoing Hindu fundamentalism in India. Its writeup on the subject, stated: ³⁰⁷

- The trouble started a few months ago (in Aligarh in India), when Hindu nationalists swept into a small village where several families had converted to Christianity more than a decade earlier. They held a fire purification ceremony with the villagers, tore a cross off the local church and put up a poster of the god Shiva. The space was now a temple, they declared.
- Then right-wing Hindu groups announced a Christmas Day ceremony where they planned to welcome hundreds of Christians and Muslims into Hinduism. A fundraising flier solicited donations for volunteers to undergo conversion — about \$ 3,200 for each Christian and \$ 8,000 for each Muslim.
- Christians in Aligarh say they are afraid of what might happen on their holy day. “We just want security from the government, particularly on Christmas,” said Ajay Joseph, 39, a lab technician. His fears echo those of other religious minorities in majority-Hindu India, where some Christians and Muslims worry that incidents of religious intolerance will rise with the advent of a conservative government led by Narendra Modi, himself a fervent Hindu nationalist.

³⁰⁷ Washington Post (http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/christian-enclave-in-india). Site accessed on 9 February 2015.

The New York Times of 6 February 2014 editorially commented on the subject, by underscoring:

- What will it take for Prime Minister Narendra Modi to speak out about the mounting violence against India's religious minorities? Attacks at Christian places of worship have prompted no response from the man elected to represent and to protect all of India's citizens. Nor has he addressed the mass conversion to Hinduism of Christians and Muslims who have been coerced or promised money.
- Mr. Modi's continued silence before such troubling intolerance increasingly gives the impression that he either cannot or does not wish to control the fringe elements of the Hindu nationalist right.
- Recently, a number of Christian churches in India have been burned and ransacked. Last December, St. Sebastian's Church in East Delhi was engulfed in fire.....On Monday, St. Alphonsa's Church in New Delhi was vandalized... Alarmed by the attacks, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India has urged the government to uphold the secular nature of India....
- There is also concern about the mass conversions. Last December, about 200 Muslims were converted to Hinduism in Agra. In January, up to 100 Christians in West Bengal "reconverted" to Hinduism. Hard-line Hindu nationalist groups, like the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), make no secret of their support for a "homecoming" campaign designed to "return" non-Hindus to the fold. More than 80 percent of Indians are Hindu, but Pravin Togadia of the VHP says his organization's goal is a country that is 100 percent Hindu. The only way to achieve that is to deny religious minorities their faith.

The assertion by Hindu extremists in India that Muslims, Christians and people of other faiths, should “return to their original Hindu religion,” is being noticed in the world. Samanth Subramanian comments in an article in The Guardian of 20 February 2020, “For seven decades, India has been held together by its Constitution, which promises equality...But Narendra Modi’s BJP is remaking the nation into one where some people count as more Indian than others.”

Fundamentalist Hindus assert that the Holy Kaaba in Mecca “was a Hindu temple.” Other extremist scholars underline that the Taj Mahal in Agra, built by Muslim Emperor Shah Jahan, was “originally a Hindu temple ‘Tejumala.’ ”³⁰⁸

‘Vande Materam’ is central to the fundamentalist Hindu mindset in India. In January 1950, India’s Constituent Assembly adopted it as the national song of India. In his remarks, President Rajendra Prasad underlined that Vande Materam be respected equally with the national anthem of India. Following is the English translation of some of its stanzas:³⁰⁹

*Mother, I praise thee!
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
bright with orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waving Mother of might,
Mother free.*

*Glory of moonlight dreams,
Over thy branches and
lordly streams,*

308 Times of India, 18 March 2018 (‘Hindu Mahasabha’s calendar refers to Mecca as Macceshwar Mahadev temple, Taj as Tejo Mahalaya’).

309 Government of India (National Song of India: https://web.archive.org/web/20130115003651/http://knowindia.gov.in/knowindia/national_symbols).

*Clad in thy blossoming trees,
Mother, giver of ease
Laughing low and sweet!*

*Mother, I kiss thy feet,
Speaker sweet and low!
Mother, I praise thee.*

*Thou art Durga, Lady and Queen,
With her hands that strike and
her swords of sheen,
Thou art Lakshmi lotus-throned,
And the Muse a hundred-toned,
Pure and perfect without peer,
Mother lend thine ear,
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Dark of hue O candid-fair*

*In thy soul, with bejeweled hair
And thy glorious smile divine,
Loveliest of all earthly lands,
Showering wealth from
well-stored hands!
Mother, mother mine!
Mother sweet, I praise thee,
Mother great and free!*

Pakistan-Bangladesh bilateral relations

Pakistan and Bangladesh enjoy mutually beneficial relations.

Many would not be aware of the substantial aspects of the relations.

After the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bangladesh, the Pakistan International Airlines gifted two aircraft to the

Bangladesh airlines ‘Biman’. In 1980s, Islamabad gifted 46 aircraft of the Pakistan Air Force to the Bangladesh Air Force.³¹⁰ According to Bangladeshi defense analysts, earlier Pakistan gave a gift of 35 tanks to the Bangladesh army.

Importantly, Bangladesh armed forces do not buy weapons from India. Bangladesh has been purchasing weapons from China, Pakistan and Russia. Bangladesh armed forces have been regularly availing training facilities in Pakistan. In the summer of 2014, the two countries reached an understanding according to which Islamabad would provide training in Pakistan to more than 60 Bangladeshi army personnel in respect of the Al-Khaled tank produced by Pakistan.³¹¹

These important facets of the relations between the two countries are not publicised.

Trade between Pakistan and Bangladesh has been on the increase. From around \$ 477 million four years ago, bilateral trade figure stood at close to \$ 800 million in 2015. Every year, Pakistan spends around 10 million taka on developmental projects in Bangladesh. Islamabad has set up cement plants and other enterprises in Bangladesh which also include Beaconhouse and the City Schools in Dhaka. All this is besides the scholarships for education provided by Pakistan.

Some developments in bilateral relations, are mentioned below:

- Visit of Pakistan women’s cricket team to Bangladesh (November 2011)
- Visit of Pakistan national cricket team to Bangladesh (Nov-Dec 2011)

310 F-6 aircraft were gifted by President Ziaul Haque at the request of Bangladeshi President Hussain Muhammad Ershad.

311 The author at that time serving as Pakistan’s High Commissioner in Dhaka had signed the approval document.

- Visit to Dhaka by a delegation from Staff College, Lahore (November 2011)
- Pakistan participated in Dhaka National Trade Fair (January 2012)
- Participation in SAARC Trade Fair, Dhaka (March-April 2012)
- Visit of Pakistan Cricket Team for Asia Cup to Bangladesh (March 2012)
- Visit to Bangladesh by a delegation from National Defence University, Islamabad (April 2012)
- Pakistan trade exhibition in Dhaka (May 2012)
- A 100 schools of Bangladesh participated in art competition in Dhaka (June 2012)
- Pakistani Qawwali concerts organised in Bangladesh (June 2012)
- Bangladeshi journalists visited Pakistan (2012 and 2013)
- Bangladeshi youth delegation visited Pakistan (2012 and 2013)

The under-mentioned visits which have taken place between Pakistan and Bangladesh, also need to be noted:

- Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman visited Pakistan at the invitation of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to attend the Second Meeting of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Lahore on 22-24 February 1974

- Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto paid a visit to Bangladesh in June 1974
- President Zia-ul-Haq visited Dhaka in May 1985, to express solidarity with the people of Bangladesh after a severe cyclone hit Bangladesh
- President Zia-ul-Haq visited Bangladesh in December 1985
- President HM Ershad visited Pakistan on a bilateral visit in 1986
- Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited Bangladesh in October 1989
- Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif visited Bangladesh in January 1998
- President Pervez Musharraf visited Bangladesh on a bilateral visit in July 2002
- Foreign Minister Kasuri visited Bangladesh in 2003
- Foreign Minister Murshed Khan visited Islamabad in 2003
- Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz visited Bangladesh in 2004
- Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia visited Pakistan in 1992
- Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia visited Pakistan in 1995
- Sheikh Hasina visited Pakistan in 1998
- Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia visited Pakistan on SAARC related visit in 2004

- Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia visited Pakistan in 2006
- The Advisor on Foreign Affairs, Iftekhhar Chowdhury, visited Pakistan in May 2008
- Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar visited Dhaka in November 2012

Whenever, Bangladeshis visit Pakistan, they return with memories. Occasionally, they write mentioning their experiences. In 2013, a number of young Bangladeshi students visited Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. On return to Dhaka, they conveyed their views to the Pakistan High Commission which are as under:

Sharbani Yeasmin (Student at Department of Political Science, University of Rajshahi)

- Pakistan is like a sweet honey.
- Every Pakistani should be grateful to Almighty because of the natural assets that Pakistan possesses.
- Before my visit to the universities in Pakistan, I did not have any idea that Pakistan has such world class universities.
- We believe that Pakistan is our second home.

Sangida Begum (Student of Political Science, Rajshahi University)

- I had thought that Pakistanis are our enemies; but now I have realized that Pakistan is not our enemy, it is our close friend.
- We all have come to realize that Pakistan is intentionally misrepresented by the global media.

Safir Uddin (Political Science, Rajshahi University)

- Landing in Pakistan and staying for 14 days, has totally changed my mind set.
- On our way to Islamabad from Lahore, we were charmed by the Pakistani infrastructure of highways.
- Pakistani people are friendly, hospitable and positive towards Bangladeshi people.

Nur Mohammed (Department of Mass Communication and Journalism, Rajshahi University)

- We all came to realize that Pakistan is badly portrayed in international media.
- I strongly realize that Pakistan has a mission and vision to reach a meaningful goal.
- Wide and planned roads, architectural excellence, neatness and cleanliness, history, natural beauty, and people's hospitality, all together taught me that Pakistanis are morally rich, polite and gentle.
- Pakistan's education system is world class.

Shah Ahsan Habib (Mass Communication and Journalism, Rajshahi University)

- We have truly been loved by the Pakistani people.
- When they came to know that we are from Bangladesh, they called us 'bhai' (brother); they said 'Aap hamaray mehman hain' (you are our guests). While departing, they asked us to come again.
- Can I forget the shopkeeper in Islamabad who, after coming to know that I am a Bangladeshi, refused to

take the payment for the juice that I bought from his shop.

- Pakistani people hold the inner strength to combat all enemies.

Abdul Khalek (Student of M.S.S in Political Science Department, University of Rajshahi)

- Higher Education System of Pakistan is much more developed than any other developing country.
- Pakistan is our real friend and a brotherly country.
- The infrastructure of Pakistan is very developed.
- What is shown by BBC, CNN about Pakistan is that it is a failed country, only producing bombs; but the real picture is not like this.
- Pakistan will be the leader of developing countries in the future.

Bachchu Shekh Rabin (Team Leader of Jahangiranagar University, Department of Govt. & Policies)

- Because of touring several universities in the three major provinces of Pakistan and World Heritage Sites....collecting souvenirs, tasting food with a shahi touch, soaking in the scenic beauty of a hill station, getting dazzled by the intricacies of Sheesh Mahal, all the unexpected and the least imagined came true.

Rowson Zamal (Department of International Relations, Jahangiranagar University)

- We were amazed to see that women in Pakistan do not lag behind. In some of the educational institutions, they are in majority.

- The beauty of Faisal Mosque is impossible to forget.
- Pakistanis are just like our own real brothers.
- Before going to Pakistan, my friends and family members were against it. They knew Pakistan as a place of terrorists. But my 14-day experience says that Pakistan is a country which is very much developed in science and technology. They have very good education facilities, communication and transport system.

Abdul Hyai Rafi and Ayesha Mahmud (Jahangirnagar University)

- Brother is the word the Pakistanis use to refer to the Bangladeshi people.
- Many people think that there is no difference between Pakistani and Bangladeshi people.

Here, it would be relevant to refer to the visit to East Pakistan by the Father of the Nation of Pakistan (both East Pakistan and West Pakistan), Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in March 1948. Addressing a mammoth gathering of around 500,000 people in Dhaka (then a small city), Jinnah underlined:³¹²

- East Bengal (East Pakistan) is the most important component of Pakistan, inhabited as it is by the largest single block of Muslims in the world.
- Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupting the state by creating a split among the Muslims of Pakistan.

312 The Nation's Voice, Vol. VII: Launching the State and the End of the Journey (Aug. 1947 - Sept. 1948), ed. by Waheed Ahmad (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 2003), pp. 243-258.

- These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism....Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Balochs, Pathans and so on. They are, of course, units; but I ask you, have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us 1300 years ago (by our Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam)!
- Here, I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are Muslims. You belong to a nation now. You have now carved out a territory, a vast territory, it is all yours.
- It does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan or a Bengali, it is yours...With your help and your support, we will make Pakistan a mighty state.

In the address, Muhammad Ali Jinnah also underlined, “Are you now, after you have achieved Pakistan, going to destroy it by your own folly!” Everybody cried, “NO, NO.” Jinnah then asked, “Do you want to build it (Pakistan)?” Everybody shouted, “YES, YES.” “Well”, then, underscored Jinnah, “for that purpose, there is one essential condition, and it is this: complete unity and solidarity among ourselves.”³¹³

313 Also see the text in the Annexures to this research work.

SPECTRUM OF EXPERIENCES

The Hindus of Hindustan are different from the Muslims in every respect. We believe in nothing in which they believe. They are entirely different.

Abu Rehan Al-Beruni
Kitabul Hind ³¹⁴

As High Commissioner, it was my third day in Bangladesh. A Bangladeshi sweeper from the local Dhaka government piled up the dirt outside my Residence and placed it in front of the main gate. When one of my staff, also a Bangladeshi, strongly objected, the sweeper manhandled him. Later, our Deputy High Commissioner rushed to the Residence to seek my approval to make a formal complaint to the Bangladeshi Foreign Office. I did not allow him to do so. "I am not in Bangladesh to create difficulties for Dhaka," I stressed.

Later, during a meeting at the Mission, it was mentioned to me that the issue could be raised by us at one of the regular meetings of the diplomats based in Dhaka with the Bangladesh Protocol. I was told that as per the norms, many diplomats especially those from Europe, have been taking up the issues of hygiene and personal security with the Bangladeshi authorities.

I strictly forbade my officers from doing or saying anything that embarrasses Bangladesh, its government or the people of Bangladesh.

314 May also consult article in 'Encyclopaedia Iranica,' on 'Biruni, Abu Rayhan,' 'Indology' section, by accessing <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/biruni-abu-rayhan-viii>). Also see write up 'Al-Biruni: A Great Muslim Scientist, Philosopher and Historian,' by Riaz Ahmad, by visiting pu.edu.pk. (Site accessed on 8 February 2015.)

Occasionally, write-ups in the Bangladeshi media sarcastically opine, “Bangladesh is another Pakistan,” with views expressed in private that “Bangladesh is a different Pakistan, a Bengali Pakistan, a smaller Pakistan.” It seems that only the name of the country has changed from East Pakistan to Bangladesh, otherwise the mindset of the Muslims of Bangladesh is same as the mindset of the Muslims of Pakistan.

A Bangladeshi High Commissioner in an important world capital once mentioned to his Pakistani counterpart that India has been “threatening Bangladesh.” The threats are made at various levels, including “at the top.” Sometimes, the threats are “vocal, otherwise the threats are subtle.” On one occasion, an Indian high official emphasised to his Bangladeshi counterpart, “You guys should not be stupid; you must understand, India made Bangladesh, India can also unmake Bangladesh.”

In another capital earlier, the newly arrived Bangladeshi Ambassador came to the office of his Pakistani counterpart, Jamsheed Marker, for a courtesy call.³¹⁵ During the course of the discussion, he looked at the portrait of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and remarked, “Had this man been alive, Mr. Ambassador, either you would have been sitting on this chair or I would have been sitting on this chair.”³¹⁶

During a cricket match in Dhaka in early 2012, when Bangladesh scored 171 runs against the Pakistan cricket team, senior MPs of the Awami League sitting next to me in the VVIP enclosure in the stadium, started muttering, “1971, 1971, 1971!” This happened in the very presence of the Prime Minister and the President of Bangladesh. I felt embarrassed.

315 No person from any country has served as Ambassador to as many countries as the Ambassador of Pakistan, Jamsheed Marker.

316 Narrated by Ambassador Marker to the author when Afrasiab was serving as Third Secretary in the Pakistani mission in Washington DC.

Interestingly, during the match, I saw both Pakistani and Bangladeshi crowd praying to the same Allah for the victory of their respective cricket teams. The prayers were the same, the Quranic verses used were the same, the style of the prayer was the same to the same Allah, the God of the Muslims of Pakistan, the God of the Muslims of Bangladesh, and God of the Muslims of the world. In fact, during the match, a young Bangladeshi waiter walked up to me and whispered into my ear, “High Commissioner, I am not praying for the Bangladeshi cricket team; I am praying for the Pakistan cricket team.”

According to a former Bangladeshi Foreign Secretary, he asked his wife, after fajr namaz (morning prayer), on the day of the above cricket match, as to which team in her view, would win. He added, “The cricket team of Islamic Pakistan or the team of Secular Bangladesh!” According to him, when Pakistan won the match, he and his wife were “not unhappy.”

When Bangladesh lost the cricket match to Pakistan by a very small margin, there was a pin-drop silence in the jam-packed cricket stadium. Prime Minister Hasina who was eagerly waiting to distribute prize cups among the Bangladesh Cricket team, left the stadium in haste. The following day, our Bangladeshi servants at the Residence refused to serve us the morning bed tea. Later, Indian High Commissioner in Dhaka Pankaj Saran mentioned to me, in private, that diplomats of the Indian Mission were watching the Pakistan-Bangladesh match with “great interest.” He added, “We all were praying for the success of the Pakistan cricket team.”

On another occasion, when Pakistan lost a cricket match against India (being played in Dhaka), young Bangladeshis bitterly complained to me, “Why did Pakistan lose against India, when we were with you...when we were applauding the Pakistan cricket team!”

During the Eid Milad function (Prophet Muhammad's birthday) at the President House in Dhaka, a senior Imam, said to me, "I like Pakistan more than I like Bangladesh." On a visit to Chittagong in mid-2013, we stopped for refreshments at a small roadside restaurant. The owner seemed visibly pleased to see the Pakistani High Commissioner. He approached me and my wife, and said, "Pakistan and Bangladesh are one; you must know." When I visited the shrine of Hazrat Shah Jalal in Sylhet in early 2014, a young man held my hand tight at the mazaar, and loudly prayed for Pakistan and Bangladesh.

At the musical concerts in Dhaka, I was amazed to see so many young Bangladeshis fully conversant with Pakistani songs, almost word to word. On one occasion, I realized that Pakistani classical icon, Shafqat Amanat Ali Khan, was so popular that during his show, he sang one couplet of his song, and then he randomly gave the microphone to some amongst the thousands in the audience. Each Bangladeshi youngster was able to sing the second/third/fourth couplet of Shafqat's song, without difficulty.

During the concert, I was able to avert a personal embarrassment. Somehow, I came to the notice of Shafqat. Without realizing that I was the High Commissioner, he walked up to ask me to sing the second couplet of his song. Sensing his motive, I walked up to him and whispered into his ear that I was representing Pakistan in Bangladesh. Realizing the error, Shafqat immediately gave the mike to a Bangladeshi girl sitting next to me and my wife.

At a lunch in Dhaka, an old Bangladeshi lady complained to me that Delhi "has culturally invaded Bangladesh," so much so that Indian movies "are everywhere on our television, and Indian songs are on the lips of our youth." Her 20 year old daughter sitting next to her, made a remark. She said, "Indians are our MIRASEES (a derogatory term, used for 'traditional entertainers' who sing to entertain the gentry.) They sing, and we feel entertained, nothing more, nothing less."

A large number of former Bangladeshi civil servants and military officers of the united Pakistan days would still emphasise that

they had “wonderful time” in West Pakistan. They would vividly recall “the beauty of Swat, hospitality of the Pathan in Landi Kotal (near Peshawar), sijji of the Baloch in Quetta, and wide roads of the beautiful Islamabad.” Many of them had purchased plots for future investments in the new capital of “their Pakistan.” Others had bought expensive properties in Karachi and Lahore.

A number of East Pakistanis had built houses in the western wing of Pakistan with the final decision to settle there permanently after retirement. Some would even describe Karachi of the 1960s “as the city of lights” as compared to the Indian capital, New Delhi, which in their view, was “a city of dim lights.” At the same time, they would express genuine pain and anguish at their internment in Pakistan after 1971, when Sheikh Mujibur Rahman tried to prosecute the 195 Pakistanis he had accused of committing serious war crimes in East Pakistan, forcing Islamabad to retaliate.

On many occasions, especially in rural areas, the common Bangladeshi would wave at my car lovingly when he saw the Pakistani flag fluttering on it. On occasions, I have seen drivers of passing-by trucks and buses, greet me with respect and ‘salaams’ not only in Dhaka, but in Chittagong, Sylhet and other places in Bangladesh. Once I visited Tongi, in the outskirts of Dhaka to attend the annual ‘Ijtimah,’ which, after Hajj in Mecca and the annual congregation in Raiwind near Lahore in Pakistan, is considered to be the largest gathering of Muslims in the world. On noticing the Pakistani flag on my BMW, a few Bangladeshi youngsters shouted, “Pakistan Zindabad (Long live Pakistan).”

During a reception at the President House in Dhaka, a Dhaka University Professor remarked to me, “We know you with respect....Keep the Pakistani banner flying high in accordance with the ideology of Pakistan propagated by the greatest Muslim poet ever, Allama Iqbal.” On another occasion, a well to do merchant met me to request the photograph of Iqbal as he had “not seen it since the birth of Bangladesh.”

My wife and I used to go for a regular walk at a park near our residence in Gulshan. The place was frequented by mostly retired Bangladeshi military and civil officers, journalists and businessmen. Almost each one of them treated us with great respect, as if we belonged to them. They referred to the good time they had when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan. They referred to the golden period when General Azam Khan was the Governor of East Pakistan. Many of them fondly recalled the industrial development in the country when Field Marshal Ayub Khan was the President of Pakistan. At the same time, many would add that Ayub's military rule was "disastrous for the unity of Pakistan." Most importantly, many did not forget to pointedly stress, "If only 1971 had not happened!"

Bengali New Year is celebrated in Bangladesh around spring. Many Bangladeshis greet each other on the occasion. I also greeted a Bangladeshi acquaintance, and wished him a "Happy New Year." Quite unexpectedly, he retorted, "I am embarrassed and ashamed to receive these greetings from you. How come, Pakistan has appointed an ignorant person like you, as High Commissioner in Bangladesh? You are greeting me on the occasion of a Hindu festival which has been imposed on the Muslims of Bengal by Hindu India."

On another occasion, I inquired from a Bangladeshi journalist about the major differences between the people of Bangladesh and the people of the Indian State of West Bengal. He said, "The only difference is that we are free...we got freedom from Pakistan. On the other hand, West Bengalis are still slaves of Hindu India."

During my stay in Dhaka, I met some old students from my alma mater, Lawrence College, Ghora Gali. Lawrence College is one of the oldest public schools in the subcontinent. One student who was my senior in Murree by many years, used to meet me in Dhaka with great warmth because of his fond memories of

the school. For hours and hours, he spoke of the best time of his life which he spent in Lawrence College. Around the end of my tenure in Bangladesh, he presented me a book he had recently written. On the back page of the book, he had given his curriculum vitae. He never mentioned in that write up that he had studied in Pakistan.³¹⁷

The well-known Bangladeshi singer, Roona Laila was very kind to us during our stay in Bangladesh. Many Pakistanis still remember her with respect. She sang many songs for Pakistani movies when she was in Pakistan in the 1970s. Roona Laila continues to sing Pakistani songs of yesterdays during her musical performances in Bangladesh. She invariably concludes her musical performances with the famous Pakistani spiritual qawwali, ‘Dama Dam Mast Qalandar’, without telling the crowd of listeners that it was a Pakistani song. Instead, she would introduce the song by saying that “it is a South Asian song.”

Even today, one can feel a strong element of competitiveness in Bangladesh with Pakistan, in terms of progress and development, especially economic indicators. All this springs from the past history when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan. An average Bangladeshi would feel happy to note if Bangladesh is doing better than Pakistan in some economic indicators. But, he feels more happy and somewhat thrilled, to note, if Bangladesh is doing better than India.

As High Commissioner in Bangladesh, I was never insulted by the common man. On a number of occasions, I was respected way beyond my expectations. Sometimes, I could see a sparkle of love in the eyes of the security guards at the 5-star hotels and other places, where special attention was paid to me.

317 A detailed book on Lawrence College worth studying is, ‘Never Give in: True to Our Name’ self-published by Dr. Muhammad Asif in 2010. (ISBN 9789699510007)

Only on one occasion when ‘Shahbagh Movement’ was in full swing in Dhaka, two youngsters on a motorbike while noticing the Pakistani flag on my car, shouted ‘Shalaa Pakistani’.³¹⁸ This invective was used against Pakistanis in East Pakistan by the Mukti bahini in 1971. There is also another side to the story. A First Secretary of our Mission had gone for grocery shopping to a market in main Dhaka city. By mistake his vehicle slightly touched the passing-by motor bike which invited the angry looks of the Bangladeshi rider who came close our diplomat, and shouted, “Shalaa Hindu Indian.” The Bangladeshi said things against India as he presumed that our officer was from India.

On another occasion, a lady officer from our Mission went to the market to purchase some fabric. On coming to know that she was from Pakistan, the shopkeeper, a Hindu, remarked, “We had kicked you Pakistanis out in 1971. You are still here....just get out of Bangladesh!”

After taking over as High Commissioner in Dhaka, I called on the Bangladeshi Nobel Laureate, Dr. Muhammad Yunus.³¹⁹ He received me with great warmth. However, immediately after pleasantries, he remarked, “Thank God, we are not part of Pakistan!” Similarly, during a dinner at the house of a well-known industrialist in Dhaka, a former Prime Minister of Bangladesh, without taking into account my sensitivities as a Pakistani, started off the discussion by stressing, “I had initiated the movement against Pakistan, when I was a student in London in early 1960s.”

I was hurt.

I never had any security guards with me when I travelled in Bangladesh except when really required according the host

318 See writeup ‘Shahbagh movement completes one month,’ bdnews24.com. (6 March 2013)

319 See ‘Muhammad Yunus,’ Biographical, The Nobel Prize (by accessing nobelprize.org).

government's protocol. Bangladeshis asked me the reason, adding that the Indian High Commissioner "has so many security guards when he travels around in Bangladesh!" I told them in no uncertain terms that a Pakistani High Commissioner traveling in Bangladesh with security, "is to me, unthinkable and unforgivable. Bangladeshi people are our people. They are not going to kill me. If I feel apprehensive of my personal security in Dhaka, then I have no right to represent Pakistan in Bangladesh." I was not being diplomatic in using these words; I meant it.

The residence of the Pakistan High Commissioner in Dhaka has been located in the Gulshan area of Dhaka. This locality like many others in the city, was developed during the time of President Ayub Khan in the 1960s. Ideally speaking, the rent of the building in 2014, should have been around 12,00,000 Taka. Many would be surprised to note that the landlord has been charging only Taka 500,000. The reason for the low rent is none other than the fact that the landlord who is a patriotic Bangladeshi, has strong affection for Pakistan.

Sometimes back, a Bangladeshi High Commissioner mentioned to me that his government was planning to ensure that "the largest Bangladeshi Embassy building in the world, would be the one which would be constructed in Islamabad." The main architect of the building, a Bangladeshi, later remarked to me that he wanted to ensure that their Mission in Islamabad would be "imposing in respect of what happened in 1971." However, during the course of his many visits to Pakistan in the context of the design of the building, the architect got "so much love and affection from the people of Pakistan, that he decided that the structure of the Embassy should not be imposing, but friendly."

Aamer Atozai, a Pakistani diplomat, had an interesting encounter with a young Bangladeshi when he was traveling to Karachi from Dhaka by the Pakistan International Airlines (PIA). As the plane approached Karachi, the air hostess announced, "Shortly, we are going to land at the Jinnah International Airport." The Bangladeshi sitting next to Atozai, remarked, "Why did the lady

say, we are going to land at the Jinnah International Airport; she should have said, we are going to land at the Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah International Airport.”

On few occasions, some Bangladeshis have approached the Pakistani diplomats in Dhaka, to say, “Pakistan has more than a hundred atom bombs; can you not give us at least one, for our defense against India?” On other occasions, some Bangladeshis even commented, “Pakistan has very sophisticated missiles that can even hit Kolkata; why don’t you give us, at least, a dozen for our self-defense.”

Even today one can notice ignorance about each other both in Pakistan and in Bangladesh. As High Commissioner, once I was approached by a senior Pakistani doctor with an interesting request. Basically, he wanted to meet Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. When I told him that ‘Mujib sahib’ died way back in 1975, he remarked, “Oh really! I did not know this.” Another anecdote would also be interesting.

In June 2012, I received a strange request from the senior faculty of the International Asian University based in Chittagong. They sought my intercession with Islamabad to ask the UN to divert their educational assistance from Pakistan to Bangladesh. When asked, why should I convey their request to Islamabad, they emphasised in all earnestness, “because, women are forbidden to undertake education in Pakistan...We will construct more campuses in our university in Chittagong and provide education to the Pakistani women.” Ironically, these men of letters had not heard of the prestigious educational institutions in Pakistan, meant for boys, girls; and boys and girls.

In 2013, we organized a Qawwali evening at a hotel in Dhaka. Qawwals came from Karachi to perform. They sang the Pakistani sufi song, ‘Dama Dam Mast Qalandar’ so well that the audience started to sway with ecstasy. Later, a well-known intellectual from a prominent Dhaka family, who had written extensively on 1971, and had earlier been teaching at Columbia

University, New York, made a strange remark. She said, “You are such a bold person, High Commissioner,...you organized a sufi evening, while representing a Wahabi Pakistan....This must be contrary to the instructions of your government!”

This speaks of the ignorance about Pakistan even among the top intellectuals in present day Bangladesh.

Almost every Bangladeshi woman can be seen dressed up in shalwar kameez, which is basically a Pakistani dress, rather than Sari which is an Indian dress. When asked, shopkeepers in Dhaka would state that Pakistani fabrics are a craze in Bangladesh. At the same time, it is important to note that on formal occasions, Bangladeshi women prefer wearing Sari, not shalwar kameez.

A former Foreign Secretary of Bangladesh told me with a heavy heart, “It was you Pakistanis who created difficulties for us.... we did not really want to separate from you.” He added, “....do you really know that the Pakistani civil servant, Aziz Ahmed who was posted as Chief Secretary in East Pakistan in the 1960s, never offered a chair to any Bengali when he met him (Aziz Ahmed) in his office in Dhaka.”

He continued, “You have heard of the Jalianwala Bagh massacre in 1919” when on instructions of General Dyer, a large number of people were killed in Amritsar (in British India). The SHO (a junior police officer) who implemented the order of General Dyer and opened fire on the crowd, later sought favour from the British government. As a reward, “the SHO’s son, Aziz Ahmed was inducted into the ICS (Indian Civil Service) cadre (without any examination).”

During my stay in Bangladesh, I heard on a few occasions Bangladeshis using negative language about Karamchand Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. I did not like it. At the same time, I heard on occasions, unparliamentary words being used for Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. I did not like it.

When I was serving in our Mission in New Delhi a few years back, it was often mentioned to me by Indian Muslims that whenever Hindus in India attack Muslims during the riots, and in the process commit atrocities by raping Muslim women and killing Muslim children, they shout the slogan, ‘Vande Materam.’ As mentioned earlier, Vande Materam is described as the national song of India.

Vande Materam is basically a poem from the novel titled ‘Anandamath’ written by one Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay in 1882.³²⁰ Bankim Chandra was a Hindu Brahman from West Bengal. At an official lunch in Dhaka organised by the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh, a Major General of the Bangladesh Army, pointedly told me that he and many in Bangladesh, consider Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay as one of their “greatest Bengali heroes.”

At the Indian National Day reception in Dhaka on 26 January in 2013, the Indian Embassy had brought in a special group of singers from Kolkata who sang Vande Materam in front of all the guests. One retired Bangladeshi Ambassador at the reception, came close to me, and said, “You know, Afrasiab, when, during the movement for Pakistan in 1947, we Bengalis used to express our love for the idea of Pakistan, and assert, ‘LAY KAY RAHANGAY PAKISTAN (CERTAINLY, WE WILL GET OUR HOMELAND, PAKISTAN)’ , the Hindus of Bengal used to retaliate by shouting ‘Vande Materam.’ And, look High Commissioner, today the Indian Mission is making us listen to this filthy song!”

As indicated earlier, Pakistani media does not focus on Bangladesh. Bangladeshi media, fully funded by Indian RAW in many cases, focuses on Pakistan but with intense negativity. Many in Bangladesh feel happy to hear bad news about Pakistan. Many Bangladeshis feel unhappy to listen to bad news about Pakistan.

320 ‘A history of the origins of the Vande Materam and its journey thereafter’ by Radhika Iyengar (Indian Express 27 July 2017).

As emphasised earlier, ideologues in Bangladesh regularly assert that the Pakistan Army killed 3 million Bengalis and raped 200,000 Bengali women in 1971. Many would be surprised to note that, that very Pakistan Army, has been the staunchest supporter of Bangladesh. Pakistan Army has been helping strengthen the national defense of Bangladesh. But, the common Bangladeshi does not know all this.

Once I had to go through a very sad experience. I remember it was a Tuesday in June 2014. Around noon, the Consular Officer (dealing with visa matters) in our Mission came to my office to inform that in the morning he had a mind-boggling interaction with a Bangladeshi visa applicant, who wanted to visit Lahore for a few days. The visa had been issued without delay. However, during the course of the discussion over a cup of tea, the applicant mentioned to him that recently he went to the Indian High Commission for a visa to visit Mumbai.

The Indian Visa Officer threw the Bangladeshi passport on his face, and refused the visa. Later, the officer made some extremely offensive remarks to the Bangladeshi. He sarcastically shouted, “Why do you Bangladeshis always support Pakistan? Do you love Pakistan! Why do you applaud Pakistanis during cricket matches with India? Did we not help you in your independence! You are such ungrateful rascals....your women really enjoyed the rapes in 1971!....Is this the real reason that you cockroaches still love Pakistan?”

I was speechless. I was shocked. I was depressed.

With tears in his eyes, the Consular Officer added, “Sir, this is not the first time this has happened. We have been hearing these experiences from the Bangladeshi visa applicants earlier also.

I did not take dinner that night.

This brings me back to question of atrocities perpetrated by India and its allies, the Mukti Bahini.

I feel like quoting a passage from the book on the dismemberment of Pakistan, by Rushbrook Williams. He states:

The widespread and inhuman massacres of men, women and children by Awami League militants during their brief reign of terror in March and April 1971, although factually reported by several foreign correspondents, aroused comparatively little attention throughout the world. Yet this was true genocide in the worst sense of the word. Some of the victims were West Pakistanis, many of whom had been settled for years; the majority were Bihari Muslims, who had come to East Pakistan at the time of Partition, and had lived there for more than two decades, peaceably and trustingly.

Ironically enough, some of those who were brutally murdered were Bengali by race, who had come from such places as Rangoon, Bombay and Calcutta to live in a Muslim-majority land. In the eyes of their murderers their offence was three-fold: they did not support an independent 'Bangla Desh' even though many of them had voted for maximum local autonomy for East Pakistan which was the main platform of the Awami League's election programme; they did not speak the local patois of Bengali; above all, their industry and hard work had made them relatively prosperous – the fact that this prosperity was shared by the locality in which they lived and that they gave employment to many was overlooked. The total butcher's bill for those few terrible weeks will never be known; but from the mass graves which the (Pakistan) Army found when at last it was able to fan out from its stations and restore order, the numbers murdered cannot be less than 120,000 and may be far higher, as many corpses were just thrown into the rivers and carried away.³²¹

321 'The East Pakistan Tragedy' by L F Rushbrook Williams, published by Drake Publishers Inc, New York, in 1972. See second and the third pages in the Foreword of the book.

During a visit to Sylhet, a retired Bangladeshi police officer requested a private meeting with me at the guest house where we were staying. After pleasantries, the old man started to discuss 1971. I avoided the discussion keeping in view the understandable sensitivities involved, but he continued. At one point he remarked, “Now we understand, why India helped us to separate from Pakistan...Delhi never wanted to help...They only wanted to break up Pakistan. Now, we are helpless!”

Then, looking up into the blank air, he stated, “We also know, who committed the rapes and killings” in 1971. The atrocities were “actually committed by Punjabi soldiers of the Indian army” who were “wearing uniforms of the Pakistan Army.” The Mukti bahini also helped India “identify the would-be victims.” Since we Bengalis “do not know much about Punjabis...we think that Punjabis only live in Pakistan and not in India. We could not make distinction between Punjabi soldiers of the Pakistan Army and Punjabi soldiers of the Indian army.”

Subsequently, he took me out for a round of the border areas of Bangladesh with India close to the guest house. Surprisingly, he pointed at the exact spots in the jungle, where according to him, poor Bengali women had been raped in 1971 by the Indian army. He also took me to the house of an old woman in a nearby village who lived in a hut with her sister and a cousin, all three had been, according to the police officer, “gang-raped by Indian soldiers and the Mukti bahini.”

The women in their seventies/eighties were startled to meet the Pakistani High Commissioner. With tears in her eyes, the eldest narrated the incident that “changed her life forever.” She gave graphic details of the ordeal which she remembered had taken place on 27 November in 1971. She spoke on and she spoke on. I only asked her one question. I enquired, how was she so sure that all this had been done by the soldiers of the Indian Army? She stared at me for a while, and then without hesitation, said, “All the six rapists were uncircumcised...They were using Hindu slogans.” The other two women also narrated their tragic

sufferings. The words used by them describing the agony, are so sickening, so pathetic, that I do not feel like writing them.

Arundhati Ghose served as India's Permanent Representative to the UN in Geneva in the 1990s. Much earlier in 1971, she was serving as one of the many Indian liaison officers in Calcutta interacting with the Mukti bahini. According to Indian sources, Mukti leaders used to narrate to her their exploits in eliminating Bengalis in East Pakistan who were sympathetic to the cause of Pakistan.

Around December 2011, I received an invitation from the Prime Minister of Bangladesh to attend the annual military parade at the Bangladesh Military Academy in Chittagong. To my embarrassment, I was not allowed to sit with other Ambassadors who had been invited to attend the function. I was politely requested by the conducting officer to sit in the third row meant for junior diplomats which included Defence Advisers. I felt humiliated.

The Embassy plot meant for our new Chancery building in Bangladesh is located in a prime location in Dhaka. It is just next to the American and Indian Embassies. My son Cyrus Qureshi who is an architect, once visited the area to prepare drawings for his University project related to architecture. The Bangladeshi security guard at the site, refused permission to take photographs of the area understandably for reasons of security.

When the accompanying official from our Embassy clarified to him that they were from the Pakistan Embassy, the guard immediately allowed Cyrus to go ahead with the photography. Not only this, he loudly said, "I want to make just one strong request...Pakistan must build a palace-like Embassy on this plot, which should dwarf the Indian and American Embassy buildings in Dhaka."

At a dinner in Dhaka, a retired Brigadier of the Bangladesh Army, told me that personally Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had

“a high view” of the Pakistan Army. This is the reason that the military institution in Bangladesh “has evolved on the model of the Pakistan army and not the Indian army.” The officer also said that Sheikh Mujib was impressed by the ‘guard of honour’ given to him when he visited Lahore for the Islamic Summit in February 1974. On return, Mujib gave instructions to the Bangladesh army to follow the Pakistani example whenever they were required to present a guard of honor to foreign heads of states/governments visiting Dhaka.

It is said that after taking over as President of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujib gifted sacks of Bangladeshi tea to Egypt. In return, President Anwar Sadaat decided to gift a few tanks which had just been retired from the Egyptian army after the 1973 war with Israel. Mujib could not refuse the offer for understandable reasons. Ironically, those very tanks were used by the Bangladesh army when it killed Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family in 1975.

The way all ills were blamed on Pakistan before 1971; after 1971, all ills are blamed on India. If the weather is bad in Bangladesh, some in Dhaka would say that this is so because the weather is bad in West Bengal (India). If there is shortage of water in Bangladesh, India is blamed for not releasing the due water share of Bangladesh. Many Bangladeshis would complain that their society is being “Hinduised by India.”

At the same time, Bangladeshis know that they cannot do anything against India. They need India to ensure that New Delhi does not occupy them. They need India for the education of their children. They need India to go to Kolkata for honeymoon after marriage, or for medical treatment. So, none of them would like to annoy India, especially the Indian High Commissioner, otherwise, they will not get the visa to visit India.

The news on the adoption of the Resolution by the National Assembly of Pakistan on 16 December 2013, against the execution of the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami leader, Abdul Quader Mollah, was negatively played up by the media in

Bangladesh. At the same time, media downplayed the rather balanced statement made by the Government of Pakistan, in which the Spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had stressed the following:

“...we are closely following the political developments as they unfold inside Bangladesh. While it is not Pakistan’s policy to interfere in the affairs of any country, we have noted the concerns raised by the international community and human rights organizations on the way recent trials have been conducted which have added to the current instability in Bangladesh. We wish the brotherly people of Bangladesh well and hope that spirit of reconciliation and an atmosphere free of violence will prevail.”

The newspapers in Bangladesh, with full backing of the Awami League government, publicized the debate in the Parliament in Islamabad. So much so, Sajib Wazed Joy, son of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina and heir apparent to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, urged protests against Pakistan. In a Facebook message, he emphasised, “I call on everyone, to march on the Pakistani High Commission.” Subsequently on 18 December 2013, a large number of Awami League demonstrators entered the “diplomatic enclave” in Dhaka, by force. Later, they were allowed to come close to the Pakistani Mission, where they pelted stones and shoes at the Mission’s building and raised slogans against Pakistan.

All this happened to the horror of the entire diplomatic community in Bangladesh. Many foreign diplomats expressed repugnance at the assault as it was against all international norms. Many diplomats, some from European countries, even feared for their personal safety since their Missions are located close to the Pakistan High Commission. Interestingly, Bangladeshi police officers deputed for security at the Pakistani diplomatic premises confided to the Pakistani diplomats, that “they are under specific instructions from the very top” to “make the omelet, without breaking the egg.” Meaning, the police should “protect the

Pakistanis,” but at the same time, the police “should not be too harsh on the demonstrators” since “a number of (Bangladeshi) freedom fighters of 1971, are part of the demonstrators.”

During the attack on the Embassy, I was all alone at the Residence.³²² It was not a very comfortable experience. The mob was chanting slogans against me, shouting, “Go Ambassador go; get out of our country...go back to Pakistan, Qureshi.” My wife was in Pakistan as her brother, Mian Kauser Abbas Qureshi, was ill with cancer. My children were in Islamabad and in Lahore. I gave permission to all the Bangladeshi staff to leave the place for reason of their safety. In response, each one of them, said “How can we abandon you, when you need us the most!” I was greatly touched by their feelings.

A day later, when Mian Kauser Abbas died, I was required to go to Pakistan. I did not; otherwise, I would have seemed to comply with the demands of those who wanted Pakistan to wind up its Mission in Dhaka. The common Bangladeshi would certainly not have felt happy to see the Pakistani High Commissioner depart.

In a press briefing on 20 December 2013, the Spokesperson of the Pakistan Foreign Office, again made comments on Bangladesh. The following are the details:

Question: What is Pakistan’s final position on Bangladesh situation?...what are your comments on the reports of Pakistani flags and effigies of our leaders being burnt in Bangladesh?

Answer: Pakistan and Bangladesh share a long history which goes back to even before 1947. As Muslims of South Asia, we struggled together for independence from the British rule. What is happening in Bangladesh is essentially its internal matter. By

322 Embassy in diplomatic parlance includes Chancery, which is the office building; and the Residence, which means the house of the Ambassador/ High Commissioner.

passing a Resolution, our Parliament did not mean to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. Regarding the difference between the position of the Foreign Office and the Parliament, it must be noted that the Parliament is a sovereign body. It is the supreme legislative body. The Parliamentarians represent the sentiments of the people and therefore, have the right to make every statement they deem appropriate.

Certainly, the purpose was not to interfere but it reflected our desire to look towards a brighter future in the spirit of the 1974 tripartite agreement between Pakistan, India and Bangladesh where it was agreed that we would let bygones be bygones and focus on a better future for peace and stability of the region... We would not like to get into responding to everything that may have been said in the public demonstrations because we do not want our response to be construed as recriminations....we call upon the brotherly and friendly country of Bangladesh to adopt the spirit of reconciliation and cordiality in keeping with the tripartite agreement of 1974. We wish the people of Bangladesh peace, stability and progress.

As fate had it, the National Assembly of Pakistan adopted the above referred to Resolution on Mollah on 16 December, exactly the day many years back when the surrender took place in Dhaka in 1971. This was certainly not by design; it was a pure coincidence. Perhaps this is what is called, destiny. The main point that needs to be noted is that the common man in Bangladesh, was not involved in the assault on the Pakistan High Commission. Rather, he was saddened; and many felt embarrassed, as was evidenced from the messages of sympathy and prayers for Pakistan received by us at the Mission.

In an unfortunate incident, bombs were hurled at the vehicle used by the Indian High Commissioner when he visited Khulna on 12 April 2013. Reports highlighted that High Commissioner Pankaj Saran was unhurt, as he was at the time of the incident not in the car. However, his driver and three other persons were

injured in the attack. Downplaying the gravity of the incident, the Spokesperson of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs commented, “Crude bombs went off approximately 20 meters away from where Saran’s car was parked....The Indian High Commission is in touch with Bangladeshi authorities who are investigating the incident.” On their part, Bangladeshi Foreign Office did not issue any statement on the incident. However, analysts in Dhaka tried to implicate the Jamaat-i-Islami in the attack.

While Awami League initiated the 1971 trials in 2010, Bangladesh witnessed the Shahbagh youth movement in early 2013. Clandestinely supported by India, the movement was characterized as that of “liberals and forward looking elements who stood for reviving the spirit of 1971.” To the horror of many in Bangladesh, some activists of Shahbagh movement, mainly Hindu Bangladeshis, indulged in a smear campaign to defame Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam.

Paradoxically, the Awami League government continued to support Shahbagh protestors. For political reasons, even BNP shut its eyes to the insults to the honour of the Prophet. Sadly, same was the case with the India sponsored media in Bangladesh. No editorial criticized the perpetrators. All along, pro-India elements in Bangladesh categorized as ‘liberal’, were thrilled at the prospects of Bangladesh “finally heading in the direction of secularism.”

In the meanwhile, Foreign Minister Dipu Moni underlined, “Bangladesh is described by many in the West as a moderate Muslim country. This characterization is wrong. Bangladesh is not a Muslim country. Bangladesh is not an Islamic country. We are a secular country with a large Muslim population.”

All this led to the birth of the ‘Hefazat-e-Islam movement’ in Bangladesh whose protestors demanded severe punishment for Shahbagh culprits who insulted the honor of the Prophet. Millions of Hefazat supporters converged in Dhaka from distant

parts of Bangladesh, mainly rural areas, chanting slogans in favour of the Prophet and Islam.

Importantly, 5 May 2013 would go as a ‘black day’ in the history of Bangladesh, when its security agencies cracked down on the demonstrating Hefazat supporters in Dhaka. According to official figures, around 20 Hefazat activists were killed. However, unofficial estimates indicate that around 2,000 Hefazat activists were killed in just one night. There was a complete blackout in Dhaka city with electricity completely shut off with a view expressed by many Bangladeshis that the massacre took place on the specific instructions of the Indian intelligence agency, RAW.

Hartals in Bangladesh can be violent and sometimes very violent. On the day of a hartal, it is very difficult to come out on the roads. Children cannot go to school, patients avoid going to hospitals, and business is completely shut off. Even Ambassadors and other foreign diplomats based in Dhaka are forced to restrict their movement. In early 2013, a senior level German delegation, on completing its official visit, was proceeding to the airport on the day of a hartal. The delegation was being escorted by the Bangladeshi security personnel. On the way, the hooligans not only stopped the car but beat up the driver with a senior German lady official fleeing for life. On another occasion, an American Embassy official car, passing by the Dhaka airport on a hartal day, was badly smashed.

While comparing the two major political parties Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), many would say that former is more aggressive. Demonstrations organized by the Awami League would be “more bloody.” According to one Bangladeshi, when Awami League used to stage demonstrations against the BNP government in the past, the violators of the hartals “were forced to take off their clothes in open,” by the Awami League activists. As such, persons who, for the reason of livelihood, had to go for work despite the hartal, would keep

handy “a pair of spare trousers with underwear,” to avoid any lethal embarrassment.

During the time I was serving as High Commissioner in Dhaka, media in Pakistan started reporting in a big way that industry and investments are being shifted from Karachi to Bangladesh. I was asked by Islamabad to check. We immediately got in contact with the Bangladeshi Ministry of Commerce, their Office of the Prime Minister and the local Chambers of Commerce and Industry. We were categorically informed that these reports are not correct. In confidence, a Bengali businessman later informed me that in 2009, some Pakistani business houses had the intention to invest in Bangladesh. However, they had to return due to weak infrastructure in Bangladesh. Importantly, Pakistani businessmen were also annoyed when the local Awami League leadership demanded ‘bhatta’ (extortion money) from them.

One might have heard that life in diplomatic profession can be difficult. Sometimes there are personal risks to life. This used to happen when I was serving in our Mission in New Delhi, earlier. In 1996, the ‘Flag Car No.1’ of the Pakistan High Commissioner to India, was burnt to ashes. Luckily, the High Commissioner, Riaz Khokhar was not in the vehicle.

The second time, Khokhar was a little unlucky when his ‘Flag Car No. 4’, a large Pajero, the only one at that time in the whole of the Indian capital, hit the street wall not far from the Residence. Later, it transpired that the Indian Intelligence operatives had loosened the wheel nuts of the vehicle. Khokhar sustained injuries. The incident could have resulted in his death. I myself encountered somewhat fatal encounters in the Indian capital. This is not the occasion to go into details.

However, I had to face a few such personal difficulties in Dhaka. On one occasion, some intelligence operatives broke the switches of the table lamps placed in my bedroom. Luckily, the intrusion was detected, otherwise had I touched the live wires of the broken switches, the result would have been predictable.

In one of his writings, J.N. Dixit, former Indian National Security Adviser and the first Indian Head of Mission in Dhaka after 1971, makes a preposterous claim. According to him, each Gentleman Cadet at the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul, is required at the time of the graduation, to take oath that he will take revenge from India in respect of 1971. When I read this while serving as Deputy High Commissioner in New Delhi (2006 to 2009), I asked our Defence Adviser to check. Brigadier Iqbal later categorically confirmed to me that this was not true.

The Muslims of Pakistan and Muslims of Bangladesh have absolutely no idea of the concept of casteism in Hindu India. Just to quote one example, Jagjivan Ram was the Defence Minister of India in 1971. He belonged to the lower caste of Hindus. As Defence Minister, when he attended Cabinet meetings chaired by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the waiters in the Prime Minister's Office, New Delhi, were reluctant to serve him tea. Consequently, Jagjivan Ram was forced to bring his own cup with him for such meetings to avoid embarrassment.

Many have high regard for late Morarji Desai, who served as Prime Minister of India from 1977 to 1979. Desai had publicly claimed benefits of human urine, which he used to drink 'sip by sip' for the purpose of maintaining good health.

Referring to this, a senior Awami League functionary narrated an incident to me. He said that the general presumption in Bangladesh was that Morarji Desai would practice his urine therapy when he visited Dhaka, as the Prime Minister of India in April 1979. As soon as Desai left for airport at the conclusion of the visit, the staff of the President House in Dhaka where he had been staying, broke all the cups and utensils which were in use of the Indian Prime Minister. I was told that this was essential as "nobody knew which particular utensil was used by Desai in respect of the urine therapy."

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was aware of the "grand lifestyle" of the Bhutto family in Pakistan. When I was serving in New

Delhi, a former Indian Ambassador narrated to me an interesting incident. He said before Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was coming to Simla in 1972 for the agreement after the 1971 war, Indira Gandhi gave special instructions to the authorities in Himachal “to make sure” that the place where the President of Pakistan would be staying, “looks elegant and impressive.”

In particular, she gave instructions “to replace all the curtains, upholstery and place exquisite furniture in and around the quarters” where Bhutto was to stay in Simla. Feeling apprehensive that the provincial authorities would not be able “to do the job well, she flew to Simla for personal inspection.” Looking at the unsatisfactory arrangements, she “chided the local administration for having done a shoddy job.” She then “herself,” selected the “quality and the colour” of the curtains and the upholstery. All the arrangements were “finalized to her satisfaction just hours before the arrival” of the President of Pakistan.

Common Bangladeshi is intelligent and committed. He is simple, religious and hard working. A large number of people in Bangladesh feel that Pakistanis hate them the way Pakistan is hated by many in their country. When they realize that Pakistanis have a genuine feeling of love and affection for Bangladesh, they are pleasantly surprised. However, these things are seldom discussed in public.

Historically, common man in East Bengal (East Pakistan) knew the people of West Bengal (in India) better than he knew the people of West Pakistan, in terms of Bengali language and culture. All this was the case due to the geographical proximity with India. More so, ordinary Muslim in Bengal had deep affinity with Pakistan because of the common bond of Islam that connected him with his West Pakistani brothers.

A very large number of Muslims in Bangladesh even today have expectations of Pakistan. Many would say “Whenever there will

be difficulties for Bangladesh, Pakistan will support us, even in the case of an aggression from India.” In Dhaka, I used to frequently interact with young Bangladeshis. On one occasion, a teenager got up and said, “High Commissioner, we are demoralized; Give us some hope. When would Pakistan and Bangladesh have the best of relations?” On international issues, especially Muslim causes, including Palestine, the thought processes in Pakistan and in Bangladesh are the same if not identical.

Feelings and perceptions about Bangladesh are so positive in Pakistan that many Pakistanis would not like to listen to anything negative about Bangladesh. In the summer of 2012, I was in Islamabad for a talk on Pakistan-Bangladesh relations. The function was arranged by the Institute of Strategic Studies. During the discussion, I only commented, “traffic in Dhaka is almost unbearable.” One young research scholar stood up to protest at what he said were my “anti-Bangladesh remarks.” He added, “This bureaucracy that you are part of, said negative things about East Pakistan in the 1960s; and that mindset continues.”

In private capacity, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina was kind to me and my wife. On Eid and other receptions, she was very gracious in granting more time to us during informal interactions as compared to the Ambassadors/High Commissioners of other countries. At the end of my tenure in Bangladesh, at my request, Prime Minister Hasina granted me the farewell call at a rather short notice. During such calls, foreign envoys are normally not accompanied by their spouse. In my case, Sheikh Hasina not only directed her staff “to request me” to bring my wife along for the meeting, she also presented a beautiful Bangladeshi sari to Mrs. Asia Afrasiab.

Similarly, Begum Khaleda Zia was nice to me and my family. She always received me with great warmth and cordiality. Whenever, I went to her place to greet her on Eid days, many among the thousands of BNP supporters waiting outside the venue of the interaction, used to wave at us with love and affection.

Needless to emphasise, many Bangladeshis were thrilled and excited when the young Pakistani Foreign Minister, Hina Rabbani Khar undertook a (six-hour long) visit to Bangladesh in late 2012. As she alighted from the ‘Special Aircraft’ of the Pakistan Air Force, the Bangladeshi aviation staff gathered at many places of the Dhaka airport welcomed her with smiles of respect.

As the motorcade proceeded to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there were lines of Bangladeshis waiting to welcome her. Even the motorcade police, at rush places, came close to her vehicle to photograph her. Two days before the visit, a very senior Bangladeshi intelligence officer requested me, in private, to caution Khar “not to really mind, if she gets a cold-shoulder” from her Bangladeshi counterpart, “as Ms. Dipu Moni, could get jealous of Khar’s personality.”

Bangladeshis are proud Muslims; Bangladeshis are helpless.

An article ‘India shouldn’t make Bangladesh feel small’ by Syed Badrul Ahsan, published in a local daily in February 2014, would be noteworthy.³²³ The article referred to earlier in this research work, makes the following points:³²⁴

- One can’t always choose one’s neighbour, and it isn’t an issue with us.
- Most people in this country are comfortable with India, their minds still admirably swaying to the distant memories of how its people and government helped us in 1971.

323 The Daily Star, 14 February 2014.

324 Badrul Ahsan is highly regarded by the Awami League; and is considered an expert on the party’s version of history relating to 1971.

- Most people also understand why they should keep on good terms with a gigantic country, which has immensely more people, resources and striking power.
- In that same vein, it's natural for this emerging super-power to harbor some sort of hegemonic ambition. It's understandable if that country expects us to walk in its shadows.
- It surely demands respect, and by no means should we step on its toes even in our wildest imagination.
- India is even expected to bully us to get a transit or two and have its way in many other matters. It suits us best to patiently overlook many of its vagaries.
- For all practical reasons, India will want to dominate us. It will impose its likes and dislikes on us, its wishes being our command.³²⁵

Before the creation of Bangladesh, Tajuddin Ahmad, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh Government-in-Exile in India, had given an UNDERTAKING to New Delhi. Following are its seven points:³²⁶

- (After independence from Pakistan), A para-military armed force will be raised for Bangladesh under supervision of the Indian military experts; this force shall be stronger and more active than the regular armed forces of Bangladesh.
- Bangladesh shall procure all military equipment from India and under planned supervision of the Indian military experts.

325 Parts of these comments have been reproduced earlier in this publication.

326 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; page 140.

- Bangladesh shall direct her foreign trade under supervision and control of the Indian Government.
- Yearly and five-yearly development plans for Bangladesh, shall conform to Indian development plans.
- Foreign policy of Bangladesh must be compatible with and conform to that of India.
- Bangladesh shall not unilaterally rescind any of the treaties without prior approval of the Indian Government.
- In accordance with the treaties signed before the December (1971) war of Pakistan and India, Indian force shall enter into Bangladesh at any time and shall crush any resistance that may erupt there.

This undertaking was not given publicity. Even the key leaders of the Mukti Bahini did not come to know of it. According to Bangladeshi analyst Abu Rushd, the understanding was “so disgraceful to independent Bangladesh, that it astonishes every Bangladeshi and raises a question – how the then Prime Minister consented to such an agreement?” It was learnt later that “the Acting President, Syed Nazrul Islam, in fact, collapsed after signing of the document.”³²⁷

At the time of the Partition in 1947, the Muslim migrants had a sense of achievement; they had won. They had created a new country, a country of hope. On the other hand, the Hindu migrants to India had a sense of deep sorrow at the break-up of “Mother India.” Consequently, there is less venom against India in Pakistan and Bangladesh than the prejudices that exist against Pakistan and Bangladesh in India.

327 Book titled, ‘RAW in Bangladesh-Portrait of an Aggressive Intelligence’ by Abu Rushd, page 54, published in Dhaka in March 2005.

India, without any provocation, conducted a nuclear test in 1974. The then US Ambassador in New Delhi, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, met Indira Gandhi to convey the American reaction. At the end of the meeting, Moynihan emphasised to the Indian Prime Minister that she had made “a huge mistake.” Moynihan added, “today, India has conducted the nuclear test; tomorrow, Pakistan will do the same.”³²⁸ Years later, Pakistan was constrained to conduct its nuclear tests after India did it again, again without any provocation, in 1998.

Needless to state, the happiest people on earth after the Pakistanis when Islamabad became a nuclear power, “were the Muslims of Bangladesh.”³²⁹

328 Book ‘Estranged Democracies: India and the United States 1941-1991’ by Dennis Kux, page 315, Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd. (1994)

329 My discussions with students of the Dhaka University on many occasions, during receptions/dinners at my place in Dhaka.

WHAT WAS THE END OF THOSE WHO SEPARATED EAST PAKISTAN FROM PAKISTAN IN 1971

The divine punishment was proportionate to the crime committed.

(Comment by a Bangladeshi Ambassador)

Only God knows, who was ‘mainly, directly and actually responsible’ for the tragedy of 1971. Only He knows who did what; and only He knows what was going on in the minds of those who were doing whatever they were doing in 1971.

Ours are just conjectures.

According to Abdul Rahman Siddiqi, “What happened on 16 December was the inevitable consequence of gross human negligence, misconduct and mismanagement, inviting divine wrath. If anything like poetic justice exists, it did intervene to make a grim example of the principal players....”³³⁰ A former Bangladeshi High Commissioner, in a discussion with me at my residence (in Dhaka), commented, “We do know the tragic end of those who were responsible for 1971. But the most important aspect is to note that, divine punishment was proportionate to the crime committed.”³³¹

In August 1975, less than four years after the creation of Bangladesh, the Father of the Nation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman,

330 ‘East Pakistan: The Endgame: An Onlooker’s Journal 1969-1971’ by Abdul Rahman Siddiqi, Oxford University Press (2005). (<https://issuu.com/imranabbas5/docs/east-pakistan>).

331 The Bangladeshi diplomat had served as High Commissioner of his country to New Delhi.

was assassinated. The Bangabandhu (the Great Friend of the Bengalis) as he was called, was killed along with 18 members of his family. This included his 10-year-old son Sheikh Russel. The gory assassinations were committed with surgical precision, by his own army, the Bangladesh Army. Only his daughters, Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana were spared by destiny as they were at that time outside the country of their father's creation.

Referring to assassins and the assassination, Anthony Mascarenhas states,³³² "...Noor fired a burst from his sten-gun. Mujib didn't have a chance. The bullets tore a huge hole in his right side. His body twisted backwards with the impact. Then it slipped, face down, towards the bottom of the stairs. The pipe was still gripped tightly in the right hand. The time was 5.40 am (on 15 August). Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's tempestuous love affair with the Bengalis had come to an end." Mujib was to suffer a further ignominy after he was killed. "According to Farook, one of the attackers had never seen Mujib at close quarters. So, to get a good look at his face, the man slipped a boot under Mujib's body and rudely flipped it over. It was thus that the shattered remains of Bangabandhu, were snapped four hours later by a photographer, especially brought for the purpose from the government's Information Department."³³³

Paradoxically, in his last words before his death, the Bangabandhu had referred to Pakistan positively, or so it may seem. Waking up from gunshots ringing loud, Sheikh Mujib came out of his room on the upper storey of the Prime Ministers House. Dressed in traditional night gown, he addressed his killers lodged on the ground floor, "What are you here for?" One foot-soldier stared directly in the Bangabandhu's eyes, and shouted, "(We are here) for you!" Mujib taunted the would-be assassin, and said, "Haah!

332 Anthony Mascarenhas was a Pakistani journalist who defected to the cause of Bangladesh. Later, he settled in the UK.

333 'Bangladesh-A Legacy of Blood' by Anthony Mascarenhas, page 74, Hodder and Stoughton (London, Sydney, Auckland, Toronto). 1986.

Pakistan army could not kill me, how dare you...!” And then happened, the happening which has been narrated above.

Ironically, in early 1971, when Pakistan army came to arrest Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from his Dhanmandi residence in Dhaka, he was respectfully escorted away to West Pakistan. As said by an analyst, “When his own army came, they killed him and his entire family.”

