

## Liberation War Museum



### Documents on Crimes against Humanity Committed by Pakistan Army and their agents in Bangladesh during 1971

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##### THE LAST DAYS OF UNITED PAKISTAN

*Dedicated to the Martyrs of 1971 and other victims of crimes against humanity the World Over*

***" Let us remove hatred and prejudice from the world and let it begin with me"***

*This book is only a partial documentation of the crimes committed by the Pakistan Military and their Agents during 1971 in Bangladesh. We intend to continue a series of publication on this subject to bring those responsible for their crimes to justice. We appeal to the World Community to join us and condemn all 'crimes against humanity' anywhere at anytime.*

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5 Segun Bagicha

Dhaka-1000

Phone : 9559091

Fax : 88-02-9559092

E-mail:mukti@citechco.net

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### INTRODUCTION

The mass killing carried out by the Pakistan army in Bangladesh in 1971 happens to be one of the most heinous crimes of the twentieth century. Such widespread mass killing had not taken place since the World War II. The mass killing in Kampuchea carried out by the Pol Pot regime within the next four years might come close to the Bangladesh massacre in terms of pervasiveness. But the unfortunate aspect of the Bangladesh massacre is that the atrocious carnage which took place on the eastern region of the subcontinent did not raise adequate concern worldwide, nor was it condemned formally by the world community. Politics used to receive more importance than ethics during those days of cold war, so no government level protest or condemnation against the violation of human rights in Bangladesh were observed although the common people worldwide denounced the mass killing. The world community is yet to address this issue. The massacre in Bangladesh cannot be considered as a problem of a particular country or region, it was a crime conducted against humanity. Therefore, the world community cannot undermine its moral obligation to address the crime. This war crime must be addressed no matter how much time has passed. There have been efforts to organize international tribunals to prosecute two war crimes of the recent time. The process of trying the people responsible for mass killing in Rwanda and the Balkan area has established the role of the world community in upholding justice. The United Nations has recently taken initiatives to prosecute the war criminals in Kampuchea. The massacre in Bangladesh did not take place long ago compared to Kampuchea. Which is why the need to address the issue of mass killing carried out by the Pakistan army in Bangladesh is becoming more and more prominent under the changed circumstances.

The atrocities carried out by the Pakistan army in 1971 resulting in the murder, torture and emigration of innocent civilians has gained new significance because of several reasons. Shaheed Janani (mother of the martyr) Jahanara Imam has inspired the post-war young generation to demand the prosecution of the war criminals. The accidental discovery of the two killing fields in Mirpur last year has once again made the people of Bangladesh face the horrific reality of the massacre. Finally when part of the Hamoodur Rahman Commission report was published on "India Today" in August this year it acted as the conclusive statement about the atrocities of the Pakistan army. It must be mentioned here that Hamoodur Rahman Commission was formed not to find out the brutal acts of the Pakistan army but to question the leadership of the Pakistan army as the cause behind losing the war and conceal the mass killing. Despite the fact that the report attempted to keep the citizens of Pakistan in the dark about the barbarous deeds in Bangladesh, people in Pakistan have been shocked by the revelations and they have demanded that the entire report be published. This has even created a slight commotion among the ordinary people in Pakistan about the role of the Pakistan army in 1971.

Shortly after the defeat of the Pakistan army in Bangladesh, the then President of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto created the Hamoodur Rahman Commission on December 26th, 1971. The goal of the commission was "to determine the nature of the situation which led to the

surrender by the chief of the Eastern Command and the soldiers under his supervision." This terms of reference clearly speaks of the limited goal of the commission. Hamoodur Rahman Commission was never a truth commission as sovereignty of the judicial division was never recognized in Pakistan ? a country characterized by rank collusion and tyranny. So it will not be a mistake to say that Hamoodur Rahman Commission protected the personal interest of the political leaders in Pakistan at that time. The then Chief Justice of Pakistan, Hamoodur Rahman was the chairperson of the commission and

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### The Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report (Supplementary)

#### Introduction

#### Reasons for Supplementary Report

This commission of Inquiry was appointed by the President of Pakistan in December, 1971 to inquire into and find out "the circumstances in which the Commander, Eastern command, surrendered and the members of the Armed Forces of Pakistan under his command laid down their arms and a cease-fire was ordered along the borders of West Pakistan and India and along the cease-fire line in the State of Jammu and Kashmir." After having examined 213 witnesses the Commission submitted its report in July 1972.

2. Before we submitted that report of necessity we did not have the evidence of most of the persons taken as prisoners of war, including the major personalities, who played a part in the final events culminating in the surrender in East Pakistan with the exception only of Major General Rahim. Although we did our best to reconstruct the East Pakistan story with the help of such material, as was then available, inevitably our conclusions had to be of a tentative character. We also felt that since we had found reasons adversely to comment upon the performance of some of the major figures involved it would have been unfair to pass any final judgment upon them without giving them an opportunity of explaining their own view point. For this reason we said that "our observations and conclusions regarding the surrender in East Pakistan and other allied matters should be regarded as provisional and subject to modification in the light of the evidence of the Commander, Eastern Command, and his senior officers as and when such evidence becomes available." (Page 242 of the Main Report).

Commission Reactivated 3. Accordingly, after the prisoners of war and the civil personnel who had also been interned with the military personnel in India returned to Pakistan, the Federal government issued a notification directing "that the Commission shall start inquiry at a place and on a date to be fixed by it and complete the inquiry and submit its report to the President of Pakistan, with its findings as to the matters aforesaid, within a period of two months commencing from the date the commission starts functioning." A copy of this notification is annexed as Annexure A to this Chapter. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Altaf Qadir, who had also previously acted as Military Adviser to the Commission, was re-appointed as such as also was Mr. M.A Latif as Secretary to the Commission. At the request of the commission the government also appointed Col. M.A Hassan as Legal Advisor.

4. The commission issued a Press Release on the 1st June, 1974 offering an opportunity to the prisoners of War and others repatriated from East Pakistan to furnish such information as might be within their knowledge and relevant to the purposes of the Commission. A copy of this Press Release is in Annexure B to this Chapter.

#### Proceedings

5. Commission held an informal meeting at Lahore on the 3rd June 1974 to consider various preliminary matters and then decided to resume proceedings at Abbottabad from the 16th July 1974. In the meantime a number of questionnaires were issued to various persons, including those who were at the helm of affairs in East Pakistan, at the relevant time and others whom we considered likely to have relevant knowledge. Statements were also sent from members of armed forces, civil services and the police services involved and we then proceeded after scrutiny of these statements to summon the witnesses.

We recorded evidence of as many as 72 persons and these included particularly Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi, Commander Eastern Command, Major Generals Farman Ali, Jamshed and the generals who held during the relevant time commands of divisions, Rear Admiral Sharif, who was the senior most Naval Officer, Air Commodore Inam the senior most Air Officer, and civilian personnel, including the then Chief Secretary Mr. Muzaffar Hussain and the Inspector General of Police Mr. Mahmood Ali Chaudhury. Besides, Maj. Gen. Rahim was reexamined. The only

exception which was unavoidable was that Dr. Malik who till very nearly the end was the Governor of East Pakistan, but in his case also we had firsthand evidence of every important event and we, therefore, now feel ourselves competent to submit our final conclusions.

6. After the examination of evidence the Commission, finding itself unable to submit its report for a number of reasons by the 15th of September 1974, asked for time which was extended till the 15th of November 1974 and again till the 30th November 1974. At the conclusion of the recording of evidence on the 5th September 1974 we had to disperse principally because two of us were required to attend the special session of the Supreme Court at Karachi from the 9th to the 21st September, 1974 and the President had also to proceed to Geneva to attend an International Conference. We, therefore, reassembled on the 23rd of October, 1974 at Abbottabad to prepare this Supplement to our main report.

#### **Scheme of the Supplementary Report**

7. In general although we have examined a considerable volume of fresh evidence we have found no reason whatever to modify the conclusions that we reached and stated in the Main Report; if anything by reasons of more detailed information we are confirmed in those conclusions. We, therefore, propose to avoid a repetition of what we stated in the Main Report except to some slight degree necessary for restating briefly some of the conclusions with which we are principally concerned in this supplement.

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### Opposition Leader Sheikh Hasina's parliamentary speech, given on 16th April 1992, on the subject of Golam Azam and the public tribunal.

The special tribunal will be judged according to the International Crime Act 1973.

"Strange world, you have made me a stranger to your ways"

Honorable Speaker,

the topic of discussion for the last few days has unfortunately been someone who is a recognized war-criminal, someone who has lost his Bangladeshi citizenship, the right to practice politics in this country, whose name is absent from the list of voters, who has been disenfranchised by the polity and who has forfeited all individual rights in this land. I do not have the words to protest or criticize the act of those who, so many years after the liberation war, have lifted one ponderous tome after another to advocate for an individual who has long been recognized as a war criminal and has long lost his right to practice politics. I can only quote the poet Shukanto and say "oh strange world, you have made me a stranger to your ways." We have been shocked, dumbstruck, hurt and pained. I wonder whether we actually are living in a free Bangladesh or whether the free Bangladesh has become the guise for an unfamiliar nation. Such queries plague my mind today.

There is much to say today, Honorable Speaker. However, to speak against such blatant advocacy for evil makes my own words seem frivolous. We are witnessing a shameful endeavor to defend a war-criminal. There is a saying "a little grief enervates, much grief makes one strong." My condition is similar. For today I see, standing in this parliament a party like the Jamaat, that was against the birth of this nation, fighting for their leader Golam Azam, who was a war criminal and I see another party, whose founder was himself a freedom fighter, soliciting for Golam Azam. When I look at the latter group, I see faces of those who have lost brothers, fathers and husbands in the war. When I see them rise in defence of a war criminal, I have no alternative but to choke my own emotions, to strengthen myself, Honorable Speaker.

#### **Razakars were part of the Pakistani Forces:**

Honorable Speaker,

You wanted to know whether the Razakars and Al-Badr were an auxiliary force of the Pakistan armed forces. This query was raised yesterday. And listening to the comments of some of our barristers I got confused as to whether we were in the Parliament or the High Court.

I personally bear witness to the fact that the Razakars were an auxiliary force. This is because, in 1971, me, my mother, my husband, my aunts and uncles, my sister and my brothers, we were all prisoners of the Pakistan Army. During this time, my son was born in the Medical College. When we were held captive at a house on Road-18 in Dhanmondi, a militia of the Pakistani army used to stand guard outside our house. They had machine guns fixed to the roof and made bunkers around the house while the war was being fought. At one point we saw that the militia, which hailed from the Beluchistan regime, being removed and a group of armed Razakars started guarding us along with members of the Pakistani army. The rationed food from the army was meant for the Razakars as well. They were recognized as a part of the Pakistani forces and I feel that there cannot be any stronger evidence regarding their affiliation to the Pakistan army.