It is said that the assassins of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had approached an ‘Andha Hafiz’ (blind old holy man) in Chittagong, for his blessings, before they executed their plan. The Hafiz gave them a taaweez (talisman). Later, he is said to have remarked, “Do whatever you want. But make sure, Islam does not get endangered in Bangladesh.”³³⁴

In a discussion at my residence in Dhaka, a Bangladeshi industrialist narrated an ‘ominous anecdote.’ During a visit to Karachi in August 1975, he was invited by family friends to a dinner at a sea-side restaurant. An ‘old baba,’ (holy man) known for spiritual leanings, was among the small gathering of guests. The dinner ended quite late. As the guests were departing, the old man enquired the time from the host. When told that midnight was approaching, he murmured, “Mujib is gone! Mujib is gone!” Hours later, it was reported that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had been assassinated. The discussion took place with the ‘old baba’ on 14 August, the Independence Day of Pakistan; Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was assassinated in the early morning of 15 August, the Independence Day of India.

Five persons convicted of killing Sheikh Mujibur Rahman were hanged to death in Dhaka Central Jail, much later in January 2010.

334 Also narrated to the author in Dhaka.

Sheikh Mujib's only grandson, Sajeed Wazed Joy has married a Jewish/Christian lady and lives in the United States with occasional visits to Bangladesh. He received his education in India when he and his mother Sheikh Hasina lived in Vasant Vihar, New Delhi.

Less than three months after Mujib's assassination, Tajuddin Ahmad, the first Prime Minister of Bangladesh, along with others who had sought Indian help for the break-up of Pakistan in the late 1960s, also had an ugly encounter with death.

According to a narrative, "...the four men who had been most prominent in the Mujibnagar government in Calcutta³³⁵ – Tajuddin Ahmad, Syed Nazrul Islam, Mansoor Ali and Kamruzzaman" were "rounded up" and put in jail. This happened after the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Mansoor Ali had served as Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Syed Nazrul Islam was at one time the country's Vice President, and Kamruzzaman had been Sheikh Mujib's close confidant. "While in jail, these four political leaders became the object of a diabolical contingency plan which would ultimately result in their massacre....Tajuddin and Nazrul Islam shared one cell; Mansoor Ali and Kamruzzaman an adjoining one. They were all brought together in Tajuddin's cell and killed with automatic fire from close range. Three of them died immediately. The fourth, Tajuddin, had bullet wounds in his abdomen and leg. He seems to have slowly bled to death. Horrified prisoners in adjacent cells, later told the family that they could hear him moaning and calling out for water..."³³⁶

The case with General Ziaur Rahman was not very different. After Sheikh Mujib, Zia served as President of Bangladesh from

335 The government-in-exile set up by India to dismember Pakistan.

336 'Bangladesh-A Legacy of Blood' by Anthony Mascarenhas, page 96, Hodder and Stoughton (London, Sydney, Auckland, Toronto), Printed in Great Britain by Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press) Ltd, Bungay, Suffolk. (1986).

1977 to 1981. Coincidentally, Zia was assassinated in Chittagong (May 1981) the city from where he, as a Major in the Pakistan Army, had declared the independence of Bangladesh in March 1971. Some even say that the Circuit House in the city where he was assassinated, was the very place where he had made the said announcement against Pakistan. Not many would know that Chittagong's old name is Islamabad.³³⁷

Commenting on the gory massacre, it is said that "President Zia's body lay unattended for a long time on the floor of the verandah where it had fallen. Lieutenant Colonel Mahtabul Islam, his personal physician, had pronounced Zia dead but did nothing about the body. None of the BNP (Bangladesh Nationalist Party) leaders or the Commissioner of Chittagong, senior civil and police officers and the Navy Chief who visited the Circuit House early in the morning, did anything to protect it. They did not even have the grace to place the President's body on a bed, but let it lie on the floor like some odious piece of baggage."³³⁸

General Ziaur Rahman's son, Arafat Rahman Koko, met a premature death. He died relatively young on 24 January 2015.³³⁹ His other son Tariq Rahman, who was born in Karachi, lives in exile in London.

Khaled Mosharraf, a graduate of the Staff College Quetta, served as Instructor in the Pakistan Military Academy, Kakul. He was involved in the meticulous planning during the war with India in 1965. Mosharraf switched sides in March 1971 and turned against Pakistan. With help of the Indian Intelligence, he imparted training to the Mukti Bahani. Later in November 1975, Mosharraf staged a coup d'état and became the de facto ruler of Bangladesh. Within days, he was assassinated in a bloody take-over by his subordinate officer Abu Tahir. Tahir had earlier

337 Incidentally, the old name of Istanbul in Muslim Turkey is Islambul.

338 'Bangladesh-A Legacy of Blood', Anthony Mascarenhas, page 167, Hodder and Stoughton (London, Sydney, Auckland, Toronto). (1986).

339 See the relevant media reports of 24 January 2015.

served as officer in the Pakistan Army, who later also met an ignominious death.

While referring to 1971, many Bangladeshis would sarcastically remark even today, “Our Father of the Nation is not Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. Our real Father of Nation is Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, as he broke Pakistan.”

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was hanged to death in Rawalpindi on 4 April 1979. The execution was ordered by President Muhammad Ziaul Haque, at one time his most trustworthy general, promoted none other than Bhutto himself by superseding several senior generals of the army.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s daughter, Benazir Bhutto, fell victim to a terror attack in Rawalpindi in December 2007, when Pakistan needed her the most. I remember, while conveying his condolences, the Turkish Ambassador in New Delhi commented to the Pakistani High Commissioner there, Shahid Malik, “Pakistan, what an unfortunate country!”³⁴⁰ During my first call on Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, as High Commissioner in January 2012, she remarked, “Benazir is gone; and I am alive.”³⁴¹

A history Professor in Dhaka University was more graphic. He commented, “...Julfikar (Zulfikar) Ali Bhutto’s son Murtaza (also) had premature death in police encounter in Karachi, when Murtaza’s sister Benazir Bhutto was the Prime Minister of Pakistan....Julfikar Bhutto’s other son, Shahnawaz died earlier of poisoning (July 1985).”³⁴²

Shafqat Kakakhel was working as a young officer in the Foreign Service of Pakistan in the 1970s. (Later, he was appointed

340 The author was attending the meeting in his capacity as Pakistan’s Deputy High Commissioner to India.

341 The call took place in the Prime Minister’s Office in Dhaka.

342 Discussion at the Residence of the High Commissioner in Dhaka on 20 July 2014.

Pakistan's Ambassador to Kenya in 2001.) During the Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in February 1974, his services were utilized as Translator. During the banquet hosted by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at the Lahore Fort for the visiting Heads of States/Governments, Kakakhel recalls an interesting conversation between Bhutto and Mujib while King Faisal and the Amir of Kuwait were seated nearby. Bhutto said to Mujib, "You are helpless! You cannot take any decision without the approval of Indira Gandhi!" Mujib retorted, "Bhutto sahib, do not insult me... You know too well, whatever happened, happened because of you!"³⁴³

The principal actor of the tragedy of 1971, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her own Sikh security guards in October 1984. In the words of the Indian analyst Kuldip Nayar, "months before her assassination," Indira Gandhi used to say, "They are now after me." Insiders also quoted her as stating, "They are not going to spare me." She never specified, who were the people who were after her.³⁴⁴

Indira Gandhi's heir apparent, Sanjay Gandhi died in a sudden plane crash in New Delhi at a young age in June 1980. Sanjay had enforced sterilization campaign on the Indian Muslims to decrease their population. This happened when the infamous Emergency was imposed in India. In the process, hundreds of families were attacked and numerous incidents of gang-rape of Muslim women took place, some of which were reported; others just went unnoticed.

Indira Gandhi's other son, Rajiv Gandhi, who served as the sixth Prime Minister of India (1984-1989), was later assassinated in a suicide attack in May 1991.³⁴⁵

343 Narrated by Ambassador Shafqat Kakakhel to the author.

344 This view has been expressed by other Indians as well working in important positions in the government.

345 Rajiv Gandhi died in an attack by Sri Lankan suicide bombers.

After his dismissal from the army “in disgrace”, (former President of united Pakistan) Yahya Khan was put “under house arrest.” Later, he became paralyzed, and died after a prolonged illness. According to Brigadier Abdul Rahman Siddiqi, “When I last saw him at his brother Agha Mohammad Ali’s house in Lahore, he lay in bed completely immobilized. His eyes were wide open, staring blankly into space, hardly recognizing me. He died in August 1979.”³⁴⁶

During a conversation in Dhaka in early 2012, well-known Pakistani film actress of one time, Shabnam and her husband Robin Ghosh, mentioned to me that they had personally witnessed people jeering at Yahya Khan, whenever they saw him standing “all alone” on the roof of the house where he spent his last days.³⁴⁷

Lieutenant General Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi was an ex-communicated man. He was “the last Pakistani soldier” to cross Wagha border into Pakistan on 30 April 1974. According to Colonel S.P. Salunke, only a Provincial Education Minister, Abdul Khalik, represented the elected government of Pakistan, to receive Niazi at the border.³⁴⁸ It is said that whenever General Niazi visited the Army Mess, even the military officers avoided talking to him.

Air Marshal Rahim Khan served as the Commander in Chief of the Pakistan Airforce during the 1971 war. He spent his last days in the United States as a lonely man. I was serving as Third

346 No Pakistani would really be interested in knowing where Yahya Khan is buried.

347 Shabnam was from East Pakistan. She continued to live on in Pakistan after 1971. She returned to Dhaka for permanent residence in the late 1990s, for family reasons.

348 As officer of the Indian army, he commanded the 2nd Control Group of Pakistani POWs in 1973-74 till their repatriation. ‘Pakistani POWs in India’ S. P. Salunke, Vikas Publishing (2014).

Secretary in our Embassy in Washington DC (1987-91), when one day we learnt that Rahim Khan had died. Ambassador Air Chief Marshal (Retd) Zulfiqar Ali Khan directed all officers of the Mission to attend the funeral. We witnessed the late Air Marshal buried in a solitary grave in a solitary graveyard in a solitary place near the American capital. Had the officers of the Pakistan Embassy not been there, there would have been nobody to attend the funeral of the late Air chief, except his daughter.

It is said that the head of the Pakistan Army in 1971, “(General) Hamid outlived Yahya Khan by a number of years and died at his Lahore home, unsung and unmourned.”

Gul Hassan, who held important assignments at the General Headquarters, Rawalpindi in 1971, was promoted as Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army on 21 December 1971 by President Bhutto. He was later “summarily retired” by Bhutto on 2 March 1972. “Disfigured by a rash of leukoderma, he died in 1997 at the CMH, Rawalpindi after a long bout with cancer.”³⁴⁹

General Gul Hasan remained a bachelor till his retirement from the Army. Later, he was appointed as Ambassador of Pakistan to Vienna, where I served as First Secretary in the late 1990s. There, he married an Austrian lady who ran a small barber shop.

Human nature is multifaceted and omni-directional. Human psyche is complex and complicated. Whatever had to happen, happened. There is another side to the story also, which should not be ignored.

Even today, some Bangladeshis would tell the Pakistani High Commissioner in Dhaka with all sincerity, “Sheikh Mujibur Rahman never wanted the break-up of Pakistan.” The son of a

349 ‘East Pakistan the End Game’ Brigadier Abdul Rahman Siddiqi, pages 218-219, Oxford, UK. (2004)

private physician to Sheikh Mujib told me at the Indian National Day Reception in January 2013, that his father used to say that Mujib had “only raised the threshold” with Islamabad, in the hope that President Yahya would agree to his demands. But, when situation reached “the point of no return, he had no option but to go for Bangladesh.”³⁵⁰ According to another account, when Mujib was informed about the 1971 developments during his custody in Islamabad, he fell in prostration and remarked that he had no hand in the dismemberment of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

There should be no doubt that Mujib used to actively participate in the Pakistan movement in Bengal for the creation of Pakistan. He had also worked as the chief polling representative of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, when she contested the Presidential elections against Ayub Khan in 1965.

The 7 March address by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1971 to the people of East Pakistan, is considered important in the history of Bangladesh. Bangladeshi analysts frequently refer to this address, and stress that Mujib concluded his speech with “JOY BANGLA.” What nobody mentions in the Awami League is the fact that after Joy Bangla, Mujib had loudly said, “PAKISTAN ZINDABAD.”³⁵¹

I enquired from intellectuals in Dhaka whether Bangladesh’s relations with Pakistan would have been better “had Sheikh Mujib been alive today.” Each one of them stressed, “Bangladesh would have had the best of relations with Pakistan.”

Awami League ideologues describe Sheikh Mujib as “the greatest Bengali of all times.” Other Awami Leaguers rate him

350 A number of Bangladeshis have mentioned this to the author during interaction in Bangladesh.

351 In private, a number of Bangladeshis including some from the Awami League, concur with this view. May also see the text of the speech at the relevant section of this book.

as “one who is even greater than Rabindranath Tagore.” Those who know Mujib well, would say that “in financial matters,” he was “above board.” Mujib’s reputation suffered mainly due to the wrongdoings of his family members. In personal life, “he was simple and austere.”

Many consider Zulfikar Ali Bhutto a “political genius;” others call him an “evil genius.”³⁵² Few Bangladeshis today also respect Bhutto “for giving Islamic world a nuclear bomb.” Others even opine that like Field Marshal Ayub Khan, Bhutto had a presentiment way back in 1966, that East Pakistan may not “remain part of Pakistan for long.” Bhutto agreed with Ayub Khan to ensure the economic consolidation of East Pakistan; so that “God forbid, if it separates from Pakistan, it remains independent of India.”

Henry Kissinger was not impressed by many. It is said that on top of the list of people who left a deep impression on his mind, was Chinese Premier Chou Enlai; and then, “it was the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.”³⁵³ It was Chou Enlai who, in a meeting after the debacle of East Pakistan, had remarked to Bhutto, “Do not worry...Take a long-term view. Who knows what is going to happen in the subcontinent: 50 years from now, 70 years from now, 100 years from now!”

In a discussion with me in Dhaka, Nepalese Ambassador Hari Kumar Shrestha made an interesting remark. He said, “Democracy came to Nepal because of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.” He added, “When Bhutto was executed in 1979, demonstrations took place on the streets of Kathmandu in favour of Bhutto.... This is how people of Nepal learned to protest and demonstrate for their rights against the King and the royal autocracy.”

352 This has been the common view among many in Pakistan in the aftermath of 1971.

353 ‘May also study ‘Zulfi Bhutto of Pakistan: His Life and Times’, Stanley Wolpert, Oxford University Press (1993).

Many rightly say that General Yahya Khan was morally bankrupt. Both in Bangladesh today and in Pakistan, nobody would deny due credit to Yahya Khan for holding fair and free general elections in the country in 1970. He could have influenced the election result; he did not. Nobody would deny the fact that ‘financially,’ Yahya was an honest man. As Chairman of Islamabad Capital Development Authority in the early 1960s, he could have made money. He did not. If media reports are correct, his son Ali Yahya, had approached President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for a job, as he was almost destitute.

At the time of death, General Gul Hasan did not have a house of his own. He died in a military Mess.

Lieutenant General Niazi was called “Tiger Niazi.” It was Brigadier D.F.W. Warren, Commanding Officer of the 161st Infantry Division of the British Army, who gave him this name, for bravery in World War II. The British gave Niazi the ‘Military Cross.’

General Ziaur Rahman was a professional soldier of the Pakistan Army. He had fought for the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan when India attacked Pakistan in 1965. As President of Bangladesh, he asserted his country’s independent foreign policy on matters relating to India. Even today, a large number of Bangladeshis hold Zia in high esteem.³⁵⁴

As a Brahman Hindu, Indira Gandhi did what, according to her, she should have done: break up Muslim Pakistan – the largest Muslim country in the world. Certainly, she was not too intelligent nor was her India too powerful, to have done a ‘good job.’ She also had all the help she needed from powerful quarters in Washington DC, Tel Aviv, Moscow and other world capitals.

Immediately after Indira Gandhi’s assassination on 31 October 1984, violent riots broke out in India against the Sikh population.

354 His wife Begum Khaleda Zia served as Prime Minister of Bangladesh three times.

By various accounts, “2000 Sikhs were massacred in just one day, in Delhi alone.” Many Sikhs shaved off their beards for fear of threats to their lives and properties. Several Sikh families even sought refuge at the residences of Pakistani diplomats in New Delhi. Later, when a Sikh delegation called on Rajiv Gandhi to convey their plight, he sarcastically remarked, “When a large tree collapses, ants do get crushed.”

The Lieutenant General of the Indian Army, Jagjit Singh Aurora who led his country’s military campaign in East Pakistan in 1971, was a Sikh. He had personal connections with Pakistan. He was born near Jhelum (not too far from Islamabad). Aurora was not a happy man to see the holiest place of the Sikh religion, Harmandir Sahib (Golden Temple), being desecrated by his army, the Indian army, during ‘Operation Blue Star’ in June 1984.³⁵⁵

Major General Shabeg Singh of the Indian army was earlier in his career responsible for the training of the Mukti Bahini in 1971. He was mercilessly killed by his own army, when he was leading the Sikh force defending the Golden Temple during Operation Blue Star. Shabeg Singh was an old Ravian having studied in Government College, Lahore.

Lieutenant General Kuldeep Singh Brar had led the Operation Blue Star. By various accounts, his boss, the Chief of Staff of the Indian Army, General Arun Shridhar Vaidya, had given him specific instructions to attack the Golden Temple on Guru Arjan Dev’s ‘Martyrdom Day’ to “kill the maximum number of Sikhs so as to teach Sikhs a lesson they will remember for ever.”³⁵⁶

355 May also study ‘Sikh History in 10 volumes,’ Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, Sikh University Press (2012). ISBN: 978-2-930247-47-2.

356 So many Sikhs have mentioned this to the author on so many occasions, during his two postings in New Delhi at the High Commission of Pakistan. May also visit http://www.panthkhalsa.org/raj/raj_june84.php (Site accessed on 15 November 2019.)

Kuldip Singh Brar had actively participated in the 1971 war against Pakistan. Brar even today is running for his life. Living under full police protection in Mumbai, he has survived several attempts on life one in London in September 2012. In an interview in 2013, the former General said, “I don’t know how I will eventually pass away; if I will die a natural death or I’m assassinated.”³⁵⁷

As regards General Arun Shridhar Vaidya, readers would recall, what happened.³⁵⁸ Following retirement on 31 January 1986 as one of India’s “most decorated military officers,” the General took up residence in Pune. Just six months later, on 10 August 1986, he was shot to death.

The first two bullets penetrated his brain and killed him instantly. A third bullet struck Vaidya in the shoulder, with another striking his wife in the neck. The bleeding general was carried to the hospital in a passing van and was declared “brought dead.” The witnesses who deposed in court said that the assailants were clean shaven, but later the assassins were seen in turban and beard. Following the assassination, the Khalistan Commando Force in a statement declared that “Vaidya had been killed in retaliation for the Golden Temple operation.”

As a Brigadier, Arun Shridhar Vaidya had actively participated in the 1971 conflict.³⁵⁹

357 See ‘Independent’ of 1 August 2013. (Writeup by Paul Peachey titled, “ ‘I don’t know if I will die a natural death’: Indian army general Kuldip Singh Brar reveals he’s been the target of eight assassination attempts.”Top of Form

358 Vaidya had been promoted as Army Chief by ignoring the Vice Chief of Army Staff Lieutenant General S K Sinha. Sinha was seen as one who was not “A yes man.”

359 On the Western sector.

Importantly, the ‘foundation stone’ of the Golden Temple was laid centuries ago in December 1588 by a Muslim saint Hazrat Mian Mir. Mian Mir was from what is today Pakistan. It is said, later, a mason tried to “straighten the stone” as it was “a little uneven.” Sikh Guru Arjan chided the mason and said, “You should not have done this....The stone was laid by a holy Muslim saint. Now, I fear the Sikh community will have to face tremendous difficulties in future.”³⁶⁰

Indeed, all this is a sad story, sad saga and the saddest tragedy for the Muslims of South Asia.

Sometimes, even Indians have been commenting, “Was it a wise decision on part of New Delhi to create two Pakistans in 1971!” Bangladesh is the only state in the world that came into being on the basis of Bengali nationalism. Now, on its West, India has to deal with Muslim Pakistan; and on its East, India has to deal with both Muslim and Bengali Bangladesh.

The creation of Bangladesh, as Indian journalist Pran Chopra once termed, was the ‘Second Liberation’ of India, the first one being in 1947 when the British left the subcontinent. According to others, one conscious of history “will have no escape but to conclude that India is on the look for her third liberation by fully annexing Bangladesh into ‘Mother India’; and the fourth and the final liberation would be when she could completely annex the territory of existing Pakistan.”³⁶¹

Indian analyst Pankaj Mishra also reiterates this view. In his article in *The New York Times* in early 2003, he refers to his

360 Sikh historians have referred to this episode in their history.

361 ‘Bangladesh: Victim of Black Propaganda, Intrigue and Indian Hegemony’ by Tajammul Hussain, published by Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd, London in 1996; pages 127, 128.

interaction with Gopal Godse, the younger brother of Nathuram Godse the assassin of Karamchand Gandhi. According to Gopal, Nathuram had advised him to (after his execution) immerse his (Nathuram's) ashes in Indus, "the holy river of India that flows through Pakistan, only when Mother India was whole again."³⁶²

³⁶² Article 'The Other Face of Fanaticism' by Pankaj Mishra, published in The New York Times of 2 February 2003.

THE QUESTION OF APOLOGY IN RESPECT OF 1971

The Awami League in Bangladesh has asked Pakistan to apologise in respect of killings of Bengalis in East Pakistan in 1971. Pakistan has not asked Bangladesh to apologise for the killings of the West Pakistanis and Biharis in East Pakistan in 1971.

Time and again, the Awami League government in Bangladesh has emphasised that the Government of Pakistan should formally apologise on account of what they consider as excesses done by the Pakistan Army in 1971. Some in Pakistan have also advocated the view that Islamabad may agree to the demand. In their view, this move would open up new avenues of cooperation and beneficial relations with Bangladesh.

There is a need to carefully examine the issue, lest a fatal mistake is made that would affect even the future generations of Pakistan; and the Muslims of Bangladesh and the subcontinent.

Pakistan does not have issues with Bangladesh. Pakistan wants to have the best of relations with Bangladesh. However, the Awami League in Bangladesh, has ‘outstanding issues’ with Pakistan, i.e. Apology, Reparations, Division of Assets and Repatriation of stranded Pakistanis (Biharis).

Pakistan’s position on ‘Apology’, has been consistent. It considers the issue settled and resolved with the conclusion of the Bangladesh-India-Pakistan (tripartite) Agreement, signed in New Delhi on 9 April 1974. The following clauses of the Agreement, would be relevant to note: ³⁶³

363 May see the full text of the agreement in the Annexures to this publication.

- *The Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Government of Pakistan, said that “his government **condemned and deeply regretted** any crimes that may have been committed (in respect of the 1971 war).” [PARA 13]*

- *The Ministers noted, “the Prime Minister of Pakistan had declared that he would visit Bangladesh in response to the invitation of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, and appealed to the people of Bangladesh to **forgive and forget the mistakes of the past** in order to promote reconciliation (between Pakistan and Bangladesh).” [PARA 14]³⁶⁴*

- *Similarly, “the Prime Minister of Bangladesh had declared with regard to the atrocities and destruction committed in Bangladesh in 1971, that he wanted the people to **forget the past and to make a fresh start, stating that the people of Bangladesh knew how to forgive.**” [PARA 14]*

364 There is a need to carefully note this language in para 14 of the tripartite agreement. According to this para, *The Ministers noted, “the Prime Minister of Pakistan had declared that he would visit Bangladesh in response to the invitation of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, and appealed to the people of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past in order to promote reconciliation.”* A former Bangladeshi Ambassador with nationalist leanings, informally told me (at a dinner at my residence in Dhaka) that, at the Indian instigation, later (after the signing of this agreement) this language was cleverly changed from the word “**appealed**” to “**appeal**.” According to the Bangladeshi Ambassador, the official text used in respect of the tripartite agreement by the Government of Bangladesh today, reads, *The Ministers noted, “the Prime Minister of Pakistan had declared that he would visit Bangladesh in response to the invitation of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, and appeal to the people of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past in order to promote reconciliation.”* This change was not made with the approval of the Government of Pakistan. Understandably, India wants the problem between Bangladesh and Pakistan to linger on without any resolution in sight.

Sardar Swaran Singh signed the above tripartite Agreement on behalf of the Government of India, Mr. Aziz Ahmed signed it on behalf of the Government of Pakistan, and Dr. Kamal Hossain signed the Agreement on behalf of the Government of Bangladesh. Significantly, the document was signed by these Foreign Ministers of the three countries with the clear approval, and on the specific instructions of Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the three important personalities of 1971, who were in power in their respective countries at the time of the signing of the Agreement.

This agreement led to the development of mutually beneficial relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh. As mentioned earlier, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Bangladesh in June 1974, and Pakistan established its diplomatic mission in Dhaka.

Importantly, the Opposition parties in Bangladesh have not been highlighting this demand of Apology in their interaction with Pakistan.

After all, Awami League is not the only party which has a large following in Bangladesh. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) is also a widely popular political party in the country, may be more popular than Awami League. Its head Begum Khaleda Zia has served three times as the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. Same is the case with the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami, the third largest political force in the country which does not subscribe to the foreign policy priorities of the ruling Awami League.

Bangladeshi political commentators have been underlining that after Sheikh Mujib's assassination, no government in Dhaka had "ever raised the issue of apology" with the Government of Pakistan, for a period of almost 20 years. To quote Ekram Kabir from his article on the subject published in *The Daily Sun* of 11 January 2012, "If we look back, the governments that were in power in Bangladesh between 1975 and 1996, did not raise this issue with the Pakistan authorities."

An opinion is also expressed by analysts in Pakistan (and by some in Dhaka, albeit in private), that if Islamabad makes a formal apology in respect of 1971, exactly the way Awami League wants, the matter would still not be resolved.

As mentioned above, the ‘outstanding issues’ which Awami League has been raising with Pakistan, include not only Apology, but also Reparations and the Division of Assets.

To re-state, the official stance of the Awami League government which it has been publicly stressing on 1971, is that the Pakistan Army massacred 3 million Bengalis and violated 200,000 Bengali women during the conflict. A large number of analysts the world over, have categorically disagreed with these fantastic statistics. As mentioned earlier, the list among others, includes, David Bergman, Sisson and Rose, William Drummond, Sarmila Bose, Ingvar Oja, Peter Gill and Ian Jack. Similarly, prominent Bangladeshis who have dismissed these figures as ‘exaggerations’, also include (Bangladesh’s first Foreign Secretary) Syed A. Karim, Serajur Rahman, Qutubuddin Aziz, Abdul Mu’min Chowdhury, Ambassador Shamsheer Mobin Chowdhury, Tajammul Hussain and Syed Sajjad Hussain.

If one goes by the Awami League statistics, the total money demanded of Pakistan in respect of ‘reparations’ would be expected to be more than US \$ 5 billion, \$ 10 billion or even more (\$ 2000 to \$ 10,000 per person in respect of the claim that 3 million were killed and 200,000 raped.)

Then would come the demand of the ‘division of assets,’ meaning, if Pakistan Army had ten tanks in 1971, the cost of six tanks be reimbursed to Bangladesh since East Pakistan at that time had more population than West Pakistan. Same would be the case with other military and civilian items/properties common to West Pakistan and East Pakistan in 1971. And, nobody witnessed any element of velvet divorce in respect of the tragedy.

On its part, the Government of Pakistan has, as a matter of sincere goodwill, not been demanding of the Government of Bangladesh, to apologise and pay reparations for the atrocities committed by the Awami League-led Mukti Bahini against the West Pakistanis, Biharis and Bengalis in East Pakistan who had supported the cause of united Pakistan in 1971.

Here, the question of the trial of the Pakistani prisoners of war (POWs) of 1971 would also be relevant to look at. Some analysts have been raising this subject even today, without realizing that it was also fully settled when Bangladesh committed itself under Article 15 of the above cited 9 April 1974 Agreement, to forego the trial of 195 Pakistani prisoners of war, accused of war crimes in 1971. Para 15 of the Agreement specifically states, *“In the light of the foregoing and, in particular, having regard to the appeal of the Prime Minister of Pakistan to the people of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh stated that the Government of Bangladesh had decided not to proceed with the trials as an act of clemency.”*

In July 2020, Prime Minister Imran Khan made a telephone call to Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina; by international practice, a routine call made as a matter of goodwill to discuss subjects of interest including Kashmir. In its analysis (25 July 2020), Bangladeshi newspaper The Daily Star, highlighted that an Apology from Islamabad “is a must” if Pakistan wants to improve relations with Bangladesh.

Subsequently, messages started pouring in from Dhaka sent by nationalist Bangladeshis, requesting Islamabad never to agree to the Awami League demand of apology. In one such message, a Bangladeshi youngster underlined:

- SO, NOW YOU PAKISTANIS ARE GOING TO APOLOGISE TO BANGLADESH! ARE YOU GOING TO ACCEPT KILLING OF 3 MILLION PEOPLE?

- ARE YOU GOING TO APOLOGISE FOR PROTECTING EAST PAKISTAN, WHICH WAS RIGHTFULLY PART OF PAKISTAN?
- SO, TRAITORS WHO DID THE TREACHERY WERE RIGHT! SO, ANYONE CAN DO TREASON AND BECOME A HERO!
- THE CREATION OF A MUSLIM HOMELAND IN 1947 WITH THE BLOOD OF MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN MASSACRED, WAS A WASTE!
- SO, NEXT TIME, ANY PART OF PAKISTAN CAN ASK FOR INDEPENDENCE, AND IT WILL BE MARKED AS A 'RIGHT TO FREEDOM'!

The sarcasm in the above lines says it all.

As regards repatriation of stranded Pakistanis (Biharis), more than 170,000 non-Bengalis have been already brought to Pakistan from Bangladesh. The decision by the Bangladeshi Court of May 2008, which allowed non-Bengalis the right to a passport and vote, would also be relevant to note. Importantly, a number of them are now settled in Bangladesh and would avoid displacement.

A number of Bangladeshis will stress even today that common Bengali in East Pakistan “never thought of Bangladesh....The idea of a separate country became a popular slogan” only when Army action was ordered in March 1971. There can be no doubt that a large number of Bengalis suffered on account of 1971. Ask any Pakistani, he would feel “deep anguish at the tragedy.” He would not have words to express his “pain and agony.” So many Pakistanis have even offered their “deep and unconditional apologies” to the people of Bangladesh on account of 1971.

At the same time, one would feel like asking a few questions. How many Bangladeshis have apologized to Pakistan for the

genocide carried out against the Bengalis in East Pakistan, who were struggling for the preservation of the united Muslim Pakistan in 1971? How many in Bangladesh today would publicly apologise for the pogroms carried out by Mukti Bahini against the Biharis and the massacres and rapes of West Pakistanis in East Pakistan in 1971?

What to talk of apologizing, it would even be difficult to come across people in Bangladesh today, who would admit in public that Bengalis actually killed Pakistanis and pro-Pakistan populace in East Pakistan in 1971.

During a discussion on the subject at my residence in Dhaka in early 2012, a former Bangladeshi Foreign Minister advised me, in confidence, “Islamabad should not apologize. Pakistan should not fall into the Awami League trap of outstanding issues.... Pakistan, India and Bangladesh have already signed a formal agreement at the level of Foreign Ministers in April 1974, which has resolved the matter.”³⁶⁵

Sultan Mohammad Khan served as Pakistan’s Foreign Secretary from July 1970 to March 1972. He also served as Ambassador to the US and the People’s Republic of China. The following passage from his book ‘Memories & Reflections of a Pakistani Diplomat,’ is noteworthy:³⁶⁶

Quote

One of the first things (Zulfikar Ali) Bhutto did on becoming President was to move Sheikh Mujib and his aide Kamal Hussein from prison to a safe house used by the Inter-Services Intelligence in the Rawalpindi Cantonment area. Mujib and Kamal had been kept in total isolation in prison and were unaware of developments in East Pakistan. At Bhutto’s orders,

365 Matters relating to the tripartite agreement have been discussed in details in the book earlier.

366 ‘Memories & Reflections of a Pakistani Diplomat’, Sultan Muhammad Khan, page 406, Second edition, Paramount Publishing Enterprise, Karachi – Lahore – Islamabad. (2006)

they were provided a radio set and heard the news about the emergence of Bangladesh for the first time. Soon, Bhutto called on Mujib, and I heard a secret tape-recording of that meeting.

Mujib was highly emotional and cried and laughed by turns. He called Bhutto “my brother” and said that he owed his life to him because a few days before he was moved to the safe house, he had seen a hanging scaffold being erected in the jail compound, and was told by his guards that it was for him. Mujib said that he had not intended to bring about the secession of East Pakistan and it was all due to the brutal and stupid policies of the Army Command. He promised to set things on the right course when he got back to Dhaka, and added that the first thing to do was to get rid of the Indians as he could never imagine living under the domination of Hindus.

“You and I, my brother, must work closely to resolve all problems,” and he swore on the Qur’an that he would keep his promise. Mujib was hysterical, at times, saying “I have excelled Fazlul Haq and Suhrawardy”, demanding Yahya Khan’s trial, promising that as soon as he got rid of the Indians, he would propose a united government of East and West Pakistan, with defence, foreign affairs and currency held in common.

Unquote

The question is not whether three million were killed or 26,000 were killed in 1971. The question is, why was even one single Pakistani unjustifiably killed in 1971? According to Islamic injunctions, if one human being is killed without any justification, it amounts to killing the entire humanity.

The fact of the matter is:

IF ONE BENGALI WAS KILLED DUE TO WRONG REASONS, IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME AND DISGRACE.

IF ONE BIHARI WAS KILLED DUE TO WRONG REASONS,
IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME AND DISGRACE.

IF ONE WEST PAKISTANI WAS KILLED DUE TO WRONG
REASONS, IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME AND DISGRACE.

IF ONE HINDU WAS KILLED DUE TO WRONG REASONS,
IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME AND DISGRACE.

IF ONE MUSLIM WAS KILLED DUE TO WRONG
REASONS, IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME AND DISGRACE.

The question is not whether two hundred thousand women were
raped or a thousand women were raped! The question is, why
was even one single woman dishonoured?

IF JUST ONE OF OUR BENGALI SISTERS WAS
DISHONoured, CERTAINLY IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME
AND DISGRACE.

IF JUST ONE OF OUR BIHARI SISTERS WAS
DISHONoured, CERTAINLY IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME
AND DISGRACE.

IF JUST ONE OF OUR WEST PAKISTANI SISTERS WAS
DISHONoured, CERTAINLY IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME
AND DISGRACE.

IF JUST ONE OF OUR MUSLIM SISTERS WAS
DISHONoured, CERTAINLY IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME
AND DISGRACE.

IF JUST ONE OF OUR HINDU SISTERS WAS
DISHONoured, CERTAINLY IT IS A MATTER OF SHAME
AND DISGRACE.

During his visit to Bangladesh in July 2002, the then President
of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf, stressed at the official banquet
in his honour in Dhaka, "My brothers and sisters in Pakistan

share with their fellow brothers and sisters in Bangladesh, **profound grief** over the calamitous events of 1971. As a result of this tragedy, a family, having common religious and cultural heritage and united by a joint struggle for independence and a shared vision of the future, was torn apart. We feel **sorry** for this tragedy and the pain it caused to both our people.”

President Musharraf also visited the war memorial at Savar near Dhaka. In his remarks in the visitor’s book, he wrote, “Your brothers and sisters in Pakistan share the pain of the events in 1971. The excesses committed during the unfortunate period are **regretted**. Let us bury the past in the spirit of magnanimity. Let not the light of the future be dimmed.”

Earlier during his visit to Bangladesh in December 1985, President Ziaul Haque also went to the war memorial. Over there, he underscored, “Your heroes are our heroes.”

As mentioned earlier, the Government of Pakistan issued a statement on February 29, 1973, emphasising that “The loss of life and property during 1971 is deeply regretted, lamented and mourned by everyone.”

No Pakistani would disagree with the above views.

1971, evokes sentiments and emotions even today. And, it should; why not! So many suffered, both East Pakistanis and West Pakistanis. So many went through agony. All said and done, may be, both sides will have to formally apologise to each other tomorrow. Let the future generations take a wise decision. So says Allah, the God of the Muslims of Bangladesh and the Muslims of Pakistan, in the Quran:

*“Let them pardon and overlook. Would you not love Allah to forgive you? Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.”*³⁶⁷

367 Quran (Surat An-Nur).

REFLECTIONS

In history, India has never been 'one country' except for ninety years during the time of the British, and when Muslim Emperor Alauddin Khilji ruled the subcontinent 800 years ago. Otherwise, India has always consisted of different states and countries, just as England, France, Germany, Russia and others have belonged to Europe.

Years have passed since 1971.

Whenever an impartial analyst looks back at East Pakistan, some serious questions do come to mind.

To say that 1971 happened because of the faults of West Pakistan, would not be correct. To say that 1971 happened because of the mistakes of East Pakistan, would not be correct either. The tragedy of 1971 happened because of the fatal mistakes made by few both in West Pakistan and in East Pakistan. Importantly, the common man in West Pakistan and the common man in East Pakistan did not commit those mistakes. East Pakistanis suffered, and suffered enormously, since the main arena of the conflict was in East Pakistan. Importantly, the people of West Pakistan genuinely mourned the sufferings of their brothers and sisters in East Pakistan.

India spearheaded and ignited the situation to its advantage. And, after 1971, New Delhi emerged as the ultimate beneficiary, or so it seems. The nationalist Bangladeshis even today cite Prime Minister Morarji Desai's criticism of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on 1971. According to them, Morarji Desai had strongly disagreed with the Indian policy of sending "thousands

of regular soldiers of Indian army, disguised as Mukti Bahini,” to provoke violence in East Pakistan.³⁶⁸

There should be no doubt that Bengalis were right in their demand that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who had won the 1970 General Elections in Pakistan, be made the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The question is, was President Yahya Khan too wrong not to make Sheikh Mujib the Prime Minister as he had concrete evidence that Mujib had sought Indian support in the break-up of Pakistan? What if Sheikh Mujib had actually become the Prime Minister of Pakistan and taken steps to dismember the rest of Pakistan! How would have the patriotic West Pakistanis and the patriotic East Pakistanis perceived such a development?

Common Bangladeshi is right to express horror at the prospects of his own army (Pakistan army) taking action against its own people in East Pakistan in March 1971. The question is, what would the Bangladesh army do, if, as it has been happening in the past, insurgents in Chittagong Hill tracts at the Indian instigation again challenge Dhaka's authority and indulge in a full-fledged conflict with the state of Bangladesh? What will the state institutions do, if the national flag of Bangladesh is desecrated in Dhaka? What will the Bangladesh army do, if the offices of the state of Bangladesh are attacked by people armed with Indian weapons and trained in acts of terror by Indian intelligence agencies, exactly the way it happened in East Pakistan against the state of Pakistan in 1971!

Some say, there was an element of insecurity in East Pakistan vis a vis India when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan. It is stressed that during the India-Pakistan war of 1965, East Pakistanis felt that Rawalpindi had not taken adequate steps for the defense of the eastern wing of Pakistan. One may ask, is Bangladesh today a strong country in terms of defense vis a vis India?

368 In this regard, Morarji Desai's interview with Oriana Fallaci, is also referred to by the Bangladeshis.

In the 1960s, intellectuals in Dhaka asserted that foreign exchange earnings from the products in East Pakistan, especially jute, were being used by West Pakistan to develop major projects in West Pakistan including the new capital, Islamabad. If it was true, then earnings from jute should have given an unprecedented boost to the economy of the newly independent Bangladesh, which did not happen. Ironically, Bangladesh has never been even a middle income country since its creation in 1971.

Similarly, one could ask, has the state of West Bengal in India attained any parity in economic development with the other states in India, like Punjab, Gujarat, Kerala, or Maharashtra? The answer is No. According to the available development statistics, West Bengal has been lagging behind many states of the Indian Union, even though the situation has improved in recent years.³⁶⁹

The language issue has been dealt with at length earlier. Certainly, language is very important to a Bengali. Many in Dhaka today would be surprised to note that Urdu is not the language of any province of Pakistan. It has never been. Urdu was meant to provide cohesion and unity to the Muslim state of Pakistan. Bengal was the only province of Pakistan where people demanded its language, Bengali, to be made the national language of Pakistan. Neither Punjab, nor Sindh, NWFP or Balochistan, demanded that Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto or Balochi be made the national language of Pakistan.

The Bengalis of West Bengal (in India) are as proud Bengalis as the Bengalis of Bangladesh, if not more. West Bengalis love Bengali culture, language and traditions as much as the people of Bangladesh. The question is, why is it that the Hindus of

369 The Journal of Development Studies, Volume 43, Issue 8, June 2008. ('Population, economy and society in West Bengal since the 1970s' by Arup Maharatna). Also see 'Why West Bengal is lagging behind other states', by Ashok Lahiri (<https://www.rediff.com/business/column/column-why-west-bengal-is-lagging-behind-other-states/20141224.htm>).

West Bengal did not launch a powerful movement to make Bengali the national language of the Republic of India? To this day, India continues to have Hindi (in Devanagari) and English as its official languages.³⁷⁰ Bengali has never been the official language of the Republic of India; Bengali and English have been the official languages of the Indian state of West Bengal to which interestingly Urdu was also added after 2010.³⁷¹

The language issue which later led to the demand for Bangladesh in East Pakistan, is more intrinsically connected with Bengal in terms of Bengali culture, ethnicity and the history of Bengal itself, and less with East Pakistan as an administrative unit as such. There is, therefore, a need to look at various aspects of 1971 from the perspective of not just East Pakistan and West Pakistan but through the prism of Bengal, Sindh, Punjab, Frontier and Balochistan.

Intellectuals assert in Bangladesh that Bengalis were ruled by West Pakistan. What is not mentioned is that when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Mohammed Ali Bogra, Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Iskandar Mirza and Nurul Amin, all occupied top-most positions in united Pakistan as Governor General, Prime Ministers, President and as Vice President.³⁷²

On its part, New Delhi has never had a Bengali as the Prime Minister of India since independence in spite of the fact that the West Bengal state has been an integral part of the Republic of India. India has had 14 Presidents since the post was established in 1950. Only one, Pranab Mukherjee, who was sworn in 2012, was a Bengali. What to talk of President, an opinion is expressed

370 India has not designated any language as its national language. Instead, it has Hindi and English as its official languages.

371 Also see PTI writeup in 'India Today,' dated 28 February 2018.

372 May also study 'From Plassey to Pakistan: The Family History of Iskander Mirza, the First President of Pakistan,' by Humayun Mirza. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform (2014). ISBN 1492965332

that New Delhi has never even had a Bengali as the Vice President of India since the creation of the office in the early 1950s.³⁷³

Of the twenty-eight army chiefs of India since 1947, only two, Joyanto Nath Chaudhuri and Shankar Roychowdhury, have been from West Bengal. Of the twenty-six chiefs of the Indian air force, only two, Air Marshal Subroto Mukerjee and Air Chief Marshal Arup Raha, were from West Bengal. When Narendra Modi was sworn in as the 15th Prime Minister of India on 26 May 2014, Bangladeshis complained that “he has not included a single Bengali in his Cabinet (from the Indian state of West Bengal).”³⁷⁴

The Awami League ideologues convey the impression to the common man in the country that the very idea of Pakistan is “communal in nature”. Pakistan is described by some in Dhaka today as “a communal country.” It is true that Pakistan has been facing sectarian problems and extremism, certainly not communalism or for that matter casteism, which is one of the main problems in India, not Pakistan and Bangladesh. Unfortunately, reports have been frequently appearing in the media on attacks on Hindu temples and properties in Bangladesh. All this is played up by the Indian media to discredit Bangladesh.

Whenever, an average Indian or a Bangladeshi visits Pakistan, he can see for himself the reality on ground. Analysts do not seem to be aware of the fact that Muslim Pakistan has witnessed the least number of Hindu – Muslim riots since its creation in 1947.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman observes in his autobiography, “Some of the people of Gopalganj who came to see me, echoed my thoughts: ‘Why did they imprison you? You were someone who

373 Hamid Ansari who served as the 12th Vice President of India was born in Calcutta, though his ancestral home is in Ghazipur (Uttar Pradesh).

374 This has been the view expressed by the media persons and intellectuals in Dhaka.

had made us conscious of Pakistan.’ Others said, ‘You said so many things about how Pakistan would transform our lives... What could I tell them by way of a response!...How could I explain to them what had happened? ... There was nothing wrong with the concept of Pakistan; it was our country. But those who had been left in charge of the nation were more interested in their own fortunes than those of the people.’³⁷⁵

Ironically, the common man in Dhaka continues to lament even today that those who have been in charge of the country since 1971, have been “more interested in their own fortunes adding to the misfortunes of Bangladesh.”

Unfortunately, democratic institutions could not develop in Pakistan in the early years of the country’s existence. Both the people of East Pakistan and West Pakistan had demonstrated for democracy against the military regime of President Ayub Khan. In the process, East Pakistan became Bangladesh with high idealism of Sheikh Mujib to make his new country a democracy. All this did not translate into reality, as Bangladesh continued to face military interventions.

If it was a wise idea to dismember the state of Pakistan since the democratic institutions were not allowed to function in the country, then would it be a good idea to do away with Bangladesh since according to Bangladeshi analysts, democratic institutions have not been smoothly functioning in Bangladesh since 1971!

It is true that a large number of people in the then East Pakistan became unhappy with the policies of the regimes in power in Pakistan. Logically speaking, their anger should have been directed against the regimes in power in Pakistan; not against the State of Pakistan.

375 ‘Sheikh Mujibur Rahman- The Unfinished Memoirs’ page 208, University Press Limited, Dhaka. (2012)

By various estimates, there are 3 million or more Bengalis and Biharis from the then East Pakistan permanently residing in Pakistan.³⁷⁶ Tens of thousands moved to Karachi and other places in (West) Pakistan before and after 1971, as they did not feel comfortable with the idea of Bangladesh. Many included civil and military officers, businessmen, intellectuals and journalists. A number of persons of East Pakistani background, have been holding positions of significance in Pakistan.

When they were with Pakistan, East Pakistanis knew that they were part of a large, strong and vibrant Islamic Republic of Pakistan. They had the confidence to walk and talk in the world with their chins up. After 1971, they, all of a sudden, realized the sharp decrease in their size, influence and military strength. In fact, they were reduced to the status of a provincial entity. Today, the main concern in Bangladesh does not relate to the office of the Prime Minister of India sitting in New Delhi, but the Chief Minister of the Indian state of West Bengal, sitting in Kolkata. A former Bangladeshi Foreign Secretary, Hemayet Uddin, laments, “I am not sure if the Indians ever considered seriously how to engage Bangladesh to their advantage.” At times, “I am inclined to think” that New Delhi regards “Bangladesh as an extension of the state of West Bengal, and would formulate their dealings with that mindset.”³⁷⁷

Had Jinnah lived longer; and later also Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan who was assassinated in Rawalpindi in 1951, things would have been different for Pakistan. Had Nehru died earlier, and not in 1964, things would have been different for India.

In fact, Indian bellicosity forced Pakistan to spend more money on defense, which made its armed forces strong, eventually

³⁷⁶ The exact figure seems to be difficult to find.

³⁷⁷ Book titled, ‘A Neighbourly Affair- Assignment India’, Hemayet Uddin, University Press Limited, Red Crescent House, Motijheel, Dhaka (2009).

leading to military take-overs. The Ayub rule moved Pakistan forward economically and industrially with the country's growth rate jumping to 9 to 10 percent in the 1960s. More than the growth rate of China, today. However, Ayub's martial law created absence of democracy, resulting in alienation of the people of East Pakistan.

The first Indian Army chief of India, Field Marshal Kodandera Madappa Cariappa could have been India's Field Marshal Ayub Khan. This is the reason, Prime Minister Nehru sent him to a far off place at that time, Australia, as High Commissioner. Otherwise, it is said that Cariappa had "notions of imposing military rule on India."³⁷⁸ Even after 1971, Indira Gandhi felt uncomfortable with Manekshaw as she had a 'nagging feeling' that he wanted to go for a martial law in India, a perception he vehemently denied.³⁷⁹

The question is, why did the Hindus of West Bengal not break their own country 'Hindu India,' the way the Muslims of East Pakistan dismembered their 'Muslim Pakistan!' After all, the Bengalis of West Bengal are proud Brahmans, they are educated and enlightened, having produced towering figures like Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Sharat Chandra Chattopadhyay, Shirshendu Mukhopadhyay and Abanindranath Tagore.³⁸⁰ In the view of the former Vice Chancellor of the Rajshahi University, Syed Sajjad Hussain:³⁸¹

378 'Field Marshal KM Cariappa: political ambition as well as mistrust of politicians.' (Indian Express, 12 October 2020.)

379 'Cariappa not an exception. Many Indian generals have talked about military coup' by Lieutenant General HS Panag, *The Print*. (23 January 2020)

380 May study 'The Sentinels of Culture: Class, Education, and the Colonial Intellectual in Bengal (1848-85)' by Tithi Bhattacharya, Oxford University Press. (2005)

381 'The Wastes of Time - Reflections on the Decline and Fall of East Pakistan' by Syed Sajjad Hussain, pages 146 and 215, City Press, Dhaka. (1995)

Pakistan, one must not forget, is less a territorial than an ideological concept. It has not been the sum-total of a number of demands for self-determination for Muslims scattered all over India; it was inspired by the feeling, whatever the sentiments of the Bengalis today, that the Muslims of India constitute one single nation. The Muslims of Bengal identified themselves wholly with their co-religionists elsewhere and lent their full and whole-hearted support to this theory.

What the Awami Leaguers, assisted by left-wing journalists, fanned all the time, was the cult of Bengali nationalism. Here again their dishonesty was transparently plain. They did not contend that the entire subcontinent needed re-organization on linguistic lines, or that each major language group in Pakistan and India should call for recognition as a separate nationality with a right to self-determination. The theory was applied to the Bengalis of Pakistan only. The Bengalis in West Bengal in India could stay where they were; the Marathis, the Tamils, the Andhras---all belonged to the Indian nation and nothing illogical could be seen in their union with the Republic of India.

Economy is important. Political scientists say, economic woes bring about frustration. But Pakistan's economy was doing exceedingly well in the late 1950s and 1960s. Pakistan was quoted the world over as a success story. India lagged behind Pakistan despite its resources, sources and the potential. The Indian army officers who participated in the 1971 war, were actually stupefied to note that almost every other upper middle class household in East Pakistan, had "a refrigerator, air conditioner and other such amenities." Indian military used to wonder, why East Pakistanis had been agitating when they had all the luxuries which "an average Indian could never have imagined at that time."³⁸² Commercial transportation of a human being by a human being,

382 Former Indian army officers used to focus on this point in their discussions with the author, when he was serving as First Secretary in the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi in the mid-1990s.

is degradation of humanity. Even today, you will come across man-pedaled cycle rickshaws in Delhi, Kolkata and Dhaka, but you will never witness such a scene in Pakistan.

Intriguingly, 1971 was a non-issue so far as the United Nations is concerned. Except for the Polish resolution and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speech at the world body, that too days before the separation of East Pakistan, nobody seems to have heard about any UN initiative on Bangladesh war in the subcontinent.

What about the Muslim countries! Why were they silent? After all, ever since 1947, Pakistan has been playing an important role at the UN on issues affecting the Muslim world. Pakistan remained the sole voice of the Palestinians for years immediately after its creation. Pakistan played an important role at the world body in respect of freedom and independence of the countries of North Africa and the Middle East.

Nobody came to Pakistan's rescue in 1971.

All these are questions that do come to mind. May be, someone has the answer; may be, nobody has the answer. This is what I have tried to emphasise in this research document.

Finally, a word about Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report. Reportedly, only 10/12 copies of the report were prepared, each properly numbered. Some say, 'all copies went missing.' Interestingly, parts of the report leaked out, were published, of all the countries, in India. Questions could also be raised against the credibility of the report, as the Hamoodur Rahman Commission was constituted on the orders of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who is himself said to be involved in the tragedy of 1971.

India has not been far behind. If their media reports are to be believed, detailed records on 1971, available with the Government of India, have gone missing. This is what the Times of India reported on 9 May 2010. Bangladeshis have gone a step further. At the Indian instigation, their Ministry of Liberation War Affairs continues to churn out misinformation about 1971 on a regular basis.

CONCLUSION

....the Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions....they have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

Quaid-e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah ³⁸³

After 1971, India perceived that Pakistan “has been cut down to size.” That has not happened. Pakistan has emerged as the only nuclear country in the Muslim world. After the Fall of Dhaka, people in Islamabad viewed Bangladesh as “a gone case.” Some felt that Bangladesh might rejoin India. This has also not happened.

The entire Pakistani military deployed in East Pakistan, returned home safe and sound. The West Pakistani civilians also came home.

Almost every Pakistani today, has a soft corner for Bangladesh the way it was the case before 1971. A large number of Muslims in Bangladeshi have a soft corner for Pakistan; many of them in fact look up to Pakistan. A large number of Bangladeshis have misgivings about India. Now, they are dealing with the same India which they used to deal with before 1947.

383 Presidential address by Muhammad Ali Jinnah to the Muslim League Lahore, 1940.

Interestingly, now India has to its West, a Muslim nuclear Pakistan; and to its East, India has a Muslim and a Bengali Bangladesh.

This is the crux of the story.

Importantly, 1971 did not happen only in 1971; 1971 also took place in Bengal in 1911 when its partition was annulled. 1947 did not happen only in 1947; 1947 also occurred in 1905 when Bengal was partitioned into Hindu Bengal and Muslim Bengal.

Bangladesh is a highly divided society. All this is perceptible in the vast ideological divisions in the country.

Awami League represents India and the Indian version of secularism in Bangladesh, which means “Hindu dominance” in which Islam is to be “eliminated from Bengal” in the long run. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) represents Muslim values and the assertion of an ‘Independent Bangladesh’ in the face of the Indian hegemony. Few in Awami League have a soft corner for Pakistan; some in BNP have a soft corner for India. The third major political party in Bangladesh, Jamaat-e-Islami, would like to have good relations with Pakistan and the rest of the world.

Many Bangladeshis say even today that had army action not taken place in March 1971, almost 60 per cent of Bengalis would have sided with Pakistan and not with the idea of Bangladesh. All this does not mean that Bangladeshis would like rejoin Pakistan. There is absolutely no going back on 1971.

India is Dhaka’s compulsion.

Dhaka is helpless. Bangladesh has been at the mercy of India.

In fact, Bangladesh lost its integrity and sovereignty even before its creation on 16 December 1971.

Bangladesh has not been able to come out of the trauma of 1971. India has not been able to come out of the trauma of 1947.

In the meanwhile, the process of Sikkimization of Bangladesh, silently engineered by India, continues.

India asserts that Pakistan is the “epicenter of terrorism.” Many forget that New Delhi had brazenly used the dagger of state terrorism to dismember Pakistan in 1971. The West knows all this; but why would they speak up to side with Muslim Pakistan! The joke of the millennia to the Pakistani ear is the advice from the United States, emphasising that “Pakistan should have nothing to fear from India.”³⁸⁴

Former Indian High Commissioner to Bangladesh, Krishnan Srinivasan has expressed the view that those in Bangladesh who emphasize their destiny as Bengalis “will naturally be drawn to the spiritual, cultural and literary pull of Calcutta;” and those who draw inspiration from separation (from India) try “to counterbalance it with relations with USA, Pakistan, China, Saudi Arabia, and anyone else available, to create the illusion they can do without India and stand strong and alone despite practically being an enclave in north-east India.” This tug of war, according to him is by no means over; “sometimes one side gains strength, sometimes the other.”³⁸⁵

This is where the Indian diplomacy stumbles! This is where New Delhi fails to grasp the ground realities! The tug of war that Srinivasan has talked about, is basically the tussle between the Hindu identity and the Muslim identity of Bengal.

384 Such statements have been regularly emanating from Washington DC, even from the White House, by the American Presidents including Bill Clinton and Barack Obama.

385 ‘The Jamdani Revolution Politics, Personalities and Civil Society in Bangladesh 1989-1992’, Krishnan Srinivasan, pages 421-422, Academic Press and Publishers, Dhaka. (2008)

The fact is that the Muslims of Bengal are not pretending to look at India or ignore India. The Muslims of Bengal, in spite of their cultural linkages with Bengal, have always looked towards Mecca and Medina, and never at Rishikesh or Haridwar. Above all, the Muslims of Bengal have every right to focus on Pakistan, which was their country; in fact, the very country they helped to create.

Whenever there is a Pakistan-India cricket match in Dhaka, Bangladeshi Muslims support the Pakistani team. At the same time, a large number of Hindus in Bangladesh support the Indian cricket team. It is because of the 'Muslimness' that Muslims of Bangladesh feel connected with Muslim Pakistan. It is because of 'Hinduness' that the Hindus of Bangladesh feel connected with Hindu India.

This point has also been amply amplified in their masterly account, 'This Age of Conflict,' by Chambers, Harris and Bayley. According to them, "India is an object lesson to those anthropologists who say that character is a function of the physical environment. For no two communities could have been more different than the Hindu and the Moslem. Yet the land they lived in was the same land burned by the same sun, watered by the same rains....(Both communities) stood against one another in sporadic and incurable hostility. They might live side by side in formal peace in the same town or village for years, and then some little provocation, when least expected-perhaps the killing of a cow by Moslem or the playing of a band by Hindu marriage or funeral procession passing a mosque at prayer time-could start a riot. As a community, the Moslems keenly felt their inferior numbers but at the same time were conscious of belonging to a great international Moslem world outside India, a world which looked not to Delhi or Benares, but to Mecca, a world which the more parochial Hindu could never know."³⁸⁶

The battle between Islam and Hinduism in Bengal, that intensified after Plassey in 1757, continues unabated.

386 Book titled, 'This Age of Conflict' by Chambers, Harris and Bayley; pages 345 and 346.

In his remarks on recognition of Bangladesh, the Prime Minister of Pakistan had stated in 1974, “The country (Pakistan) was dismembered, the unity was sundered and a yawning gap was opened between you and us. In a sense, it may be too late to cry on what happened already, but it is never too late to repent, to say Tauba, from the depth of our hearts. The people of Pakistan respect your decision; they and the Government of Pakistan recognize and respect sovereignty and independence of Bangladesh. More than that, we wish you rapid progress and prosperity. We extend to you all our goodwill and we are prepared to cooperate with you to the extent that you desire.”³⁸⁷

Pakistan has not taken any step that would hurt the sentiments of the common man in Bangladesh. Pakistan has always extended assistance to Dhaka to the extent that it can.

Bangladeshis are proud Muslims. They do not need any favour or any help from Pakistan. And, while helping Bangladesh, Pakistan is certainly not doing any favor to Dhaka.

The common Muslim in Bangladesh was angry with Islamabad, on account of 1971. A very large number of Muslims in Bangladesh are still angry with Pakistan on account of 1971. They have every right to feel angry.

In fact, the Muslims of Bengal played an important role in the creation of Pakistan. Muslim League which created Pakistan, was established not in Lahore or Karachi, but in Dhaka. The people of Sylhet voted for Pakistan in a referendum held on 3 July 1947.³⁸⁸ Some would even say, “Bangladeshis are the actual Pakistanis.”

387 See the video of the speech at <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oHPN9jr190E>>. May also study ‘Pakistan-Bangladesh Relations’ by T. S. Cheema, page 122, Unistar Books, (2013). ISBN 9789382246275.

388 ‘The history of Sylhet’ (sylhet.org/sylheti.../history-of-syhet.html). Site accessed on 20 February 2015.

Pakistan is the dream not only of visionaries like Syed Ahmed Shaheed, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Allama Iqbal and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, but also the dream of luminaries from like Haji Shariat Ullah,³⁸⁹ Dudu Mian³⁹⁰ and Titu Mir.³⁹¹

Pakistan and Bangladesh enjoy the same heritage, the Muslim heritage.

Prominent Bengali political figure, Abdul Hamid Bhashani³⁹² was so devoted to the cause of Pakistan, that he, in a pamphlet, ‘Achieve Pakistan or Perish,’ at the time of Partition, underscored:³⁹³

*Pakistan is our only demand,
History justifies it,
Numbers confirm it,
Justice claims it,
Destiny demands it,
Posterity awaits it,
Plebiscite verdicts it,
‘Let do or die’ be the motto of our life,
Let us be prepared for any suffering or sacrifice,
Let us be prepared to give up our lives if necessary, to “reach
the goal of Pakistan.”*

Pakistan is not just a country; Pakistan is also an idea. Pakistan is a very strong and powerful idea that continues to live on ever since 712 AD. In fact, Pakistan’s soul is bigger than its size.

389 See the note on Faraizi movement in the Annexures to this book.

390 May also see book, ‘The Muslims of British India’ by Thomas Hardy, page 56, Cambridge University Press, 1972. ISBN 9780521097833.

391 All the three persons are highly respected by the Muslims of Bengal.

392 Consult book ‘Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani’, Syed Abul Maksud, Agamee Prokashoni publishers (2015). ISBN-10: 9840416413

393 Book titled, ‘Abdul Matin Chaudhury-Trusted Lieutenant of Mohammad Ali Jinnah,’ by Atful Hye Shibly, page 132, published by Juned A. Choudhury, Dhaka. (2011)

But, Pakistan has not been able to live up to the expectations of those who created it.

The Muslims of Pakistan and Bangladesh follow sufi traditions of Islam. Bahauddin Zakariyya is sleeping in Multan in Pakistan; Shah Jalal is resting in Sylhet in Bangladesh. Pakistan and Bangladesh have spiritual connections.

Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947. The date was, by destiny, concomitant with 27th of Ramadhan. ‘Lailat-ul-Qadr’, according to the Quran, is the holiest night of the year.

Had Dara Shikoh won against Aurangzeb Alamgir, Islam might have disappeared from Hindustan. Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah said, “if Pakistan disappears, Islam will disappear from the subcontinent.”³⁹⁴ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto underlined in 1974, if Pakistan does not recognise Bangladesh, “tomorrow, Islam will disappear from Bangaal.”

Today, India is no longer the land of Gandhi and Nehru. India is the land of Hindu fascists ruled by the Nazi-inspired Rashtarya Swayamsevak Sangh. The RSS does not associate itself with the ideals of Karamchand Gandhi, but with the objectives of Nathuram Godse who assassinated Gandhi.³⁹⁵ Nathuram killed Gandhi for being soft on Muslims; for being soft on Pakistan. RSS hates the Muslims of Pakistan, Muslims of Bangladesh and the Muslims of India. Being a victim of the ‘floccinaucinihilipilification syndrome,’ RSS hates Islam to the core.³⁹⁶

Pakistanis know all this. The Muslims in Bengal knew all this, but then they forgot. Now, the realization is coming.

394 ‘Historical Records’ by historian and former member of the Pakistani Parliament, Muzaffar Hashmi, dated June 2008.

395 Also see, ‘Savarkar, Modi’s mentor-The Man who thought Gandhi a Sissy,’ *The Economist* (16 December 2014).

396 See detailed writeup on RSS in the Annexures to this publication.

If *Pakistaniat* means having love for Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam; and defending one's Muslim identity, values and ethos, against the Hindu hegemony and mindset of Hindu India in the subcontinent, then certainly *Pakistaniat* continues to exist in the heart, mind and soul of the Muslims of Bangladesh. Even today, people are being hanged to death in Dhaka for their allegiance to the idea of Pakistan.

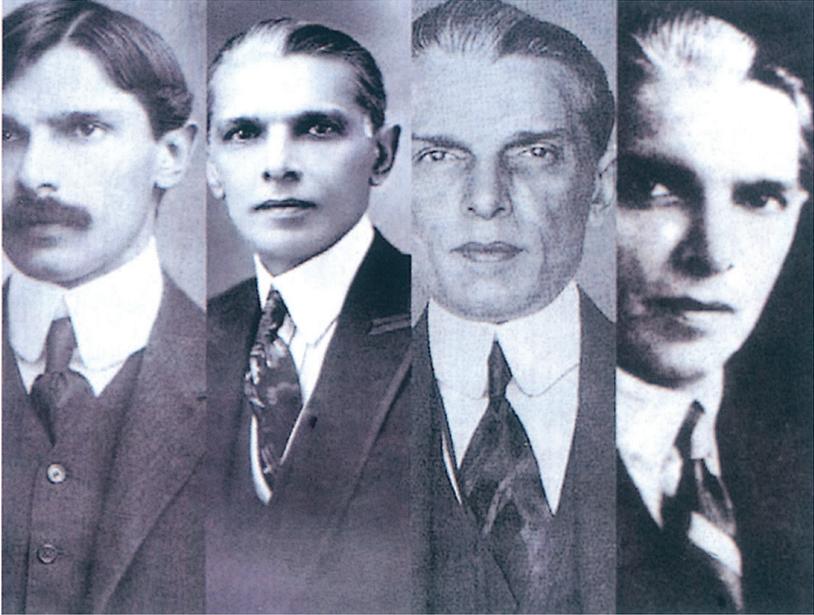
Both Pakistan and Bangladesh are proud of their Muslim identity. Pakistan and Bangladesh are two separate countries; but people of the two countries, even today are part of just 'One Nation', the Umma.

The Muslim nation must understand that the world seems to be heading towards religious fascism against Islam. The Umma has to ensure that the name of their Prophet is not denigrated. Muslims have to ensure that the Quran of their Allah is not burnt.

Pakistan broke up in 1971. *Pakistaniat* did not.

Who knows what lies in the Womb of Future!

PICTORIAL



The Father of the Nation of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Had there been no Pakistan, there would have been no Bangladesh. Had Muslim League not been established (in Dhaka in 1906), maybe there would have been no Pakistan. Throughout his life, Jinnah, struggled tirelessly for the rights of the Muslims of the subcontinent. His concept of Two-Nation theory continues to live on. Even after 1971, Muslim Bangladesh never joined Hindu India, and the overwhelming majority of the Muslims of Bangladesh would never like that to happen.



Allama Muhammad Iqbal, the National Poet of Pakistan. Iqbal gave the idea of Pakistan, as the homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent including the Muslims of Bengal. Born in Sialkot, not too far from Islamabad, Iqbal's poetry rekindled the Muslim world.



Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, the Muslim General who conquered Bengal in 1204. It has been stated in history that ‘Bakhtiyar Khilji entered the royal palace in the capital “with only seventeen horsemen, at a lightning speed; and the Maharaja exiting the royal palace, at a lightning speed.”’



Shaista Khan, Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir's Governor of Bengal (1664 -1688). It is said, during his rule, the Muslims of Bengal enjoyed "the highest standard of living in the world."



Siraj-ud-Daulah, the last Mughal Governor of Bengal, whose defeat at Plassey on 23 June 1757 opened the doors of Hindustan to the British “who became the rulers from traders.”³⁹⁷

397 Dawn, 24 September 2020.



398

Robert Clive, the first British Governor of Bengal Presidency. He committed suicide in London on 22 November 1774. It is said that he had acquired his fortune by such crimes that, “his consciousness of them, impelled him to cut his own throat.”

398 Encyclopedia Britannica (<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Robert-Clive>). Site accessed on 20 September 2020.



Honourable East India Company ensign.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ The UK Collections (<https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/970.html>.)



The ruins of ‘**Namak Haram** Deorhi’ in Murshidabad, West Bengal. This once palatial building used to be the residence of Mir Jaffar Ali Khan (1691- 1765), who at British instigation, betrayed Siraj-ud-Daulah, the last Mughal Governor of Bengal. According to the Government of the Indian State of West Bengal, this palace was “the assassination place” of Siraj-ud-Daulah.⁴⁰⁰

400 The West Bengal government Tourism site (https://wbtourismgov.in/destination/place/Namak_Haram_Deorhi.)



William Hunter (1840 –1900), Scottish historian and member of the Indian Civil Service. His book ‘The Indian Musalmans’, published in 1871, brought about a better understanding of the conditions of the Muslims of the subcontinent.



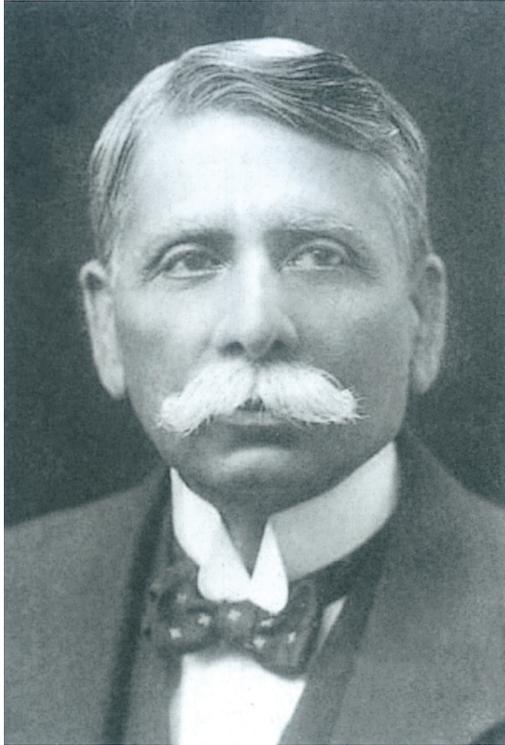
The great Muslim reformer from Bengal, Haji Shariatullah (1781-1840), is held in high esteem in Pakistan and in Bangladesh.



Sketch of the Muslim hero from Bengal, Titu Mir (1782-1831). He is highly respected in Bangladesh and in Pakistan.



Nawab Salimullah of Dhaka (1871 –1915), who struggled for the rights of the Muslims of Bengal.



Syed Ameer Ali (1849 – 1928), the famous jurist from Bengal. His books, ‘The Spirit of Islam’ and ‘A Short History of Saracens’ have been a source of inspiration for the Muslims of South Asia. He was the founding-member of the All India Muslim League.



Ahsan Manzil, Dhaka: All India Muslim League, party of the Muslims of the subcontinent which later created Pakistan, was established in this building on 30 December 1906.



Abul Kasem Fazlul Haque, Sher-e-Bangaal, the towering Muslim leader from Bengal. He presented the Pakistan Resolution for adoption in Lahore on 23 March 1940. Later, Pakistan came into being on 14 August 1947.



Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, sister of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman worked as her chief election campaign representative in East Pakistan, when she contested the general elections in Pakistan in 1965. Fatima Jinnah had studied in Calcutta.

OTHER PHOTOGRAPHS



Khwaja Nazimuddin, from the then East Pakistan, became the Governor General of Pakistan in 1948 after the passing away of the Founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah.



Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy, became the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1956. Suhrawardy was from East Pakistan. Bangladeshi analysts say that Suhrawardy was the mentor of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.



Abdul Hameed Bhashani. He wanted Bangladesh to be continued to be called East Pakistan, after 1971.



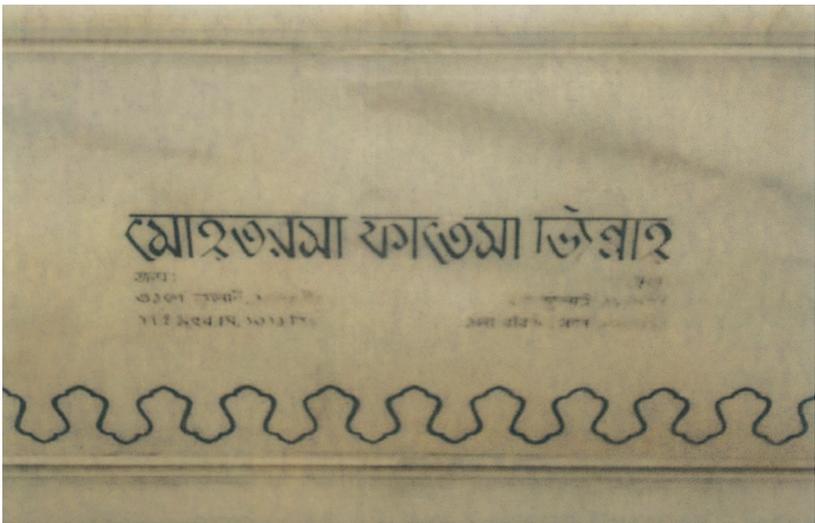
Muhammad Ali Bogra, was appointed the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1953. He was from Bogra in East Pakistan.



Iskander Mirza, became the President of Pakistan in 1956. He was from Bengal.



Nurul Amin, from East Pakistan, served as Prime Minister of Pakistan.



Bangla inscription on the grave of Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah, sister of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in Karachi.



Bangla inscription on the grave of Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, in Karachi.



Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan from 1958 to 1969. Many in Bangladesh remember him with respect for the development work he carried out in the then East Pakistan. At the same time, his military rule brought about alienation among the people of West Pakistan and East Pakistan.



Azam Khan, Governor, East Pakistan, who is remembered in Dhaka, by some, for his services to the people of East Pakistan.



Admiral Syed Mohammad Ahsan (from West Pakistan), served as Governor of East Pakistan from September 1969 to March 1971. He firmly opposed military action. When decision was taken for the military to act, Ahsan resigned in protest on 7 March 1971. He had earlier served as Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Navy from October 1966 to August 1969.



A delegation of the National Assembly of Pakistan, after the meeting with Chairman Mao Tse-Tung during the visit to Beijing in 1965. The delegation comprised Parliamentarians from both East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan, Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan, who was from East Pakistan, led the Parliamentary delegation. He and his wife can be seen in the photograph. Mr. Gohar Ayub, Mian Arif Iftexhar, and Mian Muzaffar Mehdi Hashmi, all MNAs, can also be seen in the photograph. Rashed Khan Menon, who is presently serving as Minister in the Awami League government, is the son of Abdul Jabbar Khan. Jabbar Khan's daughter Selima Rahman, earlier served as Minister in the Government of Bangladesh. She holds an important portfolio in the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP).⁴⁰¹

401 The photograph is available with the author.



A delegation of the National Assembly of Pakistan, after the meeting with Premier Chou Enlai during the visit to Beijing in 1965. The delegation comprised Parliamentarians from both East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan, Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan, who was from East Pakistan, led the Parliamentary delegation. He and his wife can be seen in the photograph. Mr. Gohar Ayub Khan, Mian Arif Iftekhhar, and Mian Muzaffar Mehdi Hashmi, all MNAs, can also be seen in the photograph. ⁴⁰²

402 The photograph is available with the author.



Ruposhi Bangla Hotel in Dhaka. It was called Intercontinental Hotel in 1971, where Mujib-Bhutto interaction used to take place.



Some Hindus in India asserted that they took revenge of the more than 800-year Muslim rule of India when Lieutenant General Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi surrendered to Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora in Dhaka on 16 December 1971. It is a paradox of history that today many in India call Bangladeshis “Cockroaches,” and other Indians occasionally comment that Bangladeshis are “the most ungrateful nation on earth.” In turn, common Muslim in Bangladesh calls the Hindus of India, ‘Malaoons’ (despicable, hateful creatures). Aurora was born in Jhelum in what became Pakistan. General Aurora severely criticised the Government of India when Indian army attacked the Sikh holy place in Amritsar, ‘Golden Temple,’ in 1984.



403

Photograph of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman taken immediately after his assassination. His body lies sprawled on the staircase of his house in Dhaka with the right hand still clutching to his favourite pipe. Mujib was killed by his own army on 15 August (in 1975) which was the Independence Day anniversary of India.

403 'Bangladesh- A Legacy of Blood' by Anthony Mascarenhas, published by Hodder and Stoughton, London-Sydney-Auckland-Toronto 1986, ISBN 0 340 39420 X. (See pages after page 90.)



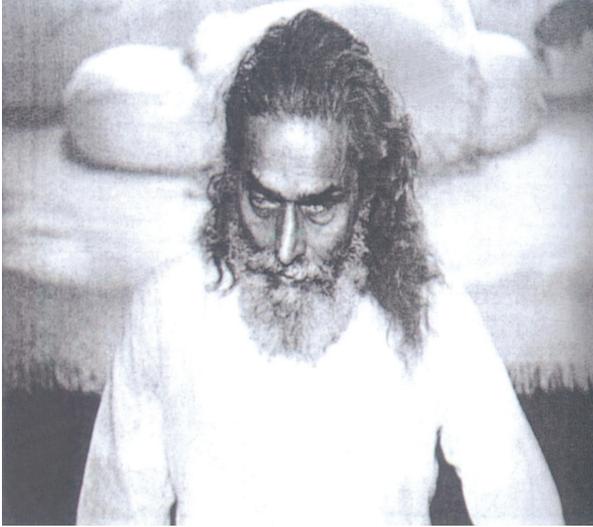
Major Farook Rahman, of the Bangladesh Army who is said to have masterminded Sheikh Mujib's assassination.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ 'Bangladesh- A Legacy of Blood' by Anthony Mascarenhas published by Hodder and Stoughton, London-Sydney-Auckland-Toronto 1986, ISBN 0 340 39420 X. (See the pages after page 90.)



Major Khandaker Abdur Rashid, of the Bangladesh Army, who is also said to have been involved in Mujib's assassination.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ 'Bangladesh- A Legacy of Blood' by Anthony Mascarenhas published by Hodder and Stoughton, London-Sydney-Auckland-Toronto 1986, ISBN 0 340 39420 X. (See the pages after page 90.)



‘Andha Hafiz,’ the blind holy man in Chittagong, who is said to have given Major Farook a talisman for the motive to kill Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The holy man gave only one advice to Major Farooq, “Do whatever, you want to do. But make sure, Islam does not get endangered in Bangladesh.”⁴⁰⁶

406 ‘Bangladesh- A Legacy of Blood’ by Anthony Mascarenhas published by Hodder and Stoughton, London-Sydney-Auckland-Toronto 1986. ISBN 0 340 39420 X. (See the pages after page 90.)



Major General Khalid Musharraf of the Bangladesh Army, who staged a coup in Bangladesh at a date after the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He was later killed in a counter coup.⁴⁰⁷ When East Pakistan was part of Pakistan, Musharraf was receiving training as a Gentleman Cadet at the Pakistan Military Academy in Kakul. He used to emphasize to his military colleagues at the academy that he would be “the first in the batch to rise to the rank of a general.” His colleagues thought he was “just a mediocre.” Sensing their feelings, Musharraf used to say, “Remember, in life, the best do not always rise; and the worst do not always remain behind.”⁴⁰⁸

407 ‘Bangladesh- A Legacy of Blood’ by Anthony Mascarenhas published by Hodder and Stoughton, London-Sydney-Auckland-Toronto 1986, (ISBN 0 340 39420 X). See the pages after page 90.

408 Author has quoted this from his memory after having read an article by Musharraf’s colleague at Kakul, a retired Colonel from the Pakistan Army. The article was published in one of the Pakistani newspapers in the late 1970s. Author at that time was in school in Lawrence College, Murree.



The three times Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Begum Khaleda Zia, wife of President General Ziaur Rahman, Chairperson of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP). She used to live in Abbottabad with her husband when Ziaur Rahman was serving in the Pakistan Army.



Major General Ziaur Rahman, served as the 7th President of Bangladesh. As a Major in the Pakistan Army, he fought for Pakistan during the 1965 war with India. He declared independence from Pakistan in March 1971.



409

An East Pakistani girl, Sheikh Hasina in 1957, who was destined to serve as Prime Minister of Bangladesh.

409 The Caravan Magazine (<http://www.caravanmagazine.in>). Site visited on 22 January 2014.



Hussain Muhammad Ershad, served as President of Bangladesh from 1983 to 1990. He was a decorated officer of the Pakistan Army.

1971: INDIAN BRAGGADOCIO

(Photographs from War Museum in New Delhi) ⁴¹⁰



410 Photographs were taken by the author with his own camera during his posting in New Delhi in 1996.



Border Killings of innocent Bangladeshis by India today



411

Thousands of Bangladeshis along the Bangladesh-India border have not just been killed but tortured to death, by Indian Border Security Force (BSF). This photograph is of a 15 year-old Bangladeshi girl, Felani Khatun, who was shot dead by BSF on 7 January 2011. Bangladesh cannot even protest. Some Bangladeshis say, “Had Bangladesh been part of nuclear Muslim Pakistan, India would never have dared to mistreat the Muslims of Bangladesh.”

411 Bangladeshi newspaper Daily Star (archive.thedailystar.net).

**A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF PAKISTANIS
FROM EAST PAKISTAN WHO SIDED WITH
PAKISTAN AND THE IDEA OF PAKISTAN,
WHEN EAST PAKISTAN BECAME
BANGLADESH**



Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Khawaja Khairuddin and Khawaja Shahabuddin at the Round Table Conference in 1969.



The great Bengali politician Abdul Monem Khan. He served as Governor East Pakistan from October 1962 to March 1969. An ardent supporter of Pakistan, his services to the cause of Pakistan will be remembered forever. He was assassinated by the India sponsored Mukti Bahini on 13 October 1971, as he was making efforts for reconciliation between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. ⁴¹²

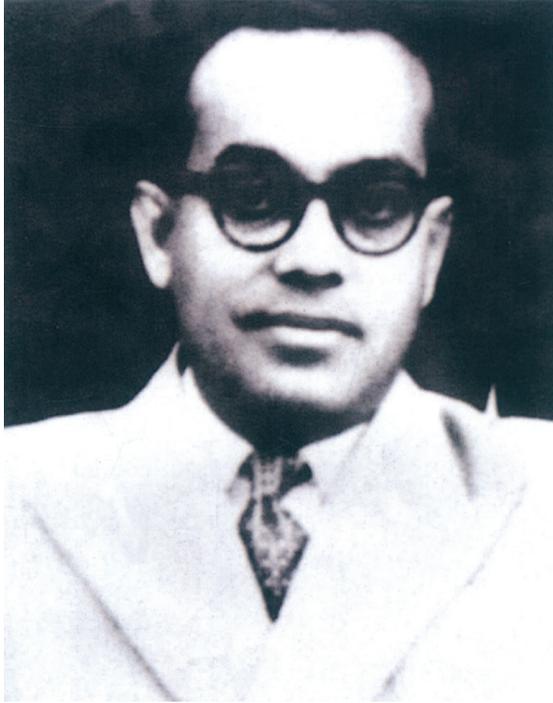
412 The date of assassination taken from the Bangladesh Presidency website (www.bangabhaban.gov.bd).



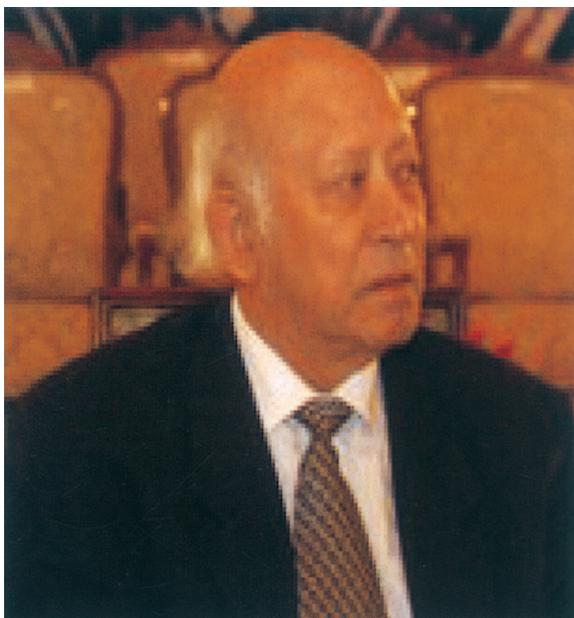
Farid Ahmad (1923-1971), a lawyer and politician from East Pakistan. He was elected Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1962. He served as Chairman, Public Accounts Committee of the National Assembly. He was again elected Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan in 1965. Farid Ahmad was a strong supporter of the integrity of Pakistan. He was “tortured to death” by the India-sponsored Mukti Bahini on 23 December 1971.



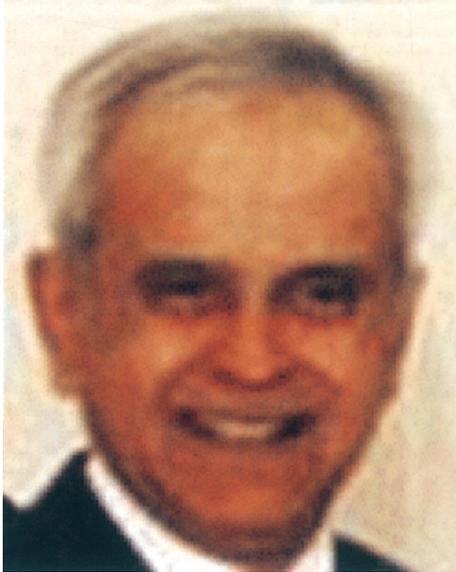
Fazlul Quader Chaudhury (1919-1973), a Bengali politician from the then East Pakistan. He served as the fifth Speaker of the National Assembly of Pakistan. He was instrumental in the founding of the Chittagong Medical College, University of Chittagong and Chittagong Marine Academy, all established at the time when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan. He strongly opposed the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971. After East Pakistan became Bangladesh, he was arrested and put in Dhaka Central Jail where he died on 18 July 1973. His son, Salahuddin Quader Chaudhury was severely persecuted in respect of 1971 by the Awami League government. Salahuddin was hanged to death in November 2015 on trumped up charges.



Justice Hamoodur Rahman, served as Chairman of the Hamoodur Rahman Commission which probed matters relating to 1971 on instructions of the Government of Pakistan. Hamoodur Rahman was from East Pakistan where he served as a Judge of the Dhaka High Court. Later, he was appointed Chief Justice of Pakistan.



Raja Tridev Roy, 50th Raja of the Chakma tribe in the Chittagong Hill Tracts region of Bangladesh, sided with Pakistan in 1971. He served as Pakistan's Ambassador to Argentina for more than ten years. He also served as a 'Minister for Life' in the Government of Pakistan.



Ambassador Syed Iftikhar Murshed from East Pakistan preferred Pakistan over Bangladesh. A highly respected officer of the Foreign Service of Pakistan, he served with distinction as Pakistani Ambassador to Moscow and Brussels. His grandmother was the real sister of ‘Sher-e-Bangla AK Fazul Haque.’



M.M. Alam of the Pakistan Air Force who shot down five Indian aircraft in less than a minute during the India-Pakistan war in 1965. Recently, Pakistan Air Force Base in Mianwali has been named after him. Alam was from East Pakistan.



Alamgir from the then East Pakistan, now, Bangladesh. A proud Pakistani, he is considered by many as the pioneer of pop music in South Asia.



Professor Dr. Syed Khawaja Alqama, Vice Chancellor of Bahauddin Zakaria University, Multan, is from the then East Pakistan. He served as Ambassador of Pakistan to Yemen from 2009 to 2011. His father, late Khawaja Khairuddin, served as President of the East Pakistan Muslim League from 1966 to 1971. Khawaja Khairuddin also served as Mayor of Dhaka.

**Faces from East Pakistan who are
well known in Pakistan**



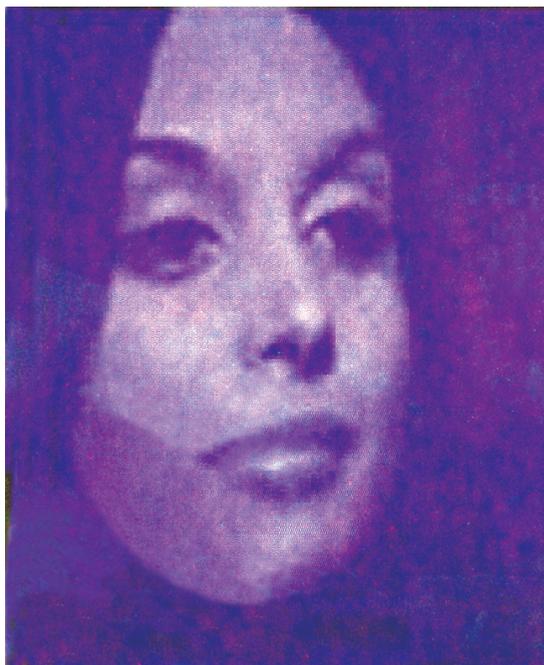
Rahman, Pakistani film actor from
East Pakistan.



Actress Shabnam from East Pakistan continued to live on in Pakistan after 1971. She returned to Dhaka in 1990s for family reasons.



Roona Laila, from East Pakistan. She lives in Dhaka and continues to sing Pakistani songs also.



Every Pakistani enjoys songs like ‘Sohni Dharti Allah Rakhey’ and ‘Jeeway Jeeway Pakistan’ sung by legendary singer, Shehnaz Begum. Importantly, these songs became popular in the aftermath of 1971. Few would know that Shehnaz Begum was from East Pakistan. During a musical show at Lal Qila, New Delhi in September 2008, when a Pakistani band sang these songs, even the Indian crowd of youngsters started singing ‘Jeeway Jeeway Pakistan.’

**MAJOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN
EAST PAKISTAN UNDERTAKEN BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN DURING THE
24 YEAR PERIOD WHEN EAST PAKISTAN
WAS PART OF PAKISTAN (1947-1971) ⁴¹³**

413 The governments in Bangladesh try to downplay the development works carried out in East Pakistan when it was part of Pakistan.



Bangladesh Parliament building in Dhaka. The project was initiated by the President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Ayub Khan in 1961.



414

The largest mosque in Dhaka, Baitul Mukarram, constructed by philanthropists from Karachi when East Pakistan was a province of Pakistan.

414 The Dhaka Tribune (www.dhakatribune.com).



The second port in Bangladesh, Mongla Port. This major development project was built in the 1950s, when Bangladesh was East Pakistan.



Kaptai Dam, an important irrigation project in Bangladesh which was constructed during the Pakistan time in 1962.



The first steel mills in Pakistan was constructed in Chittagong in January 1969, in the then East Pakistan. The Postal department of the Government of Pakistan issued a 15 paisa stamp showing the Chittagong Steel Mills, on the eve of its inauguration. (Note the script in English, Bangla and Urdu.)



Paper Mills in East Pakistan.



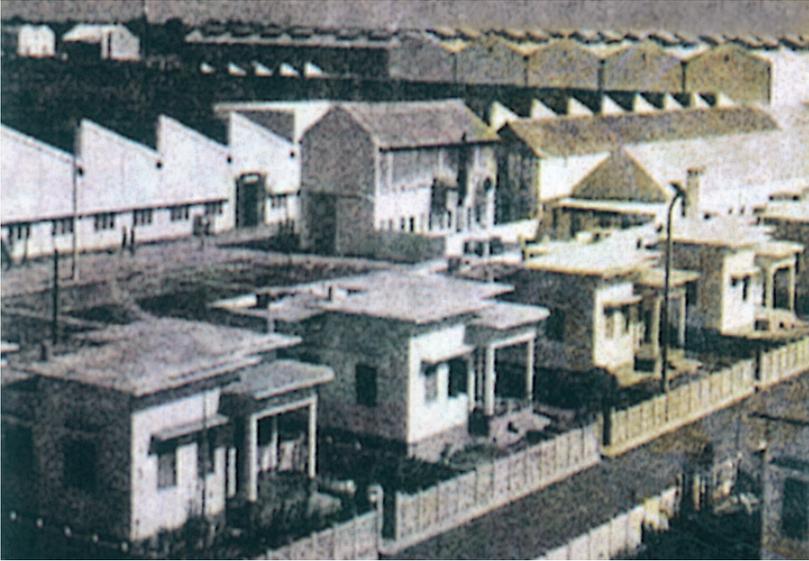
First Convocation of the Agricultural University in East Pakistan. (March 1968)



On the eve of the commissioning of the first oil refinery in East Pakistan, a commemorative stamp of value Paisa 20 was issued on September 14, 1969.



Dhaka Railway Station: the modern building was constructed during the time of President Ayub Khan.



The Adamjee Jute Mills was set up in Narayanganj, in the then East Pakistan in 1951, by an entrepreneur from Karachi, Abdul Wahid Adamjee. The enterprise became the largest jute mill in the world, employing more than 26,000 workers.

**Premier Educational Institutions established in
East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) during the Pakistan time**



The University of Chittagong, established in 1966 when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan.



Chittagong Medical College, established in 1957 when East Pakistan was part of Pakistan.



The University of Rajshahi was established on 6 July 1953.



Faujdarhat Cadet College, Chittagong, was the first cadet college established in East Pakistan on 28 April 1958.



Cadet College established in Jhenaidah on 18 October 1963 during the Pakistan time.



Rajshahi Cadet College was set up in 1965.



Mirzapur Cadet College set up in Tangail in 1965.



415

Begum Viqarunnisa Noon School and College, Dhaka. The prestigious educational institution was set up by Begum Viqarunnisa Noon, in 1952. (Begum Noon was wife of Feroze Khan Noon, the then Governor of East Pakistan and later Prime Minister of Pakistan.)

415 Dhaka Tribune (<http://www.dhakatribune.com/sites/>). Site accessed on 13 May 2014.



The Quaid-e-Azam College, Dhaka, established in 1949. Name was changed to Suhrawardi College in 1972.

IMPORTANT VISITS



Army Parade welcoming the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in Dhaka. (March 1948)



Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah being introduced to dignitaries in East Pakistan. (Dhaka; March 1948)



Speech at Dhaka University Convocation in March 1948.



Quaid-e-Azam addressing civil servants in East Pakistan. (1948)



President Ayub Khan meets Sher-e-Bangla AK
Fazlul Haque. ⁴¹⁶

416 Published in the Bangla weekly 'Nabozug' on December 31, 2013.



Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto with President of Bangladesh H.M. Ershad in Dhaka. (October 1989)



417

Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf on the visit to Bangladesh.
(July 2002)

417 The BBC (<http://news.bbc.co.uk>). Site visited on 16 January 2014.



418

Pakistan Foreign Minister Hina Rabbani Khar (left) with her Bangladeshi counterpart Dipu Moni in Dhaka. (November 2012)

418 The Daily Sun (www.daily-sun.com).

BANGLADESHI YOUTH CHEERING PAKISTAN CRICKET TEAM DURING PAKISTAN-INDIA CRICKET MATCH IN DHAKA

(February 2014)



419



419 www.dailymail.co.uk (Site visited on 17 March 2014).



BANGLADESH: OTHER FACETS



In 2014, Dhaka University fine arts students, create a depiction with a fake coffin and a pig symbolizing their hatred for Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami leader Ghulam Azam, who did not support the dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971.



Demonstrations against Pakistan.



Outrage against India.



Dhaka: traffic jams.

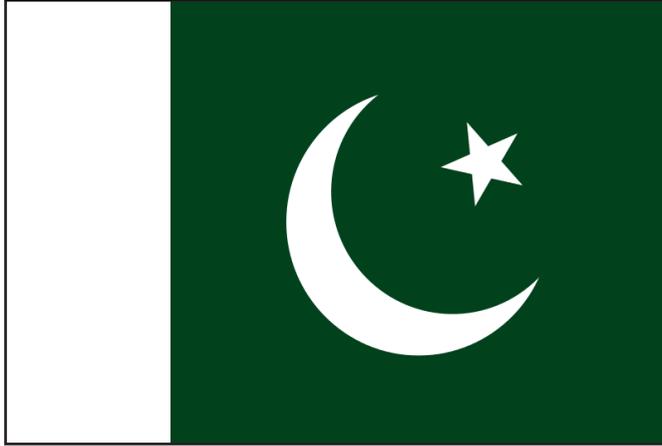


420

Eid rush.

420 Washington Post (www.washingtonpost.com).

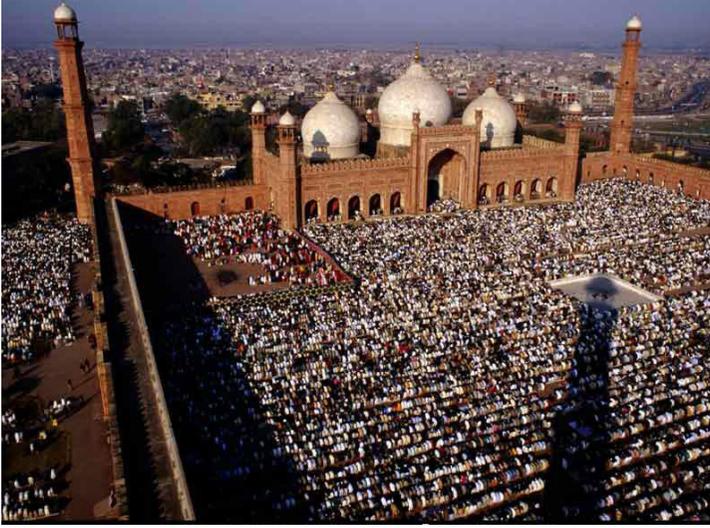
COMMONALITIES CONTINUE



The National Flag of Pakistan. (Green is common in both the flags).



The National flag of Bangladesh.



Muslims prostrate before Allah in Lahore.



Muslims prostrate before Allah in Dhaka.



Domes of 'Shah Jahan' Mosque, Thatta, Pakistan.



Domes of 'Shat (Sixty) Gambuj (domes) Mosque, Bagerhat, Bangladesh.



Eid-e-Milad procession – Pakistan.



Eid-e-Milad procession– Bangladesh.



Bus with Islamic inscriptions in Pakistan.



Bus with Islamic inscriptions in Bangladesh.



Raiwind Ijtema, Pakistan.



Tongi Ijtema, Bangladesh.



Green and yellow colour of trains in Pakistan.



Green and yellow colour of trains in Bangladesh.



Green uniform of the players of the Pakistan Cricket Team.



Green uniform of the players of the Bangladesh Cricket Team.



Pakistani students in blue uniform.



Bangladeshi students in blue uniform. ⁴²¹

421 The Daily Star (DailyStar.net).

PAST AND THE PRESENT



Muslim invasion (712 A.D.) of Sindh, which is in what is Pakistan today. The effects of the invasion were later strongly felt in Bangal.



The Muslim saint Imam Bari buried in the capital of Pakistan, had predicted more than 300 years ago, “A city would be established close to me, which shall carry a great name in the Islamic world.”⁴²² The decision to build Islamabad was taken by the Government of Pakistan only after Ayub Khan became the President of Pakistan in 1958.

422 Born in 1617 AD, the real name of Bari Imam was Shah Abdul Latif Kazmi. It is said that Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir came to visit the saint to pay his respects. The shrine of the saint (in Islamabad) was built on the instructions of Emperor Aurangzeb.



The great Sufi saint, Hazrat Shah Jalal rests in Sylhet in Bangladesh. It is said that centuries ago when the saint came to the area from what is today Turkey, it was a small locality with mud blocks. He asked one of the blocks to give way, by saying “hat jaa sil (get out of my way, you brick),” and the township was thus called Sylhet.



423

Pakistan and Bhutan have special relations. Guru Padmasambhava is revered as the ‘Second Buddha’ in Bhutan. Not only in Bhutan, but in the entire Himalayan region, including Tibet (China) and in Sikkim. The Guru was born in 8th century in Swat, close to Islamabad in what is today Pakistan. To many Bhutanese, Swat is one of the holiest places in the world. Some analysts in Dhaka assert that Bhutan was the first country to recognize Bangladesh.⁴²⁴ A view is expressed that this is done mainly to downplay the importance of India in the creation of Bangladesh.

423 The China Buddhist Encyclopedia (www.chinabuddhismencyclopedia.com).

424 Ashfaqur Rahman, from the Foreign Service of Bangladesh, who served as Ambassador of his country to the People’s Republic of China, has expressed this view. He also wrote an article on this subject which was published in one of the Bangladeshi dailies.



Moroccan traveler Ibne Battuta (1304-1369), visited East Bengal to pay his respects to the Muslim saint, Shah Jalal.⁴²⁵

425 The University of California Press 'Early Sufis of the Delta'. (<https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft067n99v9&ch>).



Zheng He, the greatest Chinese Admiral of the Fleet, who is said to have discovered America before Christopher Columbus. A devout Muslim, Zheng He also undertook a voyage to Arabia and visited Medina to pay his respects at the tomb of the Prophet of Islam. According to Zhang Xianyi, former Chinese Ambassador to Bangladesh, Zheng He visited Chittagong “at least twice in 1421 and 1431, respectively.”⁴²⁶

426 Chinese Embassy, Dhaka (<http://bd.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/gxgk/t823712.htm>). Site accessed on 25 September 2020.



Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion. Guru Nanak was born in Nankana Sahib near Lahore in 1469 AD. Nankana Sahib and Punja Sahib located close to Islamabad, constitute one of most holy places of the Sikh religion. A number of Sikhs in the Indian army had an element of sympathy for the Pakistan army in East Pakistan during the surrender on 16 December 1971.

ANNEXURES

**CHARTER GRANTED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH TO
THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,** ⁴²⁷

(1600 AD) ⁴²⁸

Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, to the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, Dated the 31st December, in the 43rd year of Her Reign. Anno Domini, 1600.

ELIZABETH, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, and to all other People, as well within this our Realm of England as elsewhere, under our Obedience and Jurisdiction, or otherwise, unto whom these our Letters Patents shall be seen, showed, or read, greeting. Whereas our most dear and loving Cousin, George, Earl of Cumberland, and our well-beloved Subjects,

Sir John Hart, of London, Knight, Sir John Spencer, of London, Knight, Sir Edward Michelborne, Knight, William Cavendish, Esq. : Paul Banning, Robert Lee, Leonard Hollyday, John Watts, John Moore, Edward Holmeden, Robert Hampson, Thomas Smith, and Thomas Campbell, Citizens and Aldermen of London ; Edward Barker, Esq. ; Thomas Marsh, Esq.; Samuel Backhouse, Esq. ; James Lancaster, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Stile, William Quarts, Bartholomew Barnes, William Offely, Robert Chamberlain, John Harvey, Richard Wiseman, William Stone, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allabaster, Richard Barrett, John Swinnarton the Younger, Thomas Garway, William Romney, James Bean, John Eldred, Andrew Banning, Edward Leaving, Thomas Juxon, Nicholas Leat, John Woollestenholm, Nicholas Pierd, William Chamber, Rowland Blackhouse,....Have of our certain knowledge been Petitioners unto us, for our Royal Assent and Licence to be granted unto them, that they, at their own Adventures, Costs, and Charges, as well for the Honour of this our Realm of England, as for the Increase of our Navigation, and Advancement of Trade of Merchandize, within our said Realms and the Dominions of the same,

427 Excerpted version.

428 Shaw, John. 'Charters relating to the East India Company from 1600-1761.'
Madras: Madras Government Press, 1887. pp. 1-15.

might adventure and set forth one or more Voyages, with convenient Number of Ships and Pinnaces, by way of Traffic and Merchandize to the East-Indies, in the Countries and Parts of Asia and Africa, and to as many of the Islands, Ports and Cities, Towns and Places, thereabouts, as where Trade and Traffic may by all likelihood be discovered, established or had ; divers of which Countries, and many of the Islands, Cities and Ports thereof, have long since been discovered by others of our Subjects, albeit not frequented in Trade of Merchandize.

Know ye therefore, that we, greatly tendering the Honour of our Nation, the Wealth of our People. and the Encouragement of them, and others of our loving Subjects in their good Enterprizes, for the Increase of our Navigation, and the Advancement of lawful Traffick to the Benefit of our Common Wealth, have of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, given and granted and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, do give and grant unto our said loving Subjects, before in these Presents expressly named, that they and every of them from henceforth be, and shall be one Body Corporate and Politick, in Deed and in Name, by the Name of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and them by the Name of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, one Body Corporate and Politick, in Deed and in Name, really and fully for us our Heirs and Successors, we do order, make, ordain, constitute, establish and declare, by these Presents, and that by the same Name of Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, they shall have Succession, and that they and their Successors, by the Name of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East-Indies,

Be and shall be, at all Times hereafter, persons able and capable in Law, and a Body Corporate and Politick, and capable in Law to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy and retain lands. Rents, Privileges, Liberties, Jurisdictions, Franchises and Hereditaments of whatsoever Kind, Nature, and Quality so ever they be, to them and their Successors. And also to give, grant, demise, alien, assign and dispose Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, and to do and execute all and singular other Things, by the same Name that to them shall or may appertain to do. And that they and their Successors, by the Name of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, may plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, in whatsoever Courts and Places,

And before whatsoever Judges and Justices, and other Persons and Officers, in all and singular Actions, Pleas, Suits, Quarrels, Causes

and Demands whatsoever, of whatsoever Kind, Nature or Sort, in such Manner and Form, as any other, our liege People of this our Realm of England, being Persons able and capable in Law, may or can have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, dispose, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, release and be released, do permit and execute.

And that the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, may have a common Seal, to serve for all the Causes and Business of them and their Successors. And that it shall and may be lawful to The Said Governor and Company, and their Successors, the same Seal, from Time to Time, at their Will and Pleasure, to break, change, and to make new or alter, as to them shall seem expedient. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, we do ordain, that there shall be from henceforth one of the same Company to be elected and appointed, in such Form, as hereafter in these Presents is expressed, which shall be called The Governor of the said Company, and that there shall be from henceforth Twenty Four of the said. Company, to be elected and appointed in such Form, as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which shall be called The Committees of the said Company, who, together with the Governor of the said Company for the Time being, shall have the direction of the Voyages, of or for the said Company, and the Provision of the Shipping and Merchandizes thereto belonging, and also the sale of all Merchandizes returned in the Voyages, of or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other Things belonging to the said company

And for the better Execution of this our Will and Grant in this Behalf We have assigned, nominated, constituted and made, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, we do assign, nominate, constitute and make, the said Thomas Smith, Alderman of London, to be the First and present Governor of the said Company, to continue in the said Office, from the Date of these presents, until another of the said Company shall in due Manner be chosen and sworn unto the said Office, according to the Ordinances and Provisions hereafter in these Presents expressed and declared, if the said Thomas Smith shall so long live ; and also we have assigned, nominated and appointed, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, we do assign, nominate, constitute and make, the said Paul Banning, Leonard Hollyday, John Moore, Edward Holmeden, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordell, William Garway, Oliver Style, James Lancaster, Richard Wiseman, Francis Cherry, Thomas Allabaster, William Romney, Roger How, William Chambers, Robert

Sandye, John Eldred, Richard Wiche, John Hylord, John Middleton, John Comb, William Harrison, Nicholas Ling and Robert Bell, to be the Twenty-Four First and Present Committees of the said Company, to continue in the said office of Committees of the said company from the Date of these Presents, for One whole year next following.

And further we will and grant, by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, unto The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for The said Governor and Company, for the Time being, or the more part of them, present at any publick Assembly, commonly called the Court, holden for the said Company, the Governor of the said Company being always one, from Time to Time, to elect, nominate and appoint one of the said Company, to be Deputy to the said Governor, which Deputy shall take a Corporal Oath, before the Governor and Five or more of the Committees of the said Company for the Time being, well, faithfully and truly to execute his said Office of Deputy to the Governor of the said Company, and.....

And further our Will and Pleasure is, and by these Presents, for us our Heirs and Successors, we do grant unto The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for The said Governor and Company, and their Successors, from Time to Time to assemble themselves for or about any the Matters, Causes, Affairs or Businesses of the said Trade, in any Place or Places, for the same convenient, during the said Term of Fifteen Years, within our Dominions or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company, and the Affairs thereof; and that also it shall and may be lawful, to and for them, or the more Part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present, in any such Place or Places, whereof the Governor or his Deputy for the Time being, to be one, to make, ordain, and constitute such, and so many reasonable Laws, Constitutions, Orders and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater Part of them, being then and there present, shall seem necessary and convenient, for the good Government of the same Company, and.....

And for as much as The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, have not yet experienced of the Kinds of Commodities and Merchandizes, which are or will be vendible, or to be uttered in the said Parts of the East-Indies, and therefore shall be driven to carry to those Parts, in their Voyages

And also of our further especial Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, we do, for us, our Heirs and Successors, grant to and with the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, that when and as often, at any Time, during the said Time and space of Fifteen years, as any custom. Poundage, Subsidy, or other duties, shall be due and payable unto us, our Heirs, or Successors, for any goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever, to be returned out or from any the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns or places aforesaid, unto our Port of London, or any of the Havens, Creeks, Members or Places to the same Port belonging, that the customers and all other Officers for the Time being, of us, our Heirs or Successors, for or concerning Receipts of Customs, Poundage, Subsidies or other Duties, unto whom it shall appertain, shall upon the Request of the Governor and Company of the said Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies.....

And for that, The said Governor and company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, are like to bring to this our Realm, a much greater Quantity of foreign commodities, from the Parts of the said East-Indies, than can be spent for the necessary Use of the same our Realm, which of Necessity must be transported into other countries, and there vended, we, for us, our Heirs and Successors, of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, do grant to and with The said Governor and company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors, that at all Times, from Time to Time, during

And we of our further Royal Favour, and of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, have granted, and by these Presents, for us, our Heirs and Successors, do grant to The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors that the said East-Indies, nor the Islands, Havens, Ports, Cities, Towns or Places thereof nor any part thereof shall not be visited, frequented or haunted by any of the Subjects of us, our Heirs or Successors, during the same Term of Fifteen Years, contrary to the true Meaning of these Presents :

And by Virtue of our Prerogative Royal, which we will not in that behalf have argued, or brought in Question we straitly charge, command and prohibit, for us, our Heirs and Successors, all the Subjects of us, our Heirs and Successors, of what Degree or Quality soever they be, that none of them, directly or indirectly do visit, haunt, frequent or trade,

traffick or adventure, by way of merchandise into or from any of the said East-Indies, or into or from any the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns or Places aforesaid, other than the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and such particular Persons as now be, or hereafter shall be of that Company, their Agents, Factors and Assigns during the said Term of Fifteen Years, unless.....

Provided always, nevertheless, and our Will and Pleasure is, that these our Letters Patents, or any Thing therein contained, shall not in any Sort extend to give or grant any License, Power or Authority unto The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them to undertake or address any Trade unto any Country, Port, Island, Haven, City, Creek, Town or Place, being already in the lawful and actual Possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any Time hereafter shall be in League or Amity, with us, our Heirs or Successors, and which doth not, or will not accept of such Trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same, to be utterly against his or their Good-Will and Liking, any Thing before in these presents contained, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Provided also, that if it shall, hereafter appear to us, our Heirs or Successors, that this Grant or the Continuance thereof, in the Whole or in any Part thereof, shall not be profitable to us, our Heirs and Successors, or to this our Realm, that then, and from thenceforth, upon and after Two Years Warning, to be given to the said Company, by us, our Heirs or Successors, under our or their Privy Seal, or Sign Manual, this present Grant shall cease, be void and determined, to all Intents, Constructions and Purposes:

And further of our especial Grace, certain Knowledge and mere Motion, we have condescended and granted, and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors, do condescend and grant to The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, and their Successors that if at the End of the said Term of Fifteen Years, it shall seem meet and Convenient unto The said Governor and Company, or any the Parties aforesaid, that this present Grant shall be continued, and if that also it shall appear unto us, our Heirs and Successors, that the Continuance thereof shall not be prejudicial or hurtful to this our Realm, but that we shall find the further Continuance thereof profitable for us, our Heirs and Successors, and for our Realm, with such Conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some Alteration or Qualification thereof.....

In executing and enjoying the Premises, as well on Land as on Sea, from Time to Time, when you or any of you shall thereunto be required, any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation or Restraint, heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause or Thing whatsoever, to the contrary in any way notwithstanding ; although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by us, or any of our Progenitors, to the said Governor and. Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them, before this Time made, in these Presents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision Proclamation or Restraint, to the contrary heretofore had made, ordained or provided, or any other Thing, Cause or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding.

In Witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents: Witness Ourself, at Westminster, the Thirty-first Day of December, in the Three and Fortieth Year of our Reign.

BRITISH TREATY WITH JAFFIER KHAN ⁴²⁹

(1757 AD)

I swear, by God and the Prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this Treaty whilst I have life. *(These words were written in his own hand.)*

Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahauder, Servant of King Aalam Geer.

Treaty made with the Admiral, and Colonel Clive (Sabut Jang Bahauder), Governor Drake, and Mr. Watts.

ARTICLE- I

Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob, Seraj Doula Mansoor ul Mulck Shah Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung, I agree to comply with.

ARTICLE- II

The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

ARTICLE- III

All the Effects and Factories, belonging to the French, in the province of Bengal (the paradise of nations), and Bihar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the Three Provinces.

ARTICLE- IV

In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained, by the capture and plunder of Calcutta, by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

⁴²⁹ Book titled 'Bangladesh Victim of Black Propaganda Intrigue and Indian Hegemony' by Mohammad Tajammul Hussain, published by The Al-Hilal Publishers Ltd., London, in May 1996; pages 136-139.

ARTICLE- V

For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of CALCUTTA, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

ARTICLE- VI

For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmen, and other subjects of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees shall be given.

ARTICLE- VII

For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees. The distribution of the sums, allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmen, shall be left to the Admiral and Colonel Clive (Sabut Jung Behauder) and the rest of the Council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

ARTICLE- VIII

Within the ditch, which surrounds the border of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several Zeminders; besides this, I will grant the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

ARTICLE- IX

All the land lying to the South of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company, and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the Company) in the same manner with other Zeminders.

ARTICLE- X

Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

ARTICLE- XI

I will not erect any new fortification below the Hoogley, near the river Ganges.

ARTICLE- XII

As soon as I am established in the Government of the Three Provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the 15th Ramzan, in the 4th Year of the Reign, A.D. 1757, A.H. 1170

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE

ARTICLE-XIII

On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Bahauder shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above Articles, which the underwritten, on behalf of the East India Company, do, declaring on the Holy Gospels, and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder with all our force, to obtain the Soubahship of the province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; and further, that we will assist him to the utmost, against all his enemies whatsoever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to be Nabob, shall fulfil the aforesaid Articles.

MUSLIM RULERS OF BENGAL IN HISTORY ⁴³⁰

Governor	Sultan	Dates
DELHI SULTANATE (1206–1526)		
Muhammad Bakhtiyar		1204–6
Muhammad Shiran Khan		ca. 1206–7
Husam al-Din ‘Iwaz*		ca. 1207–8
‘Ali Mardan**		ca. 1208–10
	‘Ala al-Din**	1210–1213
	Ghiyath al-Din ‘Iwaz*	1213–27
Nasir al-Din Mahmud		1227–29
Daulat Shah		1229
Malik ‘Ala al-Din Jani		1229
Saif al-Din Aibek		1229–33
‘Izz al-Din Tughral Tughan Khan		1233–44
Malik Qamr al-Din Tamar Khan		1244–46
Malik Ikhtiyar al-Din Yuzbak***		1246–55

430 University of California Press. UC Press E-books collection. (<https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft067n99v9&chunk.id=ch03&toc.id=&brand=ucpress;query=benga>). Some governors later became sultans, and in the process changed their names or titles. In this chart, such changes are indicated by arrows [asterisks]. Site accessed on 24 September 2020.

	Mughith al-Din Yuzbak****	1255–57
Malik ‘Ala al-Din Mas‘ud Jani		1257–58
‘Izz al-Din Balban		1258–60
Muhammad Arsalan Khan		1260–ca. 1265
Sher Khan		uncertain
Amin Khan		uncertain
Mughith al-Din Tughral****	1268–ca. 1275	
	Mughith al-Din Tughral*****	ca. 1275–1281
Bughra Khan*		1281–87
BALBANI DYNASTY (1287–1301)		
	Nasir al-Din Mahmud*	1287–91
	Rukn al-Din Kaikaus	1291–1300
FIRUZ SHAHI DYNASTY (1301–42)		
	Shams al-Din Firuz Shah	1301–22
	Jalal al-Din Mahmud	ca. 1304–9
	Shihab al-Din Bughday Shah	1317–18
1322–25	Ghiyath al-Din Bahadur	1310–12,
Nasir al-Din Ibrahim		ca. 1324–26
Ghiyath al-Din Bahadur		1328–33
Qadar Khan (Lakhnauti)		uncertain
‘Izz al-Din Yahya (Satgaon)		uncertain

Bahram Khan (Sonargaon)		1328–38
	Fakhr al-Din Mubarak Shah (Sonargaon)	1338–49
	Ikhtiyar al-Din Ghazi Shah (Sonargaon)	1349–52
	‘Ala al-Din ‘Ali Shah (Lakhnauti)	1341–42
ILYAS SHAHI DYNASTY (1342–1415)		
	Shams al-Din Ilyas Shah	1342–57
	Sikandar Shah	1357–89
	Ghiyath al-Din A‘zam Shah	1389–1410
	Saif Hamzah Shah	1410–11
	Shihab al-Din Bayazid Shah	1411–14
	‘Ala al-Din Firuz Shah	1414
RAJA GANESH DYNASTY (1415–33)		
	Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah	1415–32
	Shams al-Din Ahmad Shah	1432–33
RESTORED ILYAS SHAHI DYNASTY (1433–86)		
	Nasir al-Din Mahmud I	1433–59
	Rukn al-Din Barbak Shah	1459–74
	Shams al-Din Yusuf Shah	1474–81
	Sikandar	1481
	Jalal al-Din Fath Shah	1481–86

ABYSSINIANS (1486–93)	Barbak Shah-zadah	1486
	Saif al-Din Firuz Shah	1486–90
	Shams al-Din Muzaffar Shah	1490–93
HUSAIN SHAHI DYNASTY (1493–1538)		
	‘Ala al-Din Husain Shah	1493–1519
	Nasir al-Din Nusrat Shah	1519–32
	‘Ala al-Din Firuz Shah	1532
	Ghiyath al-din Mahmud Shah	1532–38
SHER SHAH SUR AND SUCCESSORS (1538–64)		
	Sher Shah Sur	1538
	(Emperor Humayun)	(1538–39)
	Sher Shah Sur	1539–45
	Islam Shah	1545–53
	Shams al-Din Muhammad Shah	1553–55
	Ghiyath al-Din Bahadur Shah	1556–60
	Ghiyath al-Din II	1560–63
	Ghiyath al-Din III	1563–64
	KARRANI DYNASTY (1564–75)	
Taj Khan Karrani		1564–65
Sulaiman Karrani		1565–72
Bayazid Karrani		1572
Daud Karrani		1572–75

MUGHAL DYNASTY (1526–1858)		
Mun‘im Khan		1574–75
Husain Quli Beg		1575–78
Muzaffar Khan Turbati		1579–80
Mirza ‘Aziz Koka		1582–83
Shahbaz Khan		1583–85
Sadiq Khan		1585–86
Wazir Khan		1586–87
Sa‘id Khan		1587–94
Man Singh		1594–1606
Qutb al-Din Khan Koka		1606–7
Jahangir Quli Beg		1607–8
Islam Khan Chishti		1608–13
Qasim Khan Chishti		1613–17
Ibrahim Khan		1617–24
Mahabat Khan		1625–26
Mukarram Khan		1626–27
Fidai Khan		1627–28
Qasim Khan Juyini		1628–32
‘Azam Khan Mir		

Muhammad Baqar		1632–35
Islam Khan Mashhadi		1635–39
Prince Muhammad Shuja‘		1639–60
Mu‘azzam Khan (Mir Jumla)	1660–63	
Shaista Khan		1664–78
Fidai Khan		1678
Prince Muhammad ‘Azam		1678–88
Khan Jahan Bahadur Khan		1688–89
Ibrahim Khan		1689–97
Prince ‘Azim al-Din (‘Azim al-Shan)	1697–1712	
Murshid Quli Khan (Ja‘far Khan)	1713–27	
Shuja‘ al-Din Muhammad Khan	1727–39	
Sarfaraz Khan		1729–40
Aliwardi Khan		1740–56
Siraj al-Daula		1756–57

**BENGAL PERMANENT SETTLEMENT
REGULATION (1793)** ⁴³¹

Bengal Regulation 1 of 1795

WB512

[1st May, 1793.]

A Regulation for enacting into a Regulation certain Articles of a Proclamation bearing date the 22nd March, 1793.

1. **Preamble.- The following articles of the Proclamation relative to the limitation of the public demand upon the lands, addressed by the Governor General in Council to the zamindars, independent talukdars and other actual proprietors of land paying revenue to Government, in the Provinces of Bengal, [Bihar and Orissa,] are hereby enacted into a Regulation, which is to have force and effect from the 22nd March, 1793, the date of the Proclamation.**

Proclamation

2. **Decennial settlement declared conditionally permanent by original Regulations.- Article I. - In the original Regulations for the decennial settlement of the public revenues of Bengal, [Bihar and Orissa] passed for those Provinces, respectively, on the 18th September, 1789, [the 25th November, 1789, and the 10th February, 1790,] it was notified to the proprietors of land, with or on behalf of whom a settlement might be concluded, that the jama assessed upon their lands under those Regulations would be continued after the expiration of the ten years, and remain unalterable for ever, provided such continuance should meet with the approbation of the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company, and not otherwise.**

431 West Bengal state laws. (<https://www.latestlaws.com/bare-acts/state-acts-rules/west-bengal-state-laws/bengal-permanent-settlement-regulation-1793/>).

3. **Power to declare *jama* assessed upon lands under those Regulations, fixed for ever.**-*Article II.* - The Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Governor General in Council, now notifies to all *zamindars*, independent *talukdars* and other actual proprietors of land paying revenue to Government, in the provinces of Bengal, [Bihar and Orissa,] that he has been empowered by the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company to declare the *jama*, which has been or may be assessed upon their lands under the Regulations abovementioned, fixed for ever.

4. ***Jama* assessed upon lands of proprietors with whom settlement concluded, fixed for ever.** -*Article III.* - The Governor General in Council accordingly declares to the *zamindars*, independent *talukdars* and other actual proprietors of land with or on behalf of whom a settlement has been concluded under the Regulations abovementioned, that at the expiration of the term of the settlement no alteration will be made in the assessment which they have respectively engaged to pay, but that they and their heirs and lawful successors will be allowed to hold their estates at such assessment for ever.

5. ***Jama* hereafter agreed to by proprietors whose lands are held *khas*, or let in farm, fixed for ever.** - *Article IV.* - The lands of some *zamindars*, independent *talukdars* and other actual proprietors of land, having been held *khas*, or let in farm, in consequence of their refusing to pay the assessment required of them under the Regulations abovementioned, the Governor General in Council now notifies to the *zamindars*, independent *talukdars* and other actual proprietors of land whose lands are held *khas* that they shall be restored to the management of their lands, upon their agreeing to the payment of the assessment which has been or may be required of them, in conformity to the Regulations abovementioned, and that no alteration shall afterwards be made in that assessment but that they, and their heirs and lawful successors, shall be permitted to hold their respective estates at such assessment for ever: and he declares to the *zamindars*, independent *talukdars* and other actual proprietors of land, whose lands have been let in farm, that they shall not regain possession of their lands before the expiration of the period for which they have been farmed (unless the farmers shall voluntarily consent to make over to them the remaining term of their lease, and the Governor General in Council shall approve of the transfer), but that at the expiration of that period, upon their agreeing to the payment of the

assessment which may be required of them, they shall be reinstated, and that no alteration shall afterwards be made in that assessment, but that they, and their heirs and lawful successors, shall be allowed to hold their respective estates at such assessment for ever.

6. **Jama of lands belonging to Government, but transferred to individuals, fixed for ever.** -*Article V.* - In the event of the proprietary right in lands that are, or may become, the property of Government being transferred to individuals, such individuals, and their heirs and lawful successors, shall be permitted to hold the lands at the assessment at which they may be transferred for ever.

7. **Assessment in former times liable to variation at discretion of Government.**- *Article VI.* - It is well known to the *zamindars*, independent *talukdars* and other actual proprietors of land, as well as to the inhabitants of Bengal, [*Bihar and Orissa*,] in general, that from the earliest times until the present period the public assessment upon the land has never been fixed, but that, according to established usage and custom, the rulers of these provinces have from time to time demanded an increase of assessment from the proprietors of land; and that, for the purpose of obtaining this increase, not only frequent investigations have been made to ascertain the actual produce of their estates, but that it has been the practice to deprive them of the management of their lands, and either to let them in farm, or to appoint officers on the part of Government to collect the assessment immediately from the *raiyats*.....

THE FARAIZI MOVEMENT OF BENGAL ⁴³²

The British colonial rule in Bengal had a very ominous impact on the people of the region as a whole. The introduction of a new land tenure system, known as the Permanent Settlement, and the creation of an all-powerful zamindar class particularly affected the interests of the peasants of Bengal. Under the new system, the government demand on the zamindars was fixed in perpetuity, but there was no legal restriction on the zamindars to enhance their share from the peasants. The peasants, consequently, became vulnerable to irregular rent increases and oppressions by the zamindars.

The Faraizi movement, organized initially in the nineteenth century to reform the Muslim society, soon assumed the character of agrarian movement. In order to protect the poor peasants, the Faraizis soon became radical and challenged the zamindars. As majority of the peasants of the region, where this movement was launched, were Muslims and their zamindars mostly Hindus, the Faraizis used Islamic symbols to mobilize the Muslim masses. Thus, religion and economy intertwined in shaping a protest movement in Bengal.

432 An abstract from the writeup on the subject by Nurul Hossein Choudhury. (Journal of International Studies, Volume 9, 2013. University Utara, Malaysia)

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT - 1858 ⁴³³

(Note: Extracts only, with some annotations.)

I. THE Government of the territories now in the possession or under the Government of the East India Company, and all powers in relation to Government vested in or exercised by the said Company in trust for Her Majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company; and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested in or which if this Act had not been passed might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in Her Majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this Act India shall mean the territories vested in Her Majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in Her Majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.

II. India shall be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty; and all rights in relation to any territories which might have been exercised by the said Company if this Act had not been passed shall and may be exercised by and in the name of Her Majesty as rights incidental to the Government of India; and all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India, and all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the said Company if this act had not been passed, shall be received for and in the name of Her Majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the Government of India alone, subject to the provisions of this Act.

III. Save as herein otherwise provided, one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State shall have and perform all such or the like powers and duties over all officers appointed or continued under this Act, as might or should have been exercised or performed by the East India Company, or by the Court of Directors or Court of Proprietors of the said Company, either alone or by the direction or with the sanction or approbation of the Commissioners for the affairs of India in relation to such government or revenues, and the officers and servants of the said Company respectively, and also all such powers as might have been

433 Project South Asia. (<https://statutes.org.uk/site/the-statutes/nineteenth-century/1858-21-22-victoria-c-106-government-of-india-act/>). Site accessed on 25 September 2020.

exercised by the said Commissioners alone; and any warrant or writing under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, which by the Act of the session holders in the seventeenth and eighteenth years of Her Majesty, chapter seventy-seven, or otherwise, is required to be countersigned by the President of the Commissioner for the affairs of India, shall in lieu of being so countersigned be countersigned by one of Her Majesty's principal secretaries of State.

.....

VI. In case Her Majesty be pleased to appoint a fifth Principal Secretary of State, there shall be paid out of the revenues of India to such Principal Secretary of State and to his Under Secretaries respectively the like yearly salaries as may for the time being be paid to any other of such Secretaries of State and his Under Secretaries respectively.

VII. For the purposes of this Act a council shall be established; to consist of fifteen members, and to be styled the Council of India; and henceforth the Council in India now bearing that name shall be styled the Council of the Governor-General of India.