#### **I am drawing your attention to a gazette notification.**

##### **The gazette was:**

1. The Gazette of Pakistan Extraordinary Published by Authority Islamabad, Tuesday, September 7, 1971.

Government of Pakistan

Cabinet Secretariat (Cabinet Division)

NOTIFICATIONS

Rawalpindi, the 4th September, 1971

No. 103/22/71-Min-Dr. Abdul Motaleb Malik, HQA, assumed charge of the office of Governor of the Province of East Pakistan on and from the afternoon of the 3rd September, 1971  
Ghulam Ishaq Khan, HQA, S.P.K.CSP  
Cabinet Secretary

## 2. Ministry of Defence

Rawalpindi, the 7th September, 1971

Government of Pakistan

No. 4852/543/PS-IA/3659/D-2A-In exercise of the powers conferred by subsection (1) and sub-section (3) of Section 5 of the Pakistan Army Act, 1952 (Act No. XXXIX of 1952) the Central Government is pleased to direct that -

(a) all the provisions of the said Act shall, so far as may be, apply to the Razakars raised under the East Pakistan Razakars Ordinance, 1971 (East Pakistan Ordinance No. X of 1971);

(b) the officer of the Pakistan Army under whose command any member of the Razakars is placed shall exercise the same powers in relation to that member as he is authorized to exercise under the said Act in relation to a member of the Pakistan Army placed under his command.

I do not think that any further proof is necessary regarding the status of the Razakars during the war. A certificate of declaration prepared for in-training Razakars and directed to the Pakistani army officer, was earlier produced by Md. Nasim. I do not think the particulars of the certificate need to be re-iterated today.

However, I do want to direct your attention to the fact that both the Al-Badr and the Razakars are mentioned in the certificate.

"Sources reports that Pak. Army has organised and formed Razakar Bahini in East Pakistan.

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### Universal Declaration of Human Rights

#### **Preamble**

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations, Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore, The General Assembly, Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

#### **Article I**

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

#### **Article 2**

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

#### **Article 3**

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

#### **Article 4**

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

**Article 5**

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

**Article 6**

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

**Article 7**

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

**Article 8**

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

**Article 9**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

**Article 10**

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

**Article 11**

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

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A Partial transcript of the tape recording of some conversations between some of the Pakistani Army units operating in Dacca on the night of March 25, 1971

Recorded by : Dr. M. M. Hussain Atomic Energy Centre, Dacca

Recorded at B-174, Khilgaon Chowdhury Para, Dacca Time of recording: From about 01-30 hours to 09-00 hours To March 26, 1971, with gaps.

That is with them and getting good result; it will take time because of the nature of the area. Over.

77, how do you hear me? Over

Readable. Have you anything for me? Over. Correction, 77, wait karen, unko, .. who Khod call Kareng..

Control : 77, wait. Out to you, hallo 99, suggest you keep tuned in because otherwise 26 and others will have to give situation twice. Just stay tuned in, there is nothing fresh yet; reserve Line secured and University area still fighting going on. Out.

: Wait for Imam.

: For 77, Imam idhar aye hue hain, aur unke sath who jo mera Imam hain who busy hain, is liye abhi main kuch nehin bata sakta hun. Over.

: Control information mang rahen hain keh keya progress hain, aap patah karke khodhi pass kar den. Over.

: wait. Out to you, hallo, 77. Kmam listening, send your message. Over.

: 77, latest from 88 that he is making progress but there are so many buildings that he has to reduce each one in firing against him. He is using everything that he has got. Over.

: Tell him that his Big Brothers will also be coming shortly, I hope, So these can be utilised for knocking down the buildings. Now, on the other side I think Liaquat and Iqbal is now quiet; am I correct? Over.

: 77 have not heard the completion report but they were much happy about those two. Over.

Control : That is jolly good. Now let the boys keep on announcing in the streets about the curfew, that is number one. Number two, they will keep on saying that all Bangladesh flags will be brought down, and any house which has the Bangladesh flag, the owner will be responsible for the consequences. There will be no black flag, and there will be no Bangladesh flag visible anywhere in the city. And if they are not pulled down then the consequences will be really, really severe. This must be made clear to everyone. Roger. Over.

: 77, Roger, Over.

: 77, Secondly it must be announced also about the road blocks. Any person seen putting up road blocks will be shot on the spot, number one; number two, road blocks put up in any locality, people from that locality will be prosecuted and will houses left and right, left and right of that block will be demolished. This must be made clear to all and to the people themselves, and this must be announced on the speakers throughout the night till the morning, and also tomorrow morning the whole day. Over.

: 77. Wilco. Out to you, hallo 41, did you receive from Imam? Over.

: 41, is Imam listening? Over.

: 41, from Imam. Number one, all black flags... these flags must be brought down by the owners of various buildings; anyone seen flying these flags will be prosecuted. This should be persecuted (sic) and their buildings demolished. This should be announced on your public address system. Roger so far. Over.

: 41, similarly all roadblocks created anywhere will be a criminal offence. Anybody found doing so will be shot on sight. Owners of buildings on either side of a road block will be persecuted (sic) and their buildings demolished. This should also be announced by your roving patrols. Over.

: 41, out to you, hallo 88. Progress. Over.

: 88, Imam on set. Send your message. Over.

: 88, from Imam regarding all Bangladesh flags of black flags, owners of buildings flying these must be warned to remove them at once; otherwise they will be persecuted, correction, prosecuted. Roger so far. Over.

: 88. Wilco. Over.

: 88. Road blocks anywhere will be a criminal offence. Anyone seen indulging in these must be shot at sight. Houses and buildings on either side will be demolished. This should also be announced on your public address system by your roving patrols. Over.

: 88. Wilco. Anything else? Over.

: 88. Did your Imam say that you will require approximately three to four hours to complete the task? Over.

: 88. Yes, approximately three to four hours to thoroughly complete the task. Over. Control

: 88, Imam is now with Imam 26. If you need further assistance in any manner, you can let him know. Regarding the Bather elements they have started from their safe positions and will be able to help you immediately after first light to help demolish all obstacles in front of you. Over.

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## Naming The Names: Introducing The War Criminals

List Of The War Criminals

Nos.	P.O.W. No.	PA No.	Rank	Name	Unit
1	1	PA 477	Lt. Gen.	Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi	East Comd.
2	2	PA 1170	Maj. Gen	Nazar Hussain Shah	16 DIV
3	3	PA 4404	Maj. Gen.	Mohammad Hussain Ansari	9 DIV
4	4	PA 882	Maj. Gen.	Mohammad Jamshed	DG EPCAF
5	5	PA 1734	Maj. Gen.	Qazi Abdul Majid Khan	14 DIV
6	6	PA 1364	Maj. Gen.	Rao Farman Ali	Civil Affairs & Advisor to Governor E.P.
7	7	PA 1674	Brig.	Abdul Qadir Khan	93 BDE
8	8	PA 2235	Brig.	Arif Raja	HQ SIG
9	9	PA 1109	Brig.	Atta Muhammad Khan Malik	7 BDE
10	11	PA 1897	Brig.	Bashir Ahmed	CAF
11	12	PA 100088	Brig.	Fahim Ahmed Khan	HQ EC
12	13	PA 1738	Brig.	Iftikhar Ahmed Rana	313 BDE
13	16	PA 3414	Brig	Manzoor Ahmed	57 HQ BDE
14	17	PA 3547	Brig.	Manzoor Hussain Atif	177 BDE
15	18	PA 2111	Brig.	Mian Mansoor Muhammad	39 DIV
16	19	PA 1148	Brig.	Mian Taskin uddin	91 BDE
17	20	PA 2729	Brig.	Mir Abdul Nayeem	34 HQ BDE
18	22	PA 1999	Brig.	Mohammad Aslam	53 BDE
19	23	PA 2103	Brig.	Mohammad Hayat	107/407 BDE
20	24	PA 1044	Brig.	Mohammad Shafi	23 HQ BDE
21	25	PA 1702	Brig	N.A.Ashraf	CMD Natore GRN
22	26	PA 3430	Brig.	S.A.Ansari	Rangpur GRN
23	27	PA 3548	Brig.	Saad Ullah Khan S.J.	27 BDE
24	28	PA 1880	Brig.	Syed Asghar Hasan	Sylhet Force
25	29	PA 2110	Brig.	Syed Shah Abul Qasim	C.C.ATY ECO

26	30	PA 2130	Brig.	Tajmmal Hussain Malik	205 HQ BDE
27	35	PA 1817	Col.	Fazle Hamid	314 HQ BDE
28	37	PA 3799	Col.	K.K.Afridi	9 DIV
29	44	PA 1963	Col.	Mohammad Khan	ISI
30	45	PA 100115	Col.	Mohammad Musharaf Ali	14 ADMS DIV
31	58	PA 2200	Lt. Col.	Abdul Ghaffor	HQ SIGEA
32	67	PA 4489	Lt. Col.	Aftab H. Quereshi	33
33	57	PA 3568	Lt. Col.	Abdul Rehman Awan	CAF
34	60	PA 3347	Lt. Col.	Abdul Hamid Khan	ML HQ
35	65	PA 4087	Lt. Col.	Abdullah Khan	EPCAF
36	68	PTC 4318	Lt. Col.	Ahmed Mukhtar Khan	30 FF
37	72	PA 4062	Lt. Col.	Amir Mohammad Khan	7 SEC ML
38	74	PTC 4329	Lt. Col.	Amir Nawaz Khan	13 FF
39	73	PA 5027	Lt. Col.	Amir Mohammad Khan	34 Punjab
40	55	PA 4745	Lt. Col.	A.Shams ul Zaman	22 FF
41	78	PA 4608	Lt. Col.	Ashiq Hussain	24 FF
42	81	PA 3248	Lt. Col.	Aziz Khan	32 Baluch
43	202	PTC 3239	Lt. Col.	Ghulam Yasin Siddiqi	ST HQ Dacca AA & QMG
44	97	PTC 3711	Lt. Col.	Isharat Ali Alvi	14 HQ Inf.Div.
45	167	PA 4441	Lt. Col.	Mukhtar Alam Hijazi	EPCAF
46	170	PA 3600	Lt. Col.	Mustafa Anwar	15 Baluch
47	116	PA 4100	Lt. Col.	M.R.K.Mirza	33 Punjab
48	128	PA 4301	Lt. Col.	Matloob Hussain	18 Punjab
49	140	PA 2700	Lt. Col.	Mohammad Akram	Tochi Scout
50	152	PSS 2590	Lt. Col.	Mohammad Akbar	EPCAF
51	147	PTC 3645	Lt. Col.	Mohammad Nawaz	15 Baluch
52	169	PA 4766	Lt. Col.	Mumtaz Malik	HQ East Comd.
53	138	PA 4416	Lt. Col.	M.M.M.Baiz	8 Baluch
54	48	PA 100207	Col.	Mohammad Matin	72 ADMS MED BN
55	129	PA 2917	Lt. Col.	Mazhar Hussain Chauhan	ISSC
56	168	PA 3610	Lt. Col.	Mukthar Ahmed Sayed	HQ MLA Cav
57	171	PSS 2899	Lt. Col.	Mustafajan	HQ MLA Zone
58	175	PA 2821	Lt. Col.	Oman Ali Khan	SURVEY Sec
59	180	PA 5074	Lt. Col.	Reaz Hussain Javed	31 Punjab
60	178	PA 4550	Lt. Col.	Rashid Ahmed	HQ EPCAF
61	196	PA 4817	Lt. Col.	Seikh Mohammad Naeem	39 Baluch