VIII. Within fourteen days after the passing of this Act the Court of Directors of the East India Company shall, from among the persons then being Directors of the said Company or having been theretofore such Directors, elect seven persons to be with the persons to be appointed by her Majesty as herein-after mentioned the first members of the Council under this Act, and the names of the persons so elected by the Court of Directors shall be forthwith, after such election, certified to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, under the seal of the said Company, and it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by Warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual, within thirty days after the passing of this Act, to appoint to be members of such Council eight persons: provided always that, if the Court of Directors of the East India Company shall refuse or shall for such fourteen days neglect to make such election of such seven persons, and to certify the names of such persons as aforesaid, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual, within thirty days after the expiration of such fourteen days, to appoint from among the said Directors seven persons to make up the full number of the said Council: provided also that, if any person being or having been such Director, and elected or appointed as aforesaid, shall refuse to accept the office, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty, by warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual, to appoint in the place of every person so refusing some other person to be

a member of the Council, but so that nine members of the Council at the least shall be persons qualified as herein-after mentioned.

IX. Every vacancy happening from time to time among the members of the Council appointed by Her Majesty, not being members so appointed by reason of the refusal or neglect of the Court of Directors or the refusal to accept office hereinbefore mentioned, shall be filled up by Her Majesty, by warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual, and every other vacancy shall be filled up by the Council by election made at a meeting to be held for that purpose [The power of appointment was given to the Secretary of State by 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97, and the term reduced to ten years].

X. The major part of the persons to be elected by the Court of Directors, and the major part of the persons to be first appointed by Her Majesty after the passing of this Act, to be members of the Council, shall be persons who shall have served or resided in India for ten years at the least, and (excepting in the case of late and present Directors and officers on the Home establishment of the East India Company who shall have so served or resided) shall not have last left India more than ten years next preceding the date of their appointment: and no person other than a person so qualified shall be appointed or elected to fill any vacancy in the Council unless at the time of the appointment or election nine at the least of the continuing members of the Council be persons qualified as aforesaid.

XI. Every member of the Council appointed or elected under this Act shall hold his office during good behaviour: provided that it shall be lawful for Her Majesty to remove any such member from his office upon an address of both Houses of Parliament.

XII. No member of the Council appointed or elected under this Act shall be capable of sitting or voting in Parliament.

XIII. There shall be paid to each member of the Council the yearly salary of one thousand two hundred pounds, out of the revenues of India.

.....

XIX. The Council shall, under the direction of the Secretary of State, and subject to the provisions of this Act, conduct the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the Government of India and the correspondence with India, but every order or communication sent to India shall be signed by one of the Principal Secretaries of State; and, save as expressly provided by this Act, every order in the United Kingdom in

relation to the Government of India under this Act shall be signed by such Secretary of State send all dispatches from Governments and Presidencies in India, and other dispatches from India, which if this Act had not been passed should have been addressed to the Court of Directors or to their Secret Committee, shall be addressed to such Secretary of State.

XX. It shall be lawful for the Secretary of State to divide the Council into committees for the more convenient transaction of business, and from time to time to rearrange such committees, and to direct what departments of the business in relation to the Government of India under this Act shall be under such committees respectively, and generally to direct the manner in which all such business shall be transacted.

XXI. The Secretary of State shall be the President of the Council, with power to vote, and it shall be lawful for such Secretary of State in Council to appoint from time to time any member of such Council to be Vice-President thereof, and any such Vice-President may at any time be removed by the Secretary of State.

XXII. All powers by this Act required to be exercised by the Secretary of State in Council, and all powers of the Council, shall and may be exercised at meetings of such Council, at which not less than five members shall be present, and at every meeting the Secretary of State, or in his absence the Vice-President, if present, shall preside, and in the absence of the Secretary of State and Vice-President, one of the members of the Council present shall be chosen by the members present to preside at the meeting; and such Council may act notwithstanding any vacancy therein: meetings of the Council shall be so convened and held when and as the Secretary of State shall from time to time direct; provided that one such meeting at least be held in every week.

XXIII. At any meeting of the Council at which the Secretary of State is present, if there be a difference of opinion on any question other than the question of the election of a member of Council, or other than any question with regard to which a majority of the votes at a meeting is hereinafter declared to be necessary, the determination of the Secretary of State shall be final; and in case of an equality of votes at any meeting of the Council, the Secretary of State, if present, and in his absence the Vice-President, or presiding member, shall have a casting vote; and all acts done at any meeting of the Council in the absence of the Secretary of State, except the election of a member of the Council, shall require the sanction or approval in writing of the Secretary of State; and in case of difference of opinion on any question decided at any meeting, the Secretary of State

may require that his opinion, and the reasons for the same, be entered in the minutes of the proceedings, and any member of the Council who may have been present at the meeting may require that his opinion, and any reason for the same that he may have stated at the meeting, be entered in like manner.

XXIV. Every order or communication proposed to be sent to India, and every order proposed to be made in the United Kingdom, by the Secretary of State under this Act, shall, unless the same has been submitted to a meeting of the Council, be placed in the Council room for the perusal of all members of the Council during seven days before the sending or making thereof, except in the cases hereinafter provided; and it shall be lawful for any member of the Council to record in a minute book, to be kept for that purpose, his opinion with respect to each such order or communication, and a copy of every opinion so recorded shall be sent forthwith to the Secretary of State.

XXV. If a majority of the Council record as aforesaid their opinions against any act proposed to be done, the Secretary of State shall, if he do not defer to the opinions of the majority, record his reasons for acting in opposition thereto.

.....

XXIX. The appointments of Governor-General of India, fourth ordinary member of the Council of the Governor-General of India; and Governors of Presidencies in India, now made by the Court of Directors with the approbation of Her Majesty, and the appointments of Advocate-General for the several Presidencies now made with the approbation of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, shall be made by Her Majesty by warrant under Her Royal Sign Manual; the appointments of the ordinary members of the Council of the Governor-General of India; except the fourth ordinary member, and the appointments of the Members of Council of the several Presidencies, shall be made by the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present at a meeting [This power was transferred to the Crown by 32 & 33 Vict. c. 97.]; the appointments of the Lieutenant-Governors of provinces or territories shall be made by the Governor-General of India, subject to the approbation of Her Majesty; and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices, respectively.

XXX. All appointments to offices, commands, and employments in India, and all promotions, which by law or under any regulations, usage, or custom, are now made by any authority in India, shall continue to be

made in India by the like authority, and subject to the qualifications, conditions, and restrictions now affecting such appointments respectively; but the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present at a meeting, shall have the like power to make regulations for the division and distribution of patronage and power of nomination among the several authorities in India, and the like power of restoring to their stations, offices, or employments, officers and servants suspended or removed by any authority in India as might have been exercised by the said Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Commissioners for the affairs of India, if this Act had not been passed.

.....

XL. The Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting, shall have full power to sell and dispose of all real and personal estate whatsoever for the time being vented in Her Majesty under this Act, as may be thought fit, or to raise money on any such real estate by way of mortgage, and make the proper assurances for that purpose, and to purchase and acquire any land or hereditaments, or any interests therein, stores, goods, chattel, and other property, and to enter into any contracts whatsoever, as may be thought fit, for the purposes of this Act; and all property so acquired shall vest in Her Majesty for the service of the Government of India; and any conveyance or assurance of or concerning any real estate to be made by the authority of the Secretary of State in Council may be made under the hands and seals of three members of the Council.

XLI. The expenditure of the revenues of India, both in India and elsewhere, shall be subject to the control of the Secretary of State in Council, and no grant or appropriation of any part of such revenues, or of any other property coming into the possession of the Secretary of State in Council by virtue of this Act, shall be made without the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council.

.....

LIII. The Secretary of State in Council shall, within the first fourteen days during which Parliament may be sitting next after the first day of May in every year, lay before both Houses of Parliament an account for the financial year preceding that last completed of the annual produce of the revenues of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, at each of the several Presidencies or Governments, and of all the annual receipts and disbursements at home and abroad on

account of the Government of India, distinguishing the same under the respective heads thereof, together with the latest estimate of the same for the last financial year, and also the amount of the debts chargeable on the revenues of India, with the rates of interest they respectively bear, and the annual amount of such interest, the state of the effects and credits at each Presidency or Government, and in England or elsewhere, applicable to the purposes of the government of India, according to the latest advices which have been received thereof, and also a list of the establishment of the Secretary of State in Council, and the salaries and allowances payable in respect thereof; and if any new or increased salaries or pensions of fifty pounds a year or upwards have been granted or created within any year, the particulars thereof shall be specially stated and explained at the foot of the account of such year; and such account shall be accompanied by a statement prepared from detailed reports from each Presidency and district in India in such form as shall best exhibit the moral and material progress and condition of India in each such Presidency.

LIV. When any order is sent to India directing the actual commencement of hostilities by Her Majesty's forces in India, the fact of such order having been sent shall be communicated to both Houses of Parliament within three months after the sending of such order, if Parliament be sitting, unless such order shall have been in the meantime revoked or suspended, and if Parliament be not sitting at the end of such three months, then within one month after the next meeting of Parliament.

LV. Except for preventing or repelling actual invasion of Her Majesty's Indian possessions, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the revenues of India shall not, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament, be applicable to defray the expenses of any military operation carried on beyond the external frontiers of such possessions by Her Majesty's forces charged upon such revenues.

LVI. The military and naval forces of the East India Company shall be deemed to be the Indian military and naval forces of Her Majesty, and shall be under the same obligations to serve Her Majesty as they would have been under to serve the said Company, and shall be liable to serve within the same territorial limits only, for the same terms only, and be entitled to the like pay, pensions, allowances, and privileges, and the like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company: such forces, and all persons hereafter enlisting in or entering the same, shall continue and be subject to all Acts of Parliament, laws of the Governor-General of India in Council, and articles of war, and all other laws, regulations, and provisions relating to

the East India Company's military and naval forces respectively, as if Her Majesty's Indian military and naval forces respectively had throughout such acts, laws, articles, regulations; and provisions been mentioned or referred to, instead of such forces of the said Company; and the pay and expenses of an incident to Her Majesty's Indian military and naval forces shall be defrayed out of the revenues of India.

LVII. Provided that it shall be lawful for Her Majesty from time to time by order in Council to alter or regulate the terms and conditions of service under which persons hereafter entering Her Majesty's Indian forces shall be commissioned, enlisted, or entered to serve, and the forms of attestation and of the oath or declaration to be used and taken or made respectively on attesting persons to serve in Her Majesty's Indian forces shall be such as Her Majesty with regard to the European forces, and the Governor-General of India in Council with regard to the native forces, shall from time to time direct: provided, that every such order in Council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within fourteen days after the making thereof, if Parliament be sitting, and, if Parliament be not sitting, then within fourteen days after the next meeting thereof.

.....

LXV. The Secretary of State in Council shall and may sue and be sued as well in India as in England by the name of the Secretary of State in Council as a body corporate ; and all persons and bodies politic shall and may have and take the same suits, remedies, and proceedings, legal and equitable, against the Secretary of State in Council of India as they could have done against the said Company; and the property and effects hereby vested in Her Majesty for the purposes of the Government of India, or acquired for the said – purposes, shall be subject and liable to the same judgements and executions as they would while vested in the said Company have been liable to in respect of debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred by the said Company.

.....

LXVII. All treaties made by the said Company shall be binding on Her Majesty, and all contracts, covenants, liabilities, and engagements of the said Company made, incurred, or entered into before the commencement of this Act may be enforced by and against the Secretary of State in Council in like manner and in the same Courts as they might have been by and against the said Company if this Act had not been passed.

NAWAB SALIMULLAH'S SPEECH AT SHAHBAGH CONVENTION, DHAKA

(30 December 1906)⁴³⁴

You who have assembled here in a remote corner of the country, not very easy of access, after having travelled many hundreds of miles from every part of India, drawn by some great impulse, do not need to be told by me in any detail that there exists a special necessity at this moment for an increased political activity on the part of us all... India seems to be on the eve of a new era of public life, and the Mohammedans who suffered so far from a kind of suspended animation, feel today the revivifying effect of a general awakening.

To a casual observer it may appear that we have only just made a start in public life: and those who do not bear as much good will have sometimes paid us the compliment of regarding us as mere automatons, and attributed this show of new activity to the wire pulling of others. But those who have studied our affairs more closely will not regard the new movement as a first start, so much as a turning of a corner of the course. It was only last evening that we wound up the work of the 20th session of our Educational Conference, and if the earlier efforts of the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan be taken into account, our present activity is but a natural development of the work begun nearly half a century ago.

As regards the suggestion that this new phase of our public activity is due to external causes, I must admit a confession is due from the Mohammedans of India. It is certainly due in part to the trend of events over which we had little control; but is no more than saying that if there is any one at all to blame, it is not we who are to blame for this general commotion among the Mohammedans. Our new activity is only like the increased vigilance of the police in a district where disregard for the laws of property is fast spreading. Had the party now in power in England been familiar with the position and rights of the Mohammedans of India, and had those among our countrymen who have hitherto been taking prominent part in the public life of this country been consistently just in asking for the

434 Book titled, 'Nawab Salimullah' by Al-Haj Md. Shirajuddin, published by Al-Haj Md. Shirajuddin, Dhaka on February 25, 1992; pages 62-68. (Text was abridged for economy.)

allotment of their respective shares to the various communities of India, it is not improbable that the League which it is now proposed to form would not have been heard of for a long time, if at all; and that we would have gone on pursuing the traditional policy of our people and attending solely to our educational needs.

As I have said, this movement of the Musalmans of India is nothing new or strange. I was surprised to read, only a few days ago, that as early as in 1893, our revered leader, the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, had felt the need of a separate political organization for the Musalmans of India; while it is only too well-known that as early as in 1887, his great speech at Lucknow kept the Mohammedans back and stopped them from joining the so-called National Congress.

It is only now that I, for one, have been forced, by the practical needs of our community during the crisis through which we in Eastern Bengal are passing, to believe in the urgent necessity of a separate political organization for the Mohammedans of India which the farsighted Sir Syed Ahmed had felt more than a decade ago. There were then before us four alternatives: (1) to take no part in politics and leave to the Government the task of safeguarding our interests; (2) to step into the arena and take-up an attitude of direct hostility to the Hindus; (3) to join the Hindus in the National Congress and do what they did; and (4) to form a separate organization of our own. The third alternative, namely, joining the Congress, was declared even in 1887 to be out of the question, and no one can say that we have wavered since then in our belief; and even our worst enemies cannot say that we have ever followed the second alternative of taking up an attitude of hostility towards any other community.

Out of the other two alternatives, in 1887, we were certainly in favour of a policy of 'masterly inactivity' as regards politics; but the disadvantages of such a quiescence forced themselves upon our attention before long, and in 1893, we decided under the leadership of Syed Ahmed Khan to form a separate political organization, called the 'Defence Association'. But then, as before, our aim was defence not defiance; and, to guard still further against the dangers of political activity in a half-educated war-like race, such safeguards were devised as almost paralysed the organization even for purposes of defences.

Today the aspect of affairs has greatly changed. The Government has been convinced of our steadfast loyalty under the most trying situations. In 1897, Lord Elgin bore testimony to the unflinching fidelity of the

Mohammedan troops that opposed their own co-religionists on the battlefields of Chitral and borderland and shed their own blood and the blood of their brothers for their king and country. This, gentlemen, was a situation which no other community has had a chance of being tried in.

As regards education, although we have that we desire, we do not at least belong to the category of barbaric hordes which it was at one time the fashion of some people to regard us. Our passions though they are even now those of a war-like race that carved our Empires, wherever its flag was unfurled and the sound of its kettle-drums was heard, are, more under our control than we could assume them to be even 50 years ago.

We can respect the restraints which law has devised for the peace of the land, though even now we shall not be making, like some other communities, a virtue of necessity. I am afraid the danger of our neglecting the best means of advancing our political rights and interests, namely by education, still exists; but we can safely leave the renowned leader of our community, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk Bahadur, and his colleagues and the old students of the Aligarh College, to combat that danger as they have hitherto been doing, and to work on with a will in order to found our future university, which will be an even more unique and splendid constructive word than the Aligarh College, which has no equal in India.

In short, gentlemen, we are today prepared to enter on a political career as a community which the spirit of the times impels us to do. A more active propaganda, a more candid statement of our needs and aspirations, and the giving of a more public and more representative character to our political Association, are more necessary today than was the case in 1893.

But nothing of the spirit of loyalty is lost thereby and no amount of candour shall rob us of our traditional courtesy. The resolution which I have the honour of moving today has been so framed that the object of our League is frankly the protection and advancement of our political rights and interests, but without prejudice to the traditional loyalty of Musalmans to the Government, and goodwill to our Hindu neighbours. Whenever it is necessary to do so, we shall represent our views to the Government, and respectfully submit our claims for due consideration.

I must say that only after a Central League like the one proposed to be formed today comes into existence, can the Government find a representative body to which to turn for ascertaining the views of the Musalmans of India, and to which the Musalmans themselves can turn for consistent and firm support, sensible and sincere advice, and a true

interpretation of the wishes of the Government. The materials have, for long, been ready, but only now shall we be able to rear from them the mighty and splendid fabric of a united people.

And the spirit of the League will be the spirit of our poet who said:

“Azad-rahun aur mera Maslak hai Sulhikul. Hargiz kabhi kisi say Adavat nahin Mujhe.”

NAWAB SALIMULLAH'S ADDRESS AT CALCUTTA

(3 March 1912)⁴³⁵

It is with feelings of the utmost diffidence, almost verging on trepidation, that I stand before you here today in obedience to your summons to preside over the deliberations of this august assembly, the Fifth Session of the All-India Muslim League.

When I cast my eyes upon this distinguished audience and the brilliant galaxy of leaders of my community from the various provinces, representing the wealth, the culture and the talent of Islam in India, I feel surprised that your choice should have fallen on my unworthy self.

It is now barely five years ago that the inaugural meeting of the League was held at Dhaka in December 1906. We in Eastern Bengal were then passing through one of the severest crises which Islam has had to face since the commencement of British rule in this country. The sense of a common danger threatening our very existence as a community, and the imminent peril to which our rights and liberties were exposed, made us close up our ranks and take counsel of the veteran leaders of Muslim thought all over India. This was the first inception of the League: and after deliberation, it was launched into being as the champion of our cause and the trusted exponent of our thoughts and aspirations in the political life of our community in this country.

The unselfish labours of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur and the munificence of His Highness the Aga Khan, who has been the president of the League since its very beginning, together with the exertions of its energetic Secretary, the late Mr. Aziz Mirza (May his soul rest in peace), enabled it to get over the early strugglers of its infancy and contributed on little to its unprecedented success within so short a time. Looking around me today, I can well perceive how successfully the League has enlisted the sympathies of the leaders of Muslim thought in India; and I hope will be pardoned a little legitimate pride in having been fortunate enough to initiate the proceedings which gave the League its birth in my

435 Book 'Nawab Salimullah' by Al-Haj Md. Shirajuddin, published by Al-Haj Md. Shirajuddin, Dhaka on February 25, 1992, pages 69-85. (Text abridged for economy.)

native city of Dhaka. I cannot, however, pass on to other matters without referring to what are called the Durbar announcements, one of which has unfortunately saddened Musalman hearts and cast a sombre shadow over Musalman homes in East Bengal. I will, however, refer to only four of these announcements and take up in order.

First, as regards the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, we in Eastern Bengal are not much concerned with the effects, immediate or remote, of the transfer of the capital; but nonetheless we rejoice, because our brethren in the United Provinces and the Punjab will be benefited by the change. We rejoice, because the high officials who control the destinies of India will naturally now be in close touch with so remarkable a centre of Muslim intellectual activity as Aligarh, such refined seats of Muslim culture as are to be found in the principal cities of the united provinces, such exemplary types of Muslim manhood as the virile Musalmans of the Punjab.

We rejoice with them, and pray to the Almighty Disposer of events that this momentous change of the transfer of the capital to Delhi may be for the good of all classes of the people, and that it may usher in an era of progress for Islam in those parts, which may redound to the glory of our community all over India. May the heart of Islam be resuscitated and vivified even as the historic city of Delhi will come to new life in this restoration to her of her past dignity, and may the ancient glories of Islam be revived a hundredfold under the aegis of British rule, so that our future generations may hold aloft the banner of culture, progress and civilisation as our forefathers did, when the mighty flag of the Musalman Emperors floated triumphantly over the walls of Delhi.

I am now forced to refer to another Durbar announcement which compels me to say some bitter truths, but on which I cannot keep altogether silent, for I am sure my silence would be misunderstood. I am sorry I have got to take the risk of saying things which may perhaps expose me to contumely; but I feel that I cannot let this opportunity pass without an attempt at expressing our real feelings over a matter which weights so heavily on our hearts — I mean not one of those who used to look upon the partition, in itself, as the only panacea for all our evils. The partition gave us a great opportunity to bestir ourselves, and it awakened in our hearts the throbbings of a new national life which went pulsating through the various sections of our community in Eastern Bengal.

I hope, gentlemen, you will believe me when I assure you that the Musalmans of East Bengal supported the partition, not out of enmity to

our Hindu brethren or at the bidding of the Government, but because we felt sure that the new administrative arrangements in East Bengal would afford us ample opportunities for self-improvement. We felt sure that the people of East Bengal, particularly the Musalmans, would be immensely benefited by a sympathetic administration easily accessible to them, and always ready to devote its time attention exclusively to their welfare.

As for ourselves, the Musalmans of East Bengal, we came to realize for the first time in our history that we too had rights and privileges as British subjects, and that it was only necessary for us to put our own shoulders to the wheel to free ourselves from that state of servile dependence on a dominant community in which we had been living before the partition.

How far we took advantage of these opportunities of self-improvement offered to us, it is now needless for me to discuss. This is now an integral part of the history of the East Bengal districts for the six years (1905-1911) during which the partition remained in force.

Our ill-wishers at once perceived that the partition would necessarily bring to the force the long-neglected claims of the Musalmans of East Bengal, and although we never got more than what was justly our due, what little we gained was so much a loss to them. We regretted that this should be so, but it was unavoidable. It was perhaps unavoidable also that the philanthropy of our opponents should not be equal to the occasion, for they saw in the maintenance of the partition a possibility of the Musalmans of East Bengal regaining a portion of their well-deserved rights as citizens of the British Empire. Those who are forced to give up a portion of their long-enjoyed monopoly, however unjustifiable in nature and origin, will readily understand the feelings of our enemies after the partition. It was, therefore, only natural that they started a vigorous agitation to have the partition annulled and to secure a reversion to the old order of things.

Over the vehemence of this agitation, the excesses to which some of the agitators could go, and the violent crimes of which they became guilty in giving expression their pent-up feelings against the Government, I would draw a veil, for they are matters in the press were backed up by revolutionary speeches on the plat form, and a band of irresponsible agitators roamed at large over the country to instill into the receptive minds of the youths the deadly 'poison of anarchical ideas'.

To give effect to their disloyal feelings against the Government, the agitators organised a boycott of British goods, and under colour of

supporting an economic movement, sought to inflame the minds of the ignorant masses against Britain and its people. For some time the whole of Bengal seemed to be in the throes of a violent revolution, and there was hardly any peace in the land. Political murders were followed by political dacoities, and the officials entrusted with the maintenance of law and order were harassed in a way which would have exhausted even the patience of job.

The reason for all this violent agitation was not for to seek. The agitators themselves alleged that Bengali sentiment had been outraged by placing them under two separate administrations, and that the Government wanted to injure their interests by placing them in a minority. The real cause of the Bengali opposition to the partition lay far deeper than in the plausible excuse of outraged sentiments, and I do not wish to repeat what I have already said on this point.

The Musalmans naturally refused to join the agitation because it was so violently opposed to their feelings of loyalty, and because it was directed against a measure which had proved of so much benefit to their interests. The agitators strained every nerve to win them over to their side and seduce them from their loyalty, but without success. Those who know the utter helplessness of the Musalmans at the hands of their Bengalee landlord, lawyer or creditor, will easily have an idea of the tremendous sacrifices which Musalmans had to make in rallying on the side of law and order.

The annulment of the partition had all the appearance of a ready concession to the clamours of an utterly seditious agitation. It has appeared to put a premium on sedition and disloyalty, and created an impression in the minds of the irresponsible masses that even the Government can be brought down on its knees by a reckless and persistent defiance of constituted authority.

While on the subject of residential universities, I feel bound to say a few words as regards the proposed university at Dhaka. The announcement made by His Excellency about this new university has given rise to endless discussions, and some of our countrymen are opposing it tooth and nail. One distinguished Bengali leader calls this university 'the apple of discord, and the opponents of the scheme pretend to see in its inauguration a clever linguistic partition of the Bengalees, quite as pernicious as the late administrative partition.

Now, I am very sorry that our Bengalee friends should sense danger where none exists, and oppose the scheme in a way which is sure to see the

two communities against each other. The Viceroy has distinctly assured the Bengalee leaders that the university would in no sense be a sectional university meant to benefit the Musalmans alone. It was the remarkable strides made by East Bengal in the matter of education in recent years that suggested to His Excellency the idea of creating a teaching and residential university at Dhaka — the first of its kind in India — in order to prevent a setback in this remarkable progress.

We, the Musalmans of East Bengal, welcome the university not because it is meant for our exclusive benefit or to injure the interests of our Hindu brethren, but because we feel convinced that a teaching and residential university, in an area which has shown itself so susceptible of educational improvement, would give an impulse to the cause of education in the Eastern Bengal districts, which would easily place them in the van of educational progress in India.

With the broadening of outlook and the advancement of ideas consequent on the diffusion of education on Western lines, comes a natural craving for Western institutions and an eager desire to be associated more liberally, in the administration of the country. . . . And this leads me at once to say a few words as regards the principle of communal representation and the system of separate electorates claimed by the Musalmans in India. This has been opposed by the other communities in the ground “the-separate election by castes and creeds is not known elsewhere in the British Empire, and would introduce a new element of discord and disunion if introduced in India”.

Now, as regards the first objection I consider it a sufficient refutation to say that the analogy of what prevails elsewhere is not applicable to India, simply because Indian conditions are so essentially different from the state of things in other parts of the British Empire. This is no doubt a truism but these simple and obvious reasons are so often forgotten in the heat of controversy that it is worthwhile emphasizing them. India must be judged as it is, and not from visionary theories of what it should be of or by false analogies drawn from conditions by castes, classes or creeds is not entirely unknown elsewhere and it does actually prevail where the conditions are fairly similar to those in India.

In moving the second reading of the Indian Council Bill in the House of Lord on February 23, 1908 the Secretary of State said: “The Mohammedans demand the election of their own representatives to these Councils in all the stages, just as in Cyprus, where I think, the Mohammedans vote by themselves. So in Bohemia where the Germans vote alone and have their

own register. Therefore we, are not without a parallel for the idea of a separate register.”

As regards the apprehension expressed by our opponents, that the introduction of these principles of communal representation and election by separate electorates would introduce discord and disunion in India, I am strongly of opinion that all accepted facts point quite the other way. I am firmly convinced that the best way to avoid friction with our Hindu brethren is to allow us to choose our own representatives in the local, district and municipal boards and Legislative Councils. It is our experience that nothing causes more bad blood between the Hindus and the Mohammedans than these contested elections.

The Hindus fill the legal and other professions; they are also the village money lenders and the village landlords. It is hardly necessary to point out that the combination of wealth and influence in our more fortunate Hindu brethren often makes the Mohammedan voter dependent on his Hindu zamindar, creditor or lawyer. To prevent any influences being exercised over Mohammedan voters, Mohammedan candidates have sometimes been obliged to appeal to the religious sentiments of the voters, with sometimes very deplorable results. These contingencies would be avoided if Mohammedans are allowed to vote by themselves.

The question has often been asked: What should be our attitude towards politics? The world has grown older and wiser by more than half a century since the late Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advocated a total abstention from politics as the best course for a Musalman to pursue in India. Things have greatly changed since then, and the advice of even so great a leader as the late Syed has got to be modified in the light of past experiences. I think the proper answer to the question must, at the present moment, depend on what we mean by politics.

To my mind, what is more urgently needed for our community than any politics is a combined effort on the part of all our leaders to spread education in all its branches amongst the various sections of our community.

I have never advocated the principle of preferential treatment for the claims of my community in any respect; and what I have always claimed has been a just and proper regard of our legitimate rights. We do not wish to be selfish ourselves, and we would not tolerate selfishness in others.

My consolation is that I see such a large number of our educated young men devote their time, talents and energies in the cause of Islam; and I am

confident that when I unbuckle my armour, the weapons of warfare will pass on to stronger arms and strong nerves.

Believe me that in my retirement, you will have my most earnest prayers for the success of your efforts in securing Islam that place amongst the great communities of India to which it is entitled by its glorious history, noble traditions, lofty ideals and cultured civilisation. May God prosper you and crown all your efforts with unqualified success.

JINNAH'S FOURTEEN POINTS⁴³⁶

(28 March 1929)

1. The form of the future constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the provinces.
2. A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all provinces.
3. All legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.
4. In the Central Legislative, Muslim representation shall not be less than one-third.
5. Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorate as at present, provided it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favor of a joint electorate.
6. Any territorial distribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province.
7. Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship and observance, propoganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
8. No bill or any resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourth of the members of any community in that Particular body oppose such a bill resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

436 'The Nazaria-e-Pakistan site' (<http://nazariapak.info/>). May also study 'Jinnah & Nehru' by AG Noorani (Critereon Quarterly, September 28, 2018).

9. Sindh should be separated from the Bombay presidency.
10. Reforms should be introduced in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in the other provinces.
11. Provision should be made in the constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the services of the state and in local self-governing bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.
12. The constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institution and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the state and by local self-governing bodies.
13. No cabinet, either central or provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim ministers.
14. No change shall be made in the constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the State's contribution of the Indian Federation.

**ALLAMA MUHAMMAD IQBAL'S PRESIDENTIAL
ADDRESS
TO THE 25TH SESSION OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM
LEAGUE**

(Allahabad, 29 December 1930)⁴³⁷

I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world fact.

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity – by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal – has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own.

Indeed it is not an exaggeration to say that (British) India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam.

The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims both in India and outside India.

Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam, God and the universe, spirit and matter,

437 'Speeches, Writings, and Statements of Iqbal,' by Latif Ahmed Sherwani (Lahore: Iqbal Academy, 1977). These are some of the extracts, and not the complete text of the address.

Church and State, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam, matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time.

Never in our history, has Islam had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it today. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment.

Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity, in favor of national polities in which [the] religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India, where the Muslims happen to be a minority.

The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them.

We are 70 million, and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation, but the process of becoming a nation is kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India involves a complete overhauling of her social structure.

Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i.e. territorial, lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book'. There are no social barriers between Muslims and the 'people of the Book'. A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the law of Islam allows intermarriage with the 'people of the Book'.

Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irwin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. By leaders I mean men who, by divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order.

The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herd instinct. This [loss] makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing today in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickering in religion does not do much harm to our solidarity. It at least indicates an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, the principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam.

How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil, I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on the subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise, leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to determine the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement.

I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India, demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community.

Our disorganized condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action, in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalized by a single purpose.

One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history, it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa.

If today you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces, regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction.

One of the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well guided" (5:104).

**‘NOW OR NEVER: ARE WE TO LIVE OR PERISH FOR
EVER?’ BY RAHMAT ALI ⁴³⁸**

(28 January 1933)

At this solemn hour in the history of India, when British and Indian statesmen are laying the foundations of a Federal Constitution for that land, we address this appeal to you, in the name of our common heritage, on behalf of our thirty million Muslim brethren who live in PAKISTAN - by which we mean the five Northern units of India, Viz: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan - for your sympathy and support in our grim and fateful struggle against political crucifixion and complete annihilation.

Our brave but voiceless nation is being sacrificed on the altar of Hindu Nationalism not only by the non-Muslims, but to the lasting disgrace of Islam, by our own so-called leaders, with reckless disregard to our future and in utter contempt of the teachings of history.

The Indian Muslim Delegation at the Round Table Conference have committed an inexcusable and prodigious blunder. They have submitted, in the name of Hindu Nationalism, to the perpetual subjection of the ill-starred Muslim nation. These leaders have already agreed, without any protest or demur and without any reservation, to a Constitution based on the principle of an All-India Federation. This, in essence, amounts to nothing less than signing the death-warrant of Islam and its future in India. In doing so, they have taken shelter behind the so-called Mandate from the community.

But they forgot that that suicidal Mandate was framed and formulated by their own hands. That Mandate was not the Mandate of the Muslims of India. Nations never give Mandates to their representatives to barter away their very souls; and men of conscience never accept such self-annihilating Mandates, if given - much less execute them. At a time of crisis of this magnitude, the foremost duty of saving statesmanship is

438 G. Allana, *Pakistan Movement Historical Documents* (Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, [1969]), pp. 103-110. May also see ‘Important Speeches and Statements,’ Shamsul Islam, pages 14-17, Ilyas Printers, Karachi, 1967.

to give a fair, firm and fearless lead, which, alas, has been persistently denied to eighty millions of our co-religionists in India by our leaders during the last seventy-five years.

These have been the years of false issues, of lost opportunities and of utter blindness to the most essential and urgent needs of the Muslim interests. Their policy has throughout been nerveless in action and subservient in attitude. They have all along been paralyzed with fear and doubt, and have deliberately, time and again, sacrificed their political principles for the sake of opportunism and expediency. To do so even at this momentous juncture of Bedlam. It is idle for us not to look this tragic truth in the face. The tighter we shut our eyes, the harder the truth will hit us.

At this critical moment, when this tragedy is being enacted, permit us to appeal to you for your practical sympathy and active support for the demand of a separate Federation - a matter of life and death for the Muslims of India - as outlined and explained below.

India, constituted as it is at the present moment, is not the name of one single country; nor the home of one single nation. It is, in fact, the designation of a State created for the first time in history, by the British. It includes peoples who have never previously formed part of India at any period in its history; but who have, on the other hand, from the dawn of history till the advent of the British, possessed and retained distinct nationalities of their own.

In the five Northern Provinces of India, out of a total population of about forty millions, we, the Muslims, contribute about 30 millions. Our religion, culture, history, tradition, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are basically and fundamentally different from those of the people living in the rest of India. The ideals which move our thirty million brethren-in-faith living in these provinces to make the highest sacrifices are fundamentally different from those which inspire the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles - far from it. They extend to the minutest details of our lives. We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs, calendars, even our diet and dress are different.

It is preposterous to compare, as some superficial observers do, the differences between Muslims and Hindus with those between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Both the Catholics and Protestants are part and parcel of one religious system - Christianity; while the Hindus and Muslims are the followers of two essentially and fundamentally different

religious systems. Religion in the case of Muslims and Hindus is not a matter of private opinion as it is in the case of Christians; but on the other hand constitutes a Civic Church which lays down a code of conduct to be observed by their adherents from birth to death.

If we, the Muslims of Pakistan, with our distinct marks of nationality, are deluded into the proposed Indian Federation by friends or foes, we are reduced to a minority of one to four. It is this which sounds the death-knell of the Muslim nation in India for ever. To realise the full magnitude of this impending catastrophe, let us remind you that we thirty millions constitute about one-tenth of whole Muslim world. The total area of the five units comprising PAKISTAN, which are our homelands, is four times that of Italy, three times that of Germany and twice that of France; and our population seven times that of the Commonwealth of Australia, four times that of the Dominion of Canada, twice that of Spain, and equal to France and Italy considered individually.

These are facts - hard facts and realities - which we challenge anybody to contradict. It is on the basis of these facts that we make bold to assert without the least fear of contradiction that we, Muslims of PAKISTAN, do possess a separate and distinct nationality from the rest of India, where the Hindu nation lives and has every right to live. We, therefore, deserve and must demand the recognition of a separate national status by the grant of a separate Federal Constitution from the rest of India.

In addressing this appeal to the Muslims of India, we are also addressing it to the two other great interests - British and Hindu - involved in the settlement of India's future. They must understand that in our conviction our body and soul are at stake. Our very being and well-being depends upon it. For our five great Northern states to join an All-India Federation would be disastrous, not only to ourselves, but to every other race and interest in India, including the British and the Hindu.

This is more especially true when there is just and reasonable alternative to the proposed settlement, which will lay the foundations of a peaceful future for this great continent; and should certainly allow of the highest development of each of these two peoples without one being subject to another. This alternative is a separate Federation of these five predominantly (sic) Muslim units - Punjab, North-West Frontier (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan.

The Muslim Federation of North-West India would provide the bulwark of a buffer state against any invasion either of ideas or arms from outside.

The creation of such a Federation would not materially disturb the ratio of the Muslim and Hindu population in the rest of India. It is wholly to the interest of British and Hindu statesmanship to have an ally a free, powerful and contented Muslim nation having a similar but separate Constitution to that which is being enacted for the rest of India. Nothing but a separate Federation of homelands would satisfy us.

This demand is basically different from the suggestion put forward by Doctor Mohammed Iqbal in his Presidential address to the All-India Muslim League in 1930. While he proposed the amalgamation of the provinces into a single state forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these Provinces should have a separate Federation of their own. There can be no peace and tranquility in the land if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Hindu-dominated Federation where we cannot be the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own souls.

Do the safeguards provided for in the Constitution give us any scope to work for our salvation along our own lines? Not a bit. Safeguard is the magic word which holds our leaders spellbound, and has dulled their consciences. In the ecstasy of their hallucinations they think that the pills of safeguards can cure nation-annihilating earthquakes. Safeguards asked for by these leaders and agreed to by the makers of the Constitution can never be a substitute for the loss of separate nationality. We, the Muslims, shall have to fight the course of suicidal insanity to death.

What safeguards can be devised to prevent our minority of one in four in an All-India Federation from being sacrificed on every vital issue to the aims and interests of the majority race, which differs from us in every essential of individual and corporate life? What safeguards can prevent the catastrophe of the Muslim nation smarting and suffering eternally at the frustration of its every social and religious ideal? What safeguards can compensate our nation awakened to its national conscious for the destruction of its distinct national status?

However effective and extensive the safeguards may be, the vital organs and proud symbols of our national life, such as army and navy, foreign relations, trade and commerce, communications, posts and telegraphs, taxation and customs, will not be under our control, but will be in the hands of a Federal Government, which is bound to be overwhelmingly Hindu. With all this, how can we, the Muslims, achieve any of our ideals if those ideals conflict - conflict as they must - with the ideals of Hindus?

The history of the last century, in this respect, is full of unforgettable lessons for us. Even one who runs may read them. To take just one

instance. Despite all these safeguards and guarantees we have enjoyed in the past, the very name of our national language - URDU, even now the lingua franca of that great continent - has been wiped out of the list of Indian languages. We have just to open the latest census report to verify it. This by itself is a tragic fall. Are we fated to fall farther? But that too is dust in the scales by comparison with the tremendous national issues involving our whole future as a nation and a power not only India but also in the whole of Asia.

In the face of these incontrovertible facts, we are entitled to ask for what purpose we are being asked to make the supreme sacrifice of surrendering our nationality and submitting ourselves and our posterity to Non-Muslim domination? What good is likely to accrue to Islam and Muslims by going into the Federation is a thing which passes our understanding. Are we to be crucified just to save the faces of our leaders or to bolster up the preposterous.....

May we be permitted to ask of all those statesmen - Muslim or British or Hindu - supporting the Federal Constitution, if it is really desirable to make our nation sacrifice all that Islam has given us during the last fourteen hundred years to make India a nation? Does humanity really stand to gain by this stupendous sacrifice?

We dare say that still in Islam the ancient fire glows and promises much for the future, if only the leaders would let it live. Whilst in Europe, excluding Russia, in about the same area as that of India and with about the same population, there live and prosper as many as twenty-six nations, with one and the same religion, civilization and economic system, surely it is not only possible but highly desirable for two fundamentally different and distinct nations, i.e. Muslim and Hindu, to live as friendly neighbours in peace and prosperity in that vast continent. What bitter irony is it that our leaders have not the courage to stand up and demand the minimum for our political salvation.

We are face to face with a first-rate tragedy, the like of which has not have been seen in the long and eventful history of Islam. It is not the question of a sect or of a community going down; but it is the supreme problem which affects the destiny of the whole of Islam and the millions of human beings who, till quite recently, were the custodians of the glory of Islam in India and the defenders of its frontiers.

We have a still greater future before us, if only our soul can be saved from the perpetual bondage of slavery forged in an All-India Federation. Let

us make no mistake about it. The issue is now or never. Either we live or perish forever. The future is ours only if we live up to our faith. It does not lie in the lap of the gods, but it rests in our own hands. We can make or mar it. The history of the last century is full of open warnings, and they are as plain as were ever given to any nation. Shall it be said of us that we ignored all these warnings and allowed our ancient heritage to perish in our hands?

INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT 1947⁴³⁹

An Act to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 which apply outside those Dominions, and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions.

[18th July 1947.]

BE IT ENACTED by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

1. The new Dominions

- (1) As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.
- (2) The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as “the new Dominions”, and the said fifteenth day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as “the appointed day”.

2. Territories of the new Dominions

- (1) Subject to the provisions of subsections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which, immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories which, under subsection (2) of this section, are to be the territories of Pakistan.
- (2) Subject to the provisions of subsections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of Pakistan shall be—
 - (a) the territories which, on the appointed day, are included in the Provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following sections;

⁴³⁹ For complete text, visit UK government site on legislations, by accessing <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo6/10-11/30/enacted>. (Site accessed on 4 October 2020.)

- (b) the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the Province of Sindh and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan ; and
 - (c) if, whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the North West Frontier Province are in favour of representatives of that Province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in that Province.
- (3) Nothing in this section shall prevent any area being at any time included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so, however, that—
- (a) no area not forming part of the territories specified in subsection (1) or, as the case may be, subsection (2), of this section shall be included in either Dominion without the consent of that Dominion ; and
 - (b) no area which forms part of the territories specified in the said subsection (1) or, as the case may be, the said subsection (2), or which has after the appointed day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.
- (4) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions.

3. Bengal and Assam

- (1) As from the appointed day—
- (a) the Province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and
 - (b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.
- (2) If, whether before or after the passing of this Act, but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority

of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the District of Sylhet are in favour of that District forming part of the new Province of East Bengal, then, as from that day, a part of the Province of Assam shall, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (3) of this section, form part of the new Province of East Bengal.

- (3) The boundaries of the new Provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the boundaries after the appointed day of the Province of Assam, shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—
 - (a) the Bengal Districts specified in the First Schedule to this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the Assam District of Sylhet, shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Bengal;
 - (b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of West Bengal; and
 - (c) in the event mentioned in subsection (2) of this section, the District of Sylhet shall be excluded from the Province of Assam.
- (4) In this section, the expression “award” means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decisions of the chairman of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission’s proceeding.

4. **The Punjab**

- (1) As from the appointed day—
 - (a) the Province of the Punjab, as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and
 - (b) there shall be constituted two new Provinces, to be known respectively as West Punjab and East Punjab.

- (2) The boundaries of the said new Provinces shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined—
- (a) the Districts specified in the Second Schedule to this Act shall be treated as the territories to be comprised in the new Province of West Punjab ; and
 - (b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of the Punjab shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Punjab.
- (3) In this section, the expression “ award,” means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decisions of the chairman of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the commission’s proceedings.

5. The Governor-General of the new Dominions

For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purposes-of the government of the Dominion :

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

6. Legislation for the new Dominions

- (1) The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.
- (2) No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Legislature of each

Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

- (3) The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the disallowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon shall not, apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.
- (4) No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.
- (5) No Order in Council made on or after the appointed day under any Act passed before the appointed day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the appointed day under any such Act by any United Kingdom Minister or other authority, shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion.
- (6) The power referred to in subsection (1) of this section extends to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion.

**ADDRESS BY QUAID-I-AZAM MUHAMMAD ALI
JINNAH, FOUNDER OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC
OF PAKISTAN, AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN**

(Karachi, 11 August 1947)⁴⁴⁰

I cordially thank you, with the utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred upon me — the greatest honour that it is possible for this Sovereign Assembly to confer — by electing me as your first President. I also thank those leaders who have spoken in appreciation of my services and their personal references to me. I sincerely hope that with your support and your co-operation we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example to the world. The Constituent Assembly has got two main functions to perform. The first is the very onerous and responsible task of framing our future constitution of Pakistan and the second of functioning as a full and complete Sovereign body as the Federal Legislature of Pakistan.

We have to do the best we can in adopting a provisional constitution for the Federal Legislature of Pakistan. You know really that not only we ourselves are wondering but, I think, the whole world is wondering at this unprecedented cyclonic revolution which has brought about the plan of creating and establishing two independent Sovereign Dominions in this sub-continent. As it is, it has been unprecedented; there is no parallel in the history of the world. This mighty sub-continent with all kinds of inhabitants has been brought under a plan which is titanic, unknown, unparalleled. And what is very important with regards to it is that we have achieved it peacefully and by means of a revolution of the greatest possible character.

Dealing with our first function in this Assembly, I cannot make any well-considered pronouncement at this moment, but I shall say a few things as they occur to me. The first and the foremost thing that I would like to emphasise is this — remember that you are now a Sovereign legislative body and you have got all the powers. It, therefore, places on you the gravest responsibility as to how you should take your decisions. The first

440 National Assembly of Pakistan. (<http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=74>.)
Site accessed on 29 March 2020.

observation that I would like to make is this. You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order, so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.

The second thing that occurs to me is this. One of the biggest curses from which India is suffering — I do not say that other countries are free from it, but, I think, our condition is much worse — is bribery and corruption. (Hear, hear.) That really is a poison. We must put that down with an iron hand and I hope that you will take adequate measures as soon as it is possible for this Assembly to do so.

Black-marketing is another curse. Well, I know that black-marketers are frequently caught and punished. According to our judicial notions sentences are passed, and sometimes fines only are imposed. Now you have to tackle this monster which today is a colossal crime against society, in our distressed conditions, when we constantly face shortage of food and or the essential commodities of life. A citizen who does black-marketing commits, I think, a greater crime than the biggest and most grievous of crimes. These black-marketers are really knowing, intelligent and ordinarily responsible people, and when they indulge in black-marketing, I think they ought to be very severely punished, because they undermine the entire system of control and regulation of food-stuffs and essential commodities, and cause wholesale starvation and want and even death.

The next thing that strikes me is this. Here again is a legacy which has been passed on to us. Along with many other things good and bad, has arrived this great evil -the evil of nepotism and jobbery. This evil must be crushed relentlessly. I want to make it quite clear that I shall never tolerate any kind of jobbery, nepotism or any influence directly or indirectly brought to bear upon me. Wherever I find that such a practice is in vogue, or is continuing anywhere, low or high, I shall certainly not countenance it.

I know there are people who do not quite agree with the division of Indian and the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Much has been said against it, but now that it has been accepted, it is the duty of every one of us to loyally abide by it and honourably act according to the agreement which is now final and binding on all. But you must remember, as I have said, that this mighty revolution that has taken place is unprecedented.

One can quite understand the feeling that exists between the two communities wherever one community is in majority and the other is in minority. But the question is whether it was possible or practicable to

act otherwise than has been done. A division had to take place. On both sides, in Hindustan and Pakistan, there are sections of people who may not agree with it, who may not like it, but in my judgment there was no other solution and I am sure future history will record its verdict in favour of it. And what is more it will be proved by actual experience as we go on that that was the only solution of India's constitutional problem. Any idea of a United India could never have worked and in my judgment it would have led us to a disaster. May be that view is correct; maybe it is not; that remains to be seen.

All the same, in this division it was impossible to avoid the questions of minorities being in one Dominion or the other. Now that was unavoidable. There is no other solution. Now what shall we do? Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially of the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you change your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what relations he had with you in the past, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed, is first, second and last a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations there will be no end to the progress you will make.

I cannot emphasise it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities — the Hindu community and the Muslim community — because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalese, Madrasis and so on — will vanish. Indeed if you ask me this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain its freedom and independence and but for this we would have been free peoples long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time but for this. (Applause.)

Therefore we must learn a lesson from this. You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of the State (Hear, hear). As you know, history shows that in England conditions some time ago were much worse than those prevailing in India to-day.

The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days when there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State. (Loud applause.)

The people of England in course of time had to face the realities of the situation and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country and they went through that fire step by step. Today you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist: what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen, of Great Britain and they are all members of the nation.

Now, I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.

Well, gentlemen, I do not wish to take up any more of your time and thank you again for the honour you have done to me. I shall always be guided by the principles of justice and fair-play without any, as is put in the political language, prejudice or ill-will, in other words partiality or favoritism. My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality, and I am sure that with your support and co-operation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest Nations of the world. (Loud applause)

I thank you with utmost sincerity, for the honour you have conferred on me by electing me as your first President. I sincerely hope that with your support and cooperation, we shall make this Constituent Assembly an example for the world.

Any idea of a united India, could never have worked and in my judgement, it would have led us to a disaster.

If we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, of the masses and the poor.

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed, that has nothing to do with the business of the State.

As you know, history shows that in England, conditions some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now, there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class.

My guiding principle will be justice and complete impartiality. I am sure that with your support and cooperation, I can look forward to Pakistan becoming one of the greatest nations of the world.

**ADDRESS BY QUAID-E-AZAM
MUHAMMED ALI JINNAH IN DHAKA
(21 March 1948)**⁴⁴¹

(Abridged text)

(Speaking from an eighteen-foot-high rostrum before a gathering of about 500,000 people, the largest in the history of Dacca, the Quaid-e-Azam arrived at the meeting ground with a military escort. He was warmly cheered by the vast multitude who had gathered to listen to him. An aircraft showered flower petals on him. The Governor-General saluted the people on all sides, before taking his seat.)

I am grateful to the people of this province and to the people of Dacca, for the great welcome that has been accorded to me. I need hardly say that it has given me the greatest pleasure to visit East Bengal. East Bengal is the most important component of Pakistan, inhabited as it is by the largest single block of Muslims in the world.

Never throughout history was a new state called upon to face such problems (as Pakistan). Never throughout history has a new state handled them with such competence and courage, as Pakistan). Our enemies had hoped to kill Pakistan at its inception. Pakistan has on the contrary, arisen triumphant, stronger than ever. It has come to stay, and play its great role for which it is destined.

Let me assure you that my government attaches the greatest importance to ensuring that Eastern Pakistan attains its full stature with the maximum speed. Of the martial prowess of the people of this province, history provides ample evidence. As you are aware, the government has already taken energetic steps to provide facilities for the training of the youths of this province, both in the regular armed forces and as volunteers in the Pakistan National Guards. You may rest assured that the fullest provisions have been made for enabling the youths of this province to play their part in the defence of the state.

⁴⁴¹ The Nation's Voice, Vol. VII: Launching the State and the End of the Journey (Aug. 1947 - Sept. 1948), ed. by Waheed Ahmad (Karachi: Quaid-i-Azam Academy, 2003), pp. 243-258. (This is not the complete text of the speech.)

Let me congratulate you and your government, over the manner in which you have conducted yourselves during these seven months of trials and tribulations.

It is with cooperation and goodwill, that you will be able not only to preserve Pakistan which you have achieved, but to make it a great state in the world.

Are you now, after you have achieved Pakistan, going to destroy it by your own folly?" (*Cries of 'no, no'.*)

Do you want to build it up? (*Cries of 'yes, yes'.*)

Well, then, for that purpose, there is one essential condition, and it is this: complete unity and solidarity among ourselves.....

I am told that there has been some exodus of the Hindu community from this province. I have seen the magnitude of this exodus put at the fantastic figure of one million in the Indian press. Official estimates would not put the figure beyond 200,000 at the most. In any case, I am satisfied that such exodus as has taken place has been as a result not of any ill-treatment of the minority communities. On the other hand, the minority communities have enjoyed, and rightly so, greater freedom, and have been shown greater solicitude for their welfare, than the minorities in any part of the Indian Dominion....

My young friends, students, who are present here, let me tell you as one who has always had love and affection for you. There has been a revolutionary change. Now, this is our own government; we are a free, independent, and a sovereign state. I look forward to you as the real makers of Pakistan. Create amongst yourselves complete unity and solidarity. Set an example.

Having failed to prevent the establishment of Pakistan, thwarted and frustrated by failure, the enemies of Pakistan have now turned their attention to disrupting the state by creating a split amongst the Muslims of Pakistan. These attempts have taken the shape principally of encouraging provincialism... What you want is not to talk about Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis, Baluchis, Pathans and so on. Have you forgotten the lesson that was taught to us 1300 years ago?

We are Muslims.

About language I have already said, this is in order to create disruption among the Musalmans. Your Prime Minister has rightly pointed this out in a recent statement, and I am glad that his government has decided to put down firmly any attempt to disturb the peace of this province by political saboteurs or their agents.

Whether Bengali should be the official language of this province is a matter for the elected representatives of the people of this province to decide. I have no doubt that this question should be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants of this province at the appropriate time.

But let me make it clear to you that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Without one state language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together and function.

With your help and your support, we will make Pakistan a mighty state.

Pakistan Zindabad

ADDRESS BY THE QUAID-E-AZAM IN CHITTAGONG

(March 1948) ⁴⁴²

I am grateful to you all for the warm welcome which you have accorded me on this my first visit to a city destined to be one of the biggest in Pakistan.

We are determined to make good the neglect of centuries in course of the next few years when Chittagong will rank as one of the finest ports in the world.

You are voicing the sentiments of millions of Mussalmaans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism, which, emphasises equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, and we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius.

Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man -these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent....After all, the story of Pakistan, its struggle and its achievement is the story of great human ideals struggling to survive in the face of odds.

This biggest Muslim State came into being on 14th August 1947. It was a great day in our history. But on this great day, it was not merely a Government, which came into existence; it meant the birth of a great State and a great nation one supplementing the other and both existing for each other. Today, your State is hardly eight months old; but if we look back and review this short span of our national life, we can clearly see the steady evolution of great social ideologies and balanced relations between man and man. Any impartial observer will admit that in fact it has already been admitted that the minorities in Pakistan have had a better deal than elsewhere....

442 'Important Speeches and Statements,' Shamsul Islam, pages 22-25, Ilyas Printers, Karachi, 1967. (This is not the complete text of the address.)

It is a pleasure to see that the people of Pakistan are conscious of the great possibilities of their State –though, I must warn you that impatience will be as dangerous as lack of enthusiasm.

Chittagong is destined to be great and you, as her citizens, are destined to share her greatness and prosperity. I can assure you that the Central and Provincial Governments are endeavouring hard to catch up on years of indifference and neglect.

Chittagong as a port, is already coming into its own. During the last few months, ships of various nationalities have harboured in your port. Some for the first time in history to take your raw products to their countries for manufacture into finished products. Chittagong is already handling a fair portion of your export and import trade. This has been possible mainly due to the efforts of us all to decrease our dependence on others.

Your urge for progress will soon get translated in the shape of large-scale projects, which I am satisfied are being actively pursued. The most important scheme which concerns you is the harnessing of Karnaphuly River to control floods and silt, to irrigate fields and to develop cheap hydroelectric power. The necessary preliminary work is being expedited and the project is on our top priority list...your city can now look forward to a future of great maritime importance.

Nature has endowed you bountifully. Yours is a beautiful garden land with sea, rivers and hills and magnificent scenery all-round. It remains now for man in Chittagong to play his part fully and raise Chittagong to its zenith for which it is destined.

Pakistan Zindabad

**FAREWELL MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF
EAST PAKISTAN
BY THE QUAID-E-AZAM ON DEPARTURE**

(28 March 1948) ⁴⁴³

Let me cordially thank you for the great warmth and affection with which you have received me everywhere in your midst during my stay here.

East Bengal perhaps more than any other province of Pakistan, has had to face the most difficult problems as a result of Partition. Before August 14, it existed merely as a hinterland to Calcutta, to whose prosperity it greatly contributed but which it did not share. The position now is that the initial difficulties have to a great extent been overcome and, though there is no ground for complacency, there are at least reasons for quiet confidence in the future.

East Bengal possesses vast potentialities of raw materials and hydroelectric power. In Chittagong you have the making of a first-class port which should rank among the finest ports in the world.....we shall make this province the most prosperous in Pakistan.

Despite the massacre and persecution of Muslims in the Indian Domination in the months immediately following Partition, peaceful conditions have throughout prevailed in this province....Indian leaders and a section of the Indian press have indulged freely in war-mongering talk against Pakistan. There has been persistently insidious propaganda by parties like the Hindu Mahasabha in favour of an exchange of population...I find that the Provincial Government have repeatedly given assurances and have at all times taken whatever steps were possible for the protection and well-being of the minority community and have done their best to dissuade them from leaving their ancestral homes in East Bengal...

I notice a tendency on the part of a section of the people to regard their newly won freedom, not as liberty with the great opportunities it opens up and the heavy responsibilities it imposes, but as licence. It is

443 'Important Speeches and Statements,' Shamsul Islam, pages 34-37, Ilyas Printers, Karachi, 1967. (This is not the complete text.)

true that, with the removal of foreign domination, the people are now the final arbiters of their destiny. They have perfect liberty to have by constitutional means any Government that they may chose. This cannot, however, mean that any group may now attempt by any unlawful methods to impose its will on the popularly elected Government of the day...I am thinking particularly of the language controversy, which has caused quite unnecessary excitement...What should be the official language of this province is for your representatives to decide.

...this language controversy is really only one aspect of a bigger problem—that of provincialism. I am sure you must realize that in a newly-formed State like Pakistan, consisting moreover as it does of two widely separated parts, cohesion and solidarity amongst all its citizens, from whatever part they may come, is essential for its progress, nay for its very survival. Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain.

If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis etc. first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate. Do not think that this is some abstruse proposition: our enemies are fully alive to its possibilities, which I must warn you they are already busy exploiting. I would ask you plainly, when political agencies and organs of the Indian press, which fought tooth and nail to prevent the creation of Pakistan, are suddenly found with a tender conscience for what they call the 'just claims' of the Muslims of East Bengal, do you not consider this a most sinister phenomenon? Is it not perfectly obvious that, having failed to prevent the Muslims from achieving Pakistan, these agencies are now trying to disrupt Pakistan from within by insidious propaganda aimed at setting brother Muslim against brother Muslim? That is why I want you to be on your guard against provincialism.

There are great tasks to be accomplished and great dangers to be overcome: overcome them we certainly shall but we shall do so much quicker if our solidarity remains unimpaired and if our determination to march forward as a single, united nation remains unshaken. This is the only way in which we can raise Pakistan rapidly and surely to its proper, worthy place in the comity of nations.

Yours is a great responsibility. In the great task of building up this State, you have a magnificent opportunity....do not allow yourselves to be made the pawns of mischievous propagandists... You owe it to the great State to which you belong, to the people whom you serve and, indeed, to yourself

not to be daunted by any difficulties, but to press on and go forward and maintain sustained efforts with single-minded devotion.

Pakistan has a great future....It is now for us to take the fullest advantage of what nature has so abundantly provided us with and build up a glorious and mighty State.

Pakistan Zindabad

**SPEECH BY LIAQUAT ALI KHAN, THE FIRST
PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN, ON THE
'OBJECTIVES RESOLUTION'**

(March 9, 1949)⁴⁴⁴

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful;

WHEREAS sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limit prescribed by Him is a sacred trust;

This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan;

WHEREIN the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people;

WHEREIN the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed;

WHEREIN the Muslim shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna;

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religion's and develop their cultures;

WHEREBY the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed;

WHEREIN shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political

444 Documents and Speeches on the Constitution of Pakistan by G. W. Choudhury (1967). Green Book House, Dacca (East Pakistan).

justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality;

WHEREIN adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes;

WHEREIN the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured;

WHEREIN the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded;

So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.”

Sir, I consider this to be a most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence, because by achieving independence we only won an opportunity of building up a country and its polity in accordance with our ideals. I would like to remind the House that the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam, gave expression to his feelings on this matter on many an occasion, and his views were endorsed by the nation in unmistakable terms. Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of this sub-continent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam, because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today.

It is universally recognized that the source of these evils is that humanity has not been able to keep pace with its material development, that the Frankenstein Monster which human genius has produced in the form of scientific inventions, now threatens to destroy not only the fabric of human society but its material environment as well, the very habitat in which it dwells. It is universally recognized that if man had not chosen to ignore the spiritual values of life and if his faith in God had not been weakened, this scientific development would not have endangered his very existence.

It is God-consciousness alone which can save humanity, which means that all power that humanity possesses must be used in accordance with ethical standards which have been laid down by inspired teachers known to us as the great Prophets of different religions. We, as Pakistanis, are not ashamed of the fact that we are overwhelmingly Muslims and we believe

that it is by adhering to our faith and ideals that we can make a genuine contribution to the welfare of the world.

Therefore, Sir, you would notice that the Preamble of the Resolution deals with a frank and unequivocal recognition of the fact that all authority must be subservient to God. It is quite true that this is in direct contradiction to the Machiavellian ideas regarding a polity where spiritual and ethical values should play no part in the governance of the people and, therefore, it is also perhaps a little out of fashion to remind ourselves of the fact that the State should be an instrument of beneficence and not of evil. But we, the people of Pakistan, have the courage to believe firmly that all authority should be exercised in accordance with the standards laid down by Islam so that it may not be misused.

All authority is a sacred trust, entrusted to us by God for the purpose of being exercised in the service of man, so that it does not become an agency for tyranny or selfishness. I would, however, point out that this is not a resuscitation of the dead theory of Divine Right of Kings or rulers, because, in accordance with the spirit of Islam, the Preamble fully recognizes the truth that authority has been delegated to the people, and to none else, and that it is for the people to decide who will exercise that authority.

For this reason it has been made clear in the Resolution that the State shall exercise all its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people. This is the very essence of democracy because the people have been recognized as the recipients of all authority and it is in them that the power to wield it has been vested.

I just now said that the people are the real recipients of power. This naturally eliminates any danger of the establishment of a theocracy. It is true that in its literal sense, theocracy means the Government of God; in this sense, however, it is patent that the entire universe is a theocracy, for is there any corner in the entire creation where His authority does not exist? But in the technical sense, theocracy has come to mean a Government by ordained priests, who wield authority as being specially appointed by those who claim to derive their rights from their sacerdotal position.

I cannot over-emphasise the fact that such an idea is absolutely foreign to Islam. Islam does not recognize either priesthood or any sacerdotal authority; and, therefore, the question of a theocracy simply does not arise in Islam. If there are any who still use the word theocracy in the same breath as the polity of Pakistan, they are either labouring under a grave misapprehension, or indulging in mischievous propaganda.

You would notice, Sir, that the Objectives Resolution lays emphasis on the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, and further defines them by saying that these principles should be observed in the constitution as they have been enunciated by Islam. It has been necessary to qualify these terms because they are generally used in a loose sense. For instance, the Western Powers and Soviet Russia alike claim that their systems are based upon democracy, and, yet, it is common knowledge that their polities are inherently different.

It has, therefore, been found necessary to define these terms further in order to give them a well-understood meaning. When we use the word democracy in the Islamic sense, it pervades all aspects of our life; it relates to our system of Government and to our society with equal validity, because one of the greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea of the equality of all men. Islam recognizes no distinctions based upon race, colour or birth.

Even in the days of its decadence, Islamic society has been remarkably free from the prejudices which vitiated human relations in many other parts of the world. Similarly, we have a great record in tolerance, for under no system of Government, even in the Middle Ages, have the minorities received the same consideration and freedom as they did in Muslim countries. When Christian dissentients and Muslims were being tortured and driven out of their homes, when they were being hunted as animals and burnt as criminals - even criminals have never been burnt in Islamic society - Islam provided a haven for all who were persecuted and who fled from tyranny.

It is a well-known fact of history that, when anti-Semitism turned the Jews out of many a European country, it was the Ottoman Empire which gave them shelter. The greatest proof of the tolerance of Muslim peoples lies in the fact that there is no Muslim country where strong minorities do not exist, and where they have not been able to preserve their religion and culture. Most of all, in this sub-continent of India, where the Muslims wielded unlimited authority, the rights of non-Muslims were cherished and protected.