62	192	PA 3932	Lt. Col.	Sarfaz Khan Malik	31 Punjab
63	181	PA 4920	Lt. Col.	S.F.H.Rizvi	32 Punjab
64	182	PA 4560	Lt. Col.	S.H.Bokhari	29 CAV
65	205	PA 4368	Lt. Col.	Syed Hamid Safi	DEF Purchase
66	201	PA 3817	Lt. Col.	Sultan Badshah	8 EPCAF
67	200	PA 5178	Lt. Col.	Sultan Ahmed	31 Baluch
68	199	PA 4518	Lt. Col.	S.R.H.S.Jaffari	HQ SID EA
69	216	PSS 3743	Lt. Col.	Zaid Agha Khan	HQ EF LOG
70	122	PA 3837	Lt. Col.	M.Y.Malik	14 HQ DIV
71	231	PA 7059	Major	Abdul Ghafran	East Comd.
72	284	PA 5640	Major	Anis Ahmed	205 HQ INF BDE
73	290	PA 7214	Major	Arif Javed	22 CAV
74	304	PA 6736	Major	Atta Mohammad	29 Baluch
75	233	PSS 8394	Major	Abdul Hamid	31 Punjab
76	301	PA 7299	Major	A.S.P.Quereshi	25 Punjab
77	294	PA 7530	Major	Ashfaq Ahmed Cheema	39 Baluch
78	241	PSS 8547	Major	Abdul Khaleq Kayani	6 Punjab
79	256	PTC 4664	Major	Abdul Waheed Mughal	22 Baluch
80	235	PA 3838	Major	Abdul Hamid Khattak	ML HQ
81	262	PA 7251	Major	Ahmed Hassan Khan	EPCAF
82	283	PRR 4438	Major	Anees Ahmed Khan	15 Baluch
83	255	PA 4990	Major	Abdul Waheed Khan	31 Baluch
84	320	PA 5868	Major	Ch.Mohammad Jahangir	HQ MLA ZB
85	348	PA 4122	Major	Ghulam Mohammad	2 Baluch
86	358	PTC 4390	Major	Gulam Ahmed	EPCAF
87	344	PA 7439	Major	Ghazanfar Ali Nasir	EPCAF
88	363	PA 6959	Major	Hadi Hussain	24 FF
89	367	PA 6646	Major	Hasan Mujtaba	8 Baluch
90	376	PTC 5733	Major	Iftikhar Uddin Ahmed	33 Baluch
91	374	PA 6729	Major	Iftikhar Ahmed	8 Punjab
92	712	PA 5250	Major	Shah Muhamad Osman Faruqi	7 Sig. BN
93	419	PA 4553	Major	Khursheed Oman	814 FIU
94	423	PTC 3947	Major	Khurshid Ali	Survey Sec.
95	414	PA 7576	Major	Khizar Hayat	4 FF
96	485	PA 7657	Major	Mehr Mohammad Khan	31 Baluch
97	431	PTC 5911	Major	M.Abdullah Khan	27 Bde

98	533	PA 7253	Major	Mohammad Afzal	8 Baluch
99	411	PA 7405	Major	M. Ishaq	EPCAF
100	553	PTC 3246	Major	Mohammad Hafiz Raja	34 Punjab
101	595	PA 6870	Major	Mohammad Younas	32 Punjab
102	504	PA 6793	Major	Mohammad Amin	107 HQ BDE
103	481	PS 3935 or 2935	Major	Mohammad Lodhi	Natore Grn
104	493	PA 6554	Major	Mirza Anwar Beg	88 ORD COY
105	428	PTC 4157	Major	M.A.K.Lodhi	16 HQ Div
106	459	PSS 4245	Major	Madad Hussain Shah	18 Punjab
107	544	PTC 3007	Major	Mohammad Ayub Khan	97 BDE
108	586	PSS 6110	Major	Mohammad Sharif Arian	33 Punjab
109	555	PA 5964	Major	Mohammad Iftikhar Khan	202 HQ BDE
110	455	PA 2818	Major	M.Yahya Hamid Khan	6 Punjab
111	592	PSS 6150	Major	Mohammad Yamin	ASC
112	527	PA 5141	Major	Mohammad Ghazanfar	ISSC
113	583	PA 7231	Major	Mohammad Sarwar	33 Punjab
114	579	PTC 3016	Major	Mohammad Siddique	205 HQ INF BDE
115	543	PSS 6092	Major	Mohammad Ashraf	HQ EPCAF
116	506	PSS 4634	Major	Mohammd Ashraf Khan	53 HQ BDE
117	604	PA 5312	Major	Mohammad Safdar	ISSC
118	496	PA 6067	Major	M.M.Ispahani	HQ Eastern Cmd.
119	562	PA 6440	Major	Mohammad Jamil	EPCAF
120	580	PA 7559	Major	Mohammad Safi	32 Punjab
121	547	PA 4320	Major	Mohd.Azim Qureshi Qures	ISSC
122	525	PA 6460	Major	Mohd.Zulficar Rathore	13 Engr.BN
123	615	PA 5962	Major	Mushtaq Ahmed	Det.630 ASC
124	634	PSS 7996	Major	Nasira Khan	26 FF
125	632	PA 4748	Major	Nasir Ahmed	409 GHQ FIU
126	654	PTC 4632	Major	Rana Zahoor Mohyydin Khan	18 Punjab
127	666	PA 8655	Major	Rifat Mahmood	31 FD Regt.
128	667	PSS 6148	Major	Rustam Ali	314 HQ Bde
129	651	ACO 390	Major	R.M.Mumtaz Khan	31 Baluch
130	702	PA 6063	Major	Sardar Khan	HQ MLA
131	510	ACO 2099	Major	Mohammad Azam Khan	12 A.K.
132	686	PRR 3389	Major	Saif Ullah Khan	ISSC

133	674	PA 6893	Major	S.T.Hussain	734 FIC
134	730	PSS 4224	Major	S.M.H.S.Bokhari	24 FF
135	689	PSS 8015	Major	Sajid Mahmud	32 Punjab
136	723	PA 7415	Major	Sher ur Rehman	29 CAV
137	695	PTC 5930	Major	Salamat Ali	EPCAF
138	690	PA 6858	Major	Sajjad Akhtar Malik	ISI
139	698	PA 5684	Major	Saleem Inayet Khan	57 HQ ML ZB
140	735	PA 7289	Major	Sultan Saud	EPCAF
141	705	PA 6542	Major	Sarfraz uddin	ISI
142	720	PA 5080	Major	Shaukatullak Khattak	36 Sig. BN
143	737	PA 7428	Major	Sultan Surkhro Awan	33 Punjab
144	704	PA 7076	Major	Sarfraz Alam	EPCAF
145	706	PA 6851	Major	Sarwar Khan	Tochi Scout
146	756	PA 6272	Major	Tafir ul Islam	HQ Natore
147	785	PSS 8124	Major	Zaumul Maluk	18 Punjab
148	806	PSS 8464	Captain	Abdul Waheed	33 FF
149	817	PA 10202	Captan	Aftab Ahmed	31 Baluch
150	858	PSS 8836	Captain	Arif Hussain Shah	ARTY EIZI EMD
151	815	PSS 9634	Captain	Abrar Hussain	30 FF
152	853	PSS 9959	Captain	Amjad Shabbir Bukhari	31 ED Regt. ARTY
153	876	PA 10129	Captain	Ausaf Ahmed	53 Fd; Regt.
154	75089	PA 10185	Captain	Abdul Qahar	EPCAF
155	869	PA 10985	Captain	Ashraf Mirza	12 AK INF BN
156	802	PSS 9904	Captain	Abdul Rashid Nayyar	19 SIG BN
157	849	PSS 8005	Captain	Aman Ullah	HQ Natore GR
158	882	PSS 9363	Captain	Aziz Ahmed	31 FD Regt.
159	221	PSS 9440	Captain	Gulfraz Khan Abbasi	22 FF
160	951	PSS 8144	Captain	Ikramul Haq	29 CAV
161	947	PA 10241	Captain	Ijaz Ahmed Cheema	ISI
162	941	PSS 8867	Captain	Iftikhar Ahmed Gondal	31 Punjab
163	964	PSS 8821	Captain	Ishaq Parvez	24 FF
164	960	PSS 9614	Captain	Iqbal Shah	29 CAV
165	976	PSS 6910	Captain	Javed Iqbal	33 Baluch
166	972	PSS 9765	Captain	Jahangir Koyani	RFT CAMP
167	985	PA 7838	Captain	Karam Khan	315 HQ BDE
168	1047	PA 11554	Captain	Manzar Amin	25 FF