I may point out, Sir, that it was under Muslim patronage that many an indigenous language developed in India. My friends, from Bengal would remember that it was under the encouragement of Muslim rulers that the first translations of the Hindu scriptures were made from Sanskrit into Bengali. It is this tolerance which is envisaged by Islam, wherein a minority does not live on sufferance, but is respected and given every

opportunity to develop its own thought and culture, so that it may contribute to the greater glory of the entire nation.

In the matter of social justice as well, Sir, I would point out that Islam has a distinct contribution to make. Islam envisages a society in which social justice means neither charity nor regimentation. Islamic social justice is based upon fundamental laws and concepts which guarantee to man a life free from want and rich in freedom. It is for this reason that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice have been further defined by giving to them a meaning which, in our view, is deeper and wider than the usual connotation of these words.

The next clause of the Resolution lays down that Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna. It is quite obvious that no non-Muslim should have any objection if the Muslims are enabled to order their lives in accordance with the dictates of their religion.

You would also notice, Sir, that the State is not to play the part of a neutral observer, wherein the Muslims may be merely free to profess and practise their religion, because such an attitude on the part of the State would be the very negation of the ideals which prompted the demand of Pakistan, and it is these ideals which should be the corner-stone of the State which we want to build.

The State will create such conditions as are conducive to the building up of a truly Islamic society, which means that the State will have to play a positive part in this effort. You would remember, Sir, that the Quaid-I-Azam and other leaders of the Muslim League always made unequivocal declarations that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was based upon the fact that the Muslims had a way of life and a code of conduct. They also reiterated the fact that Islam is not merely a relationship between the individual and his God, which should not, in any way, affect the working of the State.

Indeed, Islam lays down specific directions for social behaviour, and seeks to guide society in its attitude towards the problems which confront it from day to day. Islam is not just a matter of private beliefs and conduct. It expects its followers to build up a society for the purpose of good life - as the Greeks would have called it, with this difference, that Islamic "good-life" is essentially based upon spiritual values. For the purpose of emphasizing these values and to give them validity, it will be necessary

for the State to direct and guide the activities of the Muslims in such a manner as to bring about a new social order based upon the essential principles of Islam, including the principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and social justice.

These I mention merely by way of illustration; because they do not exhaust the teachings of Islam as embodied in the Quran and the Sunna. There can be no Muslim who does not believe that the word of God and the life of the Prophet are the basic sources of his inspiration. In these there is no difference of opinion amongst the Muslims and there is no sect in Islam which does not believe in their validity. Therefore, there should be no misconception in the mind of any sect which may be in a minority in Pakistan about the intentions of the State.

The State will seek to create an Islamic society free from dissensions, but this does not mean that it would curb the freedom of any section of the Muslims in the matter of their beliefs. No sect, whether the majority or a minority, will be permitted to dictate to the others and, in their own internal matters and sectional beliefs, all sects shall be given the fullest possible latitude and freedom. Actually we hope that the various sects will act in accordance with the desire of the Prophet who said that the differences of opinion amongst his followers are a blessing.

It is for us to make our differences a source of strength to Islam and Pakistan, not to exploit them for narrow interests which will weaken both Pakistan and Islam. Differences of opinion very often lead to cogent thinking and progress, but this happens only when they are not permitted to obscure our vision of the real goal, which is the service of Islam and the furtherance of its objects.

It is, therefore, clear that this clause seeks to give the Muslims the opportunity that they have been seeking, throughout these long decades of decadence and subjection, of finding freedom to set up a polity, which may prove to be a laboratory for the purpose of demonstrating to the world that Islam is not only a progressive force in the world, but it also provides remedies for many of the ills from which humanity has been suffering.

In our desire to build up an Islamic society we have not ignored the rights of the non-Muslims. Indeed, it would have been un-Islamic to do so, and we would have been guilty of transgressing the dictates of our religion if we had tried to impinge upon the freedom of the minorities. In no way will they be hindered from professing or protecting their religion or developing their cultures. The history of the development of Islamic

culture itself shows that cultures of the minorities, who lived under the protection of Muslim States and Empires contributed to the richness of the heritage which the Muslims built up for themselves.

I assure the minorities that we are fully conscious of the fact that if the minorities are able to make a contribution to the sum total of human knowledge and thought, it will redound to the credit of Pakistan and will enrich the life of the nation. Therefore, the minorities may look forward, not only to a period of the fullest freedom, but also to an understanding and appreciation on the part of the majority which has always been such a marked characteristic of Muslims throughout history.

Sir, the Resolution envisages a federal form of government because such is the dictate of geography. It would be idle to think of a unitary form of Government when the two parts of our country are separated by more than a thousand miles. I, however, hope that the Constituent Assembly will make every effort to integrate the units closer and forge such ties as would make us a well-integrated nation.

I have always advocated the suppression of provincial feelings, but I want to make it clear that I am not an advocate of dull uniformity. I believe that all the areas and units, which form Pakistan, should contribute to the richness of our national life. I do, however, want to make it clear that nothing should be permitted which, in any sense, tends to weaken national unity, and provision should be made for bringing about a closer relationship amongst the various sections of our population than exists today. For this purpose, the Constituent Assembly will have to think anew as to what will be the best method for the distribution of subjects between the Centre and the units, and how the units should be defined in our new setup.

Mr. President, it has become fashionable to guarantee certain fundamental rights, but I assure you that it is not our intention to give these rights with one hand and take them away with the other. I have said enough to show that we want to build up a truly liberal Government where the greatest amount of freedom will be given to all its members. Everyone will be equal before the law, but this does not mean that his personal law will not be protected. We believe in the equality of status and justice. It is our firm belief and we have said this from many a platform that Pakistan does not stand for vested interests or the wealthy classes. It is our intention to build up an economy on the basic principles of Islam which seeks a better distribution of wealth and the removal of want.

Poverty and backwardness - all that stands in the way of the achievement of his fullest stature by man - must be eradicated from Pakistan. At present our masses are poor and illiterate. We must raise their standards of life, and free them from the shackles of poverty and ignorance. So far as political rights are concerned, everyone will have a voice in the determination of the policy pursued by the Government and in electing those who will run the State, so that they may do so in the interests of the people.

We believe that no shackles can be put on thought and, therefore, we do not intend to hinder any person from the expression of his views. Nor do we intend to deprive anyone of his right of forming associations for all lawful and moral purposes. In short, we want to base our polity upon freedom, progress and social justice. We want to do away with social distinctions, but we want to achieve this without causing suffering or putting fetters upon the human mind and lawful inclinations.

Sir, there are a large number of interests for which the minorities legitimately desire protection. This protection the Resolution seeks to provide. The backward and depressed classes are our special charge. We are fully conscious of the fact that they do not find themselves in their present plight for any fault of their own. It is also true that we are not responsible by any means for their present position. But now that they are our citizens, it will be our special effort to bring them up to the level of other citizens, so that they may bear the responsibilities imposed by their being citizens of a free and progressive State, and share them with others who have been more fortunate than themselves. We know that so long as any sections amongst our people are backward, they will be a drag upon society and, therefore, for the purpose of building up our State we must necessarily look to the interests of these sections.

Mr. President, in the end we firmly believe that by laying the foundations of our constitution on the principles enunciated in this Resolution, we shall be able to put Pakistan on the path of progress, and the day is not far distant when Pakistan will become a country of which its citizens, without distinction of class or creed, will be proud. I am confident that our people have great potentialities. Through their unparalleled sacrifices and commendable sense of discipline, displayed at the time of a grave disaster and crisis, they have earned the admiration of the world.

Such a people, I am sure, not only deserves to live, but is destined to make a contribution to the welfare and progress of humanity. It is essential that it should keep alive its spirit of sacrifice, and its adherence to its noble

ideals, and Destiny itself will lead it to its place of glory in the affairs of the world, and make it immortal in the annals of humanity.

Sir, this people has traditions of great achievement to its credit; its history is replete with deeds of glory; in every sphere of life it has contributed its full measure of achievement; its heroism adorns the pages of military chronicles; its administrators created traditions which have withstood the ravages of time; in creative art, its poverty, architecture and sense of beauty have won their tribute of appreciation; in the matter of spiritual greatness it has few parallels.

This Objectives Resolution is the first step in the direction of the creation of an environment which will again awaken the spirit of the nation. We, whom Destiny has chosen to play a part, howsoever humble and insignificant, in this great drama of national resurrection, are overwhelmed with the magnitude of the opportunities which are before us. Let us use these opportunities with wisdom and foresight, and I have not the least doubt that these humble efforts will bear fruit far in excess of our wildest expectations, through the help of a Providence which has brought Pakistan into existence.

It is not every day that great nations come into their own; it is not every day that peoples stand on the threshold of renaissance; it is not every day that Destiny beckons the down-trodden and the subjugated to rise and greet the dawn of a great future. It is the narrow streak of light heralding the brilliance of the full day, that we salute in the form of this Resolution.

MUHAMMAD ASAD – THE AUSTRIAN-HUNGARIAN JEWISH CONVERT TO ISLAM: HIS CONTRIBUTION IN PAKISTAN MOVEMENT ⁴⁴⁵

Leopold Weiss alias Muhammad Asad's (1900-1992) reputed autobiographical travelogue, entitled *The Road to Mecca*, covers only a third of his life and ends as he enters his home after his conversion to Islam in 1926... Afterwards, he spent about fifteen years in (British) India where he met Allama Iqbal in 1934 who advised him "to remain in India to help elucidate the intellectual premises of the future Islamic State."

As a young follower, his whole Weltanschauung (world outlook) was changed by Iqbal, who set him out on a path that ultimately led him "to a revival of all the dormant hopes of Islam, the creation of a political entity of the people bound together not by common descent but by their common adherence to an ideology."

Whenever Asad came to Lahore he visited Iqbal, and they spent many an hour talking about the prospect of Pakistan. They discussed in detail the forms in which the future Islamic State of Pakistan should be organized and the ways and means to persuade the Muslim political leaders to stand up boldly for their common ideal.

Following Iqbal's advice, Asad wrote a series of articles about why Pakistan had to be established and had them published in various European newspapers and periodicals. Asad also delivered lectures on the subject in Lahore and Delhi.

As stated by Asad himself, it had been Iqbal who was the first to formulate, in clear-cut political terms, the idea of an Islamic State and who thus gave it body and life. In fact, Asad devoted all his efforts to bring into reality Iqbal's dream of an ideological Islamic state.

During Second World War, Asad's Austrian citizenship put him in imprisonment by the Indian government and the six years he spent in an internment camp, made him more conscious about the significance of human freedom.

445 Derived from 'MUHAMMAD ASAD- THE FIRST CITIZEN OF PAKISTAN', Ikram Chaghatai. The Allama Iqbal Publications (<http://www.allamaiqbal.com/publications/journals/review/aproct09/9.htm>).

Soon he started a monthly periodical named *Arafat* that was primarily a vehicle for Asad's ideas, aiming at a fundamental reconstruction of our approach to the problem of Shariah.

Three months before Pakistan came into being, Muhammad Asad wrote an article under the title 'What do we mean by Pakistan?', in which he emphasized the real purpose underlying the future establishment of Pakistan. In another issue, published less than a month before the establishment of Pakistan, Asad penned a lengthy essay titled "Towards an Islamic Constitution."

Asad's studies were destined to become the first step in the development of our modern political thought, and for this reason, he can be rightly called as one of the intellectual founders of Pakistan.

After the creation of Pakistan, Asad settled in Lahore. Later, Nawab of Mamdot, the first Chief Minister of West Punjab, contacted Asad for establishing a special department to work out the ideological premises on which Pakistan should rest. Asad accepted this proposal and within a few days the scheme was set forth in a formal Memorandum, the budget estimate discussed and approved in conjunction with the Head of the Finance Department, and an official notification issued. The Department of Islamic Reconstruction, thus came into existence.

Later, Muhammad Asad joined Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs as Deputy Secretary in charge of the Middle East Division. Asad had definite ideas as to the policies which Pakistan ought to pursue. Soon he prepared a memorandum for the Foreign Minister, Sir Zafrullah Khan, outlining his policy proposals in details.

In this confidential document, Asad emphatically recommended immediate cooperation with the Arab States for creation of something like a League of Muslim Nations. After having discussed it with the Prime Minister, he officially toured Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria with the very first passport marked "citizen of Pakistan". At the end of this diplomatic mission, he received the news of Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination.

In 1951, Asad was appointed as the second-in-command to Pakistan's Ambassador to the United Nations in New York. Later, he left the diplomatic assignment and engaged in intellectual activities including his translation and commentary of the Quran, titled, 'The Message of the Quran.'

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF
INDIA AND PAKISTAN REGARDING SECURITY
AND RIGHTS OF MINORITIES**
(NEHRU-LIAQUAT AGREEMENT)⁴⁴⁶

New Delhi,
8 April 1950

- A. The Governments of India and Pakistan solemnly agree that each shall ensure, to the minorities throughout its territory, complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship, subject to law and morality. Members of the minorities shall have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other office, and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces.

Both Governments declare these rights to be fundamental and undertake to enforce them effectively. The Prime Minister of India has drawn attention to the fact that these rights are guaranteed to all minorities in India by its Constitution. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has pointed out that similar provision exists in the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is the policy of both Governments that the enjoyment of these democratic rights shall be assured to all their nationals without distinction. Both Governments wish to emphasise that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens, and that it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances.

- B. In respect of migrants from East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura, where communal disturbances have recently occurred, it is agreed between the two Governments:
- (i) That there shall be freedom of movement and protection in transit;

⁴⁴⁶ May also see Documents (File No: PA50B1228), Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

- (ii) That there shall be freedom to remove as much of his moveable personal effects and household goods as migrant may wish to take with him. Moveable property shall include personal jewellery. The maximum cash allowed to each adult migrant will be Rs. 150 and to each migrant child Rs. 75;
- (iii) That a migrant may deposit such of his personal jewellery or cash as he does not wish to take with him with a bank. A proper receipt shall be furnished to him by the bank for cash or jewellery thus deposited and facilities shall be provided, as and when required for their transfer to him, subject as regards cash to the exchange regulations of the Government concerned;
- (iv) That there shall be no harassment by the Customs authorities. At each customs post agreed upon by the Governments concerned, liaison officers of the other Government shall be posted to ensure this in practice;
- (v) Rights of ownership in or occupancy of the immoveable property of a migrant shall not be disturbed. If, during his absence, such property is occupied by another person, it shall be returned to him provided that he comes back by the 31st December, 1950. Where the migrant was a cultivating owner or tenant, the land shall be restored to him provided that he returns not later than the 31st December, 1950. In exceptional cases, if a Government considers that a migrant's immoveable property cannot be returned to him, the matter shall be referred to the appropriate Minority Commission for advice. Where restoration of immoveable property to the migrant who returns within the specified period is found not possible, the Government concerned shall take steps to rehabilitate him.
- (vi) That in the case of a migrant who decides not to return, ownership of all his immoveable property shall continue to vest in him and he shall have unrestricted right to dispose of it by sale, by exchange with an evacuee in the other country, or otherwise. A committee consisting of three representatives of minority and presided over by a representative of Government shall act as trustees of the owner. The Committee shall be empowered to recover rent for such immoveable property according to law. The Governments of East Bengal, West Bengal, Assam and Tripura shall enact the necessary legislation to set up these Committees. The Provincial or State Government, as the case may be, will instruct the District or other appropriate

authority to give all possible assistance for the discharge of the Committee's functions. The Provisions of this sub-paragraph shall also apply to migrants who may have left East Bengal for any part of India, or West Bengal, Assam or Tripura for any part of Pakistan, prior to the recent disturbances but after the 15th August, 1947. The arrangement in this sub-paragraph will apply also to migrants who have left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disturbances or fear thereof.

- C. As regards the Province of East Bengal and each of the States of West Bengal, Assam and Tripura respectively the two Governments further agree that they shall:
- (1) Continue their efforts to restore normal conditions and shall take suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder.
 - (2) Punish all those who are found guilty of offences against persons and property and of other criminal offences In view of their deterrent effect, collective fines shall be imposed, where necessary. Special Courts will, where necessary, be appointed to ensure that wrong doers are promptly punished.
 - (3) Make every possible effort to recover looted property.
 - (4) Set up immediately an agency, with which representatives of the minority shall be associated, to assist in the recovery of abducted women. 53.....NOT recognise forced conversions. Any conversion effected during a period of communal disturbance shall be deemed to be forced conversion. Those found guilty of converting people forcibly shall be punished.
 - (5) Set up a Commission of Enquiry at once to enquire into and report on the causes and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recrudescence of similar trouble in future. The personnel of the Commission, which shall be presided over by a Judge of the High Court, shall be such as to inspire confidence among the minority.
 - (6) Take prompt and effective steps to prevent the dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal

passion by press or radio or by any individual or organisation. Those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with.

- (7) Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda.
- D. Sub-paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7) and (8) of C of the Agreement are of General scope and applicable according to exigency to any part of India or Pakistan.
- E. In order to help restore confidence, so that refugees may return to their homes, the two Governments have decided.
- (i) to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary;
- (ii) to include in the Cabinets of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam a representative of the minority community. In Assam, the minority community is already represented in the Cabinet. Appointments to the Cabinets of East Bengal and West Bengal shall be made immediately.
- F. In order to assist in the implementation of this Agreement, the two Governments have decided, apart from the deputation of their Ministers referred to in E, to set up Minority Commissions, one for East Bengal, one for West Bengal and one for Assam. These Commissions will be constituted and will have the functions described below:
- (i) Each Commission will consist of one Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned, who will be Chairman, and one representative each of the majority and minority communities from East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam, chosen by and

from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislatures, as the case may be.

- (ii) The two Ministers of the Governments of India and Pakistan may attend and participate in any meeting of any Commission. A Minority Commission or any two Minority Commissions jointly shall meet when so required by either Central Minister for the satisfactory implementation of this Agreement.
- (iii) Each Commission shall appoint such staff as it deems necessary for the proper discharge of its functions and shall determine its own procedure.
- (iv) Each Commission shall maintain contact with the minorities in Districts and small administrative headquarters through Minority Boards formed in accordance with the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.
- (v) The Minority Commissions in East Bengal and West Bengal shall replace the Provincial Minorities Boards set up under the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948.
- (vi) The two Ministers of the Central Governments will from time to time consult such persons or organisations as they may consider necessary.
- (vii) The functions of the Minority Commission shall be:
 - (a) to observe and to report on the implementation of this Agreement and, for this purpose, to take cognizance of breaches or neglect;
 - (b) to advise an action to be taken on their recommendations.

- (viii) Each Commission shall submit reports, as and when necessary, to the Provincial and State Governments concerned. Copies of such reports will be submitted simultaneously to the two Central Ministers during the period referred to in E.
 - (ix) The Governments of India and Pakistan and the State and Provincial Governments will normally give effect to recommendations that concern them when such recommendations are supported by both the Central Ministers. In the event of disagreement between the two Central Ministers, the matter shall be referred to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan who shall either resolve it themselves or determine the agency and procedure by which it will be resolved.
 - (x) In respect of Tripura, the two Central Ministers shall constitute a Commission and shall discharge the functions that are assigned under the Agreement to the Minority Commissions for East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam. Before the expiration of the period referred to in E, the two Central Ministers shall make recommendations for the establishment in Tripura of appropriate machinery to discharge the functions of the Minority Commissions envisaged in respect of East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam.
- G. Except where modified by this Agreement, the Inter-Dominion Agreement of December, 1948 shall remain in force.

THE WEST BENGAL OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT, 1961 ⁴⁴⁷

West Bengal Act 24 of 1961

WB492

[11th November, 1961]

An Act to provide for the adoption of the Bengali language as the language to be used for the official purposes of the State of West Bengal including purposes of legislation.

It is hereby enacted as follows:-

1. **Short title and extent.**- (1) This Act may be called the West Bengal Official Language Act, 1961.
 - (2) It extends to the whole of West Bengal.
2. **Language or languages to be used for official purposes of the State.**- With effect from such date, [* * *], as the State Government may, by notification in the *Official Gazette*, appoint in this behalf,-
 - (a) in the three hill subdivisions of the district of Darjeeling, namely, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong, [the Bengali language and the Nepali language and the Urdu language], and
 - [(aa) in the Districts or Sub-division or Block or Municipality, as the case may be, where the population of Urdu speaking people exceeds ten per cent, the Bengali language and the Urdu language, and;]
 - (b) elsewhere, the Bengali language, shall be the language or languages to be used for the official purposes of the State of West Bengal referred to in article 345 of the Constitution of India, and different dates may be appointed for different official purposes or for different areas in West Bengal :

447 The West Bengal State Laws (<https://www.latestlaws.com/bare-acts/state-acts-rules/west-bengal-state-laws/west-bengal-official-language-act-1961>).

Provided that the issue of any such notification shall be without prejudice to-

- (i) the use of any language other than the Bengali language which is authorized by or under any law for the time being in force to be used for any purpose in any of the civil or criminal courts within the State of West Bengal, and
- (ii) the use of the English language in the examinations conducted by the Public Service Commission, West Bengal.

3. Bengali language to be used in Bills, etc.- With effect from such date as the State Government may, by notification in the *Official Gazette*, appoint in this behalf, the Bengali language shall be the language to be used:-

- (a) in Bills introduced in, and Acts passed by, the Legislature of West Bengal, Ordinances promulgated by the Governor of West Bengal under article 213 of the Constitution of India and rules, regulations and by-laws made by the State Government under the Constitution of India or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of West Bengal; and
- (b) in notifications or orders issued by the State Government under the Constitution of India or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of West Bengal:-

Provided that different dates may be appointed in respect of different matters referred to in clauses (a) and (b).

[3A. Use of Nepali language in rules, regulations, etc. - Notwithstanding anything contained in section 3, with effect from such date as the State Government may, by notification in the *Official Gazette*, appoint in this behalf, the Nepali language may, in addition to the Bengali language, be used for such:-

- (a) rules, regulations and by-laws made by the State Government under the Constitution of India or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of West Bengal, and
- (b) notifications or orders issued by the State Government under the Constitution of India or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of West Bengal, as apply to the three hill

sub-divisions of the district of Darjeeling, namely, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong:-

Provided that different dates may be appointed in respect of different matters referred to in clause (a) or (b).

Explanation. - For the purposes of section 3 and this section the words “law made by Parliament or the Legislature of West Bengal” shall include any law made before or after the commencement of the Constitution of India by any legislature or other competent authority in the territory of India having power to make such a law.]

[3B. Use of Urdu language in rules and regulations. - Notwithstanding anything contained in sections 3 and 3A, with effect from such date as the State Government may, by notification in the Optical Gazette, appoint in this behalf, the Urdu language may, in addition to the Bengali language and the Nepali language be used for such:-

- (a) rules, regulations, and by-laws made by the State Government under the Constitution of India, or any law made by the Parliament or the Legislature of the West Bengal,
- (b) notifications or order issued by the State Government under the Constitution of India or any law made by the Parliament or the Legislature of West Bengal,
- (c) petitions and applications and replies thereof, in public offices,
- (d) documents received by public offices,
- (e) important Government advertisement, announcement to be published, and
- (f) important signposts to be exhibited, as to be apply in the Districts or Sub-division or Block or Municipality, as the case may be, where the population of Urdu speaking people exceeds ten per cent as a whole or part of the District like Sub-division or Block:

Provided that different dates may be appointed in respect of different matters referred to in the clauses (a) to (f)

Explanation. - For the purposes of this section the words <law made by the Parliament or the Legislature of West Bengal> shall include any law made before or after the commencement of the Constitution of India by any Legislature or other competent authority in the territory of india having power and makes such a law.]

[4. Continuance of English language for official purposes of the State and for use in the State Legislature. - Notwithstanding:-

- (a) the appointment of any day under section 2 or section 3, [or section 3A or section 3B] for the coming into operation of the provisions thereof, or
- (b) the expiration of the period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution, the English language may, as from the day so appointed or from the day on which such period expires, as the case may be, continue to be used :-
 - (i) for all official purposes of the State of West Bengal for which it was being used immediately before that day, and
 - (ii) for the transaction of business in the State Legislature, in addition to any language or languages specified in section 2 or section 3.]

[5. Authoritative text of Central and State Laws in Bengali and Nepali languages. - A translation in [the Bengali language or the Nepali language or the Urdu language], published under the authority of the Governor in the *Official Gazette*,-

- (a) of any Central Act or of any Ordinance promulgated by the President, or
- (b) of any notification, order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the Central Government under the Constitution or under any Central Act, or
- (c) of any State Act or of any Ordinance promulgated by the Governor, or
- (d) of any notification, order, rule, regulation or bye-law issued by the State Government under the Constitution or under any State

Act, shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in such language.

- 6. Power to make rules.** - (1) The State Government may, by notification in the *Official Gazette*, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act.
- (2) Every rule made under this section shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before the State Legislature, while it is in session, for a total period of thirty days which may be comprised in one session or in two or more successive sessions, and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session or the successive sessions aforesaid, the State Legislature agrees in making any modification in the rule or the State Legislature agrees that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so, however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.]

**SPEECH BY PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN MINISTER
ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO AT THE PAKISTAN ISLAMIC
COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, KARACHI**

(13 June 1965) ⁴⁴⁸

An essential feature of the foreign policy of Pakistan is its marked emphasis on the extensive civilization of Islam as a force of emancipation and progress. The nature of this emphasis has passed through its own variations from the earlier days of Islam in this subcontinent. The quality of belief and the intensity of intellectual and spiritual pre-occupation with its objectives, however, have not been impaired by the passage of time.

At the centre of the Islamic world, stability and security had given rise to an attitude of mind akin to unconcern. On the contrary, the frontier regions which had to struggle against hostile forces never ceased to manifest an intense loyalty to the unity of Islam.

The Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent which formed part of the zone of confrontation were always dedicated to the concept of a central Islamic authority. Even though the Caliphate had, since the middle of the tenth century, lost all effective power, it was remarkable that there remained a solitary corner of the Islamic world which still looked towards the centre, passionately striving to restore its pristine image and authority. To further this end and to preserve the unity of the Ummat, mighty rulers of Hindustan like Mahmud of Ghazni, Iltutmash and Balban sought, with utmost humility, the approval of the Caliphate of their rule over kingdoms which they had carved out by themselves.

Even though the Mughals who came to power in 1526 refused to acknowledge the Turkish Sultan as Caliph, it did not prevent them from taking an active interest in all Islamic and pan-Islamic affairs. With the decline of Mughal power in the eighteenth century began the era of British ascendancy in India. Politically independent Muslim states on the peripheries of the Islamic world fell one by one before the onslaught of Western powers. The Empire of the Mughals was finally liquidated in 1857. By 1886, Russia had conquered the Caucasus and extended her

448 'Important Speeches and Statements,' Shamsul Islam, pages 65-69, second edition, Ilyas Printers, Karachi. (1967)

empire to the frontiers of Iran and Afghanistan, who were themselves the victims of the Anglo-Russian scramble for empires. Malaya, long subjected to European intrigues and infiltration, came within British occupation towards the close of the century.

The Muslims enlisted in the Hijrat Movement with such fervour and such readiness, to undergo the suffering involved in being uprooted from their homes and migrating to other Muslim lands, that the whole of India was amazed at the heroic effort and sacrifice. The force and the momentum behind the Khilafat Movement and the determination of the Muslims to keep it going regardless of the sacrifices involved was such that it influenced to an appreciable degree the British decision to reappraise their plans for breaking up whatever remained of the Turkish Empire. However, it was at this stage, after 1922, that the founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and his companions, finding a resuscitated Caliphate incompatible with their political ideas, first equated the Caliphate with 'spiritual', as opposed to 'temporal', power and then finally abolished the institution altogether.

With the abolition of the Caliphate, pan-Islamism changed from an active to a dormant force. Although it was revived from time to time, in essence it lost its compelling appeal to the leaders of Islamic political thought.

While Turkey was in the grip of a radical upsurge under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, the Muslims of the sub-continent had already embarked on a painful process of self-analysis and introspection to restate and redefine the political philosophy and values of Islam in the face of the Western challenge. The lingering feeling of pride in their past achievements was given a coherent expression by the leaders of Muslim thought in the sub-continent.

Among the first to reinterpret Islamic doctrine was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1812-98). His thesis was that Islam and modern thought, in the ultimate analysis, were not mutually exclusive. He founded at Aligarh in 1875 a college in which religious education was combined with the study of modern science. He was the first in the Muslim world to establish a modernist institution in Islam.

Among the several writers who popularised new liberal thought and ethics, the leading figure was Sir Amir Ali, a distinguished jurist. His book, the "Spirit of Islam", published in 1891, furnished the awakening political consciousness of Muslims with a reasoned basis for their self-

esteem which they needed in order to confront the Western world. The most eminent service performed by Syed Amir Ali in the cause of Islam was the subtle reformulation of Islamic doctrine in terms of Western thought. He presented the teachings of Islam in the light of contemporary social ideals.

Philosophy of Iqbal

The argument that in taking over modern western learning and science Muslims were only reverting to the heritage of their own civilization was persuasively stated by Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938), an exponent of the most sweeping reformulation of Islamic doctrine in many centuries. His activist philosophy exerted a powerful influence on the younger generation of Muslims and contributed to the rise of Pakistan as a Muslim State in 1947.

Iqbal's ideas were seized upon by several militant movements to propel themselves onto the road of power—the Ikhwan in the Arab world, the Khaksars in the sub-continent,.... and Darul Islam in Indonesia. In fact, the ideas of Iqbal have exerted a great deal of influence on modern Islam, whose renaissance has been more ebullient than thoughtful; and indeed, it has been aimed more at recapturing the vitality than at redefining the content of the faith.

The post-Caliphate era of Islam, therefore, saw the resurgence of a new movement for activation of the Islamic spirit on the one hand, while, on the other, significant steps were taken to come to terms with the social, political and scientific requirements of the contemporary world. It was in this period of time that Pakistan was conceived and won to provide the Muslims of the sub-continent with a separate homeland in which they might pursue their own destiny. Conceived as a political expression of an ideological dedication of a hundred million Muslims, Pakistan came to manifest a deep interest and real concern in the welfare of all Muslims and in their struggle for freedom and emancipation.

Zionism

It was as early as the time of the Khilafat Movement that the Muslims of the sub-continent became deeply concerned about Zionist ambitions with regard to the Holy Land. Meetings and demonstrations were held throughout undivided India, denouncing Zionist intrigues and the British policy of turning Palestine, an Arab territory and a land holy to Muslims, into a home for the Jews from all over the world. The support unstintedly

extended to the cause of the Palestine Arabs was not entirely lost on the British Government.

When the flow of Jewish immigrants into Palestine became a flood after Hitler's rise to power in Germany, a revolt broke out in Palestine. In the sub-continent, the Muslim League under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam denounced expropriation of the indigenous population of Palestine by Alien immigrants and called upon the British Government to stop further Jewish immigration and to permit the Arabs to exercise their full political rights. The British Government appointed a Royal Commission to study the tangled situation and to recommend possible solutions for the Palestine problem. The recommendations of the Royal Commission were shelved because of the outbreak of the Second World War.

When Pakistan emerged as an independent State in August 1947, the Palestine situation was nearing the explosion point. Illegal and organised immigration had swelled the Jewish population of Palestine to one-third of the total. The Jewish settlers, heavily armed with modern weapons, were ready for war. Powerful political pressures were being exercised by the Zionist Movement in the United States and other Western countries and in the U. N. to open Palestine to unlimited Jewish immigration and for the immediate establishment of a sovereign Jewish state.

Pakistan and the Palestine Question

The Palestine problem thus became the first to engage the deep concern of the newly independent State of Pakistan. The position taken by the Muslim League under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam was that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate of the League of Nations with regard to Palestine, against the declared wishes of the people of Palestine and in violation of the pre-existing legal obligations of the British Government which had pledged independence to the Arabs, were null and void and that the proposal to partition Palestine and to create in it a state for aliens, in the teeth of opposition from the majority of the indigenous population, was a violation of International Law and contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

One of the first acts of the Founder of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam, in his capacity as Governor-General, was to address a forceful letter to President Truman to desist from the "monstrous" attempt to deprive the Arabs of their country which had been their homeland for two thousand years. When the Palestine question was referred to the General Assembly of the U. N., Sir Zafrullah Khan declared that the Pakistan Delegation

was utterly and uncompromisingly opposed to the partition. Explaining that the scheme of partition as proposed was unfair and impractical and if implemented would lead to strife within Palestine. Pakistan urged that the juridical questions involved should be referred to the International Court of Justice. Sir Zafrullah Khan said that Pakistan deeply sympathized with the Jews in the misfortunes they had suffered in Europe, but the right solution of the problem was that the Jewish refugees should be re-integrated in the countries to which they belonged. Should this not be possible, Zafrullah Khan pleaded that they should be offered facilities for settlement in the larger, newer countries which had more space and greater resources than tiny Palestine.

The supporters of the partition scheme, however, were determined to carry it through, at all costs. Great Powers resorted to tactics of naked coercion and duress against the smaller Member States of the United Nations to procure the necessary two-thirds majority for the adoption of a resolution of the General Assembly in November 1947, recommending the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state.

Pakistan has remained unswervingly and resolutely opposed to "Israel" which was proclaimed in May, 1948. It has refused to recognize this state or to have any relations with it. Pakistan continued to take an active interest in all subsequent developments resulting from the United Nations' scheme of partition and to sponsor resolutions on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine year after year since 1948. Invariably, Pakistan has remained in the forefront of those defending the principles of justice and international law so cynically violated by the majority of United Nations members in planting an alien state in the heart of the Arab world.

Only recently when the veil of secrecy which had shrouded the German-Israel agreement of 1960 for the supply of war materials to Israel was removed, the strong reaction of the Arab countries, whose security had thereby been jeopardized, was fully appreciated in Pakistan. Despite its friendship with West Germany, Pakistan's sympathy was with the Arabs.

Pakistan's stand on the Palestine question is an excellent example of its dedication to the struggle against Colonial and Imperialist domination.

The consistency with which Pakistan has maintained its support for the cause of the Muslims of Palestine points to an underlying conviction that its destiny is closely linked with the establishment of a world community on the basis of equality, justice and fraternity, in consonance with the Islamic concept of a world order. Its complete unconcern for racial or geographical factors in relation to the people of Palestine highlights

the tradition of Islamic brotherhood. The intensity with which Pakistan continues to voice its opposition to alien domination over the homeland of Palestinian Arabs exemplifies the Islamic spirit which enjoins perpetual struggle against injustice. There are other important characteristics of Islam whose relevance to our contemporary times has been confirmed by no less an authority than Arnold Toynbee, and I quote from his "Civilization on Trial":

The forces of racial toleration, which at present seem to be fighting a losing battle in a spiritual struggle of immense importance to mankind, might still regain the upper hand if any strong influence militating against race consciousness that has hitherto been held in reserve were now to be thrown into the scales. It is conceivable that the spirit of Islam might be the timely reinforcement which would decide this issue in favour of tolerance and peace.

Historians have unanimously acclaimed the spirit of equality and brotherhood practised in the civilization of Islam. The manifestation of this historic virtue of Islam is a vital need in the world of today, divided as it is by differences of race, colour and diversity of political, economic and social institutions.

It is not only the doctrine of Islam nor only its historic association with the struggle of mankind against tyranny and oppression that inspires the leadership of Islamic countries today to identify itself with the movement for the liquidation of all types of foreign domination. It must also be remembered that Islam itself has suffered most from the onslaught of alien domination. Right from the Middle Ages starting with the Crusades, the lands of Islam have faced successive invasions from the citadels of imperialism and colonialism. From Morocco to Indonesia, the heart and soul of Islam has suffered from the colonial domination of every colonial power in Europe. The British, the French, the Germans, the Dutch and the Portuguese have held sway over one or the other part of the Islamic world.

In the case of Islam, its experience of colonialism in all its manifestations has been an enduring phenomenon with all its attendant humiliations, indignities and sufferings. It was a case of a live and dynamic civilization stifled by oppression and systematically dismembered limb by limb. Its anguish was not even relieved by any opiate of unconsciousness. Compared to the endless humiliation, subjugation and exploitation suffered by the world of Islam, even the awareness of a Washington or a Lenin of the inequities and dangers of imperialism and colonialism appear somewhat academic.

Islam as a force was concerned in the struggle for equality and justice. It is only in the fitness of things that having suffered extensively under the combined hegemonies of Imperialism and Colonialism, it should now reflected in the hour of its emancipation an even greater dedication to the cause of human liberty, justice and equality.

The opposition to imperialism and colonialism of other forces is at best founded on a doctrinaire conviction and an apprehension; but to Islam, this is not only a creed—a part of the religion itself—but is its natural role as a force, perhaps the only force which has managed to survive the combined onslaught of extensive imperialist and colonialist domination of such protraction. Thus, Islam is committed historically, morally and politically to be in the vanguard of the struggle against the forces of domination and exploitation.

Other Anti-Colonial Causes

Pakistan has viewed the emancipation of Muslim peoples as an essential prerequisite for the revival of Islamic values. I have described Pakistan's support for the just cause of Palestinian Muslims. Permit me to make brief mention of some of the other instances in which Pakistan has extended its unflinching support for the struggle of Muslim peoples to regain their freedom and to restore their dignity so that they may play their rightful role in the quest of mankind for a better world.

The question of the future of former Italian Colonies of Libya, Italian Somaliland and Eritrea was considered by the General Assembly of the United Nations during its Third Session, in 1949. The First Committee of the General Assembly recommended a solution identical with that previously agreed upon between the three occupying powers—Britain, France and Italy—in the Bevin-Sforza Agreement. This solution envisaged a united independent Libya after ten years; in the interim, the territory was to be divided in Trusteeship between the three Powers.

Pakistan unreservedly espoused the cause of the people of these former colonies. Our then Foreign Minister, Choudhry Zafrulla Khan, vehemently opposed the trusteeship sought to be given to former colonial powers and urged that independence be given to a united Libya, comprising Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and the Fezzan. If it was considered that immediate independence was not feasible, we argued, Libya should be placed under the direct administration of the Trusteeship Council itself to prepare her for independence in the shortest possible time.

This stand of Pakistan in opposition to the Western Powers was vindicated when the General Assembly decided in November, 1949, that a united Libya should become independent by January, 1952. The General Assembly appointed a U. N. Commission to assist in the transition to independence. Pakistan was elected a member of this Commission and it played an active part in bringing the country into the family of free nations. Libya was admitted to membership of the United Nations on December 14, 1955.

As regards Italian Somaliland, Pakistan put forward a radical solution, suggesting the amalgamation of all Somali areas—namely those formerly under Italian or British rule and those still under French rule—to form an independent greater Somalia. The stand taken by Pakistan resulted in the supersession of the original Western proposal.

The General Assembly decided that Italian Somaliland consisting of the former British and Italian areas be placed under U. N. Trusteeship for a period of ten years, after which they were to become united and independent. Somalia was admitted to the United Nations on September 20, 1960.

Tunisia and Morocco

The freedom movements of the three countries of the Maghreb evoked a deep sense of sympathy in Pakistan. Maghreb leaders—Habib Bourguiba, Allal-Fassi, Mohammad Yazid and others—visited Pakistan and were enthusiastically received. For its part, the Government of Pakistan gave all possible support to the aspirations of the people of North Africa for the restoration of their full sovereignty and independence. On all the three questions, namely of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, Pakistan played a leading role, and was therefore frequently chosen by the Asian-African nations as their spokesman in the United Nations.

Pakistan was a member of the Security Council (and its representative, Ahmed Shah Bokhari, was its President for that month) when in April 1953, the Tunisian Government complained to the United Nations and requested the Security Council to consider the grave situation that had arisen as a result of French suppression. While the Tunisian question had been placed on the provisional agenda of the Council, its formal adoption was strongly opposed by France on the ground that as Tunisia was a French protectorate, Franco-Tunisian relations were a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a member State and was as such outside the competence of the United Nations by virtue of Article 2, paragraph (7) of

its Charter. After the unfortunate decision Prof. Bokhari told the Council meeting:

Today, 10 April, 1953, will go down in the history of the United Nations as the day on which the foundations were laid for the suppression of free discussion in the United Nations. This would be the first instance in the history of the United Nations in which the mere adoption of an agenda item was opposed so stoutly in the Council, and to the death. This will also go down in the history of the United Nations as the day of very great and lamentable reversals of policy.

Frustrated in the Security Council, the Asian-African nations brought the matter before the General Assembly in 1953. A resolution introduced by Pakistan called for the restoration of civil liberties in Tunisia and for negotiations with a view to enabling the Tunisian people to exercise their right of self-determination. The resolution was supported by most of the African-Asian States, but in spite of their determined effort, a combination of forces opposed to the resolution, prevented its adoption.

Pakistan continued to take a deep interest in the restoration of full sovereign rights of the Tunisian people until this goal was achieved in 1956.

The question of Morocco was analogous to that of Tunisia. Under the Treaty of Fez of 1912, the Sultan of Morocco had been coerced into ceding to France its sovereign right to conduct the foreign relations of Morocco. Invoking the provisions of this Treaty, France maintained that the United Nations was debarred under Article 2(7) of the Charter relating to domestic jurisdiction, from considering the Moroccan question which had been inscribed on the agenda of the General Assembly in 1952, at the instance of certain African-Asian States, Pakistan being one of them.

In 1953, the African-Asian States at the United Nations requested the President of the Security Council to call an urgent meeting to consider the Moroccan situation when Sultan Mohammed V was deposed and imprisoned by the French Government. Despite every effort by Pakistan and Lebanon, which were members of the Council at that time, the item was not inscribed on the Council's agenda.

In the General Assembly Session, later that year, Choudhry Zafrullah Khan again pleaded the cause of Morocco and denounced the imposition by imperialist powers on smaller and weaker states of unequal treaties such as the Treaty of Fez. Thirteen African-Asian nations sponsored a draft resolution recommending that martial law be terminated and

civil liberties resorted in Morocco and that steps be taken to make the independence of Morocco possible within five years. This proposal could not secure the necessary majority in the face of a strong opposition.

Pakistan was again one of the fourteen African-Asian States which requested the inclusion of the Moroccan question on the agenda of the ninth session of the General Assembly in 1954. The consideration of the item was, however, postponed in view of the impending negotiations between France and Morocco.

Morocco attained independence in 1956. The realization of Moroccan aspirations was in no small measure due to the strong public opinion generated by the espousal of the Moroccan cause by the Asian-African members of the United Nations.

Algeria

Towards the end of 1954, the Algerian people rose in armed insurrection against French colonial rule. The following year, Pakistan, along with some of the African-Asian States, decided in the Bandung Conference to support the Algerian struggle for independence and demanded the consideration of the Algerian question by the General Assembly, at its tenth Session in 1955. France again challenged the competence of the United Nations to discuss the question, invoking paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter—the argument of domestic jurisdiction. The leader of the Pakistan Delegation, the late Mr. Mohammad Ali Bogra, in refuting this contention, said:

For over a hundred years the rulers of Algeria have pursued a policy of assimilation to make the native population French in feeling, living and thinking, to fit them into the procrustean bed of French civilization and way of life for the greater glory and power of France. But the people of Algeria have stubbornly resisted this Policy of assimilation and integration and remained adamantly Algerian, apart in language, religion, culture and way of life from their self-constituted benefactors. Why? Although Algeria is claimed to be as much a part and parcel of France as Brittany or Savoy, yet there is no equality of status between the Algerian and the other departments of France.

There is no equality in the rights of franchise, to political representation, or to participation in the Government of the French Republic. The constitutional and judicial situation in Algeria, in law as well as in fact, rests on the principle of national and racial discrimination applied to all

fields of life. Therefore, though France claims that Algerians are French citizens under her law, they remain French subjects in practice.

In the following year, Pakistan co-sponsored a draft resolution recognizing the right of the people of Algeria to self-determination and inviting France and the Algerian people to enter into immediate negotiations for a cessation of hostilities and bringing about a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

The resolution of the Asian-African countries was not adopted.

When I led the Pakistan Delegation to the General Assembly in 1959, Pakistan extended not only its fullest support, but it also took initiative in sponsoring draft resolutions acceptable to the representatives of the Algerian National Liberation Front. That year, Pakistan was unanimously requested by the Asian-African group to be the sole sponsor and mover of a draft resolution on behalf of the Group calling for recognition of Algeria's right of self-determination and independence and negotiations between the Government of France and the representatives of the FLN for a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question in accordance with the purpose and principles of the Charter.

Speaking before the U. N. General Assembly again in 1960, I pointed out that Algeria was a "strife-torn land where the blood of patriots still flows in their tight for freedom." I went on to declare that, and I quote:

The sympathies of the people of Pakistan are with the valiant sons of Algeria; fighting heroically for their freedom. At a time when so many countries on the continent of Africa are taking their place in this Assembly, it is with great sorrow that we note the absence of Algeria. In August, 1961, Pakistan took the bold step of according formal recognition to the provisional Government of Algeria. This action was hailed not only by Algeria but by all African people. We took this step despite the risk of alienating French support in the Security Council for the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir....

Later, in December 1961, Pakistan moved on behalf of 34 other states, a resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations, urging the French Government to bring about an immediate termination of hunger strikes by Algerian prisoners in France and to redress their grievances. This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly. The hunger strikes ended and an atmosphere more conducive to a Franco-Algerian settlement was created. Finally, President de Gaulle conceded independence to Algeria and also set in motion a gigantic process of decolonization in

Africa as a result- of which all her African territories emerged as sovereign independent states and were admitted as members of the United Nations. This was a magnificent manifestation of the highest traditions of French liberalism.

Pakistan-The UAR

Let me now turn to our relations with the Arab countries of the Middle East.

Among them the United Arab Republic occupies a position of pivotal importance not only by reasons of its size strategic position and cultural leadership, but also because of the radical changes in its international status as well as in its internal life brought by the Nasser revolution. The UAR plays a pre-eminent role in the affairs of the Arab world. For this reason and also because of its Islamic orientation, Pakistan has always placed the highest emphasis on the promotion of fraternal relations with that country.

It is a matter of profound regret to us that from time to time. Pakistan-UAR relations have been subject to certain stresses and strains.

Pakistan had extended its support to the Egyptian struggle against imperialism. It had backed the Egyptian demand for the evacuation of British occupation forces from the Suez Canal Zone and for the negotiation of a new settlement over the problem of Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Pakistan was instrumental in promoting the resumption of negotiations between Egypt and the United Kingdom which had reached a deadlock.

President Nasser chose non-alignment between the two power blocks as the basis of his foreign policy. Pakistan on the other hand, concluded an agreement with the United States for military aid in 1954 and joined SEATO later that year in the quest for security from the threat of Indian aggression. A year later, Iraq under the regime of Nuri-as-Said, concluded the Baghdad Pact with Turkey for co-operation in defence, to which Iran and Pakistan acceded a few months later.

This development gave umbrage to Egypt which regarded the Baghdad Pact as a move to sow disunity and division in the Arab world and portending a renewed threat from imperialism because of British membership of and American support to that Pact. Fears were expressed in the Arab world that Pakistan's policy of support for the Arabs of Palestine in particular, and Arab liberation movements in general, would no longer be sustained.

Pakistan soon demonstrated that these fears were unfounded. Membership of the Baghdad Pact and SEATO did not inhibit Pakistan in pursuing its traditional policy of lending support to Arab aspirations for full sovereignty, dignity and unity, and to the struggle of the people of Asia and Africa against imperialism and colonialism. In fact, Pakistan used the forum provided by these Pacts to promote the causes of fraternal countries.

In July, the Suez crisis was precipitated by the reversal of the United States offer to finance construction of the Aswan Dam. President Nasser reacted by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company. Pakistan upheld the right of Egypt as a sovereign state to nationalize any undertaking within its territorial jurisdiction.

Pakistan's interest in maintaining freedom of navigation through the canal was direct and immediate. At the time of nationalization, 56% of Pakistan's exports and 49% of its imports passed through that international waterway. Nevertheless, Pakistan publicly stated that nationalization was a justifiable act and directs its diplomacy to dissuading the British Government from resorting to armed action to re-impose international control, or to attempt to overthrow international control, or to attempt to overthrow the Nasser regime.

In the London Conference, which was convened on the initiative of Mr. Dulles to consider the grave situation, Pakistan reaffirmed its position that nationalization of the Suez Canal was in consonance with the sovereign prerogatives of Egypt and that a peaceful solution of the Anglo-French dispute with Egypt should be found through negotiation. The Pakistan Delegation also successfully pressed amendments to substantially modify the Western proposals.

Pakistan was motivated by the need to avert an imminent threat of Anglo-French invasion by keeping open the door to a negotiated settlement with President Nasser and thereby to frustrate the aims of those powers which were determined to serve an ultimatum on him. Pakistan warned against the violation of the Charter of the United Nations or any attempt to dictate terms to President Nasser. It opposed the proposal to set up a Suez Canal Users Association and suggested that the users might negotiate directly with Egypt. This stand of Pakistan and some other countries eventually prevented the establishment of the Users' Association.

When the Australian Prime Minister Mr. Menzies' negotiations with President Nasser failed, and the tripartite armed aggression took place,

the people of Pakistan rose as one man in condemnation of the action of Britain, France and Israel. For weeks, cities and towns in all parts of Pakistan resounded with the denunciation of the three powers, and with expression of sympathy and support for the people of Egypt. In the United Nations, Pakistan was actively associated with every move to bring about a ceasefire, withdrawal of the invading forces, and dispatch of a United Nations Emergency Force.

President Nasser was not entirely satisfied with the role of Pakistan in the first and second London Conference. At the actual moment of Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, President Nasser believed that Pakistan's support could have been more positive and forthright. This feeling led him to decline to let the Prime Minister of Pakistan visit Egypt or to agree to the inclusion of a Pakistani contingent in the United Nations Emergency Force. Attacks against Pakistan as a Baghdad Pact country were intensified.

With the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq in July, 1958 and the withdrawal of that country from membership of the Baghdad Pact, there was a noticeable improvement in the attitude of the UAR towards Pakistan. With the advent of the revolution in Pakistan in October 1958, and the removal from power of politicians against some, of whom President Nasser nurtured a sense of grievance, the improvement of relations was further accelerated.

The UAR President visited Pakistan in 1960 and had useful discussions with President Ayub Khan. This led to a much better mutual appreciation of the interests and policies of the two countries. The President of Pakistan paid a return visit to the UAR where he was given a warm and enthusiastic reception. His penetrating analysis of the ills of Muslim societies and his call for a progressive outlook and modernistic approach to the problems confronting them, made a deep impression throughout the Middle East.

In 1962 and 1963 there was some retrogression in the relations between the two countries. The UAR objected to the sale of rifles and ammunition by Pakistan to Saudi Arabia under an agreement made in December 1961, on the ground that these arms were being passed on to the royalist forces in Yemen who were fighting against the republican regime and the UAR forces. The sale of arms to Saudi Arabia was a normal government-to-government transaction and the Saudi Government denied that it was supplying the royalists with Pakistani weapons. Nevertheless, Pakistan stopped the sale of weapons in deference to UAR's sentiments, particularly as it had never been Pakistan's policy to take sides in inter-

Arab disputes. In addition to this, Pakistan recognised the new republican regime in Yemen.

It was because of the fund of goodwill that existed in Pakistan towards the UAR that deep regret was felt here over the role of the UAR delegation in the Security Council when the Kashmir dispute was discussed in the first half of 1962. More recently the Indo-UAR Agreement in 1964 for collaboration in the production of supersonic planes has aroused Pakistan's concern, since it would facilitate acquisition by India of greater air offensive capability. Nevertheless, Pakistan continues to seek closer understanding with the United Arab Republic.

The visit by the Pakistan Military delegation led by the Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan Army, in December, 1954 has achieved success in removing differences between the two countries and in promoting mutual good-will. I have no doubt that the relationship between Pakistan and UAR will become even closer with the forthcoming visit of President Ayub Khan to Cairo (The President visited Cairo from July 14 to 16, 1965). A meeting between two eminent statesmen is always an occasion of great significance. It is our sincere hope that when our President meets President Nasser in Cairo tomorrow, it will herald the beginning of a new era of friendship and understanding between our two countries.

Other Middle East States

Our cordial relations with Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Yemen and Lebanon have reflected the fraternal warmth that characterizes the sentiments of the peoples of these countries and Pakistan towards one another. Neither changes in government nor vicissitudes of policy have marred the fraternal character of this relationship. While Pakistan has recognised that a non-aligned policy may suit these countries, they have also displayed an understanding of the special problems which had led Pakistan to join the alliances.

Even the most virulent critics have admitted that Pakistan's membership of CENTO has not been aimed against any of the countries of the Middle East, or for that matter any other region, but that it has on the contrary enabled Pakistan to project the Arab view-point from an additional international forum. Iraq's decision to withdraw from the Baghdad Pact in July, 1958 had little effect on the continuance of friendly relations between Pakistan and Iraq, which once again proved that Pakistan's friendship towards the Muslim world transcends transitory considerations.

President Abdus Salam Aref visited Pakistan in April, 1964. He held constructive talks with the President of Pakistan. The joint communiqué issued at the end of this meeting reaffirmed Iraq's support for an early settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute in the spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity and in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations. The wide measure of accord between Iraq and Pakistan was again demonstrated by the support and understanding which President Aref showed towards Pakistan in its current crisis with India.

Saudi Arabia is the guardian of the two Holy Cities of Islam which radiate the deepest spiritual and emotional influence on Muslims throughout the world. So profound was the attachment of the Muslims of this sub-continent to the sacred cities of Mecca and Madina, that the safeguarding of the future of these holy places of Islam during and after the First World War became a passion with them. The famous Khilafat Movement was aimed both at the preservation of the holy places and the Hedjaz from the threat of alien rule as well as at preserving the territorial integrity of the Turkish homelands.

Viewed against this background, it should be obvious that the bonds between Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are unbreakable. It is a matter of special satisfaction to Pakistan that it has been able to extend advice and technical assistance to Saudi Arabia in defence and other fields, and that Pakistani doctors, engineers, consultants and workers in the oil industry are making their contribution to the progress of that country.

Jordan, as the custodian of the Masjid-i-Aqsa, has always occupied a place of great affection in the hearts of Muslims of Pakistan and has attracted Pakistani pilgrims by the thousand. Pakistan's relations with Jordan have always been very cordial and a large measure of political co-operation has existed between the two countries. The suggestion of Choudhry Mohammad Zafrullah Khan, while he was Pakistan's Foreign Minister, to convene a conference of Muslim countries at Jerusalem to evolve some positive policy for united action for countering the menace of the State of Israel is a manifestation of the keen interest of Pakistan in the welfare and security of Jordan.

King Hussein paid a State visit to Pakistan in 1955. His second visit to Pakistan together with his consort is eagerly awaited. In the joint Pakistan-Jordan communiqué issued after the Pakistan Prime Minister's visit to Jordan in August 1957, the two countries pledged themselves to cooperate with each other in pursuance of their common policies and interests. In April 1964, the people-to-people delegation led by Mir Waiz

Mohammad Yusuf of Kashmir visited Jordan where he was accorded a warm welcome. During their stay in Jordan, the delegation received full support of the Jordanian Government to the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. In August, 1964, Pakistan sent a delegation to the celebration marking the completion of repairs to the Masjid-j-Aqsa.

Damascus has been one of the great power centers of the Muslim world. It is a matter of satisfaction to Pakistan that its relations with Syria have always been cordial. When Syria joined the United Arab Republic, Pakistan, consistent with its policy of good-will and sympathy towards the movement for Arab unity, extended its welcome to the Union. Later, when Syria decided to separate, Pakistan took a non-partisan stand but noted with satisfaction that Arab unity remained an important goal of Syrian policy.

Historically, Lebanon has been a meeting place of the empires and civilizations of Asia and Europe. The Lebanese have been a great seafaring and mercantile people: Their ancestors, the Phoenicians who founded Carthage and are credited with the invention of the alphabet have through the ages demonstrated a remarkable genius for trade and commerce. Contacts between Pakistan and Lebanon have greatly expanded in recent years with the introduction of direct air service. Now the exchange of visits between scholars, businessmen and others will prove mutually beneficial.

Pakistan did not immediately recognize the Revolutionary Government in Yemen in 1963 because of its policy of non-interference in intra-Arab controversies. But since then not only have Pakistan's diplomatic representatives paid visits to that country but also Pakistan has been associated with the U. N. Observation Mission in Yemen. Pakistan has expressed the hope (Since come true. An agreement has been reached where UAR and Saudi Arabia, and the monarchy restored in the Yemen) that peaceful conditions will soon be restored in Yemen and a political settlement acceptable to the people of Yemen and also to Saudi Arabia and the UAR will be reached which will heal the wound of fratricidal strife, promote reforms in Yemen and remove a cause of division within the Arab world.

With the Shaikhdom of Kuwait, Pakistan has established cordial and friendly relations. Pakistan opened a Consulate General which has since been raised to the level of Embassy. A number of visits have

been exchanged by Ministers of the two countries and there is no doubt that fruitful and mutually advantageous co-operation between the two countries will continue to increase.

Pakistan's policy towards the Arab world is characterized by its support of all measures unanimously adopted by the Arab States. We welcome all manifestations of Arab unity and solidarity and acclaim their economic and social achievements. We regret some of the transient differences between Arab States, and maintain a policy of strict non-interference and non-involvement in intra-Arab disputes.

Pakistan will continue to extend its complete and unqualified support for the Arab movement for greater political, economic and cultural co-operation in the interest of their own collective security and welfare which contributes to solidarity among Muslim States and to greater Afro-Asian unity. This is not merely a matter of state policy where Pakistan is concerned, but it is enshrined in the hearts and minds of every single citizen of this land.

Africa

The emergence of independent nations in the continent of Africa opened a new vista of co-operation between the peoples of this great continent and those of others. Pakistan has reason for special gratification as Africa occupies a very important place in the Islamic world. A large number of the inhabitants of this continent are followers of Islam. Twenty-two out of thirty-five independent African countries have a majority of Muslim populations. But the importance of Africa in the Muslim world derives not only from the large number of Muslims inhabiting this continent, but also from the noble contribution it has made to the concept of Islamic universalism.

Africa has now broken the shackles of alien bondage, and Muslims from this vigorous continent are taking active interest in the revival of the dynamic forces of Islam within the general framework of Afro-Asian unity. Sir Ahmad Bello, the Sarduana of Sokoto and the Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria has carried the torch of Islamic renaissance into countries far and wide. Somali was the scene of the 6th conference of the World Muslim Congress. Interest of Mr. Aden Abdulfait Osman, the President of Somalia, in the Congress has been of long standing.

African delegations are also playing a prominent role in Islamic conference outside their continent, such as the African-Asian Islamic Conference held

in Bandung in March 1955. Pakistan looks forward to forging new ties of friendship and cordiality with these countries of Africa. The contribution and vigour and of Afro-Asian solidarity has already received recognition and acclaim.

Africa is a continent in revolt. The forces of enlightenment and progress are engaged in securing their full emancipation from colonial domination. The movement for independence from colonial rule has already achieved impressive results. Apart from South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and other areas, where the liberation struggle continues to intensify, there is the task of consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of newly independent nations.

Islam is at the forefront of the revolution in Africa. The manifestation of human dignity, equality and social justice, which is such an urgent need, has found ready response from the proselytizing forces of Islam who have merged and identified themselves with the revolution. Alien missionaries are fighting a losing battle against the revolutionary forces of Islam which derives strength from its indigenous character and from its impressive record as the greatest moral force against racial discrimination.

It is the universality of the spirit of Islam, its emphasis on the brotherhood and equality between man and man, its inherent vitality and vigour which have led to its fusion with the progressive revolution in Africa. The African revolution, and Islam's contribution to the emancipation and progress of the African people, will play a role of great significance, of significance not only to the continent of Africa but to the whole world.

The future of mankind is inseparably linked with its ability to cultivate and nurture bonds of fraternity between peoples in different parts of the world with different racial and cultural backgrounds. To Pakistan the important role of Islam in Africa is of immediate concern both for its own sake and also because the success of the African struggle for progress, emancipation and solidarity is of such vital importance to the future of humanity.

China

From the vibrant scene of resurgent Africa, we come to the ancient civilization of China. Relations between the territories which today constitute Pakistan and China were established at a very early stage of known history. Pre-Muslim relations of the sub-continent with the general region of China remained strictly confined to the spiritual field.

Such cultural intercourse as took place was a corollary to the visits of prominent Chinese Buddhist leaders to their places of pilgrimage in the sub-continent.

With the spread of Islam into the Central Asian region and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and with the travels of several Muslim geographers, explorers and historians, definite over-land routes were established between Central Asia and some regions of China. Similarly, Muslim mariners, whose mercantile activities extended to the Malayan Archipelago, came into direct contact with Chinese merchants and a sea-route was thus established all the way from China to the Mediterranean.

With Halaku (Hulagu) Khan's invasion, the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate and the resulting anarchy in Iran, the established over-land trade routes were closed. This led to the discovery of a transverse route from Kashgar to Gilgit and down the Indus Valley to Debal (Thatta), on the Arabian Sea, from where merchandise was trans-shipped to western cities.

The establishment of a new alternate route brought the sub-continent, especially its Western part, into intimate political, cultural, commercial and diplomatic contact with both China and the Central Asian territories. One of the most famous embassies to be exchanged between the Chinese Emperors and the Tughlaq Sultans of the sub-continent was led by the famous traveler Ibne Batuta. This embassy was in response to one sent to Muhammad Tughlaq by the Chinese Emperor, Hyan Ti, and is important because it set the pattern of trade between China and the sub-continent under Muslim rule. The exchange of commercial products brought in its wake the exchange of craftsmanship, technological skills and fine arts.

There is a large Muslim population in north-west China and its Sinkiang province. Good neighborly ties of Pakistan with the People's Republic of China once again enable the resumption of its historical and cultural relations with this important segment of the Chinese population after a virtual rupture of contact during the period of colonial rule in the sub-continent.

The USSR

The Central Asian Republic of the Soviet Union contains a sizeable Muslim population. With them, the relations of our people are even more intimate. It is among the people of this region that the great Taimur and Babar were born who were among the progenitors of Muslim India. The names of Samarkand and Bukhara invoke feelings of romance and

kinship among our people even to this day. In the wake of independence, a growing awareness of our cultural and historical affinities has made an important contribution to our quest for friendship and good neighborliness with the Soviet Union.

Iran and Turkey

With Iran and Turkey, the Foreign Policy of Pakistan reflects a continuity of the traditional sense of fraternity felt by the Muslims of the sub-continent towards them. Since independence, Pakistan's friendly relations with the two countries have been further developed and consolidated. Common membership of CENTO was one of the consequences of these relations. Pakistan's sympathy and support for the two countries on questions involving their rights and interests has been unequivocal.

I have already dealt with Pakistan's sentiments towards Turkey in connection with my reference to the Khilafat Movement launched by the Muslims of the sub-continent. I might add that our relations with modern Turkey now are based on the same spirit of kinship and fellow-feelings which inspired our previous generation to treat the cause of Turkey as their own and to make such monumental sacrifices in demonstrating their solidarity with the Turkish people. The memory of Kemal Ataturk, founder of modern Turkey, is venerated in Pakistan as much as it is in the land of his birth.

With Iran, our people are bound by innumerable historical, cultural and ethnic links that go back to the dim past of ancient history. Notwithstanding two centuries of colonial domination, the people of Pakistan have retained their rich heritage from their intimate past association with Iran. The feeling of fraternity and oneness that the people of Pakistan have for the people of Iran, who are in more than one sense the progenitors of the Muslims in the sub-continent, is a living reality even to this day. The people of Pakistan hold the Shahinshah of Iran in great esteem and value his personal contribution to the continued development of friendship and fraternity between the two countries. The brotherly equation between the Shahinshah and the President of Pakistan is a symbol of the essential unity of our peoples.