169	1255	PSS 9387	Captain	Muzaffar Hussain Naqvi	18 Punjab
170	1178	PA 11551	Captain	Mohammad Sajjad	80 Fd. Regt.
171	1201	PSS 8820	Captain	Mohammd Zakir Raja (Muhammad Zakar Khan, Arty)	ISSC
172	1126	PA 7862	Captain	Mohammad Arif	14 HQ DIV
173	1131	PSS 9018	Captain	Mohammad Ashraf	12 Punjab
174	1149	PSS 8977	Captain	Mohammad Iqbal	12 Punjab
175	1096	PSS 9927	Captain	Mohammad Rafi Munir	18 Punjab
176	1159	PSS 10287	Captain	Mohammad Jamil	6 Punjab
177	1238	PSS 9077	Captain	Naeem Sadiq	409 HQ FIU
178	1351	PSS 9454	Captain	Sher Ali	39 Baluch
179	1322	PSS 8093	Captain	Salman Mahmood	26 FF
180	1325	PA 11009	Captain	Shamshed Sarwar	RFN CAMP
181	1343	PSS 7745	Captain	Shahid Rehman	29 CAV
182	1321	PSS 10431	Captain	Saleh Hussain	18 Punjab
183	1350	PSS 9508	Captain	Shaukat Nawaz Khan	6 Punjab
184	1396	PA 7898	Captain	Zahid Zaman	53 HQ BDE
185	1505	PSS 11843	Lt.	Munir Ahmed Butt	31 Baluch Regt
186	15532	PSS 12191	Lt.	Zafar Jang	38 FF
187	641	PSS 6127	Major	Nasir Ahmad Khan Sherwani	32 Punjab
188	338	PSS 8534	Major	Fayaz Muhammad	29 Baluch
189	487	PA 4992	Major	Mian Fakhruddin	91 HQ Inf.Bde
190	924	PSS 8880	Captain	Hidayat Ullah Khan	29 Baluch
191	1102	PSS 10828	Captain	Md.Siddiqui	27 Sig.Bn
192	993	PSS 10147	Captain	Khalil ur rahman	COD, Dacca
193	628	PA 6726	Major	Nadir Parvaiz Khan	6 Punjab
194	934	PSS 10384	Captain	Hassan Idris	EPCAF
				PAKISTAN AIR FORCE	
195	65483	P 953	Air Cdre	Inam ul Hoque Khan	PF Dacca
196	65484	PAF 1069	Gr. Cpt.	M.A .Majid Baig	PF Dacca
197	65483	PAK 5332	Fl. Lt.	Khalil Ahmed	PAF
				PAKISTAN NAVY	
198	71755	P 138	Rear Adm.	Mohammad Shariff	

199	71756	PN 108	Cmdre	Ikramul Haq Malik	Port Trus
200	71757	219	Cmdre	Khatib Masud Hussain	Base Comd

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What is to be Done About the Pakistani War Criminals and Collaborators . By Ahmed Ziauddin

The issues of war criminals and collaborators refuse to go away in Bangladesh even after years of independence.

With the assumption in power of Awami League in 1996, various demands about war criminals and collaborators receded for essentially two reasons; Firstly, the party that led the liberation war in 1971, being back at the helm of the affair, would take decision on its own volition about the criminals and collaborators. Other reason was, as the Awami League had to trade on very thin line to come back to power after so many years, thus many chose not to rock the boat at the very outset.

In many ways, the issues of liberation war and its spirit and aspirations of independence were seen as exclusive Awami League matters. The two major parties, BNP and JP. those alternately ruled the country, freely did include, within their folds, persons with serious questionable roles in the liberation war. This and other policies to change basic ideals of independence alienated both these parties. The responsibility, thus, have fallen on Awami League, whether rightly or wrongly. However, as the best part of the Awami League's term in office has passed, but the government has not even uttered a word. So, there are again increasing talks about the war criminals and collaborators.

It, however, must be accepted that matters of war criminals and collaborators are not on the top of the agenda of the general mass in Bangladesh. Majority are pre-occupied with problems relating to mere survival and to meet bare necessities. To them, prices of daily commodities, insecurity etc, are far more important now, and obviously so.

For the principal opposition, their priority now is not the country or its economy, but chaos and hartals to make way back to power. Moreover, for them, cohabiting as they are with Jammāt-e-Islām and Islamic Alliance, issues of war criminals and collaborators, will never be taken-up by them; once they are back in power. For some, war criminals and collaborators are mere history and have no bearing today.

Pinochet has now become an international symbol of 'justice after' of immune perpetrators. His arrest has changed the fabric of international law once and for all. Regardless of whether now he is returned to his country or not, a precedent has been set that perpetrators of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, torture etc, are no longer secure or immune, except perhaps in their respective countries. Foreign trips for former dictators and criminals are no longer safe. States, one after another, are incorporating international laws of war crimes, torture and crimes against humanity.

Recently, United States Senate has adopted a legislation titled "Denying Safe Havens to International and War Criminals Act of 1999". Where for the first time, it has empowered the Attorney General, among others, to transfer international criminals in custody for prosecution. The Immigration and Naturalisation Service to deny admission or remove aliens who have committed torture abroad.

In February '99, Belgium has adopted a law on crimes. Empowered by this new legislation, on 22 November 1999, a Brussels engineer has filed a case, seeking extradition to Belgium of Morocco's recently sacked interior minister.

Recently, Truth Commission in South Africa, apologies of British and Dutch Queens, prosecution of senior official of French collaborator government Pappon, agitate minds across the world. Especially, in Bangladesh where people were subjected to atrocities.

Thus, when General Pinochet has been arrested for torture and other crimes, now questions are being raised about Pakistani Generals. When International Tribunals have put people on trial, so questions are asked, then why tribunals should not try Pakistani war criminals. When US legislates no sanctuary law, then voices are raised from various quarters to focus attention on criminals and collaborators living in safe havens in USA and Canada.

Recently, discoveries of mass graves at Mirpur- Bangladesh have forced the discourse to the fore. First came the Muslim Bazar, where mosque extension bared the grisly past. Country's pioneer institution, Liberation War Museum, immediately went into action to excavate and reveal the truth.

Gradually, the Museum succeeded in exhuming some remains of genocide victims of 1971. After the Muslim Bazar excavation,, the Museum authority excavated nearby Jalladkhana (slaughterhouse) site, with the help of Bangladesh Army. They recovered 70 skulls and 5,392 various human bones here.

The remains of genocide victims at Mirpur have been an "eye opener" for many, as people visited the sights. According to Museum's Director, "Most of those who have come forward in the actual excavation and exhuming work or extended their support in many ways, belong to the generation who either have not seen the liberation war, or they were very young at the time. The Army personnel those participated most also belonged to that generation."

In fact, the symbolic trial of Jammal chief Golam Azam on the 25th anniversary of our independence on March 26 1992, had "triggered a wide movement in the nation demanding the trials of war criminals of 1971". The Mirpur mass grave discovery had been a massive reawakening of national consciousness on Bangladesh genocide. The bones and other effects hidden so long have come up to force their successors to re-visit history and conclude chapters on the war criminals and collaborators.

In addition, December and March ceremonies have almost compelled even the most relaxants to remember the victims of genocide and the brave martyrs.

Internet also has offered possibilities to transmit and transact information freely and fast, which has brought, almost literally, all kinds of people together. Expatriate Bangadeshis now communicate and contribute in ways which was never known before. Through dailies and weeklies published in Bangladesh, expatriates regularly contribute, thus adding the knowledge of the readers. They also daily update news on Bangladesh, through web-based Bangladesh and other newspapers.

This also has facilitated forming of groups with special interest among people living far apart. Naturally, in their discussion, war crimes and collaborators often feature prominently.

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violation of Human Rights and Genocide in Bangladesh" : -M. Maniruzzaman Mia

It was the night between March 25 and 26, 1971; it was the grisliest night the Bengali nation has ever known.

The forces of evil let loose by the Army rulers of Pakistan continued, for nine months at a stretch, the holocaust begun on March 25 with ever increasing intensity each day using newer and ghastlier methods of extermination of the Bengalis. It is not my intention however, to recount here the acts of brutality perpetrated by the Pakistani marauders during that period. For, it is not pleasant to ruminate on such brutal scenes as bustee people being felled by swarms of bullets while coming out, screaming, of their tenements set ablaze by flame throwers; or the still body of Sujit, a Dacca University student, in a pool of blood holding fast his mother's letter asking him, in view of the troubled situation, to return to his village home; or the mutilated corpse of the old and infirm gatekeeper of the Dacca University Women's Hall, Nani Rajbhor, who while asleep was shot dead at a point?blank range with the corner of his mosquito net lifted ; or the dead body of Moju Mia of Jinjira and that of his baby boy nestling in his father's breast both of whom were killed, while running for life, by a single bullet piercing through their backs. The history of liberation of Bangladesh is replete with hundreds of thousands of similar acts of brutality of which these are but a few examples. Thanks to the world press that many such stories have been carried to the farthest corner of the globe.

While the incidents of 'kill, loot and rape' in Bangladesh are tragic in themselves, more tragic is the fact that in their bid to 'crush' the Bengali nation, the Pakistani army have thrown to the winds all the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which Pakistan herself is a signatory. The Declaration very solemnly declares that the "recognition of the inherent dignity? and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." (Preamble, Universal Declaration of Human Rights) But was the dignity of man respected by the Punjabi soldiers for whom 'Bengalis and bastards' were synonymous? Was it respected when teachers were threatened with dire consequences if they indulged in 'loose talks'? Was it respected when some Dacca University teachers were humiliated day in and day out for nearly three months in a concentration camp? Was it respected when prisoners used to be double?marched to the latrine, given only? 30 seconds to evacuate the stomach and come out? Was it respected when a man was killed for his failure to recite the Kalema?

The Human Rights Declaration envisages a world "in which human being shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear." (Preamble, U.D.H.R.) About freedom of speech, the less said the better, for there has never been any freedom of speech in the entire history of Pakistan. This is too well known to be elaborated on. About freedom of belief, would it not be sufficient to note that three million people of Bangladesh have sacrificed their lives at the altar of their belief in; a democratic and secular political order and in a just and equitable society free from all sorts of exploitation of man by man? Needless to mention also that an all?pervasive fear, and not freedom from it, engulfed each and every Bengali during the occupation period. It was because of fear that Purna Chandra Dutta, a Dacca University lecturer, assumed a Muslim name through an affidavit in the Court; so did other members of his family. After the liberation all of them have forsaken their adopted Muslim names. It was because of fear of the advancing army that Azizunnessa of Vikrampur choked her new?born baby, unintentionally though, to death so that the baby might not cry out and betray her presence to the killers. To epitomize all, was it not because of fear that 10 million people of Bangladesh took refuge in this country (India)?

The pogrom that was begun by the Pakistani army on March 25 and continued with ever increasing ferocity till the liberation of Bangladesh completely negates Article 3 of the Human Rights Declaration which grants everyone "the right to life, liberty, and security of person". The provision of Article 5 of the Declaration that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment", has also been totally flouted. I was told by a

friend of mine, who was in a concentration camp, about a Hindu prisoner who used to perform 'namaz' five times a day like the Muslims because he could escape torture only during prayer times. I know about a college professor, who was inhumanly tortured to confess that he had raped several non-Bengali women during the non-cooperation movement in March.