When, in the early fifties, the Government of Iran nationalized the oil industry and terminated the concession of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Pakistan upheld the sovereign right of Iran to take this action. The boundary between the two countries had remained unsettled during the entire period of British rule. Agreement as to its alignment was reached

without any difficulty and the boundary was demarcated by the experts of the two countries working in close collaboration.

At a historic meeting between the Heads of States of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey held in Istanbul in July 1964, agreement was reached as a result of which the three countries established the Regional Co-operation for Development. The initiative taken by the President of Pakistan was indeed symbolic of the true nature of Muslim renaissance. Notwithstanding the many problems facing each of the three countries separately, they decided to launch a supranational joint venture which has been acclaimed as an event of the greatest significance in the future.

Cyprus

I now turn to the Mediterranean region to deal briefly with Pakistan's stand on the question of Cyprus.

When this question was referred to the United Nations General Assembly in 1954 and discussed that year and in the following year, the Pakistan Delegation defended the historical and legal claims of Turkey to the island. In 1957, speaking on the Greek Delegation's resolution that Cyprus be granted the right of self-determination, the Pakistan Delegation pointed out that the resolution had been so drafted as to imperil the human rights and legitimate aspirations of the Turkish Cypriots. Cyprus achieved independence in 1960 under the Treaty of Zurich, guaranteed by Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom. The right of Turkey to intervene in the event of a violation of the Constitution of Cyprus which formed an integral part of the treaty was expressly recognised.

Expressing the concern of the Government and people of Pakistan on this serious situation on 27th December 1963, I stated, and I quote:

The Agreements which brought about the settlement of the problem of Cyprus have to be respected as they are solemn international commitments . . .

We are with Turkey in her moment of crisis and whatever co-operation may be needed from Pakistan will be extended in the fullest measures.

Afghanistan

With Afghanistan, we have ethnic, historic and linguistic ties. Our mutual association goes back to the dawn of history, to the influx of Aryans more than three thousand years ago.

It was to be expected that upon emergence from alien domination. Pakistan and Afghanistan would develop their relationship in consonance with their abiding and close fraternal ties. Their ties had been interrupted by barriers of isolation during the era of colonial rule. In the early stages after independence, relations between the two countries showed signs of reserve and mutual suspicion. Pakistan, on its part, has since maintained an attitude of understanding and reason, in the firm belief that the two countries have too much in common to permit any problem to permanently detract from the natural development of close and good neighborly relations. In fact, objectively speaking, no two countries have so much in common as Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Recent developments evince an encouraging trend. The cordial meeting between King Zahir Shah and President Ayub Khan in June 1964 set the tone for further improvement of relations between the two countries, of which the Transit Trade Agreement successfully concluded in February 1965 is a clear manifestation. It may be mentioned that the Transit Trade Agreement between Pakistan and Afghanistan provides for Afghanistan facilities and terms as are among the best and most liberal in the world. It certainly contrasts with the Transit Trade Agreement between India and Nepal, in which after placing every conceivable difficulty in the way of land-locked Nepal, India finally agreed to provide only limited facilities.

Indonesia

Pakistan's policy of good neighborliness and friendship has extended eastwards to the islands of Indonesia. The history of Pakistan's relations with Indonesia is also based on the unfailing support of the Muslims of this sub-continent for their brethren in other countries. The people of Indonesia in their struggle for freedom had all the sympathy and support of the people of Pakistan. Pakistan residents in Indonesia fought side by side with their Indonesian brethren in their war of liberation.

The infant State of Pakistan in those days extended its whole-hearted support to their cause both within and outside the United Nations and rejoiced when their struggle came to a successful end with the establishment of the independent Republic of Indonesia. In their subsequent struggle over West Iran, Indonesia had the full sympathy of Pakistan which sent a sizeable contingent of troops to assist the United Nations in its supervisory functions.

There has been significant economic cooperation between the two countries with the largest Muslim populations in the world. In the

development of even closer relations between Indonesia and Pakistan, a historic event took place when at a conference held in Karachi in March, 1965 "IPECC" (Indonesia-Pakistan Economic and Cultural Co-operation) was established. This provided for RCD-type Cooperation between the two countries in order to maximize trade and promote joint ventures in industry and co-operation in communications for their mutual benefit. It also provided for development of cultural contacts to cement existing ties between peoples of the two countries.

Cooperation between Pakistan and Indonesia has extended to various fields, particularly in international affairs. Pakistan and Indonesia were both co-sponsors of the first African-Asian Conference that adopted the historic Bandung principles which have now been recognised as a universal norm of conduct between states. Pakistan and Indonesia are at present collaborating with each other to ensure the resounding success of the 2nd African-Asian Conference to be held in Algiers in June. (Since postponed to November)

I would also refer to our unflinching support to the President of Indonesia for the establishment of Ganefo. Pakistan was a member of the Committee which organized the first Ganefo games. ("Games of the New Emerging Forces"—an Olympics of new nations insisted by President Soekarno). It is also on the organising Committee for the Second Ganefo Games. We also supported Indonesia's case in the international Olympic Committee meetings.

The exchange of state visits between the President of Pakistan and the President of Indonesia were occasions of great significance in which important discussions between the two leaders resulted in an even closer mutual understanding. It was in the context of our mutual support for just causes and the dedication of the two countries to the implementation of the right of self-determination of all peoples that Indonesia extended its unequivocal support to Pakistan with regard to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute.

Malaysia

The feeling of identity that the people of Pakistan have with their co-religionists has been an important factor in its relations with South-East Asia in general. Even before the independence of Malaya there was considerable contact between the leaders of Pakistan and Malaya. In 1955 Tunku Abdur Rahman on his way to the independence talks in London broke journey in Karachi for consultations with the Pakistan

Prime Minister. Needless to say that, Pakistan extended its whole-hearted support to the demand for Malaya's independence. Pakistan also made an important contribution to the Reid Commission of 1957 which drew up the Constitution of Malaya. There have been exchange of numerous visits—the most notable of which were the visits to Pakistan of the Paramount Ruler of Malaya in December, 1961, and Prime Minister Tunku Abdur Rahman's visit in October, 1962. These visits have helped to maintain close political, commercial and cultural relations between the two countries.

With the formation of Malaysia, difficulties arose in that region which have yet to be resolved. In September, 1963, President Ayub Khan wrote to the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines, expressing his concern. Again, in April 1964, the President offered to the three parties facilities for holding a Conference in Pakistan should they so desire. The President also placed his good offices at their disposal. In July, 1964, the President gave a statement in London expressing the hope that Indonesia and Malaysia would continue to explore possibilities of an amicable settlement. He said that the important thing was that the dialogue should not be interrupted. Pakistan is undoubtedly concerned over the persistence of this dispute between countries with both of whom it has cordial and friendly relations. It shall continue to advocate an amicable settlement through peaceful means. Our efforts will be directed towards that end.

I have recounted some of the contributions that Pakistan has made to the cause of Muslims in other parts of the world and attempted to illustrate the consistent good-will, support and identification which have characterized our relations with Muslim countries. In doing so, I had no intention of claiming credit for Pakistan. Our policy towards Muslim countries is not based on desire for gain or for gratitude. It is based on much more fundamental considerations and compulsions. Even before the inception of the Pakistan movement, the leaders of Muslim renaissance in the sub-continent had identified themselves with the greater cause of an awakening of the Islamic world as a whole.

The ideology of Pakistan was not only confined to the need for the emancipation of the Muslims of the sub-continent. It was vitally concerned with the manifestation in the twentieth century of Islamic values of social Justice and universal brotherhood. Pakistan was thus conceived with a very pronounced external purpose and it has consistently sought to discharge its obligation in the field of international affairs—an obligation which it had inherited with the very birth of Pakistan as an independent

State. The promotion of amity, peace and justice in international affairs has, therefore, been an important principle with Pakistan in the conduct of its foreign policy. Its ideological basis, its dedication to the cause of emancipation, solidarity and progress of Islam in the twentieth century, and its zealous quest for peace with justice and equity and for the fulfilment of its purpose in the scheme of things in the Muslim world were decisive factors.

Muslims in India

While Pakistan will always be ready to share with Muslim peoples all over the world their joys and their sorrows, it is the welfare of the Muslims of India that is closest to its concern. This is only natural because the Muslims of Pakistan and India have the same heritage and history and were but a single community until the independence of the two countries divided them. It is for this reason that Pakistan has always shown concern over the problems of the 50 million Muslims of India.

The creation of a separate state comprising the Muslim majority of the sub-continent was designed to enable the two nations to live in peace and amity. It was designed specifically to remove the cause of friction and strife between the two major communities. With the partition of the sub-continent on the basis of the two-nation theory, the minorities in both these nations were to be enabled to lead a life free from fear and intimidation which had become their lot in the persistent conflict between the two communities.

Notwithstanding the high purpose and the noble objectives formulated by the architects of independence, the holocaust let loose at the very time of Partition in 1947, was a clear indication that the fate of Muslims in India was uncertain. Although, under the Liaquat-Nehru Agreement of 1950 the Governments of India and Pakistan pledged themselves to ensure to their respective minorities complete equality of citizenship and full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, the position of Muslims in India has gone from bad to worse. There have been more than 550 anti-Muslim riots in India since 1950. Hardly any Muslim festival has passed without the Muslim community being subjected to attacks of communal frenzy in one part of India or the other. The existence of the Muslims as a distinct cultural group is in peril despite India's protestations of secularism. The new written accounts of Indian history go so far as completely to ignore the great contributions which Islam has made towards the culture and civilization of India. The aims of the majority community can be judged from the statement of the President of Hindu Mahasabha who said that:

Methods should have to be devised whereby these elements, that are Muslims, can be merged with the flow of national life in the country which is nothing other than Hindu.

A number of other Hindu leaders have voiced such sinister intentions against the Muslim population of India. As if political, economic and cultural disintegration of Muslim was not enough, certain elements of the majority community in India have launched an organised campaign of genocide of Muslims. Treating the Muslims as hostages in the political vendetta against Pakistan, the Indian authorities have done little to protect the lives of thousands of innocent Muslims who have been massacred in the oft-recurring communal riots. Mr. Selig Harrison, a keen observer of the contemporary Indian scene, writing in the American quarterly "Foreign Affairs" of January, 1965 said that in India, secularism was dead. He added:

The traditional tone in social patterns has a political parallel in the slow stirrings of a coarse-grain nationalism which is frankly, even belligerently, Hindu in its inspiration. . . . It is not enough that a unified state with a Hindu majority—clearly dominant over a Muslim minority now reduced to 11 per cent—has been established at long last in the Indian sub-continent in one form or another.

On our Eastern frontiers, India has launched a most callous drive against their own Muslims forcing them to leave their home and hearth to seek shelter in East Pakistan. Half a million helpless Muslims from India have taken refuge in East Pakistan. This is a cynical demonstration of India's 'secular' methods. By using Indian Muslims as human pawns in this ruthless and diabolic fashion, India hopes to score against Pakistan.

Such utter lack of concern for human standards is a blot on the conscience of mankind. India thinks that by continuing forcible evictions, she will gain on two fronts: it will eliminate the 50 million Muslims of India, and, at the same time, bring unbearable pressure to bear on Pakistan. She does not stop to think that long before she reaches either of her objectives, she would have succeeded in bringing about her own down-fall. Callousness only begets callousness. To pursue this path is to court disaster at the hands of human indignation. It is my firm conviction that the present leadership in India, which meets out such injustice to one section of its people, can neither retain the loyalty nor the support of the other sections of its population for length of time.

Human Problem

The Muslim minority in India is faced with an ordeal which should evoke the concern of all peoples who are pledged to the respect of human rights. The minority problem in India is not a political but a human problem. All that Pakistan is anxious to do is to secure for the Muslims of India an existence in which they are delivered from the threat to their lives, their honour and their possessions, and to secure for them the equality of citizenship promised in the Indian Constitution, on the secular character of which India prides herself so much.

Pakistan has appealed to India to stop the persecution of Muslims and to take steps to protect their elementary human rights. Pakistan has also brought the plight of Indian Muslims to the attention of the United Nations with a view to stirring the conscience of the world.

If world opinion, particularly public opinion in the Muslim countries, were also to express their deep concern over the situation in which the Muslim minority in India finds itself, the Indian authorities might be quickened into a realization of their duties and responsibilities. The interest of the Governments of Muslim countries in the welfare of the Indian Muslims would be a most potent factor in persuading the Government of India to ensure that the principles of secularism proclaimed in the Indian Constitution is also applied to its Muslim minority.

Under international law and the Charter of the United Nations, the universal observance of respect for human rights, regardless of birth, race and religion, is a subject of legitimate concern to every individual State and also to any collectively organised community of States. Needless to say that, it is in India's own larger interest that 50 million Indians should be allowed to live in decency and safety instead of being scarified on the altar of prejudice merely because they are Muslims.

The Muslims of India have given much and scarified greatly for the cause of Muslims beyond their own frontiers. Is it too much to hope that they in their turn will not be abandoned by the Muslim world in their hour of peril?

The poignant position of the 50 million Muslim minority in India and the discrimination and deprivations Muslims continue to suffer calls for united action on the part of Muslim peoples who have the ability and power to join together in defence of freedom, justice and fundamental human rights.

Kashmir

For the purpose of this discourse, I do not wish to dwell at length on the liberation struggle of the Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir. Let it suffice to say that the enduring injustice which the State of Jammu and Kashmir has had to suffer at the hands of India presents to the world of Islam its greatest challenge. If Islam is to operate in the 20th century as a force of liberation, as a force dedicated to the liquidation of oppression, injustice and tyranny, as a force sworn to uphold the rights and dignities and just causes of suffering humanity, a beginning will have to be made in Kashmir. It is here that contemporary Islam faces its greatest trial.

India continues its illegal occupation of Jammu and Kashmir in flagrant violation of its international commitments. The people of Jammu and Kashmir continue to be denied their right of self-determination due to Indian intransigence. The Muslims of Jammu and Kashmir continue to suffer under the heels of Indian colonial domination. They continue to be deprived of their fundamental human right to choose their own destiny. A reign of terror has been let loose in the Valley. Their valiant fighters for freedom fall by the wayside as Indian forces impose their tyranny on unarmed and helpless Muslims. Their leaders rot in jails and yet the struggle continues and will continue, if necessary till the seas run dry.

Islam and the Muslims

There is gratifying evidence to show that the reawakening Muslim peoples are not unmindful of their obligation. After two centuries of stagnation and apathy, they are beginning to feel a flow of life in their veins. The resurgent Muslim world is a force in world affairs.

The most recent demonstration of their solidarity was at the African-Asian Muslim Peoples' conference held at Jakarta in March, 1965. Representatives from 33 countries took part in this Conference which was the first of its type. The Conference stressed the need for collaboration amongst Muslim countries and peoples for protecting the common interests of Muslims, promoting their welfare and safeguarding their security.

The Conference has served to deepen the consciousness of Islam and its great potential as an instrument of freedom in the struggle of the peoples of the New Emerging Forces against imperialism and colonialism. At this Conference, President Soekarno made an inspiring exhortation to the Muslim world to safeguard their freedom through progress, and to rebuild a prosperous and better world for themselves.

In the past, Islamic political philosophers and jurists looked upon the Caliphate as the ideal practical expression of the unity and solidarity of Islam. The unity of the Islamic community was predicted and indeed actualized on the universal rule of the Caliphs. The gradual disintegration and the final dissolution of this institution is a matter of history.

Taken collectively, the confines of the Muslim world of today extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They differ in their forms of government, political organization, and in their economic and social systems. Their national interests, as dictated by geopolitical and historical factors, need to be harmonized.

Let us examine the concept of nationalism in Islam and see if it is at variance with universal brotherhood of mankind which it preaches. In the early days of Islam when it overflowed the confines of Arabia and with irresistible force reached the far corners of the civilized world of those days, it was only the spirit and the force of its ideology and its mission which remained unitary. In its application, it assumed distinct federal characteristics. At no time in the history of Islam did the central authority dominate its far-flung provinces. On the contrary, it was more often that the kingdoms on its peripheries sought to identify themselves with the centre. I referred to a classic instance of this phenomenon at the very beginning when discussing the unity of the Ummat.

I mentioned how mighty rulers of Hindustan like Mahmud Ghazni, Iltutmash and Balban sought, with utmost humility, the approval of the Caliphate to their rule over Kingdoms which they had carved out by themselves. Thus, we see Islam acting as a positive unifying force, and bringing about a complete harmonization of an outward-looking nationalism with a progressive international unity. This exposes the myth of the oft-repeated contention that nationalism is invariably in conflict with internationalism. Islam has abundantly illustrated the complete reconciliation of nationalism with internationalism.

The questions then arise: Can the consciousness of the universal policy of Islam be given a concrete political expression in our times? Is the Quranic concept of the unity of the universal community of Islam, transcending national barriers, still valid? Does this sense of an international fraternity of peoples permeate the consciousness of our Muslim brethren from Morocco to Indonesia, across the breadth of two continents, as it continues to animate the Muslims of Pakistan?

It is true that a lasting association cannot be based on doctrine alone as this would inevitably lead to dissensions and strife, on account of different interpretations. Nor can we hope to build on nostalgia or

sentiment, because with the passage of time the world and its events have left those memories behind. It is not also feasible to think in terms of an association of Muslim countries to the exclusion of all others. This would be a negation of the universal spirit of Islam. Apart from the fact that it would be both negative and self-defeating, such a trend would invariably create more problems than it would solve.

The answer is to be found in a unity based on the principles of peace, justice and brotherhood, and dedication to the struggle against tyranny. There are essential ingredients of Islam. A unity based on enlightenment; reform and reconstruction acting as an impetus to international co-operation. A unity which will act in collaboration and as partisans in the common struggle against domination, and indeed as a spearhead of progressive and revolutionary forces.

The future of Islam is beginning to take shape. The Arab States come together periodically at the Summit level. So, do the Maghreb States and the RCD and IPECC countries. In their totality, the growing contacts between Muslim nations constitute a force of immediate significance. What needs to be done is to vastly enlarge the existing scale of such contacts to multilateral meetings between the Heads of States and governments. Directed towards the achievement of a unity of purpose, towards the achievement of social and economic progress and the promotion of universal brotherhood, this is capable of giving a powerful impetus to the renaissance of Islam in the 20th century.

I have dwelt at some length on the nature of support which the Muslims of the subcontinent have extended to the struggle for revival of the civilization of Islam in our contemporary times. From the Pan-Islamic attitudes of the concluding phases of the Caliphate there has been a rapid evolution—through Modern revivalists such as Sir Syed and Sir Amir Ali, the activities led by Allama Iqbal up to the present phase in which the civilization of Islam is engaged in the most crucial task of providing a sheet anchor for the elimination of the last vestiges of domination and exploitation.

The contemporary role of Islam is consistent with the role it played in the struggle of mankind against tyranny until it was itself weakened by internal strife and schisms to fall into decay in the face of the Imperialist onslaught. The new spirit of Islam is finding its natural expression through its association with the most urgent need for the establishment of a new world order based on equality, justice and fraternity. It is only the success with which the struggle against exploitation and domination can

be carried to a satisfactory conclusion that will determine whether or not we can see the dawn of a new era in the affairs of man.

With the revolutionary discoveries of science and technology, new vistas and indeed new dimensions are being added to human experience with terrifying speed. The present only provides a glimpse of the dynamism which would be the hallmark of our world of tomorrow. Citizens of the future will need an atmosphere of unparalleled social justice and equality if they are to succeed in facing the unprecedented challenge which will be theirs to face.

To achieve these conditions, we would need in our generation to make monumental efforts and prepare for physical and intellectual discipline of the highest order. In a broad sense our endeavor has already begun. Beginnings are being made, but they would need to be supported and given direction and content. The egalitarian principles of Islam would need to be practised and manifested. The role is of leadership. The intelligentsia of the Muslim world would do well to establish their own clearing house of new ideas and fresh interpretation of known values. National leaders will need to maintain a high degree of awareness of the movements not only within the polity of Islam, but in the world as a whole. National policies will need to be harmonized with regional needs which, in their turn, will have to take into account the realities of the international situation as a whole.

Without setting our sights too high, we can hope to see the gradual evolution of regional institutions such as RCD and IPECC, a greater measure of cohesion among the Arab States, closer institutional links between the countries of the Maghreb, and the reinforcement of the African personality. These and other developments would inevitably bring us to the next phase of co-operation which would include the development of inter-institutional relations between these various regional organizations for co-operation.

The Role of Pakistan

Pakistan has a role of the utmost importance to play in this evolutionary phase. Its situation on the peripheries of the Middle East on the one hand and the Far East on the other is in itself a compelling factor. Its ideological basis provides the motive power. It is the particular heritage of Pakistan, however, which remains the most potent factor in the determination of both the nature and scope of its role. The Muslims of Pakistan have inherited, along with their Islamic fervour, an admixture of all the other great civilizations that have helped to shape human destiny.

From the Buddhists and the Hindus among whom they have lived for almost a thousand years, from their extensive contacts through Central Asia with the ancient civilization of China, and from their association with the West which has left its own legacy, the followers of Islam in Pakistan have developed a rich and unique cosmopolitan outlook. The totality of its circumstances is such that in the world of tomorrow Pakistan cannot but play a vital role.

Conceived as an ideological State, Pakistan is dedicated to the manifestation of the most comprehensive code of social, economic and political conduct, to the realization of the highest concepts of an egalitarian society and to the liquidation of disparity, discrimination and exploitation—in fact it is dedicated to the achievement of true equality and brotherhood in human relations. This total embodiment of the values of Islam with its internal and external dimensions finds itself in complete harmony with the most progressive, economic, and political and social forces of the contemporary world.

If mankind is to avoid the many pitfalls which lie in its path, many a bridge will have to be established in the world of the future. A mere glance at the human, political and physical geography of the world will show the importance of the situation of Pakistan. Situated as it is, one cannot conclude otherwise than to say that the bridges across Pakistan will carry for the world the lifeblood of its future generations with all the promise of peace, brotherhood, progress and enlightenment—in fact, the true ingredients of a better world.

If this conclusion as to our destiny should sound pretentious, I would merely end by quoting from the renowned Philip K. Hitti:

If someone in the first third of the 7th Christian century had the audacity of prophesy that within a decade or so some unheralded, unforeseen power from the hitherto barbarous and little known land of Arabia was to make its appearance, hurl itself against the only two world powers of the age, fall heir to the one (the Sassanid) and strip the other (the Byzantine) of its fairest provinces, he would undoubtedly have been declared a lunatic. Yet that was exactly what happened.

To come nearer home, it was not so long ago when the idea of Pakistan was mooted, there was no dearth of sceptics who pointed out that such a proposition was nothing short of an absurdity. But, as Victor Hugo said, nothing is more powerful in the world than the force of an idea whose time has come.

TASHKENT DECLARATION ⁴⁴⁹

(January 1966)

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighborly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

They considered that the interests of peace in the region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It is against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides put forth its respective position.

II

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25 February 1966, to the positions they held prior to 5 August 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

III

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

IV

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other

449 Also visit The Jinnah Institute site (<http://www.jinnah-institute.org/pak-india-pcm/pcm-archive/257-tashkent-declaration>). (Accessed on 1 February 2014).

country, and will encourage propoganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

V

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on diplomatic intercourse.

VI

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

VII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

VIII

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue the discussion of questions relating to the problems of refugees, evictions and illegal immigrations. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

IX

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognized the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistani bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet

Union, the Soviet government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for their constructive friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results. They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality.

They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to witness this declaration.

President of Pakistan:
Mohammad Ayub Khan

Prime Minister of India:
Lal Bahadur Shastri

Tashkent, the 10th January, 1966

AWAMI LEAGUE SIX POINTS ⁴⁵⁰

1. The character of the government should be federal and Parliamentary, in which elections to the Federal Legislature and to the Legislatures of the federating units would be direct and on the basis of universal adult franchise. Representation in the Federal Legislature would be on the basis of population.
2. The Federal Government would be responsible only for defence and foreign affairs and, subject to the conditions provided in (3) below, currency.
3. There would be two separate currencies mutually or freely convertible in each wing for each region, or in the alternative a single currency, subject to the establishment of a federal reserve system in which there would be regional federal reserve banks which would devise measures to prevent the transfer of resources and flight of capital from one region to another.
4. Fiscal policy would be the responsibility of the federating units. The Federal Government would be provided with the requisite revenue resources for meeting the requirements of defence and foreign affairs, which revenue resources would be automatically appropriable by the Federal Government in the manner provided and on the basis of the ratio to be determined by the procedure laid down in the Constitution. Such constitutional provisions would ensure that the Federal Government's revenue requirements were met consistently with the objective of ensuring control over the fiscal policy by the Governments of the federating units.
5. Constitutional provisions would be made to enable separate accounts to be maintained of the foreign exchange earnings of each of the federating units. The foreign exchange requirements of the Federal Government would be met by the governments of the federating units on the basis of a ratio to be determined in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution. The regional Governments would have powers under the Constitution to negotiate foreign trade

450 Book 'Tragedy of Errors-East Pakistan Crisis, 1968-1971' by Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin, published by Wajidalis, Lahore in 1994; pages 476.

and aid within the framework of the foreign policy of the country, which would be the responsibility of the Federal Government.

6. The Government of the federating units would be empowered to maintain a militia or paramilitary force in order to contribute effectively towards national security.

**SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN'S ADDRESS IN DHAKA
ON 7 MARCH 1971** ⁴⁵¹

Dear brothers,

I have come here before you today with a heavy heart.

You all know how hard we have tried.

It is a matter of sadness that the streets of Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna, Rangpur and Rajshahi are today being filled with blood.

You brought victory to the Awami League. The desire and the hope was that the elected representatives of the people of Pakistan, in the National Assembly, would make a Constitution that would assure that people of their economic, political and cultural emancipation. Now, with great sadness in heart, I look back on the past 23 years of our history and see nothing but a history of the shedding of the blood of the Bengali people.

We gave blood in 1952, we won a mandate in 1954. But we were still not allowed to run the government in Pakistan. In 1958, Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law on our people and enslaved us for ten years. In 1966, during the Six-Point Movement of the people, many young men and women lost their lives.

After Ayub, Yahya Khan took over with the promise that he would restore Constitutional rule, that he would restore democracy and return power to the people of the country. We agreed. You all know the events that followed; are we the ones to blame!

I have been in contact with President Yahya Khan. As leader of the majority party in the National Assembly of Pakistan, I asked him to set 15 February as the day for its inaugural session. He did not agree to my request which I made as the Leader of the Majority party. Instead, he went along with the delay requested by the Minority leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and said that the National Assembly would be convened on 3 March.

451 File on East Pakistan maintained by historian Muzaffar Mehdi Hashmi, who served as Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan from 1965 to 1969.

We accepted that, agreed to join. I even went to the extent of stating that we, despite our majority, would listen to any correct ideas from the minority, even if there was a single voice. I committed myself to support anything to bolster the restoration of a Constitutional government in Pakistan.

I met Mr. Bhutto when he visited Dhaka. We discussed. He left... negotiations were still open. Maulana Noorani and Maulana Mufti Mahmud were among those Parliamentarians from West Pakistan who came to Dhaka and spoke of an agreement with me on a Constitutional Framework.

I clarified to them that I would not agree to any deviation from the Six Points. That right was entirely with the people. I told them come, let us sit down and discuss to resolve the issues.

However, Mr. Bhutto's view was that he would not allow himself to become hostage on two fronts. He underlined that if any West Pakistani MNA were to go to Dhaka, the Assembly would be turned into a blood house. He stressed that if any person participates in the Assembly session, a countrywide demonstration would be started from Peshawar to Karachi and that all business would be closed down in protest.

I assured him that the Assembly would be convened and despite the serious threats, West Pakistani leaders did come to Dhaka.

Abruptly, on 1 March, the session was postponed.

There was a quick reaction from the people. I asked for a hartal as a peaceful form of protest and the common masses took to the streets. And what did we get as a response? He turned his guns on my people, a people with no arms to defend.

These were the same arms that had been purchased with our own money to protect us from the enemy India.

It is our people who are being fired upon today. In the past, also, each time we the numerically larger segment of Pakistan's population tried to assert our rights and control our future, they made an intrigue against us and attacked us.

How can you make your own brothers the target of your bullets! Now, Yahya Khan says that I had agreed to a Round Table Conference on the

10th. This is not correct. I had said, Yahya Khan, you are the President of Pakistan. Come to Dhaka, see how our Bengali people have been killed by your bullets, how our mothers and sisters have suffered...my poor people have been slaughtered. Come, I stressed, come and see yourself and then be the judge and take the decision.

I had also told him earlier that there would be no Round Table Conference. You expect me to sit at a Round Table Conference with the people who have emptied our laps? On 3rd, at the Paltan, I asked for a non-cooperation movement and closure of offices, courts and revenue collection. You supported me.

Then abruptly, without any consultation, he met with one person for five long hours and subsequently made a speech in which he blamed me, and lay the fault on the Bengali people!

The stalemate was created by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, yet the Bengalis are the ones facing bullets! We confront guns, and still it is said that it is our fault. The struggle this time is a struggle for emancipation.

Brothers, they have now called the Assembly Session for 25 March, with the roads in Dhaka not yet dry of the blood.

You have called the Assembly session, but you must first agree to meet our demands. Martial Law must be lifted; the army must return to barracks; the murderers of my people must be taken task to. Above all, power must be handed over to the elected representatives of the people of Pakistan. Only then, will we consider if we can attend the National Assembly session.

Before the demands are met, there can be no question of our attending the session.

Do you, my brothers and sisters, have full faith in me!

Let me inform you, it is not my desire to become the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I want justice, the rights of the people of this land.

That day, right at Racecourse ground here, I had pledged to you that I will pay for the blood debt with my own blood. Do you remember? I am read today to fulfil the promise!

Today, I declare the closure of all the courts, offices, and schools etc indefinitely.

No one will go to the offices.

That is my order to you all.

Rickshaws, trains and other transport will run in a normal manner, except serving the requirements of the army. If the army does not respect this, I shall not be responsible for the results.

The Supreme Court, High Court, Judge's Courts, Secretariat and the government and semi-government offices will also remain closed.

Only banks will remain open for two hours every day for business matters. However, no money shall be transacted from East Pakistan to West Pakistan.

The Bengali people must stay calm; and telegraph and telephone lines would remain confined to East Pakistan.

If need be, we will bring everything to a standstill...Get your salaries; if they are held up, if a single bullet is fired on us, if the murder of our people does not stop, I call upon you to turn every home into a fortress. Ever last street must be blocked.

We will deprive them of food. We will deprive them of water.

I urge you to continue your movement.

I say to them again, you are My Brothers, return now to the barracks where you belong and no one will bear any hostility toward you.

Only do not attempt to aim any more bullets at our hearts: It will not do any good whatsoever! The Bengali people have learned how to die for a cause; and you will not be able to bring them under your yoke of suppression!

To help the families of the martyrs, the Awami League has established Committees. The Committees will do all they can. Please donate whatever you can. Also, employers must give full pay to those workers who participated in the seven day hartal or were not able to work because of the curfews imposed.

To all government employees, I instruct that my orders must be obeyed. I better not see you attending offices. From today, until this land has

been freed, no taxes will be paid. Leave everything to me; I know how to organize a movement.

But be very careful. Keep in mind that the enemy has infiltrated our ranks. I also ask you not to listen to radio, television and the press if the news does not related to our movement.

To them, I underscore once again, “You are our brothers. I beseech you not to turn our Pakistan into a living hell; conscience is important.”

If we can peacefully resolve our differences, there is a great hope that we can exist as real blood brothers. Together, we created Pakistan. Otherwise there is no hope.

For now, I have just one thing to ask of you: give up any thought of a military rule again!

I ask my people to immediately set up committees under the leadership of the Awami League to carry on our struggle in every neighborhood, village, union and subdivision of this land. You must prepare yourselves now with what little you have for the struggle ahead. The struggle this time is for emancipation!

Be prepared. We cannot afford to lose our momentum.

Keep the movement and the struggle alive.

**JOY BANGLA
PAKISTAN ZINDABAD**

**PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF
BANGLADESH⁴⁵²**

Mujibnagar, Bangladesh
Dated 10th day of April, 1971

Whereas free elections were held in Bangladesh from 7th December, 1970 to 17th January, 1971 to elect representatives for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

AND

Whereas at these elections the people of Bangladesh elected 167 out of 169 representatives belonging to the Awami League,

AND

Whereas General Yahya Khan summoned the elected representatives of the people to meet on the 3rd March, 1971, for the purpose of framing a Constitution,

AND

Whereas the Assembly so summoned was arbitrarily and illegally postponed for indefinite period,

AND

Whereas instead of fulfilling their promise and while still conferring with the representatives of the people of Bangladesh, Pakistan authorities declared an unjust and treacherous war,

AND

Whereas in the facts and circumstances of such treacherous conduct Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of the

⁴⁵² The national encyclopedia of Bangladesh.

75 million people of Bangladesh, in due fulfilment of the legitimate right of self-determination of the people of Bangladesh, duly made a declaration of independence at Dacca on March 26, 1971, and urged upon the people of Bangladesh to defend the honour and integrity of Bangladesh,

AND

Whereas in the conduct of a ruthless and savage war the Pakistani authorities committed and are still continuously committing numerous acts of genocide and unprecedented tortures, amongst others on the civilian and unarmed people of Bangladesh,

AND

Whereas the Pakistan Government by levying an unjust war and committing genocide and by other repressive measures made it impossible for the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh to meet and frame a Constitution, and give to themselves a Government,

AND

Whereas the people of Bangladesh by their heroism, bravery and revolutionary fervour have established effective control over the territories of Bangladesh, We the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh, as honour bound by the mandate given to us by the people of Bangladesh whose will is supreme duly constituted ourselves into a Constituent Assembly, and having held mutual consultations, and in order to ensure for the people of Bangladesh equality, human dignity and social justice,

Declare and constitute Bangladesh to be sovereign Peoples' Republic and thereby confirm the declaration of independence already made by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman,

AND

do hereby affirm and resolve that till such time as a Constitution is framed, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman shall be the President of the Republic and that Syed Nazrul Islam shall be the Vice President of the Republic,

AND

that the President shall be the Supreme Commander of all the Armed Forces of the Republic, shall exercise all the Executive and Legislative powers of the Republic including the power to grant pardon, shall have the power to appoint a Prime Minister and such other Ministers as he considers necessary, shall have the power to levy taxes and expend monies [sic], shall have the power to summon and adjourn the Constituent Assembly,

AND

do all other things that may be necessary to give to the people of Bangladesh an orderly and just Government.

We the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh do further resolve that in the event of there being no President or the President being unable to enter upon his office or being unable to exercise his powers and duties, due to any reason whatsoever, the Vice President shall have and exercise all the powers, duties and responsibilities herein conferred on the President,

We further resolve that we undertake to observe and give effect to all duties and obligations that devolve upon us as a member of the family of nations and under the Charter of United Nations,

We further resolve that this proclamation of independence shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

We further resolve that in order to give effect to this instrument we appoint Professor Yusuf Ali our duly Constituted Potentiary and to give to the President and the Vice-President oaths of office.

Sd/ Professor M Yusuf Ali
Duly Constituted Potentiary
By and under the authority of the Constituent Assembly of
Bangladesh

Laws Continuance Enforcement Order

In the exercise of power conferred by the Proclamation, the Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam issued the Laws Continuance Enforcement Order to ensure continuity of all the existing laws. Following is the full text of the Order:

Mujibnagar

Dated 10th day of April, 1971

I, Syed Nazrul Islam, the Vice President and Acting President of Bangladesh, in exercise of the powers conferred on me by the Proclamation of Independence dated tenth day of April, 1971 do hereby order that all laws that were in force in Bangladesh on 25th March, 1971, shall subject to the Proclamation aforesaid continue to be so in force with such consequential changes as may be necessary on account of the creation of the sovereign independent State of Bangladesh formed by the will of the people of Bangladesh and that all government officials, civil, military, judicial and diplomatic who take the oath of allegiance to Bangladesh shall continue in their offices on terms and conditions of service so long enjoyed by them and that all District Judges and District Magistrates, in the territory of Bangladesh and all diplomatic representatives elsewhere shall arrange to administer the oath of allegiance to all government officials within their jurisdiction.

This order shall be deemed to have come into effect from 26th day of March, 1971.

Signed: Syed Nazrul Islam
Acting President. [Sajahan Miah]

**HAND-WRITTEN LETTER
BY US PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON
ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN OF
PAKISTAN, EXPRESSING DEEP APPRECIATION
FOR THE ROLE BY PAKISTAN IN BRINGING ABOUT
SINO-US RAPPROCHEMENT**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 7, 1971

Dear Mr. President,

I have already expressed my official appreciation for your assistance in arranging our contacts with the People's Republic of China.

Through this personal note I want you to know that without your personal assistance this profound breakthrough in relations between the USA and the PRC would never have been accomplished.

I wish you would extend my personal thanks to your Ambassador in Washington and to your associates in Pakistan for their efficiency and discretion in handling the very sensitive arrangements.

Those who want a more peaceful world in the generations to come will forever be in your debt.

Mr. Kissinger joins me in expressing our deepest gratitude for the historic role you played during this very difficult period.

Sincerely,
Richard Nixon

**TREATY OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP AND
COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF
INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF
SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS**

(New Delhi, 9 August 1971)

DESIROUS of expanding and consolidating the existing relations of sincere friendship between them,

BELIEVING that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the basic national interests of both the States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

DETERMINED to promote the consolidation of universal peace and security and to make steadfast efforts for the relaxation international tensions and the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism,

UPHOLDING their firm faith in the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between States with different political and social systems,

CONVINCED that in the world today international problems can only be solved by cooperation and not by conflict,

REAFFIRMING their determination to abide by the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter,

The Republic of India on one side,
and

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the other side,
HAVE decided to conclude the present Treaty, for which purposes the following Plenipotentiaries have been appointed:

On behalf of the Republic of India:
SARDAR SWARAN SINGH,
Minister of External Affairs,

On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Mr. A.A. GROMYKO,
Minister of Foreign Affairs,
WHO, having each presented their Credentials, which are found to be in
proper form and due order,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

Article I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare that enduring peace and friendship shall prevail between the two countries and their peoples. Each Party shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other party and refrain from interfering in the other's internal affairs. The high Contracting Parties shall continue to develop and consolidate the relations of sincere friendship, good neighborliness and comprehensive cooperation existing between them on the basis of the aforesaid principles as well as those of equality and mutual benefit.

Article II

Guided by the desire to contribute in every possible way to ensure enduring peace and security of their people, the High Contracting Parties declare their determination to continue their efforts to preserve and to strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world, to.....and to achieve general and complete disarmament, including both nuclear and conventional, under effective international control.

Article III

Guided by their loyalty to the lofty ideal of equality of all Peoples and Nations, irrespective of race or creed, the High Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and

The High Contracting Parties shall cooperate with other States to achieve these aims and to support the just aspirations of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial domination.

Article IV

The Republic of India respects the peace loving policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aimed at strengthening friendship and co-operation with all nations.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics respects India's policy of non-alignment and reaffirms that this policy constitutes an important factor in the maintenance of universal peace and international security and in the lessening of tensions in the world.

Article V

Deeply interested in ensuring universal peace and security attaching great importance to their mutual cooperation in the international field for achieving those aims, the High Contracting Parties will maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both of States by means of meetings and exchanges of views between their leading statesmen, visits by official delegations and special envoys of the two Governments, and through diplomatic channels.

Article VI

Attaching great importance to economic, scientific and technological co-operation between them, the High Contracting Parties will continue to consolidate and expand mutually advantageous and comprehensive co-operation in these fields as well as expand trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and most-favoured-nation treatment, subject to the existing agreements and the special arrangements with contiguous countries as specified in the Indo-Soviet Trade Agreement of December 26, 1970.

Article VII

The High Contracting Parties shall promote further development of ties and contacts between them in the fields of science, art, literature, education, public health, press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports.

Article VIII

In accordance with the traditional friendship established between the two countries each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from any aggression against the other Party and to prevent the use of its territory for the commission of any act which might inflict military damage on the other High Contracting Party.

Article IX

Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from providing any assistance to any third party that engages in armed conflict with the other Party. In the event of either Party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries.

Article X

Each High Contracting Party solemnly declares that it shall not enter into any obligations, secret or public, with one or more states, which is incompatible with this Treaty. Each high Contracting Party further declares that no obligation exists, nor shall any obligation be entered into, between itself and any other State or States, which might cause military damage to the other Party.

Article XI

This treaty is concluded for the duration of twenty years and will be automatically extended for each successive period of five years unless either High Contracting Party declares its desire to terminate it by giving notice to the other High Contracting Party twelve months prior to the expiration of the Treaty. The Treaty will be subject to ratification and will come into force on the date of the exchange of Instruments of Ratification which will take place in Moscow within one month of the signing of this Treaty.

Article XII

Any difference of interpretation of any Article or Articles of this Treaty that may arise between the High Contracting Parties will be settled bilaterally by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understating.

The said Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty in Hindi, Russian and English, all texts being equally authentic and have affixed thereto their seals.

DONE in New Delhi on the ninth day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and seventy one.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH
Republic of India

A.A. GROMYKO
Soviet Socialist Republics

**POLISH RESOLUTION S/10453 INTRODUCED IN THE
SECURITY COUNCIL ON 14 DECEMBER 1971** ⁴⁵³

THE SECURITY COUNCIL, GRAVELY CONCERNED over the military conflict on the Indian sub-continent, which constitutes an immediate threat to international peace and security, HAVING HEARD the statements by the Foreign Minister of India and the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan, DECIDES that:

- a. In the eastern theatre of conflict, the power will be peacefully transferred to the lawfully elected representatives of the people headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who would immediately be released;
- b. Immediately after the beginning of the process of power transfer, the military actions in all the areas will be ceased and an initial cease-fire will start for a period of 72 hours;
- c. After the immediate commencement of the initial period of cease- fire, the Pakistan armed forces will start withdrawal to the pre-set locations in the eastern theatre of conflict with a view to evacuation from the eastern theatre of conflict;
- d. Similarly, the entire West Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons willing to return to West Pakistan, as well as the entire East Pakistan civilian personnel and other persons in West Pakistan willing to return home, will be given an opportunity to do so under the supervision of the United Nations, with the guarantees on the part of all appropriate authorities concerned that nobody will be subjected to repressions;
- e. As soon as within the period of 72 hours the withdrawal of the Pakistan troops and their concentration for that purpose will have started, the cease-fire will become permanent. As soon as the evacuation of the West Pakistan armed forces will have started, actually upon consultations with the newly established

453 See write up 'The Polish Resolution', by A. G. Noorani in *Criterion* Vol 7 No 2, posted on 13 May 2012 by visiting <http://www.criterion-quarterly.com/the-polish-resolution/>.

authorities organized as a result of the transfer of power to the lawfully elected representatives of the people headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman;

- f. Recognizing the principle according to which territorial acquisitions made through the use of force will not be retained by either party to the conflict, the Governments of India and Pakistan will immediately begin negotiations through appropriate representatives of their armed forces with a view to the speediest possible implementation of this principle in the western theatre of military operations.”

(The Revised version of the next day, 15 December, was identical except for one significant change. References to the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and to the government headed by him, were dropped.)

**SPEECH BY ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO OF PAKISTAN
AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, NEW YORK,
ON 15 DECEMBER 1971**

(Unofficial text)⁴⁵⁴

We have met here today at a very serious and important moment in the history of my country. I would request the Council kindly to bear hear the truth, the bitter truth. I know the United Nations; I know the Security Council I have attended their sessions before. The time has come when, as far as Pakistan is concerned, we shall have to speak the truth whether members of the Council like it or not. We were hoping that the Security Council, mindful of its responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace and justice, would act according to principles and bring an end to a naked, brutal aggression against my people.

I came here for this reason. I was needed by the people of Pakistan, and when I was leaving Pakistan I was in two minds whether: to go to the Security Council to represent the cause of my country, to represent the cause of a people that had been subjected to aggression, or to remain with my people, by their side, while they were being subjected to attack and violence. However, I felt that it was imperative for me to come here and seek justice from the Security Council. But I must say, whether the members like it or not, that the Security Council has denied my country that justice. From the moment I arrived, we have been subjected to dilatory tactics.....

The representative of Somalia referred to the population of East Pakistan as 56 million, but later on he corrected himself to say that the population of Bengal—of Muslim Bengal—was 76 million. If he had waited for a few more days he need not have corrected himself because millions are dying, and it would have come to 56 million if the Council had kept on filibustering and discussing whether it should meet today or tomorrow or the day after tomorrow—whether the lines of communication between New York and Moscow and Peking and other capitals would permit the members to obtain new instructions.....

454 'Ancient and Contemporary Pakistan', Afrasiab; page 817; Makhdooms, Lahore, Pakistan. (2015); May also see, The New York Times, 16 December 1971 ('Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto denouncing U.N. Security Council' by Henry Tanner).

Perhaps this will be my last speech in the Security Council. So please bear with me because -I have some home truths to tell the Security Council. The world must know. My people must know. I have not come here to accept abject surrender. If the Security Council wants me to be a party to the legalisation of abject surrender, then I say that under no circumstances shall it be so. Yesterday, my eleven-year-old son telephoned me from Karachi and said, "Do not come back with a document of surrender. We do not want to see you back in Pakistan if you do that." I will not take back a document of surrender from the Security Council. I will not be a party to the legalisation of aggression.

The Security Council has failed miserably, shamefully. "The Charter of the United Nations," "the San Francisco Conference," "international peace and justice"—these are the words we heard in our youth, and we were inspired by the concept of the United Nations maintaining international peace and justice and security. President Woodrow Wilson said that he fought the First World War to end wars for all time. The League of Nations came into being, and then the United Nations after it.

What has the United Nations done? I know of the farce and the fraud of the United Nations. They come here and say, "Excellence, Excellence, comment allez-vous?" and all that. "A very good speech—you have spoken very well, tres bien." We have heard all these things. The United Nations resembles those fashion houses which hide ugly realities by draping ungainly figures in alluring apparel. The concealment of realities is common to both but the ugly realities cannot remain hidden. You do not need a Secretary-General. You need a chief executioner.

Let us face the stark truth. I have got no stakes left for the moment. That is why I am speaking the truth from my heart. For four days, we have been deliberating here. For four days, the Security Council has procrastinated. Why? Because the object was for Dacca to fall. That was the object. It was quite clear to me from the beginning. All right, so what if Dacca falls? Cities and countries have fallen before. They have come under foreign occupation. China was under foreign occupation for years. Other countries have been under foreign occupation. France was under foreign occupation. Western Europe was under foreign occupation. So what if Dacca falls! So what if the whole of East Pakistan falls! So what if the whole of West Pakistan falls! So what if our state is obliterated! We will build a new Pakistan. We will build a better Pakistan. We will build a greater Pakistan.

The Security Council has acted shortsightedly by acquiescing in these dilatory tactics. You have reached a point when we shall say, "Do what

you like.” If this point had not been reached, we could have made a commitment. We could have said, “All right, we are prepared to do some things.” Now, why should we? You want us to be silenced by guns. Why should we say that we shall agree to anything? Now you decide what you like. Your decision will not be binding on us. You can decide what you like. If you had left us a margin of hope, we might have been a party to some settlement.

But the Indians are so short-sighted. Mr. President, you referred to the “distinguished” Foreign Minister of India. What may I ask is so “distinguished” about a policy of aggression he is trying to justify. How is he distinguished when his hands are full of blood, when his heart is full of venom? But you know they do not have vision.

The partition of India in 1947 took place because they did. not have vision. Now also they are lacking in vision. They talk about their ancient civilisation and the mystique of India and all that. But they do not have vision at all. If I had been in his place, I would have acted differently. I extended a hand of friendship to him the other day. He should have seen what I meant. I am not talking as a puppet.

I am talking as the authentic leader of the people of West Pakistan who elected me at the polls in a more impressive victory than the victory that Mujibur Rahman received in East Pakistan, and he should have taken cognizance of that. But he did not take cognizance of it. We could have opened a new page, a new chapter in our relations.

As I said, if the French and the Germans can come to terms, why cannot India and Pakistan come to terms? If the Turks and the Greeks can still talk sensibly as civilised people over Cyprus, why cannot India and Pakistan do likewise? If the Soviet Union and the United States can open a new page in their history, if China and the United States can open a new page in their history, why can we not usher a new era in. our relations? We could have done so. But as it was said about the 1967 Arab-Israel war, the military victory of Israel made it more difficult for Israel and the Arabs to reach a settlement. If you want to subjugate Pakistan militarily, you will find it more difficult to bring peace. I say that the choice for us is either to accept living in the-same subcontinent and co-operating for peace and progress, or to be implacable enemies of each other forever.

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union does not like my reference to the Roman Empire. I do not know what objection he has to it unless he sees some similarity between his empire and the Roman Empire. I do not really see why he had any objection to that. But I

shall again refer to the Roman Empire, and I hope that the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union will have no objection to it because we want to have good relations with the Soviet Union and we want to open a new chapter with the Soviet Union because we are neighbours. I go back to the Roman Empire and I say what Cato said to the Romans, "Carthage must be destroyed." If India thinks that it is going to subjugate Pakistan, Eastern Pakistan as well as Western Pakistan—because we are one people, we are one state—then we shall say, "Carthage must be destroyed." We shall tell our children and they will tell their children that Carthage must be destroyed.

So please, Mr. President and members of the Security Council, realise the implications. The Pakistani nation is a brave nation. One of the greatest British generals said that the best infantry fighters in the world are the Pakistanis. We will fight. We will fight for a thousand years if it comes to that. So, do not go by momentary military victories. Stalingrad was overwhelmed. Leningrad was besieged for a thousand days. People who want to be free and who want to maintain their personality will fight and will continue to fight for principles.

We were told about the realities; to accept the realities. What are the realities? Realities keep changing, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union knows that once the reality was that the Nazis were outside the gates of Moscow, but you fought valiantly, bravely, and the world saluted the Soviet Union for having resisted the realities that were sought to be imposed on it. The reality was that China was under the occupation of Japan, that Manchuria was taken—half of China. That was the reality. Since the Opium War, China has seen reality. The reality for France was that it was under occupation. But there were great men like President de Gaulle who left France and fought from across the seas. Ethiopia was under Fascist domination. But the Ethiopians fought. The Emperor of Ethiopia left his country and sought asylum in Britain. Ethiopia is free today.

The realities that matter are those which are not temporary phenomena which are rooted in historic principles. The principle is that Pakistan is an independent, sovereign state which came into being because of the volition of its people. That is the basic reality which has existed for 24 years. Pakistan would not have faced dismemberment like this if it had not been attacked by another country. This is not an internal movement. We have been subjected to attack by a militarily powerful neighbour. Who says that the new reality arose out of free will? Had there been the exercise of free will, India would not have attacked Pakistan. If India

talks about the will of the people of East Pakistan and claims that it had to attack Pakistan in order to impose the will of the people of East Pakistan, then what has it done about Kashmir? East Pakistan is an integral part of Pakistan. Kashmir is a disputed territory. Why does India then not permit it to exercise its will?

But yesterday I saw how the Security Council was pandering to India. Even the great powers are pandering to India, saying to us, “Do not misunderstand,” “Would you please let us know” and “Would you please answer the following questions; I am not insisting on those questions, but if you do not mind.” India is intoxicated today with its military successes. I told the Indian Permanent Representative in 1967 that we wanted good relations between the two countries—but based on principles, based on justice, based on equity, not based on exploitation and domination, because such relations cannot be lasting.

What we want is a lasting, a permanent solution. I do not say this just today; I said that in 1967 to their Permanent Representative who was then the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan. I said that to the Foreign Minister of India when we were negotiating on Kashmir, “Let us settle this problem on the basis of equity and justice, so that we can live as good neighbours.” And I add today: we can still live as good neighbours, as friends. Do not wipe out that possibility by military conquest and military power.

This has been the worst form of aggression, of naked aggression. Even Poland was not invaded by Germany in this fashion. Even in that case there were some pretences, some excuses that were made. Here the excuse was, “We have refugees, so we must invade another country.” We said, “We are prepared to take those refugees back.” If we had said, “We are not prepared to take them back,” then you could have said, “Well, you will be sunk.” India’s population rises by 13 million a year. The number of refugees was alleged to be 9 million, 10 million.

According to our estimate, they were 5 million. But that is not important; figures are not important. The point is that we were prepared to take them back. If India’s population can grow by 13 million a year, then with all the aid and assistance that India was getting for the refugees, it could have held on for a short period till Pakistan had a civilian government to negotiate the return of the refugees. I told the United States Ambassador in Pakistan that once a civilian government came into power in Pakistan, was prepared to go to the refugee camps myself to talk to them. But India pre-empted it all because the refugee problem was used as a pretext to

dismember my country. The refugee problem was used as a pretext, an ugly, crude pretext, a shameful pretext to invade my country, to invade East Pakistan.

The great powers will forgive me. I have addressed them in this moment of anguish, and they should understand. The great powers or the superpowers—the super-duper-powers, the razzling-dazzling powers—the superpowers have imposed their super will for the moment. But I am thankful to the people and the Government of the United States among the superpowers, for the position it has taken. The people of the United States, to some extent have been misled by massive Indian propaganda. Because we had no paraphernalia of popular administration and government in Pakistan, there was a political vacuum.

The Indians took advantage of that political vacuum and they spread out fast to project their point of view. As a result, American public opinion and public opinion in Great Britain and France and other countries was influenced. Unfortunately, nothing was said of the massacres that took place between 1 March and 25 March. No doubt there were mistakes on our side. I said yesterday that mistakes were made, and the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union said that I had admitted mistakes. Well, that is not a sign of weakness, is it? Do we not all make mistakes? Are India and the Soviet Union the only two countries that have never made mistakes? I have made mistakes personally.

But mistakes do not mean that my country must be destroyed, that my country must be dismembered. That is not the consequence of mistakes of government. Which government does not make mistakes? But if some government has made a mistake, does it follow that the country itself must be dismembered, obliterated? Is that going to be the conclusion of the Security Council if it legalises Indian aggression on the soil of Pakistan?

So, you will see now: this is not the end of the road, this is the beginning of the road; this is not the end of the chapter, a new chapter has begun a new page has been written in international relations. This is gunboat diplomacy in its worst form. In a sense, it makes the Hitlerite aggression pale into insignificance because Hitlerite aggression was not accepted by the world. If the world is going to endorse this aggression, it will mean a new and most unfortunate chapter in international relations. A new chapter may have begun in India and Pakistan, but please do not start a new dreadful chapter in international relations.

For us, it is a hand-to-hand, day-to-day, minute-to-minute fight. But do not do that to the rest of the world. Please do not permit this kind of naked, shameful barbaric aggression to hold sway. In the old days, great warriors swept over the world—Changiz Khan, Subutai Khan, Alexander, Caesar, coming down to the great Napoleon. But this is worse, this is much worse than all that was done by the great conquerors of the world in the past. If the United Nations becomes a party to this kind of conquest, it will be much worse than all that has been done in the past. You will be turning the medium-sized and the small countries into the harlots of the world. You cannot do that. It is against civilised concepts: it is against all the rules of civilisation and of international morality and justice.

The United States Government was criticised for supporting the position of Pakistan. What crime has the United States Government committed? It has taken a position identical to that of the whole world on the India-Pakistan conflict. That position was supported by 105 countries—it was 104 officially, but it was really 105 because one representative did not press the right button. That was the voice of the world.

It was an international referendum. You talk about the election of 1970. Well, I am proud of the election of 1970 because my party emerged as the strongest party in West Pakistan. But here was an international poll and India flouted it. With such an attitude towards international opinion, how can India pretend to be sensitive to a national election in another country? The same India that refuses to hold a referendum in Kashmir!

The Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union talked about realities. Mr. Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union look at this reality. I know that you are the representative of a great country. You behave like one. The way you throw out your chest, the way you thump the table. you do not talk like Comrade Malik; you talk like Czar Malik. I see you are smiling. Well, I am not because my heart is bleeding. We want to be friends, but this is not the way to be friends when my country is decimated, sought to be destroyed, wiped out. Why should China and the United States be criticised when the whole world is for Pakistan? You know that we have won a great political victory.

We might have suffered a military defeat, but a political victory is more important than a military defeat because political victory is permanent while military defeat is temporary. The United States Government has acted according to its great traditions by supporting Pakistan, and I will go to the people of the United States before I return home and tell them the truth.

The United States has stood by the traditions of Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, right down to Roosevelt and Wilson by supporting Pakistan as an independent state, its national integrity and its national unity. What wrong and crime has the United States committed? Why is the Indian delegation so annoyed with the United States? The Indian delegation is annoyed with U.S.—can you imagine that? If it had not been for the massive food assistance that the United States gave to India, India would have had starvation; its millions would have died. What hope will India give to the people of East Pakistan?

What picture of hope is it going to give when its own people in Western Bengal sleep in the streets, where there is terrible poverty, where there is terrible injustice and exploitation, when the parliamentary rule in West Bengal has been superseded by presidential rule? Is India going to do better for East Pakistan, for Muslim Bengal, than it has done for West Bengal? Thousands of West Bengali people sleep in the streets of Calcutta. The people of West Bengal are the poorest. India goes hat in hand to the United States for six million tons of food. If they are going to impose Presidential-rule in West Bengal, in their Bengal, how can they do any better in our Bengal?

So, the United States has taken a correct and moral position. Thomas Jefferson once said, “I have sworn eternal hostility against any form of tyranny practised over the mind of man”. This is a vast form of tyranny practised over the mind of man and over the body of man. So, the United States has adhered to its tradition. And if some misguided Senators were here, some young, misguided Senators who have been overtaken by Indian propaganda—and if the Permanent Representative of the United States were not from Texas—I would have told those young Senators that I was setting up the headquarters for a republic of Texas and making the former President-of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, the chief of that republic, in order to spread the cult of Bangladesh everywhere.

Why can Texas not be free? Let there be a republic of Texas. We did not buy Bengal as Alaska was bought by the United States. We did not pay money to get our territory. We did not pay dollars to acquire territory. The people of the United States should appreciate the position taken by their Government.

Muslim Bengal was a part of Pakistan of its free will, not through money. We did not buy it as Alaska was purchased. Why do the people of the United States not see that? And we are beholden and thankful to the great People’s Republic of China. We shall always remain thankful for the

position it has taken. It has taken a position based on principles of justice. And I thank the Third World for having supported a just cause, a right cause.

And now in the Security Council we have been frustrated by a veto. Let us build a monument to the veto, a big monument to the veto. Let us build a monument to the impotence and incapacity of the Security Council and the General Assembly. As you sow, so shall you reap. Remember that Biblical saying. Today, it is Pakistan. We are your guinea pigs today. But there will be other guinea pigs and you will see what happens. You will see how the chain of events unfolds itself. You want us to lick the dust. We are not going to lick the dust.

Britain and France have abstained from voting, in order to play a role. I said the other day, with all due respect to those two great powers, that they have really exhausted their position in trying to play a role because now the only role they can play is to accept a shameless *fait accompli*. Britain and France abstained, and that abstention has cost us dearly. Gallic logic and Anglo-Saxon experience, whatever it is, have cost us dearly. If Britain and France had put their powerful weight behind the international community rather than sitting on the fence, the issue might have been different. There is no such animal as a neutral animal.

You take positions. In that respect, we admire the Soviet Union; it took a position, a wrong position, but it took a position. You have to take a position on these matters. You have to be either on the side of justice or on the side of injustice; you are either on the side of justice or on the side of injustice; you have to be either on the side of the aggressor or of the victim. There is no third road. It is a black and white situation in these matters; there is no grey involved. You are either for right or you are for wrong; you are either for justice or for injustice; you are either for aggression or for the victim.

If the United Kingdom and France had earlier put their full weight behind the verdict of the international community, I think that we would not have reached this position. But Great Britain and France want to come back into the subcontinent as Clive and Duplex, in a different role, the role of peacemakers. They want a foot here and they want a foot there. I know that British interests in East Pakistan required this kind of opportunistic role because in East Pakistan they have their tea estates. They want the jute of East Pakistan. So, that is why they sat on the fence. And I am sorry at France's position because with France we had developed very good relations, extremely good relations. But they took this position. And now,

today, neither Britain nor France can play a role because their resolution has been overtaken by events.

There is a lot of goodwill for France in Pakistan, and they will not get the same goodwill in East Pakistan because in East Pakistan already the clock is now moving in another direction. Every day that the Indian Army of occupation stays there, it will be a grim reminder for Muslim Bengal that they are under Hindu occupation, and you will see the result of it. You will see how it will turn out. Let them stay—why not? Let them stay. Let them swagger around. If they want to take East Pakistan, let them stay as an army of occupation. They are an army of occupation; how can they be called liberators? They will stay, and they will see how the clock is going to move in a different direction.

Finally, I am not a rat. I have never ratted in my life. I have faced assassination attempts; I have faced imprisonments. I have always confronted crises. Today I am not ratting, but I am leaving your Security Council. I find it disgraceful to my person and to my country to remain here a moment longer than is necessary. I am not boycotting.

Impose any decision, have a treaty worse than the Treaty of Versailles, legalise aggression, legalise occupation, legalise everything that has been illegal up to 15 December 1971. I will not be a party to it. We will fight; we will go back and fight. My country beckons me. Why should I waste my time here in the Security Council?

I will not be a party to the ignominious surrender of a part of my country.

You can take your Security Council.

Here you are. I am going.

THE INSTRUMENT OF SURRENDER

(Dacca, 16 December 1971)

The Pakistan Eastern Command agree to surrender all Pakistan Armed Forces in Bangladesh to Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Indian and Bangladesh forces in the eastern theatre. This surrender includes all Pakistan land, air and naval forces as also all Para-military forces and civil armed forces. These forces will lay down their arms and surrender at the places where they are currently located to the nearest regular troops under the command of Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

The Pakistan Eastern Command shall come under the order of Lieutenant General Jagjit Singh Aurora as soon as this instrument has been signed. Disobedience of orders will be regarded as a breach of the surrender terms and will be dealt with in accordance with the accepted laws and usages of war. The decision of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora will be final should any doubt arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the surrender terms.

Lieutenant-General-Jagjit-Singh-Aurora gives a solemn assurance that personnel who surrender shall be treated with dignity and respect, that soldiers are entitled to in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention and guarantees the safety and wellbeing of all Pakistan military and Para-military forces who surrender. Protection will be provided to foreign nationals, ethnic minorities and personnel of West Pakistan origin by the forces under the command of Lieutenant-General Jagjit Singh Aurora.

Sd/-
JAGJIT SINGH AURORA
Lieutenant General,
General Officer Commanding
-in-Chief, Eastern Command

Sd/-
AMIR ABDULLAH KHAN NIAZI
Lieutenant General
Commander,
Eastern Command

16 December 1971

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

*(At the demand of the Muslims of Bengal, Bengal province was divided by the British in 1905 into East Bengal and West Bengal. Hindus resented this division, with Tagore writing a poem against the division of Bengal. On instructions of India, Bangladesh adopted this poem as its national anthem in 1971.)*⁴⁵⁵

English translation⁴⁵⁶

My Bengal of gold, I love you
Forever your skies, your air set my heart in tune
as if it were a flute.

In Spring, Oh mother mine, the fragrance from
Your mango-groves makes me wild with joy—
Ah, what a thrill !

In Autumn, Oh mother mine, in the full-blossomed paddy fields,
I have seen spread all over—sweet smiles!
Ah, what a beauty, what shades, what an affection
and what a tenderness!

What a quilt have you spread at the feet of
banyan trees and along the banks of rivers!
Oh mother mine, words from your lips are like
Nectar to my ears!
Ah, what a thrill!

If sadness, Oh mother mine, casts a gloom on your face,
my eyes are filled with tears!

455 May also consult Encyclopedia Britannica ('Partition of Bengal-Indian history'), by accessing (<https://www.britannica.com/event/Partition-of-Bengal>). Site visited on 21 October 2020.

456 The National Anthem Rules, 1978, as amended up to January, 2012. (Annexure 'B'). Cabinet Division, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. (https://cabinet.portal.gov.bd/sites/default/files/files/cabinet.portal.gov.bd/legislative_information/). Site visited on 21 October 2020.

JOINT COMMUNIQUÉ BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ⁴⁵⁷

(Shanghai, February 28, 1972)

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hangchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar places of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitudes.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people

457 The China Times (<http://www.wantchinatimes.com/>). Site visited on 4 January 2011.

want revolution-this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind.

The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea". It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace; just because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression.

The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving

communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to reexamine its own attitudes for the common good.

The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Viet Nam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement, the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina.

The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the United Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression against other states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

— progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;

— both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

— neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

— neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, one Taiwan" "one China two governments", "two Chinas", an "independent Taiwan" or advocate that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined".

The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in

such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown to them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

**TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
BANGLADESH**

(Dacca, 19 March 1972)

INSPIRED by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism,

HAVING struggled together for the realisation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh,

DETERMINED to maintain fraternal and good-neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship,

ADHERING firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

DETERMINED to safeguard peace, stability and security and to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual cooperation,

DETERMINED further to expand and strengthen the existing relations of friendship between them, convinced that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the national interests of both States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

RESOLVED to contribute to strengthening world peace and security and to make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism and imperialism,

CONVINCED that in the present-day world international problems can be solved only through cooperation and not through conflict or confrontation,

REAFFIRMING their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Republic of India, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Bangladesh, on the other,

HAVE decided to conclude the present Treaty.

Article 1

The high Contracting Parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respective peoples struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples, each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

The high Contracting Parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and all-round cooperation existing between them, on the basis of the above-mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 2

Being guided by their devotion to the principles of equality of all peoples and states, irrespective of race or creed, the high Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations and are determined to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The high Contracting Parties shall cooperate with other states in achieving these aims and support the just aspirations of people in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

Article 3

The high Contracting Parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security, and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

Article 4

The high Contracting Parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both States, through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

Article 5

The high Contracting Parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual cooperation in the fields of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the most-favoured nation principle.

Article 6

The high Contracting Parties further agree to make joint studies and take point action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

Article 7

The high Contracting Parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature, education, culture, sports and health.

Article 8

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other high contracting party.

Article 9

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict, against the other party. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their countries.

Article 10

Each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment secret or open, toward one or more States which may be incompatible with the present Treaty.

Article 11

The present Treaty is signed for a term of twenty five years and shall be subject to renewal by mutual agreement of the high Contracting Parties.

The Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect from the date of its signature.

Article 12

Any differences in interpreting any article or articles of the present Treaty that may arise between the high Contracting Parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

DONE in Dacca on the nineteenth day of March nineteen hundred and seventy two.

INDIRA GANDHI

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

SIMLA AGREEMENT⁴⁵⁸

(July 1972)

1. The Government of Pakistan and the Government of India are resolved that the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent, so that both countries may henceforth devote their resources and energies to the pressing task of advancing the welfare of their peoples. In order to achieve this objective, the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India have agreed as follows:-
 - i) That the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations shall govern the relations between the two countries;
 - ii) That the two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation and both shall prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any acts detrimental to the maintenance of peaceful and harmonious relations;
 - iii) That the pre-requisite for reconciliation, good-neighbourliness and durable peace between them is a commitment by both the countries to peaceful co-existence, respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit;
 - iv) That the basic issues and causes of conflict which have bedeviled the relations between the two countries for the last 25 years shall be resolved by peaceful means;
 - v) That they shall always respect each other's national unity, territorial integrity, political independence and sovereign equality;
 - vi) That in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations they will refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of each other.

458 The Jinnah Institute (<http://www.jinnah-institute.org/pak-india-pcm/pcm-archive/258-simla-agreement>).

2. Both Governments will take all steps within their power to prevent hostile propaganda directed against each other. Both countries will encourage the dissemination of such information as would promote the development of friendly relations between them.
3. In order progressively to restore and normalize relations between the two countries step by step, it was agreed that:
 - i) Steps shall be taken to resume communications, postal, telegraphic, sea, land including border posts, and air links including over flights.
 - ii) Appropriate steps shall be taken to promote travel facilities for the nationals of the other country.
 - iii) Trade and cooperation in economic and other agreed fields will be resumed as far as possible.
 - iv) Exchanges in the fields of science and culture will be promoted.

In this connection delegations from the two countries will meet from time to time to work out the necessary details.

4. In order to initiate the process of the establishment of durable peace, both the Governments agree that:
 - i) Pakistani and Indian forces shall be withdrawn to their side of the international border.
 - ii) In Jammu and Kashmir, the Line of Control resulting from the cease-fire of December 17, 1971 shall be respected by both sides without prejudice to the recognized position of either side. Neither side shall seek to alter it unilaterally, irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Both sides further undertake to refrain from the threat or the use of force in violation of this Line.
 - iii) The withdrawals shall commence upon entry into force of this Agreement and shall be completed within a period of 30 days thereof.
5. This Agreement will be subject to ratification by both countries in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, and will

come into force with effect from the date on which the Instruments of Ratification are exchanged.

6. Both Governments agree that their respective Heads will meet again at a mutually convenient time in the future and that, in the meanwhile, the representatives of the two sides will meet to discuss further the modalities and arrangements for the establishment of durable peace and normalisation of relations, including the questions of repatriation of prisoners of war and civilian internees, a final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir and the resumption of diplomatic relations.

(Zulfikar Ali Bhutto)
President
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

(Indira Gandhi)
Prime Minister of the
Republic of India

Simla, the 2nd July, 1972

DELHI AGREEMENT OF AUGUST 28, 1973

1. The Special Representative of the Prime Minister of India, Shri P.N. Haksar, and the Pakistan Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Aziz Ahmed, held talks in Rawalpindi from July 24 to July 31, 1973 and in New Delhi from August 18 to August 28, 1973. Shri P.M. Haksar was assisted by Foreign Secretary, Shri Kewal Singh, Secretary to the Prime Minister, Shri P.N. Dhar, Joint Secretaries in the Ministry of External Affairs, Shri K.P.S. Menon, Shri A. S. Chib and Dr. S. P. Jagota, and Deputy Secretaries, Shri K. N. Bakshi and Shri Naresh Dayal. The Leader of the Pakistani Delegation was assisted by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Agha Shahi, Director General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Abdul Sattar and Directors, Mr. Abdul Waheed and Mr. Khalid Saleem. These talks were held in the context of solving the humanitarian problems set out in the Joint Indo-Bangladesh Declaration of April 17, 1973.
2. During the course of the talks both at Rawalpindi and at New Delhi which were marked by mutual understanding, the delegations of India and Pakistan reviewed the progress so far made in the implementation of the Simla Agreement since they met last in New Delhi in August 1972. The Special Representatives reaffirmed the resolve of their respective Governments expressed in the Simla Agreement that “the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent”. In this connection the Special Representatives were confident that the repatriation of prisoners of war and nationals of Bangladesh and Pakistan will generate an atmosphere of reconciliation and thus contribute to the building of a structure of durable peace in the sub-continent.
3. Desirous of solving the humanitarian problems resulting from the conflict of 1971 and thus enabling the vast majority of human beings referred to in the Joint Indo-Bangladesh Declaration to go to their respective countries, India and Pakistan have reached the following agreement:
 - i. The immediate implementation of the solution of these humanitarian problems is without prejudice to the respective

positions of the parties concerned relating to the case of 195 prisoners of war referred to in clauses (vi) and (vii) of this paragraph;

- ii. Subject to clause (i), repatriation of all Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees will commence with the utmost despatch as soon as logistic arrangements are completed and from a date to be settled by mutual agreement;
- iii. Simultaneously, the repatriation of all Bangalees in Pakistan, and all Pakistani in Bangladesh referred to in clause (v) below, to their respective countries will commence;
- iv. In the matter of repatriation of all categories of persons the principle of simultaneity will be observed throughout as far as possible;
- v. Without prejudice to the respective positions of Bangladesh and Pakistan on the question of non-Banglaees who are stated to have “opted for repatriation to Pakistan”, the Government of Pakistan, guided by considerations of humanity, agrees, initially, to receive a substantial number of such non-Banglaees from Bangladesh. It is further agreed that the Prime Ministers of Bangladesh and Pakistan or their designated representatives will thereafter meet to decide what additional number of persons who may wish to migrate to Pakistan may be permitted to do so. Bangladesh has made it clear that it will participate in such a meeting only on the basis of sovereign equality;
- vi. Bangladesh agrees that no trials of the 195 prisoners of war shall take place during the entire period of repatriation and that pending the settlement envisaged in clause (vii) below these prisoners of war shall remain in India;
- vii. On completion of repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees in India, Bangalees in Pakistan and Pakistanis in Bangladesh referred to in clause (v) above, or earlier if they so agree, Bangladesh, India and Pakistan will discuss and settle the question of 195 prisoners of war. Bangladesh has made it clear that it can participate in such a meeting only on the basis of sovereign equality.
- viii. The Special Representatives are confident that the completion of repatriation provided for in this Agreement would make

a signal contribution to the promotion of reconciliation in the sub-continent and create an atmosphere favourable to a constructive outcome of the meeting of the three countries;

- ix. The time schedule for the completion of repatriation of the Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees from India, the Bangalees from Pakistan, and the Pakistanis referred to in clause (v) above from Bangladesh, will be worked out by India in consultation with Bangladesh and Pakistan, as the case may be. The Government of India will make the logistic arrangements for the Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees who are to be repatriated to Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan will make logistic arrangements within its territory up to agreed points of exit for the repatriation of Bangladesh nationals to Bangladesh. The Government of Bangladesh will make necessary arrangements for the transport of these persons from such agreed points of exit to Bangladesh. The Government of Bangladesh will make logistic arrangements within its territory up to agreed points of exit for the movement of the Pakistanis referred to in clause (v) above who will go to Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan will make necessary arrangements for the transport of these persons from such agreed points of exit to Pakistan. In making logistic arrangements the Governments concerned may seek the assistance of international humanitarian organisations and others;

- x. For the purpose of facilitating the repatriation provided for in this Agreement, the representatives of the Swiss Federal Government and any international humanitarian organisation entrusted with this task shall have unrestricted access at all times to Bangalees in Pakistan and to Pakistanis in Bangladesh referred to in clause (v) above. The Government of Bangladesh and the Government of Pakistan will provide all assistance and facilities to such representatives in this regard including facilities for adequate publicity for the benefit of the persons entitled to repatriation under this Agreement;

4. The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan have concurred in this Agreement. The Special Representative of the Prime Minister of India, having consulted the Government of Bangladesh, has also conveyed the concurrence of Bangladesh Government in this Agreement.

DONE in New Delhi on August 28, 1973 in three originals, all of which are equally authentic.

AZIZ AHMED, Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs,
Government of Pakistan.

P.N. HAKSAR, Special Representative of the Prime Minister of India

**BANGLADESH-INDIA-PAKISTAN
AGREEMENT SIGNED IN NEW DELHI
ON APRIL 9, 1974**

1. On July 2, 1972, the President of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of India signed an historic agreement at Simla under which they resolved that “the two countries put an end to the conflict and confrontation that have hitherto marred their relations and work for the promotion of a friendly and harmonious relationship and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent”. The Agreement also provided for the settlement of “their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations or by any other peaceful means mutually agreed upon”.
2. Bangladesh welcomed the Simla Agreement. The Prime Minister of Bangladesh strongly supported its objective of reconciliation, good neighbourliness and establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent.
3. The humanitarian problems arising in the wake of the tragic events of 1971 constituted a major obstacle in the way of reconciliation and normalisation among the countries of the sub-continent. In the absence of recognition, it was not possible to have tripartite talks to settle the humanitarian problems as Bangladesh could not participate in such a meeting except on the basis of sovereign equality.
4. On April 17, 1973, India and Bangladesh took a major step forward to break the deadlock on the humanitarian issues by setting aside the political problem of recognition. In a Declaration issued on that date they said that they “are resolved to continue their efforts to reduce tension, promote friendly and harmonious relationship in the sub-continent and work together towards the establishment of a durable peace”. Inspired by this vision and “in the larger interests of reconciliation, peace and stability in the sub-continent” they jointly proposed that the problem of the detained and stranded persons should be resolved on humanitarian considerations through simultaneous repatriation of all such persons except those Pakistani prisoners of war who might be required by the Government of Bangladesh for trial on certain charges.

5. Following the Declaration there were a series of talks between India and Bangladesh and India and Pakistan. These talks resulted in an agreement at Delhi on August 28, 1973 between India and Pakistan with the concurrence of Bangladesh which provided for a solution of the outstanding humanitarian problems.
6. In pursuance of this Agreement, the process of three way repatriation commenced on September 19, 1973. So far nearly 300,000 persons have been repatriated which has generated an atmosphere of reconciliation and paved the way for normalisation of relations in the sub-continent.
7. In February 1974, recognition took place thus facilitating the participation of Bangladesh in the tripartite meeting envisaged in the Delhi Agreement, on the basis of sovereign equality. Accordingly, His Excellency Dr. Kamal Hossain, Foreign Minister of the Government of Bangladesh, His Excellency Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister of External Affairs, Government of India and His Excellency Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Government of Pakistan, met in New Delhi from April 5 to April 9, 1974 and discussed the various issues mentioned in the Delhi Agreement, in particular the question of the 195 prisoners of war and the completion of the three-way process of repatriation involving Banglaees in Pakistan, Pakistanis in Bangladesh and Pakistan prisoners of war in India.
8. The Ministers reviewed the progress of the three-way repatriation under the Delhi Agreement of August 28, 1973. They were gratified that such a large number of persons detained or stranded in the three countries had since reached their destinations.
9. The Ministers also considered steps that needed to be taken in order expeditiously to bring the process of the three-way repatriation to a satisfactory conclusion.
10. The Indian side stated that the remaining Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees in India to be repatriated under the Delhi Agreement, numbering approximately 6,500 would be repatriated at the usual pace of a train on alternate days and the likely short-fall due to the suspension of trains from April 10 to April 19, 1974 on account of Kumbh Mela, would be made up by running additional trains after April 19. It was thus hoped that the repatriation of prisoners of war would be completed by the end of April, 1974.

11. The Pakistan side stated that the repatriation of Bangladesh nationals from Pakistan was approaching completion. The remaining Bangladesh nationals in Pakistan would also be repatriated without let or hindrance.
12. In respect of non-Bangalees in Bangladesh, the Pakistan side stated that the Government of Pakistan had already issued clearances for movement to Pakistan in favour of those non-Bangalees 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 issuance of clearances to 25,000 persons who constitute hardship cases was also in progress. The Pakistan side reiterated that all those who fall under the first three categories would be received by Pakistan without any limit as to numbers. In respect of persons whose applications had been rejected, the Government of Pakistan would, upon request, provide reasons why any particular case was rejected. Any aggrieved applicant could, at any time, seek a review of his application provided he was able to supply new facts or further information to the Government of Pakistan in support of his contention that he qualified in one or other of the three categories. The claims of such persons would not be time-barred, in the event of the decision of review of a case being adverse the Governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh might seek to resolve it by mutual consultation.
13. The question of 195 Pakistani prisoners of war was discussed by the three Ministers, in the context of the earnest desire of the Governments for reconciliation peace and friendship in the sub-continent. The Foreign Minister of Bangladesh stated that the excesses and manifold crimes committed by these prisoners of war constituted, according to the relevant provisions of the U.N. General Assembly Resolutions and International Law, war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, and that there was universal consensus that persons charged with such crimes as the 195 Pakistani prisoners of war should be held to account and subjected to the due process of law. The Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs of the Government of Pakistan said that his Government condemned and deeply regretted any crimes that may have been committed.
14. In this connection the three Ministers noted that the matter should be viewed in the context of the determination of the three countries to continue resolutely to work for reconciliation. The Ministers further

noted that following recognition, the Prime Minister of Pakistan had declared that he would visit Bangladesh in response to the invitation of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh and appealed to the people of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past, in order to promote reconciliation. Similarly, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh had declared with regard to the atrocities and destruction committed in Bangladesh in 1971 that he wanted the people to forget the past and to make a fresh start, stating that the people of Bangladesh knew how to forgive.

15. In the light of the foregoing and, in particular, having regard to the appeal of the Prime Minister of Pakistan to the people of Bangladesh to forgive and forget the mistakes of the past, the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh stated that the Government of Bangladesh had decided not to proceed with the trials as an act of clemency. It was agreed that the 195 prisoners of war may be repatriated to Pakistan along with the other prisoners of war now in the process of repatriation under the Delhi Agreement.
16. The Ministers expressed their conviction that the above agreements provide a firm basis for the resolution of the humanitarian problems arising out of the conflict of 1971. They reaffirmed the vital stake the seven hundred million people of the three countries have in peace and progress and reiterated the resolve of their Governments to work for the promotion of normalisation of relations and the establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent.

Signed in New Delhi on April 9, 1974 in three originals, each of which is equally authentic.

Sd/-
(KAMAL
HOSSAIN),
Minister of
Foreign Affairs
Government of
Bangladesh

Sd/-
(SWARAN
SINGH)
Minister of
External Affairs,
Government of
India

Sd/-
(AZIZ
AHMED),
Minister of
State for Defence
and Foreign Affairs,
Government of Pakistan

FALL OF DHAKA-DETAILED CHRONOLOGY ⁴⁵⁹

(Prepared from media reports; abridged for economy)

1969

- 22 February After five months of open revolt against his regime Ayub announces that he will not stand for re-election as president. He acknowledges that the ‘people want direct elections on the basis of adult franchise’.
- 23 February Bhutto given a hero’s welcome in Dhaka.
- 26 February A round table conference between Ayub, Bhutto, and Bhashani. Bhashani stays away.
- 5 March The ‘second phase’ of revolt against Ayub begins when 10,000 workers in Karachi go on strike.
- 8 March Ayub Khan’s supporters from the Hazara district attack left- wing demonstrators in Rawalpindi.
- 11 March Sheikh Mujib arrives in Rawalpindi to attend the round table conference. He says he will not compromise on the six-points.
- 12 March Air Marshal Asghar Khan warns that ‘the imposition of Martial Law will only benefit the enemies of Pakistan’.
- 13 March Ayub announces acceptance of the principle of parliamentary form of government and direct adult franchise. He refuses to restore the four provinces in West Pakistan, or to grant autonomy to East Pakistan.
- 15 March More than a million workers throughout Pakistan go on strike; factory workers were joined by doctors, lawyers, technicians, teachers, postmen, and others.

Bhashani attacked in a train in West Pakistan.

⁴⁵⁹ May also consult book titled, ‘East Pakistan the End Game-An Onlooker’s Journal 1969-1971’ by Brigadier Abdul Rahman Siddiqi published by Oxford University Press, Oxford UK in 2004; pages 223-232.

- 17 March General strike in East Pakistan in protest against the attack on Bhashani.
- Government confirms reports that ‘ships loaded with troops, tanks and armaments had sailed for East Pakistan’.
- 19 March Official sources begin giving out reports of ‘People’s courts’ and ‘instant executions’ of ‘wrongdoers’ in East Pakistan.
- 21 March Bhutto accuses Ayub of attempting to engineer a coup.
- 25 March Ayub Khan resigns; Yahya Khan appointed martial law administrator; strikes, marches, public meetings, and political activity banned.
- 27 March Asghar Khan is refused permission to call a political convention.
- 30 March Bhashani proposes a ‘national government’; widespread defiance of martial law reported from East Pakistan; thirty strikers arrested in Dhaka.
- 31 March All-India Radio wrongly announces Bhashani’s arrest.
- 1 April Troops shoot and kill leaders of miners on strike at a coalfield near Quetta.
- 4 April Ayub Khan’s Constitution partially restored, but ‘fundamental rights’ remain suspended.
- 8 April Abul Rashid Shaikh, a student leader, jailed for one year’s hard labour for ‘trying to convene a meeting’.
- 10 April Yahya says task of restoring democracy ‘should not take years, but it could not be accomplished in days’.
- 7 May Kosygin turns down Mrs. Gandhi’s appeal to stop the supply of Soviet arms to Pakistan.
- 23 May Bhutto calls for Pakistan’s immediate withdrawal from SEATO, CENTO, and other mutual defence pacts with the United States.

- 30 May Kosygin arrives in Islamabad for talks with Yahya.
- 23 June Pakistan Democratic Party formed in Dhaka.
- 4 July Pakistan and India sign agreement to end Rann of Kutch dispute.
- 17 July US 'spy base' near Peshawar closed down. Asghar Khan demands inquiry into the 'conduct of Field Marshall Ayub Khan'.
- 28 July Shamsuddoha, editor of *Interwing*, sentenced by military court to a year's rigorous imprisonment 'for criticising the continuation of a Martial Law Administration'. Yahya Khan says in a broadcast that the press in Pakistan was free and that he will 'always welcome healthy and constructive criticism'.
- 30 July Martial Law Regulation No. 51 bans publication of 'any statement which is offensive to the religion of Islam or which is disrespectful to Quaid-e-Azam (Mr. Jinnah) or which is calculated to have a prejudicial effect on the integrity of Pakistan'.
- 5 August Yahya Khan appoints a civilian cabinet of seven.
- 8 August Mujib says in Karachi that he wants to 'start afresh on the basis of the Lahore Resolution'. He denies deviating from 'the path of Islam or the Pakistan ideology'.
- 29 August The 'Silk route' between China and Pakistan is re-opened for trade.
- 24 September Yahya Khan walks out of the Islamic summit at Rabat in protest against the seating of an Indian delegation. Bhutto accuses the bureaucracy of trying to sabotage the plan to hold elections.
- 3 October After a week of student unrest in Dhaka, Yahya orders the release of four students who had been arrested on charges of trying to organize meetings.

- 26 October Sheikh Mujibur Rahman arrives in London. The British government sent an official car for him and allowed him the use of the VIP lounge at Heathrow airport.
- 2 November 6 killed and 101 injured in Bengali-Bihari riots in Dhaka; Mujib says election must be held within six months.
- 19 November After three months of strikes in most industrial centres in Pakistan, the industrialists offer 'partnership with labour'.

Nur Khan, Governor of West Pakistan announces steps 'to ensure that workers do not take out unlawful processions or hold illegal meetings at public places'.
- 28 November Yahya Khan announces that elections will be held on 5 October 1970; West Pakistan to be broken into four provinces; representation to be on the basis of one man-one vote; assembly to settle issue of 'regional autonomy'.

1970

- 1 January The Industrial Advisory Council meeting in Dhaka recommends that the fourth Five-Year Plan be deferred until 1972-3. The council noted a 53 per cent shortfall in investment and growth targets for East Pakistan under the Third Plan.
- 6 January Bhashani calls for an 'Islamic Cultural Revolution' to establish 'the rule of the peasants and labourers'. He appeals to Yahya to settle the issue of 'regional autonomy' before the elections.
- 11 January Mujib, speaking at a rally in Dhaka, asks Yahya not to grant autonomy to East Pakistan before the election; rejects electoral alliance with other pro-autonomy parties in East Pakistan.
- 8 February The East Pakistan Provincial Islamic Conference held in Dhaka.
- 7 March Mujib says he will launch a 'movement' after the elections to achieve 'autonomy'.

- 28 March Yahya rejects demands to defer the fourth Five-Year Plan; defines basic principles of future Constitution; says ‘uncompromising positions adopted by certain political parties will have to be changed...’.
- 30 March The Legal Framework Order (provisional Constitution) published.
- 21 June Yahya arrives in Moscow for talks with Kosygin.
- 23 June Awami League manifesto published.
- 1 July One unit in West Pakistan dissolved; the provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, North-West Frontier, and Balochistan restored.
- 2 August Floods in East Pakistan cover 15,000 square miles, affecting 10 million people; Yahya flies to Dhaka, announces that elections to be postponed to 7th December.
- 20 September Bhutto claims that a majority of the political prisoners in the country are his party workers.
- 21 September Mujib says the election will be ‘virtually a referendum on the six-points plan for autonomy’.
- 24 September Mujib accuses ‘bureaucracy and vested interest’ of trying to hinder the transfer of power to the representatives of the people.
- 8 October India protests against the United States’ decision to resume the supply of arms to Pakistan.
- 22 October Yahya Khan, speaking in the UN General Assembly, says ‘people’s mandate is already taking shape’ in Pakistan.
- 11 November A cyclone and tidal wave hit the Ganges delta in East Pakistan, killing 2,000,000.
- 14 November Yahya Khan returns after a visit to Beijing with more promises of Chinese aid.

- 23 November Bhashani calls for an ‘independent East Pakistan’.
- 7 December The country’s first general election since independence held in Pakistan; Mujib’s Awami League captures 160 of 162 seats in East Pakistan; Bhutto’s Pakistan People’s Party captures 81 of 138 seats in West Pakistan. In terms of vote cast, the Awami League victory is less impressive. Only 39.8 per cent of the East Pakistan electorate voted for Mujib’s candidates. (Polling in the nine cyclone affected constituencies to be held on 17 January 1971).
- 14 December Professor Ghulam Azam, leader of the East Pakistan Jama’at-i-Islami says in Lahore that the people of West Pakistan should support Sheikh Mujibur Rahman ‘who has never raised the slogan of secession and would never take any such step’.
- Mujib, replying to a telegram of congratulations from Yahya, says ‘only a Constitution based on six-point formula can ensure justice between region and region and man and man’.
- 17 December Polling held to elect provincial assemblies.
- 20 December Syed Najiullah, a reporter of the *Pakistan Observer*, and Shamsuddoha, arrested.
- 21 December Tajuddin Ahmed, general secretary of the Awami League, denies Bhutto’s claim that ‘neither the Constitution could be framed nor a Central Government could be formed without active co-operation of the Pakistan People’s Party’.
- 21 December Bhutto repeats, in Lahore, that any Constitution framed, or government formed, ‘by ignoring the People’s Party will fail’. He proposes ‘a grand coalition’ between the Awami League and the Pakistan People’s Party.
- 22 December Rafique Ahmed, an Awami League member of the East Pakistan Assembly, assassinated at Pabna.
- 23 December Maulvi Farid Ahmed, vice-president of the Pakistan Democratic Party, says that Bhutto’s pronouncements ‘could turn the situation into an East-West confrontation’.

25 December Bhutto again says that his party ‘could not be deprived of sharing power in the Government’.

1971

3 January At a public ceremony watched by a million people in Dhaka, Mujib administers an oath of allegiance to his party MPs ensuring that they adhere to the Awami League’s six points.

14 January After talks with Mujib in Dhaka, Yahya calls him the ‘Future Prime Minister of Pakistan’.

25 January Indian airliner ‘hijacked’ to Lahore where, after letting the passengers leave, the culprits blow it up on 27 January. India uses the incident to ban over flights by Pakistani airplanes between East and West Pakistan.

15 February Yahya announces that the National Assembly will meet in Dhaka on 3 March.

Bhutto says in Peshawar that he and the Pakistan People’s Party would not attend the assembly session on the date announced by the president.

Shaikh Abdullah, the Kashmiri leader, in a letter published in the *Indian Express* accuses Hashim, the principal hijacker of the Indian airliner on 30 January, of being an Indian agent. He discloses that the ‘plot’ to hijack the aircraft was known to the Indian authorities and that the incident was deliberately engineered as a pretext for banning Pakistani over flights.

21 February Yahya Khan dissolves his civilian cabinet ‘in view of the political situation obtaining in the country’.

28 February Bhutto demands the postponement of the national assembly and calls for a general strike ‘from Khyber to Karachi’.

1 March Yahya postpones the national assembly session *sine die*. This, he says is ‘to give more time to political leaders

of East and West Pakistan to arrive at a reasonable understanding on the issue of Constitution making’.

Dhaka paralyzed by strike; curfew imposed, police fire on mob, killing one.

- 3 March Mujib rejects Yahya’s invitation to an all-party conference to resolve constitutional problems; says the postponement of the Assembly was at the behest of ‘vested interests and bureaucratic lackeys’ (meaning Bhutto), and an ‘intolerable insult to the people’; riots continue throughout East Pakistan, directed against West Pakistani civilians and Bihari Muslims.
- 5 March Mujib denies the All-India Radio report that he had asked the United States to put pressure on Yahya to stop ‘repression’ in East Pakistan; he calls the report ‘mischievous and a figment of the imagination’.
- 6 March Yahya meets Bhutto and announces that the national assembly will meet on 25 March; Bhutto agrees to attend.
- Lieutenant General Tikka Khan appointed governor of East Pakistan.
- 7 March At a rally in Dhaka, Mujib announces four conditions for attending the assembly; immediate transfer of power; withdrawal of martial law; return of troops to the barracks; inquiry into the conduct of troops.
- 8 March Mujib’s non-cooperation movement in full swing; government offices closed down; no taxes to be paid.
- 9 March Foreign governments begin evacuation of their nationals from East Pakistan. Bhashani tells a rally in Dhaka that ‘no power on earth can stop the march of the Bengalis towards freedom and independence’.
- 14 March Bhutto says, ‘power in East Pakistan should be transferred to majority party there and in West Pakistan to majority party here’.

Yahya arrives in Dhaka for talks with Mujib. Bhutto says in Karachi, that the Awami League and the Pakistan People's Party should share power in the central government while controlling their own regions. 'Only such an arrangement will ensure the unity of Pakistan'.

- 16 March Yahya and Mujib meet in Dhaka for two and half hours.
- Chittagong dockers, on orders from Mujib, refuse to unload *MS Swat* carrying Chinese arms.
- 18 March Deadlock reported in Yahya-Mujib talks. Mujib rejects commission of inquiry into army shootings.
- 19 March Mujib says he is hopeful that a settlement would be reached.
- 20 March After another meeting with Yahya, Mujib says 'we are progressing in our discussions'.
- 21 March Bhutto arrives in Dhaka with twelve of his party 'advisers'.
- 22 March Dhaka Radio reports that 'President Yahya and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman have reached a compromise formula to end the country's political crisis'.
- In a broadcast to the nation, Yahya says: 'I have no doubt that we shall succeed in resolving the current political crisis'. Bhutto joins talks in Dhaka.
- National Assembly session again postponed 'in consultation with leaders of political parties with a view to facilitating the process of enlarging the area of agreement'.
- 23 March Republic Day in Pakistan; Pakistan national flag hauled down from buildings in Dhaka, the new Bangladesh flag flies over hundreds of houses including Mujib's, schools, and many government offices. The Awami League calls it 'Resistance Day' and Bhashani dubs it 'Independence Day'.

- 24 March On instructions from Bhutto in Dhaka, the Pakistan People's Party in the Punjab launches a non-cooperation movement. In Lahore, the party says it will 'never forgive the present regime', if power was transferred to Mujib.
- In Chittagong, troops attempting to unload arms from a ship were trapped when local people erected barricades at the dock gates.
- Bhutto says in Dhaka that it would be better if he and Mujib entered into direct talks. Other West Pakistani politicians return to Karachi and report that the talks had ended in a 'hopeless mess'.
- 25 March Yahya flies back to Karachi.
- Mujib accuses the army of 'atrocities and the killing of unarmed people'; asks the people to prepare for the 'supreme sacrifice'; issues directives to foreign companies to negotiate all export deals through two East Bengal banks- the Eastern Banking Company and the Eastern Mercantile Bank; foreign posts and telegraph agencies ordered to route communications through Manila and London. East Bengal Regiment, East Pakistan Rifles, the armed reserve police, and the civil police pledge support for the Awami League.
- Bhutto says, 'what is sought for East Pakistan is beyond autonomy- it borders on sovereignty'. Army convoys move into Dhaka. Mujib arrested.
- 26 March Yahya, in a broadcast from Karachi, calls Mujib a traitor, bans the Awami League, and says he has ordered the army to 'fully restore the authority of the Government' in East Pakistan. Confused reports of heavy fighting from all parts of East Pakistan.
- Foreign correspondents expelled from Dhaka.
- 28 March Indian parliament debates the civil war in Pakistan. Prime Minister Gandhi says Indian sympathies for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman rise from the fact that he stands for

‘values cherished by India-democracy, secularism, and socialism’.

Tikka Khan says in Dhaka that ‘complete peace has been restored and life is returning to normal in East Pakistan’. Bhutto says, ‘Thanks to Allah, Pakistan is saved’.

- 30 March India asks U Thant to intervene in East Pakistan .
- 31 March Indian parliament passes a resolution calling on other governments to put pressure on Pakistan.
- 1 April Twelve Punjabi civilians hacked to death in Jessore’s marketplace, watched and filmed by foreign correspondents, among them Nicholas Tomalin of *The Times*.
- 12 April Yahya receives message from Zhou Enlai promising support and accusing India of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan.
- 17 April Bangladesh proclaimed at a ceremony at ‘Mujibnagar’ - a small village on the Indian border.
- 18 April Pakistan’s deputy high commissioner in Calcutta announces his defection to Bangladesh.
- 23 April Pakistan asks India to close down its mission in Dhaka.
- 10 May Radio Pakistan claims that the army has secured control of Chittagong.
- 12 May Yahya Khan announces the beginning of ‘political talks’ with East Pakistan leader, Nurul Amin.
- 24 May Tajuddin Ahmed, ‘prime minister’ of ‘Bangladesh’, says in Calcutta, ‘We wanted to keep Pakistan together and I assure you there was no thought of secession until the army cracked down on us on 25 March’.
- 29 May India asks all aid giving countries to suspend aid to Pakistan.

- 7 June The Awami League in Calcutta admits that Mujib has been arrested and is not hiding 'somewhere in East Pakistan'.
- 21 June Swaran Singh, the Indian external affairs minister, holds talks with the British prime minister and foreign secretary in London.
- 24 June Britain announces suspension of all aid to Pakistan. Uproar in Indian Parliament over the continued shipment of US arms for Pakistan.
- 28 June Yahya announces his plan for the transfer of power in 'about four months'.
- 15 July The US House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee votes to halt military and other aid to Pakistan.
- 19 July U Thant suggests the stationing of UN observers along the India-East Pakistan border to supervise the repatriation of refugees. India rejects the suggestion.
- 9 August Indo-Soviet Treaty of 'Friendship, Peace and Co-operation' signed in New Delhi.
- 17 August Pakistan proposes that a 'good offices committee' of the UN Security Council should visit both India and Pakistan. India says such a move by the UN would not be acceptable.
- 31 August Dr. A. M. Malik, an elder Bengali statesman, appointed governor of East Pakistan. Bhutto calls the appointment an 'eyewash'.
- 5 September Yahya announces, 'general amnesty'.
- 23 September Bhutto threatens 'other means' to achieve democracy in Pakistan.
- 29 September Mrs. Gandhi and Kosygin, in a joint statement issued in Moscow, call for 'urgent measures towards a political solution of problems in East Bengal'.
- 5 October Mahmud Ali, the Bengali leader of the Pakistan delegation to the UN General Assembly, accuses India of waging a 'clandestine war' against Pakistan.

- 9 October Yahya Khan withdraws ban on political activity in the country but the Awami League remains proscribed.
- 14 October Abdul Monem Khan, a former governor of East Pakistan, assassinated in Dhaka.
- 17 October Jagjivan Ram, the Indian defence minister, says that if war comes, India 'would not withdraw from captured Pakistani cities'.
- 19 October Mrs. Gandhi rules out talks with Yahya Khan. 'What is there to discuss between India and Pakistan?' she asks.
- 29 October Mrs. Gandhi arrives in London at the start of her world tour.
- 10 November Three Indian battalions, supported by tank and artillery, attack at Belonia in Noakhali district of East Pakistan.
- 12 November Bhutto says he will not tolerate an East Pakistan-dominated government after the by-elections. 'We will topple it in 40 days,' he said.
- 17 November Edward Heath, Willy Brandt, and Richard Nixon send a joint appeal to Yahya urging him to embark on a 'political initiative'.
- 22 November Indian troops cross into East Pakistan at several points along the international frontier. Pakistan declares a state of emergency. Yahya calls Bhutto and other leaders for talks in Islamabad. General Niazi says in Dhaka that Indian troops had occupied 'three or four areas in East Pakistan'.
- 25 November Yahya says that Indian military activity in East Pakistan is leading the two countries to the 'point of no return'.
- 3 December Pakistan Air Force strike at Indian airfields. Indian and Pakistani land forces cross each other's borders in the Punjab, Rajasthan, and Kashmir.
- 4 December The Security Council meets to consider ceasefire. The US president says in Washington that 'India bears the major responsibility for the war with Pakistan'.

- 6 December After three Russian vetoes had blocked a ceasefire resolution, the Security Council agrees to transfer the question to the General Assembly. India recognizes Bangladesh.
- 7 December The UN General Assembly passes a ceasefire resolution by 104 votes to eleven with ten abstentions.
- 8 December India says it regards the General Assembly resolution as 'impracticable and unrealistic'.
- A spokesman for President Nixon says in Washington that the US had secured Yahya Khan's agreement for the grant of 'virtual autonomy' to Bangladesh and negotiations with the Awami League before the Indian offensive began. The US had kept Mrs. Gandhi informed.
- 14 December As Indian troops close in on Dhaka, Dr. A. M. Malik, governor of East Pakistan, and his cabinet resigns.
- 16 December Surrender in Dhaka. Yahya says: 'we may lose a battle but final victory in the war of survival shall be ours...the armed forces will not cease their struggle until aggression is vacated and justice prevails'.
- 17 December Yahya accepts ceasefire in the west.
- 20 December Bhutto succeeds Yahya as president and chief martial law administrator.
- 21 December Mujib moved out from prison to be put under house arrest.
- 1972**
- 7 January Mujib flies to London on his way to Bangladesh. Yahya Khan put under house arrest.

NEGATIVE MEDIA COVERAGE ON 1971 IN BANGLADESH TODAY

The Daily Sun of 16 December 2011

Message from the President of Bangladesh on the occasion of Victory Day of Bangladesh

16th December is our victory day. On this day in 1971, we achieved our long-cherished victory through nine-month long War of Liberation. On the eve of our great victory day, I extend my sincere thanks and congratulations to my fellow countrymen living at home and abroad. The significance of victory day is of paramount importance to the checkered history of Bangalee's independence. The historic declaration of independence proclaimed by our great leader Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on March 26 in 1971 came true on this day through attaining ultimate victory. Bangladesh, therefore, emerged as an independent and sovereign state in the world atlas.

The Daily Sun of 16 December 2011

Message from Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina on the occasion of Victory Day of Bangladesh

I extend my sincere greetings and warm felicitations to all citizens of Bangladesh at home and abroad on the occasion of our great Victory Day, December the 16th. On this glorious day, I pay my homage to the three million heroic sons, who sacrificed their lives and two hundred thousand women, who lost their innocence in the War of Liberation. I salute the freedom fighters, who were ready to sacrifice their lives to free the country from the occupation forces.

The Independent of 17 December 2011

News item titled, '40 years of victory celebrated.'

Thousands of people thronged Savar National Mausoleum on Friday, to pay tributes to Liberation War heroes and raised demands for speedy trial into 1971 war crimes....Atrocities unleashed by Pakistan's military, which was aided by local collaborators, during the nine-month-long armed struggle, left three million civilians dead, 200,000 women raped, and numerous homes torched and looted.

The Independent of 17 December 2011

Interview with former Chief of the Army Staff, Lieutenant General (Retd) Harun-or-Rashid, titled, 'Bangladesh freed from Pakistan but no real freedom yet'

The Independent: How do you look at 40 years of independence?

Harun-or-Rashid: At the outset, I remember those who sacrificed their lives and made the impossible possible.

We have to admit that at that time we wanted a secular state based on the people's expectations. We did not want an independent East Pakistan. In reality, we have not earned freedom, rather East Pakistan has been freed from Pakistani rule.

After 40 years of independence, the war of independence remains incomplete. We have to revive and re-establish the spirit of independence.

The Independent: What are the differences between the expectation and achievement of independence?

Harun-or-Rashid: The expectation was that the state would be non-communal. In reality it is under the control of fundamentalists. The post-1975 forces have destroyed the spirit of independence and re-established the Pakistani structure. We never expected this to happen.

The Daily Sun of 17 December 2011

Editorial titled, 'Victory Day observed'

Although forty years have passed, the enthusiasm of the people in observing the day shows no sign of flagging; on the contrary a new surge of emotion is being witnessed, especially among the youth, in celebrating the event and in protestations of the values of the Liberation War. This is a fitting reply to the anti-liberation forces who after capturing power in the post 1975 scenario sought to marginalise the significance of Victory Day and whitewash the crimes and repression perpetrated by Pakistan....The nation had made a tryst with destiny forty years ago this day. We use this famous Nehru phrase with an added connotation of our own, which simultaneously evokes the bottomless tragedies and phenomenal sacrifices. We struggled, we fought, we sacrificed, we won. We established not only our distinct territory, flag and national anthem but

also our independence, sovereignty and a place in the comity of nations. It had been a costly victory, which we succeeded in snatching away from the jaws of a demonic power. The cost was hundreds of thousands of warriors killed, countless maimed for life, at least two hundred thousand women dishonoured, ten million uprooted from their homes.

.....But it is not time yet to sit over our laurels of glory. Great tasks of consolidating our liberation await us as forces are still at work to undo, if not freedom itself then some of greatest legacies of 1971. One such legacy was certainly secularism. Secularism which treats all citizens equally irrespective of religion, community and ethnicity is the most powerful glue for forging unity of all peoples. Liberation made great promises of political, economic and cultural emancipation.

Politically the struggle for democracy faced many set-backs, it limps but is on track; economically the upgrading of Bangladesh into a middle-income country by 2021, the fiftieth anniversary of freedom, is still a distant vision but we have surpassed our former coloniser Pakistan in certain key economic indices (but more due to negative reason of Pakistan going downhill).As part of the efforts to give meaning to Victory Day celebrations, trial of the war criminals must be quickened, if only to ensure that the most perceptible enemies of our freedom are safely disposed of. And finally, Pakistan which has not yet apologised for its war crimes and yet seeks to befriend us, should be made to apologise.

The Daily Sun of 17 December 2011

Article titled, 'Victory Day remembered' by Ali Hamid Khan

Sixteenth December is our victory day and like every year it will be celebrated with fervour and gaiety recalling the sacrifices of the freedom fighters, the leaders and others associated with this great struggle for independence when the country wrested itself from the claws of the military junta of Pakistan.16 December the nation rejoiced as the oppressors surrendered and left forever. The occupiers treated the people for decades with disdain and contempt, and injustice crippled them. Even after a landslide victory the largest party of Pakistan was deprived of its right to convene a parliament and form a government rather the army rescinded the result and declared martial law. The economy was stifled and people deprived of their economic, social and political rights.

The Daily Star of 16 December 2011

Editorial titled, 'Pledge on Victory Day'

Like every other Victory Day of the past, the nation will again revisit the epoch-making events that had gone into the Bengali people's success in winning the war against the enemy forces leading to the victorious march of freedom fighters into the capital city 40 years ago.

The Independent of 16 December 2011

Article titled, 'The finest hour for the nation' by Amin Ahmed

Chowdhury, BirBikram

The proud half-educated Punjabis had their own false phobia about Bengali population and by nature they used to look down upon. Almost all of them except a few individuals like Gen. Sahibzada Yakub, Admiral Ahsan, Air Marshal Asghar Khan, Khan Wali Khan and few others, had a notional impression that with the onslaught of a strong military action, the agitated Bengali masses would run for their lives and then to create a shock effect if required to burn down every inch of soil of East Bengal and dishonor their women folk so as to teach them a lifetime lesson. ... Shamefully Niazi along with his troops surrendered because fighting was not his profession but only drinking alcohol and womanizing, the subjects in which they had the expertise....It was most unfortunate and a great tragedy that off and on politics of Pakistan was dominated by these types of dirty and almost illiterate visionless buffoons.

The New Age of 16 December 2011, Editorial titled, 'True victory yet to be achieved'

Bangladesh celebrates the fortieth anniversary of its military victory over the occupation forces of Pakistan today. Thanks to the stiff resistance of our freedom fighters for long nine months, and the last moment participation of the Indian soldiers, the Pakistani occupation army was forced to surrender on this day, December 16, in 1971. Thus, Bangladesh practically came into existence on this historic day. This is, therefore, a great day for all of us – the Bangladeshis.

Like all the great people on earth who wrestled out their independence through blood and fire, we also cannot celebrate such a historic victory without sadness. The reason is simple. Thousands of our freedom fighters laid down their lives, millions suffered genocide, rapes, torture, arson,

loot, et cetera brutally conducted by the occupation army of Pakistan during the nine months of the liberation war. As we celebrate the victory, we also mourn the martyrs who gave us the independent Bangladesh.

Moreover, we cannot celebrate the victory without a sense of guilt as well. Bangladesh, after all, has not yet been able to bring to justice those guilty Pakistani army officials, and their local collaborators who conducted the heinous genocide, committed war crimes, and crimes against humanity during the nine months of our liberation war. The trial of the guilty Pakistan army officers has become an impossible proposition for us today, while the trial of the local collaborators is now on in Dhaka.

The News Today of 16 December 2011 (Editorial entitled, 'V-Day today')

Today is the time for soul-searching by every Bangladeshi to recall how much sacrifices the nation had made for gaining freedom. A recapitulation of it acquires increased intensity when we recall the many tribulations and the immensity of suffering that went into our national triumph. The emergence of the sovereign state of Bangladesh in 1971 was not a run of the mill affair brought about by political negotiations around a table. It was an achievement arising out of a concerted war of national liberation, in which tens of thousands of men and women in the Mukti Bahini in particular and the people of Bangladesh in general put their lives on the line as they sought to send the Pakistan occupation army and its local collaborators packing....We opted to hit back, to let the enemy know that the country belonged to us and that sooner rather than later his stranglehold on Bangladesh would go....And we have not forgotten the very significant moral and material support given to us by the Indian government and people in our struggle against the forces of occupation. No remembrance of victory can be complete without recalling the courage and resilience of the entire population of Bangladesh at that time of fear.

The Daily Star of 16 December 2011

Article titled, 'Forty years of victory' by M. Abdul Latif Mondal

We celebrate today, December 16, the 40th anniversary of our victory against the occupying Pakistani forces. The surrender of the Pakistani forces to the Indo-Bangladeshi High Command at Dhaka Racecourse (now Suhrawardy Uddayan) on this day in 1971 made our declaration of independence on March 26 of the same year a reality.

The Daily Sun of 16 December 2011

Write up entitled 'How Important are our roots' by Serajul Islam

The Pakistanis took Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a prisoner who surrendered voluntarily. After this singularly civil act, the Pakistanis went about killing our people without consideration of political affiliation, sex, age, or whatever else distinguishes people. They killed us simply because we spoke the Bengali language that made their act the worst recorded and unanswered case of genocide in history.

The Daily Star of 16 December 2011

Article titled 'Gently blow the winds of change' by Sharmeen Soneya Murshid

Bangladesh was born out of the ashes of a demolished Pakistan, a religion based state that imploded because of its narrow, intolerant and divisive politics. Bangladesh rejected this politics and emerged a secular nation with an inclusive democratic ethos. A secular nation that did not deny religion, rather, gave an equal space to every religion with the promise that none shall be allowed to use religion for political ends. The reality in Bangladesh could not live up to that ideal. With changes in regimes and the constitution, religion became more and more a political tool in the hands of communal forces striving to gain power. Thus "religious minorities" were created as a way to "marginalise, trivialize and divide" people.

Message to the nation from Md. Zillur Rahman, President of Bangladesh, carried by The Daily Sun of 21 February 2012

February 21 is the great "Shaheed Day" as well as "International Mother Language Day". On this day, I recall with profound reverence the unfading memories of the language martyrs namely Barkat, Rafiq, Salam, Jabbar, Shafique and many unknown others who made supreme sacrifices in 1952. I pray to the Almighty for the salvation of those departed souls. I also extend my sincere thanks and felicitations to the multi-linguistic people around the world. The great language movement is a historical and significant event in our national history. This movement not only achieved the demand of mother tongue but also revealed the sense of Bangalee nationalism and inspired tremendously to achieve independence. The spirit of Bangalee nationalism paved the way for the long-cherished independence in 1971.....

Message to the nation from Sheikh Hasina, Prime Minister of Bangladesh, carried by The Daily Sun of 21 February 2012

I extend my best wishes to the Bangla-speaking people at home and abroad, and people of all languages and cultures across the world on the occasion of the glorious Martyrs and International Mother Language Day. The greatest Ekushey is the symbol of grief, strength and glory in the life of every Bangalee. On this day in 1952 many valiant sons of the soil, including Rafiq, Jabber, Barkat, Shafur and Salam, sacrificed their lives for protecting the dignity of the mother tongue. I pay my deep homage to the memories of the martyrs. I also pay my deep respect to the greatest Bangalee of all time, Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who had steered the language movement.

The New Age, 26 March 2012, Special Supplement
Message from the President of Bangladesh

March 26 is our great Independence and National Day. On the eve of the day, I convey my heartfelt greetings and felicitations to the fellow countrymen living at home and abroad. The historic Independence Day is a glorious day in our national life. We achieved our long-cherished independence through nine-month long armed struggle and supreme sacrifices of millions of people. On this solemn day, I pay my deep homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives in the War of Liberation in 1971. I pray to the Almighty for the salvation of those departed souls.

The New Age, 26 March 2012, Special Supplement
Message from the Prime Minister of Bangladesh

The 26th March is a glorious day in our national life. On this great day, I pay my deep homage to the 3 million martyrs and 200 thousand women who lost their innocence in the War of Liberation in 1971.

The Independent, 27 March 2012
Front page news item titled, 'Nation renews pledge to uphold liberation spirit'

The nation paid tributes to martyrs of the Liberation War, celebrating the 41st Independence and National Day on Monday. Thousands of people from all walks of life were present at the National Memorial at Savar since early morning. People renewed their pledge to uphold the spirit of the Liberation War and build a happy, prosperous and secular Bangladesh. This was followed by thunderous slogans for an intensified campaign for

expediting the trial of war criminals of 1971 to free the nation from a stigma, carried over the past 41 years.

The Daily Star, 27 March 2012

Front page news item titled, 'Fresh vow to speed up war trial Nation salutes war heroes on Independence Day'

The country's 41st Independence Day was observed yesterday with the nation taking a vow to expedite the war crimes trial, and consolidate democracy in line with the spirit of the War of Liberation.

The Bangladesh Today of 28 March 2012

News item entitled, 'Independence Day observed'

The nation on Monday observed the Independence and National Day "with a fresh vow to build a secular, democratic and prosperous Bangladesh.... Thousands of people from all walks of life thronged the mausoleum paying their glowing tributes to the martyrs who laid down their lives to free the Bengalis from the repressive Pakistani rule in 1971."

The Independent, 26 March 2012

Editorial page, Write-up titled, 'Thoughts on Independence Day'

Bangladesh observes its 41st Independence and National Day today. Forty one years ago this day, the country was set on the path of a war of independence to become free from the most brutal attempt to subjugate it by its colonial masters in Pakistan. The night before on 25th March, Pakistani forces had cracked down on the people of Bangladesh. Not only did they annihilate the lightly armed patriotic Bangalee policemen and East Pakistan Rifles (EPR) who tried to put up resistance to the marauding forces in Dhaka, the heavily armed Pakistani regulars with far superior firepower kept pounding at unarmed civilians in the streets and their houses.

But by 26 March, the Bangalees took up arms for freedom as Bangabandhu declared independence. The genocide committed by Pakistani forces in Bangladesh during their nine months of barbaric grip on the country, forms a very sad saga in contemporary world history that saw the worst genocide committed by a so called disciplined force on innocent and unarmed people. The whole world condemned this most bestial behavior on the part of those who formed Pakistan's leadership at that time.

But Bangladeshi youths went across the border, soon mobilized under the sector commanders and carried on guerilla attacks on vital targets. Soon the word ‘Mukti’ became a terror word for the Pakistani soldiers as our freedom fighters established their authority on liberated areas. But at the end of it, by 16 December 1971, our valiant freedom fighters together with the Indian armed forces inflicted a humiliating defeat on the occupation forces with over 90,000 Pakistani soldiers surrendering and General Niazi signing the instrument of surrender which led to the emergence of sovereign and independent Bangladesh.

The Independent, 26 March 2012

Article titled, ‘Thoughts on Independence and National Day’ by M. Harunur Rashid

The whole population that stood up against the occupation forces, allegedly one of best trained armies that acted like cowards against the innocent Bangalees. The unarmed Bangalees fought back with all their might and thousands sacrificed their lives in live encounters. The country stood like rock, solid and unbreakable, against the Pakistanis except a few fundamentalists who acted as their agents. The result was the victory of the collective will of the people of both who went across the border and those who stayed in utter fear and uncertainty.

The Indo-Bangla joint forces entered the Dhaka city on 16th of December and General Niazi surrendered to the allied forces at the Racecourse Maidan. The sacrifice the whole nation had to make to attain freedom was tremendous. There was hardly any area where the Pakistani bandits did not go and set on fire villages after villages and kill innocent civilians.

The Independent, 26 March 2012

Article titled, ‘Forty years of search for democracy: Dilli Hanuz Door Ast’ by M. Serajul Islam, former Ambassador to Japan

There is no disagreement that our liberation war was one of the finest in the history of nations that have fought and won independence. Of course, we have one of the most powerful and vibrant mother tongues. In phonetics, Bangla is better than most modern languages. And yes we are the only nation that has shed blood to protect its mother tongue.

The Independent, 26 March 2012

Article titled, 'They are inseparable identities' by Abu Taher Mojumder

Bangabandhu did not become a dictated leader only when he was advanced in years, but he prepared himself for the great task well ahead, when he was young in years through training by taking part in movements launched on national issues at different times. It can be assumed that the issue of the cause of Bangla to be declared as one of the state languages of the then Pakistan, triggered off by the declaration by Mohammad Ali Jinnah that Urdu shall be the only state language of Pakistan, incensed all the sensible people of the then Pakistan.

It was a very unreasonable and unexpected declaration, because Urdu was then not the principal language of any one of the five provinces of the then Pakistan. The demand of the people of this part of the country was not in any way opposed to Urdu itself, but it purported to promote the cause of Bangla as one of the state languages.

The Independent, 26 March 2012

Article titled, 'Bangabandhu and emergence of Bangladesh'
Shamsuzzaman Khan

The Language Movements taking place in 1948 and 1952 contributed most in building up secular national identity of the people of East Bengal and in strengthening Bengali nationalism. In addition, the movement gradually turned into the Bengalis' struggle for self-right and autonomy. Bangabandhu notes, "In 1948 the Pakistani rulers hit the Bengali Language... We could no more bear that blow on our language. Because of that, Chatra League came into being on 4 January 1948.

On 11 March, we launched our movement under the leadership of Chatra League... In association with some other cultural organizations, we encountered the blow of the ruling clique." As regards the Language Movement of 1952, he reflects, "We need to know the authentic history of Language Movement or Movement of State Language of 1952. Detained, I was then under treatment at Dhaka Medical College. We came to decide that we must encounter on 21 February the blow inflicted on our mother tongue and our motherland. Everything was determined there at a secret meeting.... It was decided that on 16 February, I would go on hunger strike in the jail; the movement would start on 21 February.

The Daily Star, 26 March, 2012

Editorial titled, 'March 26, The Day of Commencement and resolve'

March 26 was the commencement of a nine-month long arduous resistance against a rapacious military that wanted to suppress the rights of the Bengalis by force. Never before in the annals of human history perhaps has there been such a diabolical attempt to deny the political rights of the majority by the minority, and never before has the majority been forced to the fight to reclaim their rights. And that led to what we saw so proudly emerge as an independent country not only as the symbol but also an affirmation of the political rights of the people of Bangladesh.

...We would be remiss if we did not recognize the help provided by India and the sacrifice of the Indian people and soldiers in the cause of our independence, and the innumerable friends abroad who individually and collectively had brought to the notice of the world the plight of the seventy million people of Bangladesh and garnered international support for our cause. We are happy to note that the GOB is fulfilling a long-overdue obligation of acknowledging their contributions formally.

The Daily Star, 26 March 2012

Article entitled, 'March 26 in retrospect' by Syed Fattahul Alim

At this point, it is important to note that it was not exactly the Black Night of March 25, 1971 when the Pakistani military junta let loose its blood thirsty military on the unarmed population of Dhaka that the War of Independence had begun. True the abattoir that the Pakistani junta had turned the sleepy provincial capital of Dhaka into on that Black Night proved to be the *casus belli* for the people of Bangladesh to begin the war for their total liberation. The history of our liberation struggle can be traced back further into the past in the great mass upsurge against the dictatorial military rule of the Pakistani junta in 1969.

The Daily Sun of 16 August 2012, 'Nation pays homage to Bangabandhu'

The nation observed the National Mourning Day Wednesday through paying rich tribute to its independence leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the 37th anniversary of his martyrdom, with a fresh call for bringing back his fugitive assailants to execute court verdict on them. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina paid her profound tribute to the Father of the Nation by placing wreaths at his portrait and mazar on the National Mourning Day.

The country lost its great leader this day (August 15) in 1975 as a cabal of disgruntled junior army officers staged a carnage, assassinating the founder of the Bengali Nation and most of his family members and unseated his three-and-a-half-year-old elected government. Leaders of different political parties and social, cultural and professional bodies and institutions also thronged Bangabandhu Bhaban, where the military putsch had taken place, to pay their respects to the great leader. Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina placed a wreath at Bangabandhu's portrait at the Bangabandhu Memorial Museum.

Message by the President of People's Republic of Bangladesh (The Daily Sun of 15 August 2012)

Today is the 37th martyrdom anniversary of Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the greatest Bangalee of all times. On this day, I pay my profound respect to the architect of sovereign Bangladesh Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as well as to the memory of his family members who embraced martyrdom.

The 15th August 1975 is regarded as a shameful chapter in the history of Bangalee nation. On this day, the undisputed leader and Father of the Nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman along with his family members except his daughter Sheikh Hasina and Sheikh Rehana were brutally assassinated at his own residence by a group of assassins who were being directly and indirectly indulged with the conspirators as well as anti-liberation force.

This brutal event is rare not only in the history of Bangalee nation but also in the history of the world. I pray to Almighty Allah for the salvation of those departed souls of all martyrs on this Mourning Day.

AFFIDAVIT OF YAHYA KHAN ⁴⁶⁰

“It was Bhutto, not Mujib, who broke Pakistan. Bhutto’s stance in 1971 and his stubbornness harmed Pakistan’s solidarity much more than Sheikh Mujib’s six-point demand. It was his high ambitions and rigid stance that led to rebellion in East Pakistan. He riled up the Bengalis and brought an end to Pakistan’s solidarity. East Pakistan broke away.”

The above statement was made by former President of Pakistan General Aga Muhammed Yahya Khan (February 4, 1971 – August 10, 1980) in his secret Affidavit placed with the Lahore High Court. Twenty-seven years after his death, in December 2005 the Pakistan government released this document for public information. In this affidavit, Yahya Khan describes many sensational incidents that occurred before the 1971 war and after, during his rule. He writes of his role as President, his shortcomings, of how he was used like a pawn in a chess game. He speaks of traitors behind the scenes, of the roles played by Bhutto and Mujib, of how and why the Pakistan army cracked down on Bengalis, how far the Generals were responsible, who were behind the genocide and so on. Other than the Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report of 1972, this is the only publication containing the statements of Yahya Khan, giving his version of the events of 1971.

Once the war ended, Bhutto immediately took overpower and placed President Yahya Khan under house arrest. The Bhutto government treated Yahya Khan and his family ruthlessly. When General Ziaul Huq came to power in 1977, he released Yahya Khan. It was then that Yahya decided on this affidavit, to record his statements for posterity. He made this affidavit through Advocate Manzur Ahmed Rana of the Lahore High Court.

The affidavit consists of 57 pages. Before the affidavit was filed with the court, Yahya Khan carefully scrutinized each typed page in May 1978 at his house in Rawalpindi . He made a few amendments here and there and then signed the document, declaring it to be the truth.

After a long spell of illness, this military ruler finally breathed his last in August 1980 in the house of his brother Muhammed Ali in Lahore.

460 The London Post, 16 September 2014.

In his affidavit, Yahya Khan states how the government had been pushed back against the wall. Awami League President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman gained immense power and Yahya Khan could not accept his attitude. He says that Mujib had brought the administration to a standstill. This was unacceptable, intolerable. This was a rebellion against the government. He says that there was no alternative to military action against this uprising. He says he did not launch Operation Searchlight on March 25, 1971 at the behest of Bhutto or anyone else. He issued these order in his capacity as President and Army Chief in order to quell the uprising.

Yahya Khan, in this document, is unwilling to accept that the cessation of East Pakistan and the surrender of the Pakistan army as a military defeat. He says this is was a naked conspiracy of India. He berates India and Russia for their role in this regard and has all gratitude for the United States and China for their support. He terms Mujib as a patriot, but says that Awami League had a section of radical leftists who were instigating him. They did not want to relinquish the opportunity to materialise India's long cherished dream of breaking up Pakistan.

According to Yahya Khan, it was Tikka Khan who issued the orders to capture Mujib dead or alive. Bhutto had wanted to hang Mujib. Mujib was prepared to change his six-point demand if necessary. The news of America's Seventh Fleet and China's involvement in the war were rumours. Yahya claims that in the end he wanted to leave East Pakistan's power in the hands of Awami League.

This 112-page book devotes 48 pages to the original text and 24 pages to some rare photographs. It also contains a life sketch of Yahya Khan as well as Rushd's comments on the affidavit.

The book has been dedicated to Bir Shrestha Ruhul Amin who gave his life for the country in 1971. The book is undoubtedly of interest to those interested in the history of the Liberation War. Abu Rushd says, "Gen. Yahya is nothing but a villain in our history but his accounts on 1971 surely are valuable and matters of reference in pursuing historical evidence. I hope this affidavit will make us know Yahya's part of the quagmire imposed upon us forcibly and unjustly by the Pak military junta."

Abu Rushd, editor of the Secret Affidavit of Yahya Khan, is a journalist. He is the Editor of Bangladesh Defence Journal. His interest lies in

investigative journalism, particularly in the fields of security and defence. He has dealt in this sector while working for various dailies in the past. It is his interest in this field that led him to publish this particular book and also to publish the Secret Affidavit of Yahya Khan in Bangladesh Defence Journal and in Amar Desh, a daily newspaper from Dhaka.

RASHTRIYA SWAYAMSEVAK SANGH - RSS ⁴⁶¹

Ambassador Afrasiab Mehdi Hashmi
(November 2019)

The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, widely known by the acronym RSS, is a Hindu fundamentalist organisation in India working for the promotion of Hindutva. Under the garb of nationalism, Hindutva basically connotes, expansionist and hegemonic Hinduism. According to Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics and International Relations, the term Hindutva has fascist undertones.

And Hindu fascism is, what RSS has pursued, to achieve the overall national objectives for Hindu India. At least this is what liberal analysts in India have been repeatedly accusing the RSS of. Importantly, the Nazi salutations and Nazi symbolism have been an integral part of the RSS structure. Interesting comparisons can be drawn between India's 'Hindu man of ideas' Savarkar's 1923 pamphlet 'Hindutva: Who is Hindu?' and Goebbels's 1926 German publication 'Der Nazi Sozi.'

Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, a Hindu ideologue, established RSS in Nagpur on 27 September 1925. His aim to set up the organisation was to strengthen the Hindu identity, especially vis a vis the Muslims and Christians of the Subcontinent. Thus, the prime objective to establish a Hindu nation (rashtra), has been foremost in the minds of the RSS leadership. Out of antipathy for Islam, Hedgewar sometimes described the people of the Muslim faith, as "the hissing Yavana snakes."⁴⁶² He and his fellow activists used derogatory terms for the Dalit and Sikh communities as well.

The ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India has been described as the political face of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. In fact, RSS is to BJP what SS (Schutzstaffel) was to the Nazi party in Germany. The difference

461 May see this article published in Islamabad based magazine 'Global Village Space.' (3 November 2019.)

462 'Saffron has a go at history' by Khushwant Singh in the Hindustan Times of 7 November 2008.

being that SS under Himmler, was subordinate to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) under Hitler. In India, BJP draws inspiration, and takes instructions from RSS.

Mainly, due to reasons of history, Islam has been considered by RSS its arch - enemy. The fundamentalist Hindus in India have been targeting the holiest personalities of Islam even more than ever before. RSS ideologues describe Islam as an evil religion which promotes an evil ideology.

The RSS firmly rejected the Constitution of India when it was passed on 26 November 1949. Its leadership has been making statements critical of the national flag and the national anthem of India.

Apart from being secretive in its working, which it prefers without publicity because of reasons of strategy, RSS is also one of the most feared organisations in India. As such, crimes against humanity committed by RSS, remain undiscussed and are mostly downplayed.

The RSS attained notoriety when one of its activists (or an ex member, as some claim) Nathuram Godse, assassinated Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Father of the Nation of India, on 30 January 1948. Godse committed this act of terror to punish Gandhi, for what he perceived as Gandhi's "leanings" towards the minorities, especially Muslims.

Consequently, RSS was banned by the government of the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru.

Earlier during the British rule, a ban was placed on RSS because of its association with the right-wing organisations in Europe, especially German Nazis. The RSS was banned again when the Emergency was imposed in India by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in 1975-77; and later when Babri Masjid was demolished by RSS fundamentalists in December 1992.

The Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi who joined the organisation when he was eight years old, is an active member of RSS. So is the case with most of his cabinet ministers, and close civil and military advisers.

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is "the mother party" of all-important Hindu fundamentalist organisations in India. This includes Vishva Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and the Shiv Sena. RSS has set up thousands of shaakhaas (Hindu madrassas) all over the country. It has more than six million members in India.

By and large, silent support for RSS has always existed in sections of the Indian civil society, bureaucracy, armed forces and especially in the security agencies of India. According to a write up posted on SAMVADA website, the first Army Chief of India, Field Marshal Carriappa once in his remarks to the organisation, underlined: “RSS is my heart’s work. My dear young men, don’t be disturbed by the uncharitable comments..... Look ahead! Go ahead! The country is standing in need of your services.”

463

Understandably, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh has rendered invaluable services to Hindu India. The following contributions are not really discussed in public:

— More than 200,000 Muslim men, women and children were mercilessly massacred in the State of Hyderabad in 1948. A large number of RSS workers were involved in these acts of terror.

— RSS terrorists, in collaboration with security personnel of the Maharajah of Kashmir, butchered more than 200,000 Muslim men, women and children in Kashmir in 1947-1948. ⁴⁶⁴

— Dressed in the uniform of the Pakistan Army, widespread atrocities especially rapes, were committed by RSS activists in East Pakistan in 1971. ⁴⁶⁵

— Close to 10,000 Muslims were massacred in just three days in Gujarat in 2002 by RSS activists, on specific orders of the then Chief Minister of Gujarat, Narendra Modi. ⁴⁶⁶

— Reports indicate that RSS activists dressed in uniform of the Indian Army, are involved in the ongoing Indian atrocities against the Muslim populace in Indian occupied Kashmir.

Earlier in August 1946, a large number of Bengali Muslims were massacred in Calcutta. Many perpetrators were inspired by the RSS ideology.

463 SAMWADA; (samvada.org posted on 24 October 2012.)

464 May also see Snedden, What happened to Muslims in Jammu? page 121, (2001).

465 Among others, discussions with Indian analysts, journalists etc including K.K. Katyal.

466 Interaction with Indian journalist, Harinder Baweja.

In a rather chilling interview in 1993 with 'Time Magazine', the RSS allied 'Shiv Sen' Supremo, Bal Thackeray, commented: "There is nothing wrong if Muslims are treated as Jews in Nazi Germany... if you take Mein Kampf and remove the word 'Jew' and put in its place the word 'Muslim', that is what I believe in."⁴⁶⁷

The Times reported in summer of 2019 that extremist Hindu groups in India have been offering "money, food and alcohol to mobs to kill Christians and to destroy their homes."⁴⁶⁸ The allegations followed the British government's refusal to grant visas to the members of the Hindu radical groups, as they were "linked to the worst anti-Christian violence in India since Partition." Earlier, Graham Stains, an Australian missionary, was burnt to death along with his two sons, in Orissa, by the RSS inspired Hindu mob.

While neo Nazi websites in Europe declare Hitler as the "reincarnation" of Hindu God Vishnu, some in India especially RSS activists, have emblazoned Adolf Hitler as "India's Swastika God." Slogans of "Hail Shree Ram; Hail Hitler", have been frequently raised at RSS gatherings. Importantly, textbooks are being rewritten in India for school children. In Gujarat, chapters have been added in social studies books with titles such as 'Hitler, the Supremo.' A section on Nazi ideology, emphasises: "Hitler gave dignity and prestige to Germany. He adopted a policy of opposition towards the Jewish people, and advocated supremacy of the German race."⁴⁶⁹

According to Palash Ghosh, during World War II, Indian nationalists received "explicit support" from the German Nazis. In fact, some even served in "Hitler's army and in the notorious SS." Ghosh adds that in a speech in Dresden (Germany) in 1943, Adolf Hitler emphasised: "I am impressed by the burning passion" with which Netaji (India's nationalist leader, Subhash Chandra Bose) seeks to liberate India "from foreign domination." Hitler added, "Netaji's status is even greater than mine."⁴⁷⁰

Muslims have always been a persecuted minority in India. Since Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister in 2014, Muslim persecution

467 Haaretz, Friday, September 27, 2019 issue.

468 The Times, 23 August 2019.

469 Writeup by Shrenik Rao titled, 'Hitler's Hindus: the Rise and Rise of India's Nazi loving Nationalists' in Haaretz, dated 14 December 2017.

470 'Hindu Nationalists' Historical links to Nazism and Fascism' by Palash Ghosh, in International Business Times issue of 3 June 2012.

has increased manifold. The RSS leadership has publicly announced the conversion of all Muslims and Christians in India to Hinduism. They have even set deadlines.

Significantly, accusations of terror against RSS, even today have continued in India.

— Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956) is considered to be the architect of the Constitution of India. He was India's first Law Minister. In a statement in January 2019, his grandson Prakash Ambedkar described RSS "a terrorist organisation."⁴⁷¹

— In a statement in November 2018, CPI (M) leader Ramchandran Pillai equated RSS "with Taliban and Khalistan terrorists."⁴⁷²

— Senior Congress leader Digvijaya Singh said in June 2018, "All Hindu terrorists who have been caught, have association with RSS in some way or the other. This ideology is spreading hatred; hatred breeds violence, and from violence is bred terrorism."⁴⁷³

— The then Home Minister P. Chidambaram urged India to be aware of saffron terror in an August 2010 meeting of the State Police heads in New Delhi.⁴⁷⁴

— In his address to the Congress party in Jaipur on 20 January 2013, Indian Home Minister Sushilkumar Shinde emphasised, "The BJP and RSS are promoting Hindu Terrorism through their training camps in India." He added, "BJP and RSS are conducting training camps to spread terrorism."⁴⁷⁵ Supporting this view, Union Minister Mani Shankar Aiyar said, "I am hundred percent with Shinde on this. This is not a secret. I want to thank the Home Minister for saying what everyone knows, but does not have the courage to say."⁴⁷⁶

Indian analyst Pankaj Mishra in his article in The New York Times in early 2003, referred to his interaction with Gopal Godse, the younger

471 ANI Report, 28 January 2019.

472 NDTV report, 21 November 2018.

473 Economic Times, 19 June 2018.

474 May also see Business Standard dated 2 April 2019.

475 The Hindu, 20 January 2013.

476 The 'Encyclopaedia' on Pakistan's foreign relations, page xi, by Afrasiab, published in Dhaka in 2013.

brother of Nathuram Godse. According to Gopal, Nathuram had advised him to immerse his (Nathuram's) ashes in Indus, "the holy river of India that flows through Pakistan, only when Mother India was whole again."⁴⁷⁷

Is all this so easy a task, as RSS is dreaming! Only time will tell.

Jingoism is not good. Peace is imperative.

Importantly, Pakistan is the MOTHER OF INDIA.

India is called India because of River Indus, which flows through Pakistan not India. The Mahabharata was recited the first time in history in Taxila, a city located in Pakistan not in India.

Like China, India wants to be proud of its 5000 year-long history. Ironically, the main sites of the Indus Valley Civilisation: Mohenjodaro and Harappa, are not located in India but in Pakistan. Similarly, the land that constitutes Pakistan was the centre-piece of the Sarasvati civilization when the Vedas are said to have been compiled thousands of years ago. Paradoxically, the name Sindh which is a province of Pakistan, is an integral part of the national anthem of India.

The RSS considers Chanakya as one of its greatest scholar-diplomats. Chanakya was civilizationally a Pakistani. He was not born in Delhi or Varanasi, but in Taxila (in Pakistan). Importantly, Chanakya's first students hailed from what is today Islamabad, not Nagpur.

Coming into power of Narendra Modi, has once again, re-validated and re-authenticated Muhammad Ali Jinnah's Two Nation theory.

Narendra Modi's ascent to power, is bound to weaken the ideological foundations of India. Understandably, Indians are worried.

The recent abrogation of the articles on Kashmir, is bound to have long term repercussions.

The interests of the People's Republic of China in the issue of Jammu and Kashmir, are at stake. And, Beijing knows that RSS hates China. India's 1962 humiliation has been unpalatable to the RSS.

⁴⁷⁷ Article 'The Other Face of Fanaticism' by Pankaj Mishra, published in The New York Times of 2 February 2003.

Those Kashmiris who sided with Nehru in 1947, are today regretting their gravest mistake. The long list includes Farooq ABDULLAH.

Many term RSS as the largest “voluntary organisation” in the world. Others categorize BJP as the largest “political party” in the world. How can one ignore the view that Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh is the largest terrorist organisation in the world, with its political arm BJP, relentlessly implementing the RSS agenda of Hindu fascism!!

As mentioned earlier, accusations of terror against RSS have not emanated from Islamabad, but from Hindu analysts in India. The long list of critiques of RSS includes each and every Prime Minister of India, minus Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Narendra Modi. Even these two would have criticized RSS, had they not been its active members.

The RSS ideologues do not want to call their country India or Hindustan. They call their country Bharat. Bharata according to them, was their ancient legendary Emperor whose name is “synonymous with power and expansionism.”

Indians knows too well that India has never been a one country in history, except during the British rule and when Hindustan was ruled by Alauddin Khilji.

The world is heading towards right-wing religiosity. Hindus believe in millions of gods. Like Islam, Judaism and Christianity believe in the ALL MERCIFUL GOD. The RSS hates all the three Abrahamic religions to the core.

Analysts in Israel have taken note of the RSS admiration of the Nazis and Adolf Hitler in India.

On 4 September 2015, Prime Minister Narendra Modi called on RSS leadership at the RSS headquarters in Nagpur. Indian analysts emphasise that Modi went there “to present himself” before the RSS chief Mohan Bhagat. “Almost his entire Council of Ministers was there to demonstrate their accountability to the RSS.” The message Modi received in the meeting was, “No matter how big or popular you are, you cannot be bigger than the RSS.”⁴⁷⁸

478 May also see, Dawn, dated 10 October 2015.

Today, India is no longer the country of Gandhi and Nehru. India has changed. Today, India is ruled by Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, whose members eulogise not Gandhi but Gandhi's assassin Nathuram Godse.

To presume that RSS does not have a comfortable control over India's nuclear weapons, would be a suicidal naivety.

‘RAW: 50 YEARS OF OPERATING FROM THE SHADOWS’⁴⁷⁹

Today (September 21), RAW enters its 51st year. Half a century ago, it was spun off from the Intelligence Bureau, of Raj vintage. Bruised by the 1962 war with China, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru realised the need to keep an eye on neighbours, but it was left to his daughter, Indira Gandhi, to work the idea into an organisation, using a blueprint prepared by a man who became a legend — Rameshwar Nath Kao.

RAW came into being — in 1968 — a good 20 years after Pakistan had set up the ISI. Even as it was growing its milk teeth, RAW was called into service, and its role in the Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 — training of the Mukti Bahini and the creation of Bangladesh out of the erstwhile East Pakistan — is perhaps its most recounted accomplishment.

There is very little authentic information about RAW’s activities. Legend mixed with information from private and public conversations or papers, articles and books written by ex-RAW officials keeps the patriotic Indian kicked about the organisation that has operated from the shadows for half a century.

Many achievements are credited to it. It is said to have stage-managed the hijacking of an Indian Airlines plane to discredit Pakistan and to provide a ruse to ban Pakistani aircraft over-flying India, in the run up to the 1971 war. It is said to have provided a timely tip off about Pakistan’s plan to tent-up in Siachen, enabling India to pre-empt it. It is reputed to have hit back at the ISI during the Pakistan-backed Khalistan movement in Punjab, by supporting Balochi insurgents.

The list is long and includes providing intelligence inputs to Israel’s Mossad during Operation Entebbe, and, more recently, cobbling up a coalition in Sri Lanka to vote-out pro-China President Mahinda Rajapaksa.

479 The Hindu, 20 September 2018. (These are the excerpts from the article on RAW by BM Ramesh.) For complete article visit <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/news/variety/raw-50-years-of-operating-from-the-shadows/article>.

Most of this is likely to be true, and despite ‘failures’ such as the Kargil war, the 2001 attack on Parliament and 26/11 it is fair to assume that the agency has earned its spurs.

However, on its 50th birthday, a few fundamental issues offer themselves for examination. One is whether or not there is a need to restructure RAW to bring it under some oversight, and, two, about its future in the changing milieu.

RAW is certainly a mysterious organisation, and darkness provides equal cover for the good, bad and the ugly. RAW is a ‘wing’ of the Cabinet Secretariat and reports only to the Prime Minister’s Office — it is not answerable to Parliament, nor is it within the ambit of Right to Information. Nobody knows how much money it gets (one figure floating around is \$450 million, which is pittance), or how much it spends.

As much as it is lauded for its successes, it also has a reputation of corruption. Its recruitment process is through Civil Services exams which, as a former RAW chief Vikram Sood said, is not good enough for a milieu of big data, artificial intelligence and blockchain.

In contrast, other intelligence agencies such as the US’s CIA or the UK’s SIS (aka MI6) recruit via their website and are able to cast their net wider. RAW doesn’t even have a website. In 1980, the US brought in the Intelligence Oversight Act to subject CIA’s activities to the scrutiny of the Senate. The SIS is accountable to the House of Commons. Not so in India. In 2011, Congress MP, Manish Tewari, introduced an Intelligence Services (Power and Regulations) Bill, but this private member initiative lapsed the following year.

On the flip side, fears that opening RAW’s operations to many eyes could be disastrous are not unfounded. After all, in the late 1970s, Prime Minister Morarji Desai, who thought little of intelligence operations, caused immeasurable damage by letting it slip to then Pakistan President Zia-ul-Haq that India knew of Pakistan’s nuclear activities at Kahuta; many RAW agents were killed and Pakistan went on to build a bomb. The point on oversight of RAW remains moot.

The other questions that beg answers include: Is the present system of making IPS officers RAW chiefs appropriate? Why should RAW chiefs have short tenures of two years?

So far, so good. But for the future, RAW needs to change and fast.

THE CITIZENSHIP (AMENDMENT) BILL, 2019⁴⁸⁰

(A BILL further to amend the Citizenship Act, 1955.)

BE it enacted by Parliament in the Seventieth Year of the Republic of India as follows:

Short title and commencement

1. (1) **This Act may be called the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019.**

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

Amendment of section 2.

2. **In the Citizenship Act, 1955 (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), in section 2, in sub-section (1), in clause (b), the following proviso shall be inserted, namely:—**

“Provided that any person belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community from Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan, who entered into India on or before the 31st day of December, 2014 and who has been exempted by the Central Government by or under clause (c) of sub-section (2) of section 3 of the Passport (Entry into India) Act, 1920 or from the application of the provisions of the Foreigners Act, 1946 or any rule or order made thereunder, shall not be treated as illegal migrant for the purposes of this Act;”.

Insertion of new section 6B

3. **After section 6A of the principal Act, the following section shall be inserted, namely:-**

Special provisions as to citizenship of person covered by proviso to clause (b) of sub-section (1) of section 2.

480 ‘The Week,’ 12 December 2019 (Bill No. 370-C of 2019 as passed by the Lok Sabha on 10 December 2019.

‘6B. (1) The Central Government or an authority specified by it in this behalf may, subject to such conditions, restrictions and manner as may be prescribed, on an application made in this behalf, grant a certificate of registration or certificate of naturalisation to a person referred to in the proviso to clause (b) of sub-section (1) of section 2.

(2) Subject to fulfilment of the conditions specified in section 5 or the qualifications for naturalisation under the provisions of the Third Schedule, a person granted the certificate of registration or certificate of naturalisation under sub-section (1) shall be deemed to be a citizen of India from the date of his entry into India.

(3) On and from the date of commencement of the Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2019, any proceeding pending against a person under this section in respect of illegal migration or citizenship shall stand abated on conferment of citizenship to him:

Provided that such person shall not be disqualified for making application for citizenship under this section on the ground that the proceeding is pending against him and the Central Government or authority specified by it in this behalf shall not reject his application on that ground if he is otherwise found qualified for grant of citizenship under this section:

Provided further that the person who makes the application for citizenship under this section shall not be deprived of his rights and privileges to which he was entitled on the date of receipt of his application on the ground of making such application.

(4) Nothing in this section shall apply to tribal area of Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram or Tripura as included in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution and the area covered under “The Inner Line” notified under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873.’

Reg. 5 of 1873

Amendment of section 7D

4. In section 7D of the principal Act,—

(i) after clause (d), the following clause shall be inserted, namely:-

“(da) the Overseas Citizen of India Cardholder has violated any of the provisions of this Act or provisions of any other law for time being in force as may be specified by the Central Government in the notification published in the Official Gazette; or”

- (ii) after clause (f), the following proviso shall be inserted, namely:—

“Provided that no order under this section shall be passed unless the Overseas Citizen of India Cardholder has been given a reasonable opportunity of being heard.”.

Amendment of section 18

- 5. In section 18 of the principal Act, in sub-section (2), after clause (ee), the following clause shall be inserted, namely:—**

“(eei) the conditions, restrictions and manner for granting certificate of registration or certificate of naturalisation under sub-section (1) of section 6B;”.

Amendment of Third Schedule

- 6. In the Third Schedule to the principal Act, in clause (d), the following proviso shall be inserted, namely:—**

‘Provided that for the person belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi or Christian community in Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Pakistan, the aggregate period of residence or service of Government in India as required under this clause shall be read as “not less than five years” in place of “not less than eleven years”.’

**(UNEDITED) CORRESPONDENCE FROM
YOUNG BANGLADESHIS WHO VISITED
PAKISTAN IN RECENT PERIOD**

বাহঃ বিঃ ই- ১০^১/_২ X ৬'



রাজশাহী বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় কার্যে ব্যবহার্য

From

A. H. M. ASLAM HOSSAIN
Deputy- Registrar (Academic)
Rajshahi University

SA

To,

Aamer Ahmed Atoza
First Secretary

PAKISTAN HIGH COMMISSION

Road NO - 71

House NO - 2

Gulshan - 2

DHAKKA

636-D
260307

STUDY TOUR TO PAKISTAN

13 June-26 June

This is MOHAMMAD ABDUL KHALEK from the University of Rajshahi and also studying M.S.S in Political Science department .Education is the backbone of a nation and study tour is the part and parcel of education. Visiting Pakistan was part of study tour. It was my first visit in abroad & I had very much curiosity to visit different universities of Pakistan. I was one of the lucky person & also a member of Bangladesh Delegation and went there with 39 students from four different Universities of Bangladesh. They are the University of Dhaka, University of Rajshahi, University of Chittagong, University of Jahangirnagar and one coordinator A H M ASLAM HOSSAIN deputy register & chief of the academic section from Rajshahi university. We were invited to visit by the Govt. of Pakistan & HEC(Higher Education Commission, Pakistan).We basically visited renowned universities & historical places of Karachi, Lahore & Islamabad.

KARACHI

We reached Karachi from Dhaka on 13 June, by plane. We had been staying there in International Guest House of Karachi university.

In Karachi we visited air force museum, university of Karachi, chemical biological & medical science researched centre, Aga khan medical university, the sports rehabilitation centre, mazar of Quaid i Ajam ,Institute

of Business & technology, Iqra university, museum & residence of Quaid i -Ajam, National museum of Pakistan, Mahatma palace museum, Arabian sea beach.

LAHORE

We reached Lahore on 17 June by plane & we had been staying there in Lahore Higher Education Commission Regional Centre. We visited Punjab University, Lahore University of Management, Govt College University of Lahore, University of Engineering & Technology, Salimar Garden, Lahore Fort, Badshahi Mosque.

ISLAMABAD

We reached Islamabad from Lahore by bus on 19 June. We meet there with the chairman of HEC, Dr. JABEER JAKARI. We visited Fatima Jinnah Women University, Faisal Mosque, Institute of Modern Language, International Islamic University of Islamabad, COMASTAS, Muree (the coolest of Pakistan), Quaid i- Ajam University, Pakistan Institute of Economic Development, National University of Science & Technology.

COMPLIMENTS

I like to thanks Pakistan Govt, Pakistan High Commission & HEC for giving such opportunity to Bangladeshi students. And also want to thanks

to the security forces & HEC who had always taken care of us. I've many compliments but want to mention some of them:

1. Higher Education System of Pakistan is Very much Developed than any other developing countries.
2. every university has a big & decorated library.
3. Pakistan is our real friend & brotherhood country
4. the natural beauty & historical places of Pakistan are wonderful, charming,
5. the coolest place 'muree' everyone has to like it.
6. the authorities of HEC, Pakistani students & peoples are really hospitable & friendly
7. the infrastructures of Pakistan are very developed
8. HEC of Pakistan is very strong to ensure qualitative education
9. quota system is ensuring to achieve higher education in all provinces is praiseworthy.
10. what is shown by BBC, CNN about Pakistan that Pakistan is a failure country and producing bomb but the real picture is not like that.

Finally, I believe that Pakistan will be the leader of developing countries in the future and higher education system will be the ideal of developing countries. I hope Pakistan will prosper day by day. I also hope that Govt of Pakistan will remain continue this opportunity to visit Pakistan for Bangladeshi students.

This is an appraisal letter

From

Shah Md. Ahsan Habib

(Rajshahi University)

Alhamdulillah after a thirteen days of successful tour of learning and recreation we, thirty nine students and our team coordinator, have been back to our home Bangladesh. To begin with, I honor and praise wise Mr. High Commissioner (Pakistan Embassy, Bangladesh), Chairman (HEC), our team leader A. H. M. Aslam Hussain for their respective excellence. I also thank and praise all employees in Pakistan High Commission Bangladesh and of Higher Education commission for their cordial association with us in all arenas.

To evaluate the tour, now, I can say very fewer words than I can feel. Just what I can say is I am more than impressed. InshaAllah Pakistan will be my memory till my last day of life. Perhaps I have fallen in love of Pakistan a bit more than you can expect.

Before our tour, in a meeting Mr. High Commissioner (Pakistan Embassy, Bangladesh) said us "please visit Pakistan and see how you are beloved by the people of Pakistan." Now I am assuring him that we truly have been beloved by your people. When your people came to know that we are from Bangladesh, they called us '*Vai*', they came physically closer and used to say '*ap hamari mehoman he*'. In departure, in each talk with your people, they fervently said please come to us again.

Can I forget the shopkeeper in Islamabad who, after knowing my being Bangladeshi, denied taking price for the glass of juice he fed me? I gained such experience several times when staying in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad.

During my stay I learn many things that make me hopeful for a far more prosperous Pakistan. Despite huge political malpractice this country could put educational institutes apart from political unrest. Visiting Medical Bio-Technology Centre, Agricultural Bio-Technology Centre in Karachi; Institute of Development Economics in Islamabad, COMSATS institute of science and technology, National University of Science and Technology (NUST) I can strongly realize that Pakistan has a mission and vision to reach a meaningful goal.

Wide and planned roads, architectural excellence, neat and cleanness, history, natural beauty, and people's hospitality altogether informed me, here, people are morally rich, polite and gentle. Here people hold inner strength to combat all enemies. I cannot but

reciting a taxi driver- “mey Pakistani hay, maron ke lia sob समय toyar hay”, (I am a Pakistani, I am always ready to die).

During my tour I have interacted with people from different walks of life. I talked about prevailing problems such as militancy, poor GDP growth, Baluchistan case, Pak-US relationship, Kashmir dispute, power crisis etc. and prevailing successes as well, such as democratic transition of govt., Pak-China relation, strong election commission etc. Lovingly I have done that. And I, I think we all, have come to realize that Pakistan is intentionally represented in global media brutally.

But I must acknowledge another thing. During my stay I was getting pain when to know killing of innocent people, blowing away Jinna’s residence, bombing school bus, killing foreign tourists. Please please do something for 99.99 percent of innocent people, do not think only 00.01 percent of terrorists.

In my 13 days of prolonged tour I have got everything including good food, accommodation, heartedly behavior, warm welcome from all sides, and what not! We learned, we entertained, we enjoyed. Here I say, you have given us everything generously, but we have given you nothing. Even I fear that I may have made some mistakes. If so, I apologize for all those. And I expect next generation students will not be deprived from visiting Pakistan due to our mistakes. Now this is our term to pay Pakistan. InshaAllah I will try to pay my contribution, and hopefully, all of us will pay their contribution from respective field.

Finally I would like to remember Dr. Glam Hayder, Dr. Solayman and Dr. Jafar Babar who have guided us on behalf of HEC respectively in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. They have shown ultimate courtesy and patience to us.

May Allah foster intimate relationship between Bangladesh and Pakistan!

(Two things to stop me so earlier, one is two-page restriction; secondly, my incapability to express myself.)

(Assalamualaikum)

SHAH MD. AHSAH HABIB
MASS COMMUNICATION AND JOURNALISM
RAJSHAHI UNIVERSITY, RAJSHAHI, BANGLADESH.

Contact: habibahsan66@gmail.com
+8801717237385

In am Shrabani Yeasmin. I am a student of political science of the University of Rajshahi. Already I degree is on going. At first I want to thank Allah because I got a great opportunity to visit Pakistan for 13 days. it was a great pleasure for me. I also thanked Pakistan Embassy and Higher Education Commission of Pakistan for giving me this great chance and I have seen Pakistan in my own eyes.

Before coming Pakistan I was very interested and at the sometime very much. I also tensed about the recent situation of Pakistan. World media system always focus the news that Pakistan is all about of bomb bursting, terrorist and full of Taleban. Not only that also Pakistan is a failure state. Pakistan is always facing the drone attack of America. Many people are dying day by day. Pakistan is an instable state and Pakistan is broken out. I know the history of Pakistan in my childhood. After coming back from Pakistan as a whole all information is not true.

After going Pakistan my mind setup have totally changed. I have gathered many experiences about the position of Pakistan. I have seen Pakistan in my own eyes. Pakistan is not all about of bomb basting, is not all about of terrorist, install about of Taleban. Pakistan is a sweet hone. It is a plenty full of natural resources, science and technology is developed day by day. In a word Pakistan is a beautiful country without some political instability. Every Pakistani should be grateful to Almighty because of the assets that they possess naturally.

However Pakistan embassy selected 39 students from different department of four public Universities like Dhaka University, Rajshahi University, Chittagong and Jahongirnagore University. How ever 13th June we arrived the Shahjalal International airport of our country at 9 am.

Our flight departed at 1.35 pm. It was my first plane journey in my life. So I enjoyed it very much. We travelled by Pakistan International Airlines.

We reached the Karachi international Airport at 4.30 p.m. After reaching the airport I was astonished because I talked with an airport staff in Bengali. He knows Bangladesh and he visited many cities in Bangladesh. HEC personnel of Pakistan came to the airport to receive us with 5 Microbuses we stayed at the Karachi University guest house for 3 days. It is a beautiful guest house.

The Educational Curriculum of Pakistan:

I would like to thank the HEC and the Directorate of HEC Mr. Javed Lahiree for giving us this great opportunity of study in Pakistan.

We were delegated by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan. The main purpose of our visit is to observe the existing higher education scenario of Pakistan. We have visited 17 universities in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. My assumption about the education system of Pakistan is awesome. I really don't have an idea about such world class universities in Pakistan before my visit to these universities.

First we started our visit to university by Karachi University and ended through National University of Science and Technology (NUST). The vice-chancellor of Karachi University held a conference with us. The main specialty of most of the universities is the plenty of research centers and institutes. Adjacent to the department that means these

universities are structured on the basis of research work. Most of these universities are research oriented. The Iqra University of Karachi is really amazing.

The Institute namely I.Q khan Institute for emetic Engineering of Karachi is so nice and fantastic. The institute has word class research labs and researchers are working for innovating genetic technologies for the development of mankind. The thing which impressed me that most of the educational institutions of Pakistan are free from student politie^s that is why science and technology and research institutions are growing up day by day.

The International Islamic University impressed us very much because there are different campus for male and female students. And the area of this university is very big. The Panjab University it established in 1872. The thing which impressed us really was that Karachi University was a Bangla department, established in 1953. All of the University Student area very much cordial and well behaved.

Sight seeing:

We were very much excited for sight seeing. In 19th June we visited the shalimar garden of Shahjahan. How nice the scenery of this garden is! we also visited the mirror palace of Shahjahan. it is awe some place. What is the infrastructure of mirror place! we also visited the house of Quad-E-Azam and Mahatma palace. it was very much interesting which impressed me to a great extent because I was very lucky to see the two famous nation builders of India and Pakistan.

We visited the Arabian sea which is also nice. There was a huge gathering of the people who come to enjoy the beauty of the sea. I really impressed when we went to see the Maree. It's really god gifted. When I was riding a cable car. I can not share about the feelings that we have enjoyed. I was very lucky to have this opportunity.

We visited many famous mosque's of Pakistan like Faysal mosque and Bahadur shah mosque. I was really excited seeing the infrastructural beauty Foisal mosque. I have never seen such a beautiful mosque in my life. The thing which was most attracted to my that every rood to Pakistan are free from traffic jam and traffic police are rare. The roads of Pakistan is very wide and so clean and beautiful.

Negative sides:

We stayed Pakistan for 13 days. We enjoyed every day very much. But the weather of Pakistan is not suitable for us. So we fell tired. The weather is so hot and no humidity we all know that Pakistan is a powerful state because of nuclear power. But Pakistan is a always taking the drone-attack, boar bursting.

The internal political instability of Pakistan is a major problem. Another problem that is electricity problem. Pakistan's govt. Should take some initiative of reduce this political instability and I pray to Allah in near future Pakistan to be a successful state.

We are grateful to all Pakistani people for their great hospitality. We believe Pakistan is our second home.

Thanks to Pakistan

Study tour in Pakistan

Mst. Sangida Begum
Political Science
Rajshahi University, Rajshai
Bangladesh.

By visiting abroad we acquire knowledge about the different nations, culture, civilization, territories, people etc. If any one get change to go abroad as a study tour. I think he/she is lucky person. After a thirteen days of successful study tour we, thirty nine students and our coordinator, have been back to our home Bangladesh. To being with, I honor and praise wise MR. High commissioner (Pakistan Embassy, Bangladesh), Chairman (HEC) our team leader A.H.M Aslam Hossain for their respective excellence. I also thank praise all employees in Pakistan High commission Bangladesh and of Higher Education commission for their cordial association with as in all arenas.

After visiting Pakistan, I can say very fewer words that I can feel. It was very much amazing and enjoyable. All Pakistani peoples are very much Co-operative and when they know that we are from Bangladeshi they come Physically closer and say Oh my God ! You are Bangladeshi ? Then they asked-Do you know 'Urdu'? When any one said "Thora Thora" then they had impressed. Before visiting Pakistan I had a negative sense that those Pakistan People are our enemy. But that was wrong idea in my heart Now in my realization, Pakistan is not our enemy Pakistan is our close friend.

In Pakistan we had visited 3 province like Karachi, Lahore, and Islamabad. I gained such experience several times when we staying in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. During my stay I learn many things that make me hopeful for a far more prosperous Pakistan. Despite huge political malpractice this country

could put educational institutes apart from political unrest. Visiting Medical Bio-Technology Centre, Agricultural Bio-Technology Centre in Karachi, Institute of Development Economics in Islamabad, COMSATS institute of Science and technology, National University Of Science and Technology (NUST). Can Strongly realize that Pakistan has a mission and vision to reach a meaningful goal.

We also visited some historical event in Karachi like Airforce Museum, Mahatama Palace, Jinnah I grave yard and his house, National museum of Pakistan, Sea-beach and other places which moment and other places which moment I could not recall . I Lahore, we also visited Shalimar garden Lahore fort Bangladeshi mosque, more etc. In marre, it was great experience to Journey by cable car.

When we reached any institution, concerned authorities warm welcome and took us to their conference room, In the presence of aper body of the institution, conference was started, concerned University's presenter Presented his/her University's position. As for example establishment time, Present rank, extra curriculum activities (debates, cultural Program, Sports, Games), library, Gymnasium etc. During Presentation, they served us drinks, biscuties cakes, Water and tea, Finishing presentation they gave us time to quarry. If any one had any question, then asked, concerned authorities would answer the questions After finishing conference, we took a photo session. The we had been visited library, Laboratory, Classroom, Gymnasium etc. Then we came back from the institution. In this way, we visited various kinds of institutions.

When we visited historical sites and heritage sites, then we had been directed a tourist guide who described various location.

During my tour I have interacted with people from different walks of life. I talked about prevailing problems such as militancy, poor GDP growth, Baluchistan case, Pak-US relationship, Kashmir dispute, power crisis etc. and prevailing successes as well, such as democratic transition of govt., Pak-China relation, strong election commission etc. Lovingly I have done that. And I, I think we all, have come to realize that Pakistan is intentionally represented in global media brutally.

In my 13 days of prolonged tour I have got everything including good food, accommodation, heartedly behavior, warm welcome from all sides, and what not! We learned, we entertained, we enjoyed. Here I say, you have given us everything generously, but we have given you nothing. Even I fear that I may have made some mistakes. If so, I apologize for all those. And I expect next generation students will not be deprived from visiting Pakistan due to our mistakes. Now this is our term to pay Pakistan. InshaAllah I will try to pay my contribution, and hopefully, all of us will pay their contribution from respective field.

Finally I would like to remember Dr. Golam Hayder, Dr. Solayman and Dr. Jafar Babar who have guided us on behalf of HEC respectively in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. They have shown ultimate courtesy and patience to us. May Allah foster intimate relationship between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

Trip to Pakistan

Abdul Hyai Rafi & Ayesha Mahmud

Jahangirnagar University

Recently, I got a chance to visit Pakistan from 13th to 26th June, 2013 as part of the delegation from Bangladesh. We, the 40 delegates (39 student & one coordinator) from four public university (DU, JU, RU & CU) represented Bangladesh in Pakistan. It is a study tour as well as cultural exchange program conducted by Pakistan High Commission in Dhaka. On 26th, we came from Pakistan after fourteen days tour. Throughout the tour, we visit more than 17 universities and institutions and some place of historical importance in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. We have got immense experience from this tour.

I, personally, talked to many people of Pakistan who were mostly student, teacher or university official. Through observation and talking to them, my motive was to know about their logic and argument about different affairs. As a student of history I talked with them about Islam, the partition of 1947, secession of 1971, 1965 war, India- Pakistan relation, Kashmir issue, Taliban problem etc. and obviously their perception about Bangladesh and its people. Insha'Allah, I will share my experiences and learning below.

Perception about the Bangladeshi

'Brother' is the word the Pakistani used to say about Bangladeshi people. When our team reached at the Jinnah International Airport in Karachi, the official from Higher Education Commission welcomed us wholeheartedly. They regarded Bangladeshi people as their own brother. The cause behind this idea is the majority of the people of both countries are Muslim. Many individual think that there is no difference between Pakistani and Bangladeshi people. An official of Quqid-I Azam University says 'Bangladeshi people are generous and they are our brother.'

About 1971

I asked at least twenty people about the secession of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971. My question was to them is 'Who is responsible for the secession? And 'how tangible the secession was? Almost every person replied me that the politicians were responsible for secession and the power should have been given to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. They think Bhutto was responsible for entire blunder. Few of them, of whom I talked to, believe the separation is natural because the idea of two nation theory is an absurd one. Some also blamed the absurd idea of 'inferior Muslim concept about Bangalees' among the elite class of west Pakistani which created divisions among the two sides of Pakistan. I found the most interesting reply from a university Professor who told me that 'in 1947 a twin was born and after 23 years the both were got married and separated through quarrelling but this doesn't mean they are not brother.'

Education System

We were invited by the Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan. The main purpose of visiting was to observe the existing higher education scenario of Pakistan. We have visited seventeen universities in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. The education system of Pakistan is very well. I really, don't have an idea about such world class universities in Pakistan. First, we started our university journey from Karachi University, Karachi and ended through National University of Science and Technology (NUST). The main specialty of most of the universities is the plenty of research centre and institute adjacent to the department, that means these universities are structured on the basis of research. Most of the universities are research oriented. The institute namely Dr. I Q Khan Institute for Genetic engineering of Karachi University was really amazing. The institute has world class research labs and the researchers are working for innovating genetic technologies for development of mankind.

The thing which was really impressed us that most is the higher education of Pakistan is not influenced by politics. I think the absence of the bad influence of politics, both teacher's and student's, is the real cause for making the universities as 'research institution' rather than a 'political institution'. Another excellent feature of the universities in Pakistan is the semester exam for every department of a university is held in the same schedule and the academic calendar is strictly maintained. That is why no session-jam prevalent in these universities.

This is an appraisal letter

*From
Nurmohammed
(Rajshahi University)*

Thanks Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan, for giving us this opportunity. I also thank and praise Pakistan High Commission in Bangladesh. I am one of the lucky person, which is why, I got such opportunity to go to Pakistan. Because, it was my first foreign tour.

Now, to evaluate the tour, it's very difficult for me. Because it's very hard to write down, what I see? But I have to write my feeling about this tour. No doubt, it was very enjoyable for us. I hope, all of my friend will be missed those days.

We know the motive of the tour was to strengthen relationships between Bangladesh and Pakistan and provide opportunities to students to become familiar with a different culture, language, custom etc. I hope successfully it has been done.

During my tour I have interacted with people from different walks of life. I talked about prevailing problems such as militancy, poor GDP growth, Baluchistan case, Pak-US relationship, Kashmir dispute, power crisis etc. and prevailing successes as well, such as democratic transition of govt., Pak-China relation, strong election commission etc. Lovingly I have done that. And I, I think we all, have come to realize that Pakistan is intentionally represented in global media brutally.

But I must acknowledge another thing. During my stay I was getting pain when to know killing of innocent people, bombing in mosque, blowing away Jinna's residence, bombing school bus, killing foreign tourists. Please please do something for 99.99 percent of innocent people, do not think only 00.01 percent of terrorists.

During my stay I learn many things that make me hopeful for a far more prosperous Pakistan. Despite huge political malpractice this country could put educational institutes apart from political unrest. Visiting Medical Bio-Technology Centre, Agricultural Bio-Technology Centre in Karachi; Institute of Development Economics in Islamabad, COMSATS institute of science and technology, National University of Science and Technology (NUST) I can strongly realize that Pakistan has a mission

and vision to reach a meaningful goal. Wide and planned roads, architectural excellence, neat and cleanness, history, natural beauty, and people's hospitality altogether informed me, here, people are morally rich, polite and gentle.

All we know, every coin has two sides, so Pakistan also like that. If anybody asked me what the main problem of Pakistan is, I will tell militant. Then etc tec. It's the main barrier of development of Pakistan.

I admit that Pakistan education system is world class, but it's too expensive for lot of students. Pakistan is a developing country; there many people are living below of poverty. So that, many students deprived from higher education. I hope, Pakistan govt. and HEC will get step to reduce higher education cost.

Another big problem of Pakistan is Energy.

Finally I would like to remember Dr. Glam Hayder, Dr. Solayman and Dr. Jafar Babar who have guided us on behalf of HEC respectively in Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad. They have shown ultimate courtesy and patience to us.

Nurmohammed

MASS COMMUNICATION AND JOURNALISM

RAJSHAHI UNIVERSITY, RAJSHAHI, BANGLADESH.

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Pakistan as I saw

Bachchu Shekh Rabin
Team leader of
Jahangiranagar University
Dept. of Govt. & Politics

In my first ever foreign tour with a large group of 39 other fellow mates, I made memories for a lifetime. Bangladesh and Pakistan Government Higher Education Exchange Program (HEC) helped to avail the opportunities of visiting unknown country to get accustomed to different language, custom and weather. As it happens Pakistan is quite popular choice for Bangladeshi's students. The country is itself vast however its true size is realized whilst crossing its different provinces by air. Within a short span of time, thirteen days, thirty nine students from four different universities including Dhaka, Jahangirnagar, Chittagong and Rajshahi where we have been to three states, Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad.

Because of touring several universities in the three major states of Pakistan and World Heritage Sites, to rendering the national anthem of Bangladesh co-joined with Pakistani students, hearing the president of a university speak in Bangla, collecting souvenirs, tasting food with a shahi touch, soaking in the scenic beauty of a hill station, getting dazzled by the intricacies of Sheesh Mahal, and witnessing the missile sample of Pakistan-all the unexpected and the least imagined came true as we crisscrossed across an unknown land during our two week tour, packed with laughter and punched with excitement.

The aim of the tour was to strengthen bilateral relationships between Bangladesh and Pakistan and provide opportunities to students to become familiar with a different culture, language, custom and weather. The country is vast; however its true size is realised while crossing its different provinces. As we arrived at Karachi airport on 14th June, we got a warm reception by the

representatives of Pakistan Higher Education Commission. The same day we went to visit Pakistan Air Force museum where we saw different types of missile samples of Pakistan. During our stay in Karachi, we also visited Karachi University, Aga Khan University and Iqra University and met their vice-chancellors.

Our flight from Karachi to Lahore was delayed by three hours. We landed in Lahore at midnight and checked into the guest house of Pakistan Higher Education Commission. From the rooftop of the building, the view of the sprawling city was very impressive. In the next two days, we visited the graveyard and residence of Pakistan's founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the national museum of Pakistan and the Arab sea.

Next day, we visited Government College University of Lahore and Punjab University, where we met its vice-chancellor and dean professor Dr. Mujahid Kamran. Later, we joined a cultural session at the PU auditorium organised by the cultural club of the university. The club members presented songs and a few of my fellow Bangladeshi mates also rendered our local songs of different genres. The cultural exchange, the laughter and mirth, the rejoicing made the evening memorable. The programme concluded with everyone standing up to sing the national anthem of Bangladesh, Amar sonar Bangla ami tomay bhalobhasi with due respect and solemnity, forging a bond of mutual respect among the students of both countries.

On our third day in the province of Punjab, we visited two World Heritage Sites. Our eyes were enchanted by the luscious greenery of Shalimar Uddan (Garden of Nurjahan) and the royal magnificence of the Lahore fort, locally known as Shahi Qila. Located in the northwestern corner of the city, the trapezoidal composition of the fort is spread over a vastness of 20 hectares. The existing base structure was originally built during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar between 1556 and 1605. The large gardens and architecture of the luxurious Diwan-e- Khas for the royal audience and the walls of the fort decorated with blue Persian khasi tiles were breath-taking in terms of their detail and craftsmanship. On a personal note, the Sheeh Mahal (Mirror Palace) was particularly alluring and astonishing in its grandeur.

We also saw the place where the historical Lahore proposal was recommended by our Bengali Leader Sher-e-bangla AK Fazlul Hauque. Our next

and final destination was the capital city Islamabad.

Compared to the other cities, Islamabad is quite modern in its outlook. We had a relaxing schedule spanning over six days that allowed us to visit Fatima Jinnah Women University, Quad-a-Azam University and Institute of Modern Language Centre. We had been invited to the International Islamic University of Islamabad by its president Dr Mumtaz Ahmed, who spoke to the students in Bangla. The university has a great reputation for enrolling foreign students. The president personally showed us some special facilities for the enrolled Bangladeshi students.

We attended a seminar 70 miles away from the capital at Abbottabad and visited National University of Science and Technology (NUST) to join an open discussion hour between students of the two countries. The student participants expressed their enthusiasm and hoped to form a long lasting bond of friendship that would benefit both the nations.

During our shopping tour, almost everyone purchased the real Kashmiri Shawl, reputed in our sub-continent for its exquisite designs and motifs. The hill station of the mesmerizingly beautiful Maree, a renowned tourist destination near Kashmir embedded its picture in my memory. Maree perched between trees on hilly tracts, was crowded by tourists from all over the world who imbibed its beauty and splendor. I had never experienced something as magnificent and scenic as Maree in my entire life. We rode on cable cars above the apex of the hills, giving us an adrenaline rush.

Finally we left Pakistan to return home. Overall the trip was amazing, it was both educational and entertaining. The experience has inspired me to travel to other unknown destinations and create more lifelong memories.

Our journey had ended but I was really unsure about is that it had ended for me. It was my first country journey as foreign. I never forget it, enjoyed the most, thirteen days with my friends.

My Recent Visit to Pakistan

Nasrin Sultana

**Dept of Government and Politics
Jahangirnagar University, Savar, Dhaka.**

13th June 2013, we have got an opportunity to visit Pakistan under the Education and Cultural Exchange Programme of Pakistan Government. I feel very happy and lucky to be a part of this programme.

At first I would like to thank Pakistan Government and Pakistan High Commission in Bangladesh for offering us such an opportunity. Then I also like to thank Pakistan Higher Education Commission (HEC) for their nice accommodation, co-operation and hospitality. We were a team of 39 students participated from different public University of Bangladesh. It was my first air journey and it was an amazing experience for me. After reaching at Karachi International Airport Mr. Golam Haider Khan, Assistant Director from HEC was in Airport and he welcomed us warmly. He was a nice person. His sincerity and co-operation is unforgettable.

At Pakistan I liked the HEC guest house most. It is a beautiful place. In Karachi, we visited Karachi University, Iqra University and some historical place like Residence of Quaid-I-Azam, National Museum, Mahatta Palace and sea beach. In National Museum we saw various traditional things and culture Pakistan. Besides this, we saw some Bangladeshi Paintings which was really wonderful. On 16th June, we started our journey from Karachi to Lahore. We reached Lahore International Airport at 11.30pm. After reaching there we started to HEC guest house in Lahore.

Next morning of 17th June, we visited University of Punjab, Lahore Government College University, LUMS and some other Educational Institute. University of Punjab is one of the famous Universities in Pakistan. It has five

campuses, 23000 students and more than thousands faculty members. In University of Punjab, we enjoyed a lovely cultural programme performed by the University students.

In Lahore we visited historical Shalimar garden, which was established by the Emperor Shahjahan. It was my dream to visit Shalimar Garden. After that we visit Badshah-e-Mosque, one of the biggest mosque of Asia and then Lahore Port.

We also visited the Tomb of Quaid-I-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. I was astonished to see those Mughal Structure, which was built by the Mughal Emperor.

From Lahore we go to Islamabad by bus and it took approximately four hours. It was a very enjoyable and memorable journey of my life.

In Islamabad, we met with the Chairman of HEC. He was a very cordial person. There we participated in a discussion about the Role of Universities and Colleges in Societies and Expansion of Moral Education. In Islamabad, we visited Fatima Jinnah Women University, National University of Modern Language (NUML), Quaid-I-Azam University.

In Quaid-I-Azam University, we visit Taxila Institute of Asian Civilization, which is working on Central Asian Civilizations.

After that we visit International Islamic University (IIU), which have a very beautiful campus. There we met with the honorable Vice Chancellor, He was very friendly with us.

I was very happy to know that, in NUML there is Department of Bengali Literature. In the library of NUML I saw a Bengali Dictionary.

From Islamabad, we got opportunity to visit Abottabad and Murree. I think Murree

is the beauty Queen of Pakistan. In my Whole tour it was the best place. I enjoyed the beauty of Murree most. Especially the natural beauty of Murree is fantastic. I saw the hilly beauty of this place by Cable Car.

In Islamabad, we visit Faisal Mosque, which is one of the beautiful Mosques of the World. In my tour I was very much happy to see that our Pakistani Brothers and Sisters are getting so many facilities from their Government. I also happy to know that Pakistan Government are providing lots of facilities for their students and they are investing a large amount in their Education Sector. I think after few years Pakistan will develop to one of the strong nation all over the World on their Education Sector.

After visiting Pakistan, my mind set are totally changed about this country. Now I want to say, Pakistan is not all about terrorism and bombing. It is a country of Social Harmony, Happiness and Peace. It is only that, which media shows us. Pakistani people are very much sincere, friendly and co-operative. I like their hospitality specially the food. The Biryani, Chicken, Tandoori, Juice and fruits were very tasty and delicious.

At last, I would like to thanks Pakistan Government for this initiative to enrich the bi-lateral relations between the two brotherly countries. I hope, In Future Pakistan Government will continue this Programme, so that both countries can be benefited diplomatically, culturally and economically. I hope in future Bangladesh and Pakistan will be an example throughout the world in their bi-lateral relationship.

PRESIDENTS OF BANGLADESH

Name	Assumed charge	Left office	Political affiliation
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	17 April 1971	12 January 1972	Bangladesh Awami League
Syed Nazrul Islam <i>Acting</i>	—	—	Bangladesh Awami League
Abu Sayeed Chowdhury	12 January 1972	24 December 1973	Bangladesh Awami League
Mohammad Mohammadullah	24 December 1973	25 January 1975	Bangladesh Awami League
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	25 January 1975	15 August 1975 (assassinated)	BAKSAL
Khondaker Moshtaq Ahmad	15 August 1975	6 November 1975	Bangladesh Awami League
Abu Sadat Mohammad Sayem	6 November 1975	21 April 1977	Independent
Ziaur Rahman	21 April 1977	30 May 1981 (assassinated)	Military/Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Abdus Sattar	30 May 1981	24 March 1982 (deposed)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Hussain Muhammad Ershad	24 March 1982	27 March 1982	Army
Ahsanuddin Chowdhury	27 March 1982	10 December 1983	Independent

Name	Assumed charge	Left office	Political affiliation
Hussain Muhammad Ershad	11 December 1983	6 December 1990	Military/ Jatiya Party
Shahabuddin Ahmed <i>Acting</i>	6 December 1990	10 October 1991	Independent
Abdur Rahman Biswas	10 October 1991	9 October 1996	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Shahabuddin Ahmed	9 October 1996	14 November 2001	Independent
Badruddoza Chowdhury	14 November 2001	21 June 2002	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Muhammad Jamiruddin Sircar <i>Acting</i>	21 June 2002	6 September 2002	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Iajuddin Ahmed	6 September 2002	12 February 2009	Independent
Zillur Rahman	12 February 2009	20 March 2013[8]	Bangladesh Awami League
Abdul Hamid	March 2013	Incumbent	Bangladesh Awami League

PRIME MINISTERS OF BANGLADESH

Name	Assumed charge	Left office	Political affiliation
Tajuddin Ahmad	11 April 1971	12 January 1972	Bangladesh Awami League
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	12 January 1972	24 January 1975	Bangladesh Awami League
Muhammad Mansur Ali	25 January 1975	15 August 1975	BAKSAL
<i>Post abolished (15 August 1975 – 29 June 1978)</i>			
Mashiur Rahman <i>Senior Minister</i>	29 June 1978	12 March 1979	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Shah Azizur Rahman	15 April 1979	24 March 1982 (deposed)	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
<i>Post abolished (24 March 1982 – 30 March 1984)</i>			
Ataur Rahman Khan	30 March 1984	9 July 1986	Jatiya Party
Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury	9 July 1986	27 March 1988	Jatiya Party
Moudud Ahmed	27 March 1988	12 August 1989	Jatiya Party
Kazi Zafar Ahmed	12 August 1989	6 December 1990	Jatiya Party
<i>Post abolished (6 December 1990 – 20 March 1991)</i>			
Muhammad Habibur Rahman <i>Chief Adviser</i>	30 March 1996	23 June 1996	Independent

Name	Assumed charge	Left office	Political affiliation
Khaleda Zia	20 March 1991	30 March 1996	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Sheikh Hasina	23 June 1996	15 July 2001	Bangladesh Awami League
Latifur Rahman <i>Chief Adviser</i>	15 July 2001	10 October 2001	Independent
Khaleda Zia	10 October 2001	29 October 2006	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
Iajuddin Ahmed <i>President and Chief Adviser</i>	29 October 2006	11 January 2007	Independent
Fazlul Haque <i>Acting Chief Adviser</i>	11 January 2007	12 January 2007	Independent
Fakhruddin Ahmed <i>Chief Adviser</i>	12 January 2007	6 January 2009	Independent
Sheikh Hasina	January 2009	Incumbent	Bangladesh Awami League

FOREIGN MINISTERS OF BANGLADESH ⁴⁸¹

Name	Entered Office	Left Office
Khondaker Mostaq Ahmad	April 1971	December 1971
Abdus Samad Azad	December 1971	March 1973
Kamal Hossain	March 1973	August 1975
Abu Sayeed Chowdhury	August 1975	November 1975
Prof. Muhammad Shamsul Haque	November 1975	March 1982
A R Shamsud Doha	March 1982	June 1984
Humayun Rashid Choudhury	June 1984	July 1985
Anisul Islam Mahmud	July 1985	December 1990
A S M Mustafizur Rahman	December 1990	March 1996
Abdus Samad Azad	March 1996	July 2001
Justice Latifur Rahman	July 2001	October 2001
A. Q. M. Badruddoza Chowdhury	October 2001	November 2001
Morshed Khan	November 2001	October 2006
Iajuddin Ahmed	October 2006	January 2007
Iftekhar Ahmed Chowdhury	January 2007	January 2009
Dipu Moni	January 2009	November 2013
A. H. Mahmood Ali	November 2013	January 2014
Sheikh Hasina	January 2014	February 2014
A. H. Mahmood Ali	February 2014	January 2019

481 A K Abdul Momen is at present the Foreign Minister, who took charge in early 2019.

FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF BANGLADESH ⁴⁸²

No.	Name	Tenure
1.	Mr. A.F.M Abul Fateh	30.12.71 to 16.01.72
2.	Mr. S.A Karim	17.01.72 to 14.07.72
3.	Mr. Enayet Karim	14.07.72 to 16.02.74
4.	Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmed	22.10.74 to 15.11.75
5.	Mr. Tabarak Hossain	15.11.75 to 06.09.78
6.	Mr. S.A.M.S Kibria	06.12.78 to 02.05.81
7.	Mr. Humayun Rashid Choudhury	16.06.81 to 01.06.82
8.	Mr. A.H Ataul Karim	01.06.82 to 07.10.84
9.	Mr. Faruq Ahmed Choudhury	07.10.84 to 17.07.86
10.	Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmed	17.07.86 to 08.05.87
11.	Mr. A.K.M Nazrul Islam	09.05.87 to 19.07.88
12.	Mr. Mohammed Mohsin	19.07.88 to 25.06.89
13.	Mr. A.K.H Morshed	25.06.89 to 21.10.89
14.	Mr. Abul Ahsan	05.11.89 to 19.09.91
15.	Mr. Reaz Rahman	19.09.91 to 13.12.93
16.	Mr. M.R. Osmany	13.12.93 to 09.02.95
17.	Mr. Farooq Sobhan	07.03.95 to 16.09.97
18.	Mr. Mustafizur Rahman	16.09.97 to 27.02.99
19.	Mr. C.M Shafi Sami	23.03.99 to 26.01.01
20.	Mr. Syed Muazzem Ali	11.03.01 to 17.07.01
21.	Mr. Shamsher M. Chowdhury, BB	24.10.01 to 17.03.05
22.	Mr. Hemayetuddin	17.03.05 to 10.12.06
23.	Mr. Md. Touhid Hossain	17.12.06 to 08.07.09
24.	Mr. Mohamed Mijarul Quayes	08.07.2009 to 02.12.12
25.	Mr. Md. Shahidul Haque	10.01.2013 to 2019

482 Presently, Masud bin Momin is serving as the Foreign Secretary since 2019.

**HIGH COMMISSIONERS OF PAKISTAN TO
BANGLADESH**

Mr. Mohammed Khurshid	1976-1979
Dr. Mohammad Humayun Khan	1979-1982
Mr. Tanvir Ahmad Khan	1982-1986
Mr. Riaz Hussain Khokhar	1986-1989
Mr. Anwar Kemal	1990-1995
Mr. Karam Elahi	1995-1999
Mr. Iqbal Ahmad Khan	1999 -
Mr. Manzar Shafiq	2003-2005
Mr. Alamgir Babar	2005-2009
Mr. Ashraf Qureshi	2010-2011
Mian Afrasiab Mehdi Hashmi Qureshi	2011-2014
Mr. Shuja Alam	2015 -2016
Mr. Rafeeuzzaman Siddique	2016 -2018
Mr. Imran Siddique	2020 -

BANGLADESH: COUNTRY PROFILE ⁴⁸³

Country name

Conventional long form: People's Republic of Bangladesh

Conventional short form: Bangladesh

Local long form: Gana Prajatantri Bangladesh

Local short form: Bangladesh

Former: East Bengal, East Pakistan

Location

Southern Asia, bordering the Bay of Bengal, between Myanmar and India

Area

Total: 143,998 sq. kms

Capital

Dhaka

Ethnic groups

Bengali 98%, other 2% (includes tribal groups, non-Bengali Muslims)

Languages

Bangla (official, also known as Bengali), English

Religions

Muslim 89.5%, Hindu 9.6%, other 0.9%

Government type

Parliamentary democracy

Constitution

Previous 1935, 1956, 1962 (pre-independence); latest enacted 4 November 1972, effective 16 December 1972, suspended March 1982, restored November 1986; amended many times.

483 Derived from the CIA, The World Factbook (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bg.html>). Site accessed on 2 October 2020.

Legal system

Mixed legal system of mostly English common law and Islamic law

Executive branch

Chief of state: President Abdul HAMID (since 24 April 2013)

Head of government: Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina

Main Political parties and leaders

Awami League or AL [Sheikh Hasina]

Bangladesh Nationalist Front or BNF [Abdul Kalam]

Bangladesh Nationalist Party or BNP [Khaleda Zia]

Bangladesh Tariqat Federation or BTF [Syed Nozibul Bashir MAIZBHANDARI]

Jamaat-i-Islami Bangladesh or JIB (Makbul AHMAD)

Jatiya Party or JP (Ershad faction)

Jatiya Party or JP (Manju faction) [Anwar Hossain MANJU]

Liberal Democratic Party or LDP [Oli AHMED]

National Socialist Party or JSD [KHALEQUZZAMAN]

Workers Party or WP [Rashed Khan MENON]

National symbol(s)

Bengal tiger, water lily

Climate

tropical; mild winter (October to March); hot, humid summer (March to June); humid, warm rainy monsoon (June to October)

Natural Hazards

droughts; cyclones; much of the country routinely inundated during the summer monsoon season

Natural resources

natural gas, arable land, timber, coal

Fiscal year

1 July - 30 June

Agriculture - products

Rice, jute, tea, wheat, sugarcane, potatoes, tobacco, pulses, oilseeds, spices, fruit; beef, milk, poultry.

Industries

jute, cotton, garments, paper, leather, fertilizer, iron and steel, cement, petroleum products, tobacco, pharmaceuticals, ceramics, tea, salt, sugar, edible oils, soap and detergent, fabricated metal products, electricity, natural gas

Exports

\$35.3 billion (2017 est.)

\$34.14 billion (2016 est.)

Exports - commodities

Garments, knitwear, agricultural products, frozen food (fish and seafood), jute and jute goods, leather

Imports

\$47.56 billion (2017 est.)

Imports – Commodities

Machinery and equipment, chemicals, iron and steel, textiles, foodstuffs, petroleum products, cement

Railways

Total: 2,622 km

Broad gauge: 946 km 1.676-m gauge

Narrow gauge: 1,676 km 1.000-m gauge

Roadways

Total: 21,269 km

Ports and terminals

Major seaport(s): Chittagong

River port(s): Mongla Port (Sela River)

Container port(s): Chittagong (1,392,104) (2011)

Bangladesh Defense Force:

Total active personnel (135,000 Army; 16,000 Navy; 14,000 Air Force); 38,000 Border Guards (2019 est.)

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484 List shortened for economy.

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Mian Ghaunse Bakhsh Sahib Qureshi al-Hashmi,
Raees-e-Azam, Thatta Qureshi, Muzaffargarh.
(Great-grandfather of the author.)



Mian Khuda Bakhsh Sahib Qureshi, grandfather of the author.



Author's parents. Mother, Kubra Fatima, was hafiz of Quran. Father, Muzaffar Hashmi, was a writer and Member Parliament. He studied history in Government College, Lahore, and SOAS London.



The ancestral house of the author in Thattha Qureshi, District Muzaffargarh. At one time, this residence used to have a large library with around 10,000 books, unpublished manuscripts and some rare periodicals.



Mian Afrasiab Mehdi Hashmi Qureshi joined the Foreign Service of Pakistan in 1984. He served in Pakistani Missions in Washington DC (1987-1991); New Delhi (1994-1997); and Beijing (2003-2006).

In 1997, he was appointed Pakistan's Alternate Permanent Representative to the UN in Vienna. Afrasiab was posted to New Delhi the second time, where he served as Pakistan's Deputy High Commissioner from 2006 to 2009. Later, he worked as Director General (South Asia) in the Foreign Office, Islamabad.

Afrasiab was appointed Pakistan's High Commissioner to Bangladesh in 2011. In 2014, he took over as Additional Foreign Secretary in the Foreign Office, Islamabad. He assumed charge as High Commissioner of Pakistan to New Zealand in 2016. In 2017, Afrasiab was promoted to Grade 22, the senior most grade in the civil services of Pakistan.

Afrasiab studied in Lawrence College, Ghora Gali; and Government College, Lahore. He hails from Muzaffargarh in Pakistan. He is the grandson of Mian Khuda Bakhsh Qureshi of Thatta Qureshi; and son of Mian Muzaffar Mehdi Hashmi: author, columnist and Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan.

The Urdu translation of this book was published in 2018. Other books authored by Afrasiab include: a 1400-page 'Encyclopaedia' on Pakistan's relations with India, China and the United States, published in 2013; and 'US Relations with South Asia' whose second edition was published earlier in 2002. Book 'Ancient and Contemporary Pakistan' by Afrasiab was published in 2015. The fourth edition of his book, 'The Greatest Man in History is Muhammad (PBUH)', was published in 2020. Afrasiab has also written on US Congress, American Foreign Service and Face-Reading.