Article 9 of the Declaration enjoins that "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest and exile." Facts, however, are to the contrary. In real the arrests of thousands of men, young and old, were made arbitrarily and the detainees were never given any reasons for their arrests although Article 9 Section (2) of the draft Covenant on political and civil rights states clearly that "anyone who is arrested shall be informed at the time of arrest of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him." Mr. Kamruddin Ahmed, an ex-Ambassador; and Mr. Fazlul Karim, Cultural Officer of the Bengali Academy, Dhaka, among others, were sent to the jail by an administrative order of six months' imprisonment without any trial in the court of law. Each one of the above mentioned incidents could be multiplied indefinitely. In fact, the provisions of all the 30 articles of the Human Rights Declaration have been trampled under foot and what has happened in Bangladesh has transgressed all norms of civilized behaviour and decency and is a complete negation of human values and conscience.

But the violation of human rights so persistently followed during the 9 months of occupation is but a part, indeed an insignificant part, of the whole story. More important is the fact that the 'master race', from the Punjab Plains executed a well-planned scheme of genocide in Bangladesh, the magnitude of which has transcended all records of known history. Flashing back one could see how indiscriminate the massacre was: a person would be killed because he is a stout young man and is a potential Mukti Fauj (freedom fighter); another, because he is an educated man a likely to give revolutionary ideas to the society; third, because he is one of the rabble and therefore must have taken part in anti-government demonstrations; fourth, because he is 'reported' to have given shelter to Mukti Bahini (freedom fighter); fifth, because he is a Hindu and therefore an Indian spy; sixth, because his movements were suspicious ; seventh, because no other pretext is available, he is a Bengali after all (is not enough to kill a person ?) ; and so on and so forth.

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### THE LEADING COLLABORATORS OF 1971 AND THEIR PRESENT WHEREABOUTS

#### I. Members of the Central Peace Committee

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Khwaja Khairuddin                | Leader of the Pakistan Muslim League.  |
| 2. A. G. M. Shafiqul Islam          | Advocate, Lahore High Court. Has business in Bangladesh.   |
| 3. Gholam Azam                      | Residing illegally in Bangladesh; Ameer of the Jamaat-e-Islami.  |
| 4. Moulana Syed Mohammad            | Leading member of the Central Majlis of the Bangladesh Ittehadul Ummah.  |
| 5. Mahmud Ali                       | State Minister for Social Welfare, Government of Pakistan.   |
| 6. M. A. K. Rafiqul Islam           | No information.  |
| 7. Abdul Jabbar Khaddar             | Died of natural causes after liberation.   |
| 8. Yusuf Ali Chowdhury (Mohan Miah) | Died of natural causes during the Liberation War.  |
| 9. Abut Kashem                      | Died of natural causes after liberation.   |
| 10. Ghulam Sarwar                   | Leader of the Jamaati organization in London, the Dawatul Islam: Director of the London-based Islamic Institute.         |
| 11. Syed Azizul Huq (Nanna Miah)    | Leader of the Jatiyo Party, and member of Parliament.  |
| 12. A. S. M. Solaiman               | Chairman, Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Party.   |
| 13. Pir Mohsenuddin (Dudu Miah)     | Vice-Chairman, Bangladesh Democratic League  |
| 14. Sharq Rahman                    | Chairman, Islamic Democratic League  |
| 15. Major (Rtd) Afsaruddin          | Convenor, Bangladesh Ganatantra Bastabayan Parishad; Chairman, National Democratic Party; former presidential candidate. |
| 16. Syed Mohsin Ali                 | Industrialist; former Chairman Stock Exchange; former Director, I. F. I. C. Bank.  |
| 17. Fazlul Huq Chowdhury            | Died of natural causes after liberation.   |
| 18. Mohd. Sirajuddin                | Industrialist; Chairman of the Dhaka City Muslim League.   |
| 19. Advocate A. T. Sadi             | Retired advocate of the Bangladesh Supreme Court.  |
| 20. Advocate Ataul Huq Khan         | Vice-Chairman, Bangladesh Muslim League.   |
| 21. Maqbulur Rahman                 | Industrialist.   |
| 22. Al-Hajj Mohammad Aqil           | Acting Chairman, Bangladesh Nezam-e-Islami.  |
| 23. Principal Ruhul Quddus          | Member of the Central Working Committee, Jamaat-e-Islami.  |
| 24. Nuruzzaman                      | Industrialist; Director Islamic Development Bank.  |
| 25. Moulana Miah Mafizul Huq        | Member, Central Majlis, Bangladesh Ittehadul Ummah.  |
| 26. Advocate Abu Salek              | Senior Advocate, Bangladesh Supreme Court.   |
| 27. Advocate Abdun Naim             | Died of natural causes after liberation.   |
| 28. Moulana Siddique Ahmed          | Member, Central Majlis, Bangladesh Ittehadul Ummah.  |

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 29. Abdul Matin                     | Secretary-General, Bangladesh Muslim League.                               |
| 30. Banister Akhtaruddin Ahmed      | Resident in Saudi Arabia; Adviser Saudia International Law                 |
| 31. Toaha Bin Habib                 | Industrialist; member Central Majlis-e-Shuca, Bangladesh Khelafat Andolan. |
| 32. Hakim Irtezaur Rahman Akhunzada | Died of natural causes after liberation.                                   |
| 33. Raja Tridev Roy                 | Doing business at Karachi.   |
| 34. Faiz Bakhsh                     | Chairman, Bangladesh Muslim League   |

## **II. Leaders of the Central Peace and Welfare Council**

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Moulana Farid Ahmed  | Disappeared immediately after liberation.                 |
| 2. Nuruzzaman           | Former Director Imam Training Course, Islamic Foundation. |
| 3. Moulana Abdul Mahnan | Former Minister for Religious Affairs.                    |
| 4. Julmat Ali Khan      | Vice-Chairman, B. N. P.                                   |
| 5. A. K. M. Mujibul Huq | Industrialist.  |
| 6. Firoz Ahmed          | No information.   |

## **III. Members of the Malek Cabinet**

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| 1. Abul Kashem    | Died of natural causes after liberation. |
| 2. Nawazish Ahmed | Chairman, Bangladesh Muslim League.      |

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tears of fire

Narration's from the Documentary by Sentu Roy related to the 1971 Genocide in Bangladesh committed by Pakistan Army and the agents. The excerpts are from the interviews with international journalists, activists and expatriate who were witness to the Genocide.

In 1971, a small South Asian nation called Bangladesh Experienced perhaps one of the worst genocide of the post-second war period. At least 3 million people were killed. Another 10 million people were uprooted, forcing them to flee across the border to India. There are many people in the world that are unaware of this massive human tragedy. It was also one of the worst crimes against humanity. Yet no one was ever prosecuted; no one was ever held responsible. The memory of this tragedy is fast fading from our memory. Yet, for those who lost their loved ones, there is a wound that will never heal, until those responsible are charged and prosecuted. The tears may have dried in their eyes, but the pain they must endure is still alive.

After almost 200 years of British rule, the Indian sub-continent was broken up in August 1947 into two independent nations, Pakistan and India. The dividing criteria was religion. The result was that Pakistan had a western wing and an eastern wing, separated by 920 miles of Indian Territory. Enormous difference separated the two region, differences in language, culture, history and heritage. It is well documented that the western wing exploited East Pakistan economically and politically. Since its independence, Pakistan has been ruled mostly by military. It was a major goal of the East Pakistan people to institute a democratic government and press for greater autonomy. When parliamentary elections were held in December 1970, the Awami League of East Pakistan won a clear majority. However, the ruling military dictatorship made a mockery of democratic proceedings and refused to hand over power to the East. This resulted in tremendous agitation among the people in East Pakistan. On March 25, 1971 the West Pakistan military rule and chief of the Army General Yahya Khan ordered his army to attack East Pakistan and suppress the agitation. Thus began nine horrific months of systematic genocide.

### **Sydney Schanberg**

Journalist

(New York Times South Asia correspondent during 1971 and author of the book Dateline Bangladesh on the Liberation Struggle of the Bengalees)

What I saw an evidence that constitute Genocide. The target had been Bengalis in particular Hindus. In towns that I visited, there were houses marked spicily to direct soldier to those homes to kill peoples. There were houses supporters of the freedom movements or they were Hindus. Every towns, every villages that I visited there were killing fields. In particular places people were taken in a large number and shot or struck down the death of whole with the instruments. There were one of the divices was to put people together, a line of people and shoot them through heir heads that one bullet could kill five to six people before it lost it's momentum. It was that organised.

**Shamoyli Nasreen** : They came to our residence on 15th of December 1971 at about 4:30 PM with arms. They asked my husband to go with them. He asked why! They said, you will know it very soon. He asked them let me put on my dress and clothes, But they did not let him. They took him away and he was lost for ever.

### **Dr. William Greenough**

Founder of Bangladesh Information Center  
Director, Colera Hospital Dhaka during 1971

The Government of United States unfortunately did not see Bangladesh of Bangladeshis as a vital Geo. Political Importance and they placed trip by Henry Kisenger a greater importance of the lies of the several million people displacement to another country distraction in their homes. I felt very strongly about the lies which provocative to our elective representatives in this country.

Basically what we did to provide eye witness information, photographs, provided to Senator Kennedy, to committee of refugees. So he had facts, he would display as testimonies from the state department to the contrary.

**Nadeem** : On 17th April my father was picked up from our residence. He had tried to leave Chittagong railway station. At that time all avenues were blocked and Pakistan armies tresd him with the help of some local collaborates. We have not herd from him since but we know that he was immediately taken to the Chittagong circuit house where he was tortured by the electric chair and other means. They tried to kill me and my pregnant mother. My younger brother was post-humus child. He has not seen his father. So still he waits for him. My mother died struggling and waiting for her husband. We don know where he is. I know where is mother lying. I can go and talk to her when I am in pain. From my father we do not know. We are three brothers and sister

**Phyllis Taylor** Activist

My feeling was increadively out raged. Part of, It was, I am Jews and I wondered as I was child growing up where are the good people, where are the good Germans when the trains rolled, when the people were displaced, when the people were being killed and part of my commitment to myself and my commitment to all those who were killed or injured. We were trying to find a way to speak out against injustice. Here again, the whole were being killed because they were simply Bangles not for any reason other than that. So it touched my Jews heart.

**R. K. Taylor** Activist

We learned that Pakistani ships were coming to the East Coast of the United States to pick up military weapons that would be used in genocide that was happening over in East Pakistan and we felt and we know, we could not stop the ships but may be we could draw the public attention what is happening by doing something dramatic in relation with the ship. The first one of the ship was Padma in Baltimore. We gathered canoes and packs together, we called the News media and telling them that we are coming in Baltimore. We drove down quickly to Baltimore and spend a few days picketing like that when the ships came we launched our fleet out of Baltimore Harver and tried to get a way of the ships and at the same time many police force, coast car force were trying to prevent us from doing that but eventually we were arrested and we were not able to actually block the ship but what happen was that was the first time the news began to get out instead of few

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UNEARTHING OF THE KILLING FIELDS IN MIRPUR DHAKA AND EXCAVATION & EXHUMING OF OTHER SITES FOR IDENTIFYING, EXAMINING AND DETERMINING THE EVIDENCE TO PROVE THE GENOCIDE COMMITTED IN 1971 BY PAKISTAN ARMY AND THEIR AGENTS : **by Akku Chowdhury**

*Introduction:*

Liberation War Museum is dedicated to all freedom loving people of the world and victims of mindless atrocities and destruction committed in the name of religion and sovereignty. This museum is proof that determination can overcome all odds for freedom and liberty.

**The Liberation War Museum has been set up to collect and disseminates information regarding our Liberation War. In the process of this work we involve ourselves in trying to find the truth regarding our liberation struggle and seek justice for those millions who perished in the most inhuman way. The truth is important not only for the present generation but also for the future so that they can grow up knowing how bloody and gory the birth of the nation was. This will give them impetuous to be patriotic and have determination to be better leaders of the society and the nation.**

It is believed the Museum can be a very important tool for their learning process and can give them a sense of pride and encouragement to feel proud of their country. The Liberation War Museum wants the future generation to know the rich heritage of their Motherland and draw from the spirit of the Liberation War the inspiration and pride to build a better future and make a difference in the nation building.

**BACKGROUND:** On 27 July 1999 a killing field from the 1971 Genocide committed by the Pakistani Forces was discovered. The Liberation War Museum has taken the initiative for an extensive excavation of the area to find the remains of the victims of the Genocide. So far 5 skulls and over 500 small and big bones have been discovered. A team of Doctors under the leadership of Dr. M.A.Hasan has been assigned to make initial identification and do necessary examinations. All scientific and medical facilities will be utilized to find the evidences and clues leading to the identity of individuals and the cause and time of their death. Initial examinations have given us enough evidence to claim they were the victims of the 1971 Genocide committed by the Pakistan Forces. We have also set up a team of legal experts to proceed to the International Court to take this evidence to prove the Genocide and make those responsible for the crime punished.

We have reasons to believe there are quite a few killing fields and spots within a 1000-yard of this location. We are investigating the spots to verify the location and facts. Once we have authentic information we plan to excavate those spots to recovers the remains of the Martyrs and other evidences of the Genocide committed by Pakistan Army.

We are requesting for international observers to visit these spots to verify for themselves the facts proving the atrocities committed by the Pakistani Forces and their agents in 1971. So far there was a 'Denial of Genocide' by the International Forum drummed up by the Pakistan Government. We appeal to all conscientious people of the World to find the truth and help us do it.

In a response to the Liberation War Museum the Bangladesh Army began assisting with the excavation work from August 12 1999. With their sophisticated instruments and discipline the work is progressing in a systematic way. They have been able to detect and recover a few bullets with marking of Pakistan Ordnance Factory (dated 1964,66 and 67) and other metallic remnants of weapons. The contingent of the Bangladesh Army has been working with great determination and zeal and the Citizens have warmly welcomed their assistance in this worthy cause.

**SECOND EXCAVATION & EXHUMING OF 1971 MARTYRS AT JALLADKHANA BY LIBERATION WAR MUSEUM:**

Muslim Bazar is now known to almost everyone. In the suburb of Dhaka at the edge of Mirpur is located this market. For last 28 years this was just another isolated place but covering up some

of the most gruesome and gory part of our Liberation History. After 28 years the victims of Pakistani barbarism couldn't bear it any longer that their horror stories were not being heard or told.

After Muslim Bazar excavation and exhuming of the remains of 1971 Pakistan Army victims the Liberation War Museum began the work of cataloging and pre-investigation on different sites where the unfortunate victims of 1971 were dumped. The Bangladesh Army came forth to assist us in the excavation. The 42 Bengal under 46 Independent Infantry Brigade was assigned to this duty. The LWM decided to pick ten sites for further excavation and exhuming of the remains in the proper scientific and technical method as suggested by Dr. Willam Hugland (International Physicians for Human Rights). The process being expensive and time consuming the LWM hopes to accomplish this goal over a period of time without setting any deadlines.

LWM began the pre-investigation of several sites where it was claimed the Pakistan Army and their agents committed untold atrocities and dumped the bodies. At JalladKhanna in Mirpur the investigators found family members of the Martyrs and one survivor from the Slaughterhouse. They were cross-examined and the story seem to have relevance to the fact that Bengalles were taken to this abandoned pump house slaughtered and the bodies dumped in the underground tanks located beneath the pump house. It was claimed almost over 100 bodies were dumped in the two underground tanks.

The Jalladkhan (SlaughterHouse) located also in Mirpur (Section 10 Block D) was thus selected for immediate excavation and exhuming of remains of the 1971 Martyrs. The Bangladesh Army's 46 Brigade 7 Field Regiment Artillery and 43 Engineer Company assisted the LWM in this Herculean work. The excavation began on Monday November 15 1999. The exhuming ended on the 23rd. with the recovery of 70 skulls and 5392 various human bones . Most of the skulls revealed sign of being severed from the rest of the body with a sharp weapon and some bore marks of being struck by heavy weapon and one had a bullet hole shot from a close range. Other bones also showed signs of being hit by a heavy weapon.

It is most important that the truth should be revealed and what happened in 1971 needs to be known not to look backward but for the nation to move forward. As we enter the new millennium it should be the beginning of a new era for Bangladesh. Like a phoenix we can be born out of the ashes and fly to higher ground. But we must clear the ashes. Let us join together and clear the debris that has been thrown over the bodies of hundreds and thousands of Bengalees in 1971. Only then we shall know ourselves.

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71 MASSACRE IN BANGLADESH AND THE FALLACY IN THE H.R.C REPORT. DR. M. A. Hasan

After publishing of Hamoodur Rahman Commission supplementary Report in "INDIA TODAY" there is a great hue and cry in Pakistan among their political parties, and in military clique of Pakistan, as well as in their civil society and in the midst of the people's organization of Pakistan. Some are demanding trial of the war criminals including their many Generals who conducted the worst sort of war crime, genocide and crime against humanity in Bangladesh in 1971 in between 25th March upto December till their surrender in the soil of Bangladesh, and some are trying to color the Report as Indian conspiracy and as highly motivated report.

In fact, the Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report was made by the Commission of Inquiry headed by former Chief Justice Hamoodur Rahman of Pakistan. The Commission was appointed by the late President Zulfikur Ali Bhutto of Pakistan on December 26, 1971. Other members of the Commission were Supreme Court Justice Anowarul Hoque, High Court Justices Tofail Ali, and Abdur Rahman. Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Altaf Kadir was Military Adviser to the Commission.

The main object of the Commission was to inquire into and find out the circumstances in which the Commander, Eastern Command surrendered and the members of the Armed Forces of Pakistan under his command returned the arms and the cease fire was ordered along the borders of west Pakistan and India along the cease fire line in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. *After examining 213 witnesses Hamoodur Rahman Commission submitted its report to the President of Pakistan on July 8, of 1972. The above facts clearly indicates that H.R. Commission was not the proper Commission to investigate the war crime, mass rape, genocide and other atrocities and crimes against humanity conducted by Pakistan Army along with their collaborators and their lackeys in Bangladesh in 1971.*

*They did not have any will and intention to perform the above job as because it was out of their focus and assignment.*

As it was felt that the report was incomplete in absence of witnesses and testimonies of prisoners of war, military and civil, who were actually in the ground, the Commission was reactivated and reassembling was arranged on 23.10.1974.

While preparing supplementary report the Commission examined a considerable volume of fresh evidence which did not modify the conclusion of the main report and part III, part IV of the Report dealing with the main objects; international relations and the military aspects remained undisturbed. So the supplementary report only dealt with political background and to matters that occurred after March 1971 in the then East Pakistan.

Chapter 2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 of the main report was dealt afresh with greater detail concerning discipline of the Pak Armed Forces in the then East Pakistan and finally the Commission winded up the supplement making some recommendations naturally concerning interest of Pakistan. So whatever a bit of truth about the war crime and genocide surfaced from the interrogation was incidental finding.

However, the facts about their crimes in one hand enraged the supporters of Pak military junta and ashamed the majority of the sane people of the world including many Pak elites and media. After publishing the supplementary HRC report the Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sk. Hasina has formally asked for the original report from Pakistan and demanded Pak apology for 1971 war crime on 13.9.2000. Later she has formally expressed her desire to try Pakistani war criminals. General Pervez Musharraf, Chief Executive of Pakistan has promised to publish the vetted version of the H.R. commission report.

The HRC report reveals a fragment and tint of the truth only. It is a testimony of partial truth expressing denial of greater involvement in crime and the biggest war crime and genocide conducted by the Pak army, probed and proved by their own men. In essence, it is a whitewash on the greatest crime to save their honor, army in general and majority of crimes and criminals and ultimately their ego. After careful study of historical facts, internationally acceptable other

testimonies and the partial truth conceded by the H.R. commission, one could discover the mountain under the sea looking at the tip of the iceberg.

In 1971 while the people of Bangladesh were fighting for democracy and civil right for the people to choose their own leader, the Pak military junta jumped on the people with all their might and started indiscriminate killing, rape and arson with deep routed malice and intention to oppress the Bengali people considering them as inferior race with utter racial hatred.

The war that Pak regime instituted in 1971 was no mere a civil war. It was a deliberate act of genocide and a process of ethnic cleansing and it was shame for our nation that this genocide went unpunished and unrevealed to the international community. In fact Pakistanis were very much similar to Nazis for their ideology. Infamous dictator Ayub Khan used to think Bengalees are lower class race; unfit to enjoy any kind of freedom, Pakistanis had every right to rule over the defeated nation - Bengalees, that was his point of view. (Massacre: Robert Pain Page 30). Further proof of their activity has been revealed in one book written by Pakistani Army personnel Siddique Salek, According to his narration - after the operation Search Light on 25th March 1971, one Capt. Chowdhury of Pak Army remarked - "Bengalees have been cleansed and selected properly for at least one generation." Such attitude only parallels with Nazi's philosophy about their supremacy over the Jewish.

To resist this Pak Fascist - million of Bangladeshi laid down their lives and millions of innocents were killed in different genocide spots, documents of which were not properly placed to the international community to uplift the spirit of human right and justice.

The H.R. Commission report part II depicts some harrowing tales of atrocities fabricated by a handful of Pakistani lackeys. The actual story about the long standing suppression and subjugation, on Bengali nation has been partly depicted in the "DAWN" on 11.9.2000 by Kazi Md. Jamil in his "Lessons from the Fall of Dhaka", where he writes -

"With parts of the Hamoodur Rahman Commission report on the fall of Dhaka appearing in a section of the press many a skeleton has walked out of our closets. It has disturbed some of the characters of the story so much that they have started throwing the blame on others dead or alive.

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Excerpts from various books related to 1971 by important players of that time

### **The Betrayal of East Pakistan : -Lt. Gen. A. A. K. Niazi**

General Tikka Khan was sent as Yaqub's replacement on 7 March 1971. Tikka arrived in Dhaka by air and took over the duties of Commander, Eastern Command, MLA, and Governor of East Pakistan. He was not welcomed; in fact he was presented with a garland of shoes at the airport. To top it all, the Chief Justice refused to swear him in as Governor. Tikka was a straightforward, hard-working, and unassuming person. He lacked Yaqub's slick and suave manner; in fact he was not the sort of person to inspire confidence in others. He lacked strategic insight and tactical flair, yet a halo of grandeur and vicarious heroism had been woven around him.

On taking over the command of Eastern Garrison, Gen. Tikka tried to meet Sheikh Mujib. Although Mujib had met Yaqub, he refused to meet Tikka. Gen. Tikka issued a directive to the troops, based on the mission spelled out to him; this included: disarming of the East Bengal Regiment, battalions of the East Pakistan Rifles, and the police; security of Chittagong naval base; control of airfields including Lal Munir Hut and Ishurdi; security of towns.

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On 25 March General Tikka Khan had available to him for military action only 14 Infantry Division, under the command of Major-General Khadim Hussain Raja. It consisted of four brigades, located in different cantonments and camps all over East Pakistan. In the division there were twelve infantry battalions (all West Pakistan), seven infantry battalions (all East Pakistan) and one commando battalion (mixed). These battalions had officers from both West and East Pakistan. In supporting arms he had one light tank regiment, five regiments of field artillery, one regiment of light anti-aircraft artillery, and two mortar batteries. Troops in these units were mixed West and East Pakistanis. There were sixteen wings of the East Pakistan Rifles, about sixteen thousand strong these were all East Pakistanis except a few officers and junior commissioned officers from West Pakistan. There were also naval and air force troops, some of which could be used in a ground role in Chittagong and Dhaka.

It should be borne in mind that the Bengali troops had not yet mutinied. General Tikka had enough strength available to complete his task. The requirements were proper planning, intelligent conduct of operations, and patience, because facing him was not a regular army but dissident armed civilians. More tact than tactics was the order of the day

On the night between 25/26 March 1971, General Tikka struck. Peaceful night was turned into a time of wailing, crying, and burning. General Tikka let loose everything at his disposal as if raiding an enemy, not dealing with his own misguided and misled people. The military action was a display of stark cruelty, more merciless than the massacres at Bukhara and Baghdad by Changez Khan and Halaku Khan, or at Jallianwala Bagh by the British General Dyer.

General Tikka, instead of carrying out the tasks given to him, i.e., to disarm armed Bengali units and persons and to take into custody the Bengali leaders, resorted to the killing of civilians and a scorched-earth policy. His orders to his troops were: 'I want the land and not the people.' These orders were carried out in letter and spirit by Major-General Farman and Brigadier (later Lt. Gen.) Jahanzeb Arbab in Dhaka. Major-General Rao Farman had written in his table diary, 'Green land of East Pakistan will be painted red.' It was painted red by Bengali blood. This diary was found by the Bengalis when they occupied Government House on 14 December 1971. Mujib showed the diary to Bhutto during his visit to Bangladesh. Bhutto inquired from me about this diary during my meeting with him.

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On the night between 25/26 March 1971 Yahya sneaked out of Dhaka before the start of military action. He told Tikka before leaving Dhaka, 'Sort them out.' Bhutto had remained behind to see what Tikka did. Bhutto saw Dhaka burning and heard the cries of the people, the crackle of burning material, the roar of tanks, the boom of guns and rockets, and the rattle of machine guns. In the morning, it is alleged, Bhutto patted Tikka, Farman, and Arbab on the back, congratulated

them for doing exactly what was needed, and assured them that their future was secured. Bhutto kept his promise. Tikka secured the coveted post of COAS. Farman was made Chairman, Fauji Foundation, and Brigadier Arbab, despite the corruption charge proved against him, was promoted as Major General and later Lieutenant General. On reaching Karachi on 26 March, he told the people, 'Thank God Pakistan has been saved.'

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Major General Rao Farman Ali was Military Adviser to the Governor, and Brigadier Faqir Muhammad was Brigadier Martial Law. Brigadier Jilani (Later Lt. Gen. and Governor) was my COS (Chief of Staff), replacing Brigadier E1 Edroos. Major General Shaukat Riza was Commanding 9 Division. Major General Rahim had replaced Major General Khadim Raja as GOC 14 Division. Major General Nazar Hussain Shah was GOC 16 Division, and Major General Jamshad was head of CAF (Civil Armed Forces), replacing Brigadier Nisar. Rear Admiral Sharif and Air Commodore Inam were commanding the navel and air force contingents.

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The tasks were to be completed by 15 May 1971 at the latest. It was emphasized that speed and multiple thrusts would pay dividends.

16 Division under Major General Nazar Hussain Shah was responsible for Rajshahi Civil Division. Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, and Rajshahi were to be held. Due to the closeness of Indian cantonments, and the area being flat and suitable for tanks in dry weather, the only tank regiment in East Pakistan was given to this Division.

9 Division under Major General Shaukat Riza was responsible for Dhaka and Khulna Divisions. Dhaka, being the provincial capital and an international airport, was vital.

There were no obstacles on the northern side of Dhaka, but there were good covering positions in area Madhupur Forest and around Tangil City. Mymensingh was to be held in strength. Khulna Division was the next priority after Rajshahi Division, again due to the proximity of Indian cantonments; it was comparatively easy for the Indian Army to concentrate troops in front of this position. Jessore was to be held in strength; Faridpur was also to be held as it gave depth to Jessore and assured protection to Dhaka as well.

The waterlogged areas of Chalna, Barisal, and the Sunderbans were given to CAF.

14 Division under Major General Rahim Khan was responsible for Chittagong Division. Sylhet, Brahmanbaria, Comilla, and Chittagong were to be held. Chittagong was vital. Commandos were deployed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

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The new deployment was as under:

16 Division of three Brigades and an armoured regiment under Major General Nazar Hussain Shah in area Dinajpur, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Palma, and Bogra.

9 Division of two Brigades under Major General M. H. Ansari to be responsible for area Kushtia, Faridpur, Barisal, Bhola Island, Patuakhali, Khulna, Jessore, Chauhadanga, and Mehrabpur. Paksey Bridge was included in the area of 9 Division.

The waterlogged areas of Chalna, Barisal, and Sunderbans remained with the CAF.

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witness to Surrender: by Siddiq Saik

In the same sitting, General Farman wrote down the new plan on a light blue office pad, using an ordinary school pencil. I saw the original plan in General Farman's immaculate hand. General Khadim wrote its second part, which dealt with distribution of resources and the allocation of tasks to brigades and units.

The plan, christened 'Operation SEARCHLIGHT', consisted of sixteen paragraphs spread over five pages (See Appendix' III). It presumed that all Bengali troops, including regular East Bengal battalions, would revolt in reaction to its execution. They should therefore, be disarmed.

Secondly, the 'non-cooperation' movement launched by Mujib should be deprived of its leadership by arresting all the prominent Awami League leaders while they were in conference with the President. The plan also listed, as an annexure, sixteen prominent persons whose houses were to be visited for their arrest.

The hand-written plan was read out to General Hamid and Lieutenant-General Tikka Khan at Flagstaff House on the afternoon of 20 March. Both of them approved the main contents of the plan but General Hamid struck out the clause pertaining to disarming the Bengali troops as 'it would destroy one of the finest armies in the world'. He, however, approved the disarming of paramilitary forces like the East Pakistan Rifles and the Police. He asked only one question, 'After distribution of these troops for various tasks, are you left with any reserves?' 'No, Sir,' was the prompt reply from the G.O.C.

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The wireless set fitted in the jeep groaned for the first time at about 11.30 p.m. The local commander (Dacca) asked permission to advance the hour because 'the other side' was hectically preparing for resistance. Everybody looked at his watch. The President was still halfway between Colombo (Sri Lanka) and Karachi. General Tikka gave the decision. 'Tell Bobby (Arbab) to hold on as long as he can.'

At the given hour, Brigadier Arbab's brigade was to act as follows:

13 Frontier Force was to stay in Dacca cantonment as reserve and defend the cantonment, if necessary.

43 Light Anti-Aircraft (LAA) Regiment, deployed at the airport in an anti-aircraft role since the banning of over flights by India, was to look after the airport area.

22 Baluch, already in East Pakistan Rifles Lines at Pilkhana, was to disarm approximately 5,000 E.P.R. personnel and seize their wireless exchange.

32 Punjab was to disarm 1,000 'highly motivated' policemen, a prime possible source of armed manpower for the Awami League, at Rajarbagh Police Lines.

18 Punjab was to fan out in the Nawabpur area and the old city where many Hindu houses were said to have been converted into armouries.

Field Regiment was to control the Second Capital and the adjoining Bihari localities (Mohammadpur, Mirpur).

A composite force consisting of one company each of 18 Punjab, 22 Baluch and 32 Punjab, was to 'flush' the University Campus particularly Iqbal Hall and Jagan Nath Hall which were reported to be the strong points of the Awami League rebels.

A platoon of Special Service Group (Commandos) was to raid Mujib's house and capture him alive.

A skeleton squadron of M24 tanks was to make an appearance before first light, mainly as a show of force. They could fire for effect if required.

These troops, in their respective areas, were to guard the key points, break resistance (if offered) and arrest the listed political leaders from their residences.

The troops were to be in their target areas before 1 a.m. but some of them, anticipating delay on the way, had started moving from the cantonment at about 11.30 p.m. Those who were already in

the city to guard the radio and television stations, telephone exchange, power house and State Bank etc., had also taken their posts much before the H?hour.

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Lieutenant?Colonel Z.A. Khan, the commanding officer, and Major Bilal, the company commander, themselves had accompanied the raiding platoon.

As the commandos approached Mujib's house, they drew fire from the armed guard posted at his gate. The guards were quickly neutralized. Then up raced the fifty tough soldiers to climb the four-foot high compound wall.

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Brigadier M. H. Ansari, who had flown from Dacca, had mustered all available resources?an infantry platoon, a few mortars and two tank sand formed a task force. The Navy had lent the support of a destroyer and a few gunboats. He had achieved this success with marvellous skill. Later an additional battalion was also flown from Dacca to Chittagong.

Although the situation with regard to the availability of resources had improved, the main battle for Chittagong had yet to be fought. The radio transmitters, East Pakistan Rifles Sector Headquarters and the Reserve Police Lines in the District Courts area (the concentration point for the policemen, ex-servicemen and armed volunteers) remained to be cleared before the general flushing out of the area could be undertaken.

General Mitha was the first to have a go at the transmitter building. He sent a commando detachment to blow it up. His troops approached the target from the flank, following the river?route. They soon came under fire while still? in country boats. Sixteen of them were killed. Mitha's second attempt too proved abortive and highly expensive.

Major?General Khadim then sent a column of 20 Baluch under Lieutenant?Colonel Fatimi. Once again, Fatimi managed to involve himself in some sort of engagement with the rebels on the way and, never reached the transmitters. Finally, two F?86s (Sabres) from Dacca had to knock them out. I visited the sight a few days later and found the building well fortified with pillboxes and foxholes - all interconnected with a fine network of trenches. The building was intact.

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**MASSACRE**. by **Robert Payne**

When President Yahya Khan, the military dictator of Pakistan, decided to massacre the Bengalis of East Pakistan for daring to demand regional autonomy, the world's tragic ignorance about the country was a factor of inestimable value to him. Since there were comparatively few people who knew or cared about the people of East Pakistan, fewer still would care how many he massacred. No journalists would be permitted to see what he was doing. The massacres would take place quietly, as though in some remote and unknown region like the North West Frontier Province, where no news trickles out. All the advantages were on his side. The American government and the Chinese government were supporting him with armaments and advisers; he had unlimited funds at his disposal, a large army, a powerful propaganda machine, and the active sympathy of the some of the most powerful men on earth. Dr. Kissinger had only unstinted praise for him, President Nixon admired him, and Chairman Mao Tse?tung gave him a medal. There seemed to be no reason why he should not succeed in massacring as many Bengalis as he wished. He thought that three million Bengali dead would be a sufficient punishment. Thereafter the Bengalis would stop asking for regional autonomy and become the docile slaves of his dictatorship. It did not happen like that. The Bengalis fought back, the journalists succeeded in entering the unknown country and thus making it known to the outside world, and the Indian Army marched in to deliver the coup de race to an army of massacre's. For the first time in our generation a powerful military dictatorship had been overthrown. This was a historical event of the first magnitude, for it demonstrated that determined men can always destroy a military dictatorship, the most corrupt and the most evil form of government ever instituted. It offered hope to a world, which has lived too long under the threat of military despotism, and gave no comfort to the dictators. What happened in Bangla Desh can happen elsewhere: both the massacres, and the retribution.

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**Robert Payne** visted India and Bangladesh in March and April 1972 and documented the painful birth of the nation in his book '**MASSACRE**'

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### THE LAST DAYS OF UNITED PAKISTAN : By G. W. Choudhury INDIAN INVOLVEMENT

After this apparent defeat, the Bengali resistance forces then crossed over to India, where they could obtain arms and ammunition as well as sanctuary ? the Pakistan Army would not dare to cross the Indian border, and thus giving sanctuary to the Mukti Bahini was the first significant move by India in her involvement in the crisis. Without India's arms and sanctuary, Bangladesh might have remained a distant dream of the Bengali nationalists for many years to come. Just as the Pakistan Army's brutal atrocities can never be condoned, similarly India's role, which I discuss in the next chapter, was contrary to all the basic principles of the U.N. Charter and international law.

Turning to the internal scene in the emerging Bangladesh and West Pakistan, the temporary "victory" by the Pakistan Army over the Bengali resistance forces gave the military junta in Islamabad a sense of optimism. But instead of using the time gained for developing a constructive and imaginative approach to the crisis, the Army generals in West Pakistan allowed themselves to be fooled. The military regime imposed a strict censorship of all news about "East Pakistan". Not only the public in West Pakistan but even the ruling elite seemed to believe that the uprising in East Bengal was merely the product of "Indian agents" and a few "miscreants". It was widely believed in West Pakistan that the People of "East Pakistan" were not behind the movement. Of course, the Bengali Muslims, as I have already pointed out, did not like to see Pakistan destroyed, particularly by the Indian forces. But the Army's atrocities left the Bengalis ? whether Awami Leaguers or nationalists with no choice. The Army's actions, particularly Tikka's and subsequently Niazi's policy of "collective punitive actions", under which village after village was burnt and destroyed, turned the entire population of East Bengal against the Pakistan Government. It was therefore no wonder that people in such a desperate situation were prepared to embrace even the devil to escape from total annihilation. Nothing could be further from the truth than Fazal Muqueem's statement: "The Muslim population, particularly in the rural areas, had welcomed the troops and were coming forward in large numbers to help them."<sup>14</sup> In fact, the people were living in dread their young men's lives were not secure and their women were not safe. How could they welcome the troops who were intent on subjugating them?

May - July 1971

"The revolt in East Pakistan had been completely crushed by the end of May." Thus asserted Fazal Muqueem and all the publicity organs of the Government of Pakistan began to tell the same story. The White Paper published by the Pakistan Government in August 1971 contained false assertions to the same effect. But those living outside the jurisdiction of the "iron curtain" imposed by the Pakistan Government's press censorship had no illusion about the real situation. The Bangladesh crisis was deepening and becoming more complex, due both to the Army's continued atrocities and to the lack of any positive steps by the Pakistani Government, and indeed to India's growing involvement in the crisis.

I had left Pakistan within a week of the Army's military action and came with my family to London to begin a research assignment at Chatham House. However, no Bengali at that time could have concentrated his full attention on research. My family and I spent most of our time reading the British newspapers and listening to the news on radio and television. It was the most agonizing period of my life ? Bengalis were being killed mercilessly; Pakistan was nearing its destruction, which meant too that the Indians were nearing the realization of their long-cherished dream. In a letter on April 13 from London, I wrote to Yahya urging him passionately to stop the forces of terror and destruction let loose by the Army's action. His reply was, in a sense, pathetic; he repeated what he had told me at our farewell meeting in Karachi on March 29. He now seemed to have realized Bhutto's insincerity but he had never been a serious administrator, and he now seemed to have lost all control. Among the large community of Asian immigrants in London, there were all sorts of stories and rumours. At one stage, it was circulated there that the generals had

realized the futility of their military adventures in East Pakistan. The number of Pakistani soldiers, including officers, killed in the military operations in East Bengal was rising; Pakistan's economic situation was desperate. All foreign loans and aid for development had been stopped. The United States had announced a ban on military supplies to Pakistan, only those items "already in the pipeline" being allowed. Any sensible regime would have tried seriously to get out of the impasse; it was difficult for me to believe that the junta had not yet realized the blind alley into which their military operations had led them. Was there nobody in West Pakistan to see and tell them the truth?

In the latter part of May I decided to go to both West Pakistan and Dacca to see the situation for myself. In the preceding two years, from April 1969 to February 1971, I had been an active participant in the political process in Pakistan; it was thus almost impossible for me to be in London while my country was disintegrating; near relations and dear friends were involved. So I decided to make the trip although it caused unjustified comments in certain quarters that I was still involved in Pakistan's quest for a constitution. First, no political realist could expect a "constitutional formula" for both East and West Pakistan in the summer of 1971. Secondly, I had already declined Yahya's invitation to become an adviser, and accepted an academic assignment in London. My trip was solely to watch the latest developments both in West Pakistan and in Dacca. I had no illusions about the situation; the Pakistan press censorship had not been able to reach me in London I landed at Karachi on May 16. Yahya was there on a tour, so I met him the next day. I told him my reaction to the Army's atrocities. He tried to convince me, at one stage, that all that I had read in the British and American newspapers was incorrect but I told him that I was going to Dacca to see the real situation for myself. I asked him why, as President of the country, he never cared to visit "East Pakistan" after a situation had developed which was causing worldwide concern; he replied that he would visit Dacca as soon as he could finalize "a programme to offer the Bengalis". It was truly a pity that the country's President could not even now make up his mind about the "next steps".

I went to Dacca, and it was the worst experience of my life. Everywhere I went, I heard the same story: one person had lost a son; another a husband; many villages were burnt. The people who did not agree with Mujib's secession plan told how they too had been victims of indiscriminate and stupid acts by the Army. Many people, including my close relatives and friends, could hardly express themselves without tears in their eyes. They urged me to tell Yahya to come to Dacca and to see for himself the damage his Army had done. They repeatedly asked me: "Is there no way for our survival?" They knew of my close involvement with political developments from April/May 1969 and that I had been close to Yahya while he was formulating his plan for the transfer of power. But what answer could I give? I returned from Dacca bewildered and with a heavy heart. I wrote a lengthy report giving authentic accounts of the many cruel acts of the Army including the raping of women.

My next meeting with Yahya took place in Rawalpindi in the same house and in the same room where I had spent many hours with him in 1969-70 with great expectations of a political solution to the growing East-West Pakistan conflict. Yahya's first question was what I had seen in Dacca. My prompt reply was that no single foreign newspaper had exaggerated. On the contrary, the people's agony, suffering and humiliation had not been fully exposed. I also told him that it was not only the number of deaths but the manner in which innocent persons had been killed and women raped that had destroyed our cherished homeland for which the Muslims of the subcontinent had sacrificed so many thousands of lives in 1947. I knew from past experience that it was no use giving Yahya a lengthy report such as I had prepared while in Dacca. So I began to read extracts from my notes ? all factual data. He looked vacant and seemed unable to talk to me. He knew my devotion to the concept of a united Pakistan and he also knew that I had never supported Mujib's veiled secessionist plan. He could not, therefore, dismiss my account as that of a "typical secessionist under the influence of India" ? the last thing I wanted to see was the destruction of Pakistan with the help of the Indian armed forces. Our meeting ended in a confused way. Yahya asked me to see him again before I returned to London.

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**G. W. Choudhury** served as a member of the Pakistan cabinet from 1967 to 1971

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