

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রধানমন্ত্রী জনাব তাজউদ্দীন আহমদের প্রদত্ত ভাষণ

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## **PRESS STATEMENT**

**Issued By**

**MR. TAJUDDIN AHMAD**

**Prime Minister of Bangladesh**

**On 17th April, 1971**

**TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD**

Bangladesh is at war. It has been given no choice but to secure its right of self determination through a national liberation struggle against the colonial oppression of West Pakistan.

In the face of positive attempts by the Government of Pakistan to distort the facts in a desperate attempt to cover up their war of genocide in Bangladesh, the world must be told the circumstances under which the peace-loving people of Bangladesh were driven to substitute armed struggle for parliamentary politics to realize the just aspirations of the people of Bangladesh.

The Six Point Programme for autonomy for Bangladesh within Pakistan had been put forward in all sincerity by the Awami League as the last possible solution to preserve the integrity of Pakistan. Fighting the elections to the National Assembly on the issue of Six Points, the Awami League won 167 out of 169 seats from Bangladesh in a House of 313. Its electoral victory was so decisive that it won 80 % of the popular votes cast. The decisive nature of its victory placed it in a clear majority within the National Assembly.

The post election period was a time of hope, for never had a people spoken so decisively in the history of parliamentary democracy. It was widely believed in both Wings that a viable constitution based on Six Points could be worked out. The Pakistan People's Party which emerged as the leading party in Sind and Punjab had avoided raising the issue of Six Points in their election campaign and had no obligation whatsoever to its electorate to resist it. In Baluchistan, the dominant party, National Awami Party, was fully committed to Six Points. In NWFP, the

NAP, dominant in the Provincial Assembly, was also a believer in maximum autonomy. The course of the elections, which marked the defeat of the reactionary parties, therefore, gave every reason to be optimistic about the future of democracy in Pakistan.

Preparatory to the convening of the National Assembly talks were expected between the main parties in the political arena. However, whilst the Awami League was always willing, preparatory to going to the Assembly, to explain its constitutional position and to discuss alternative proposals from the other parties, it believed that the spirit of a true democracy demanded that the constitution be debated and finalized in the National Assembly rather than in secret sessions. To this end, it insisted on an early summoning of the National Assembly. In anticipation of this session, the Awami League worked day and night to prepare a draft constitution based on Six Points and fully examined all the implications of formulating and implementing such a constitution

The first major talks over Pakistan's political future took place between General Yahya and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Mid-January. In this session General Yahya probed the extent of the Awami League's commitment to its programme and was assured that they were fully aware of its implications. But contrary to expectation Yahya did not spell out his own ideas about the constitution. General Yahya gave the impression of not finding anything seriously objectionable in Six Points but emphasized the need for coming to an understanding with the PPP in West Pakistan.

The next round of talks took place between the PPP and the Awami League from 27th January, 1971 in Dacca where Mr. Bhutto and his team held a number of sessions with the Awami League to discuss the constitution.

As in the case with Yahya, Mr. Bhutto did not bring any concrete proposals of his own about the nature of the constitution. He and his advisers were mainly interested in discussing the implications of Six Points. Since their responses were essentially negative and they had no prepared brief of their own it was not possible for the talks to develop into serious negotiations where attempts could be made to bridge the gap between the two parties. It was evident that as yet Mr. Bhutto had no formal position of his own from which to negotiate.

It must be made clear that when the PPP left Dacca there was no indication from their part that a deadlock had been reached with the Awami League. Rather they confirmed that all doors were open and that following a round of talks with West Pakistani leaders, the PPP would either have a second and more substantive round of talks with the Awami League or would meet in the National Assembly whose committees provided ample opportunity for detailed discussion on the constitution.

Mr. Bhutto's announcement to boycott the National Assembly therefore came as a complete surprise. The boycott decision was surprising because Mr. Bhutto had already been accommodated once by the President when he refused Sheikh Mujib's plea for an early session of the Assembly on 15th February and fixed it, in line with Mr. Bhutto's preference, for 3rd March.

Following his decision to boycott the Assembly, Mr. Bhutto launched a campaign of intimidation against other parties in West Pakistan to prevent them from attending the session. In this task, there is evidence that Lt. Gen. Umer, Chairman of the National Security Council and close associate of Yahya, with a view to strengthening Mr. Bhutto's hand, personally pressurized various West Wing leaders not to attend the Assembly. In spite of this display of pressure tactics by Mr. Bhutto and Lt Gen. Umer, all members of the National Assembly from West Pakistan, except the PPP and the Qayyum Muslim League had booked their seats to East Pakistan, for the session of 3rd March.

Within the QML itself, half their members had booked their seats and there were signs of revolt within the PPP where many members were wanting to come to Dacca. Faced with the breakdown of this joint front against Bangladesh, General Yahya obliged Mr. Bhutto on 1st March by postponing the Assembly, not for any finite period, but sine die. Moreover he dismissed the Governor of East Pakistan, Admiral S. M. Ahsan, who was believed to be one of the moderates in his administration. The Cabinet with its component of Bengalis was also dismissed so that all power was concentrated in the hands of the West Wing military Junta.

In these circumstances Yahya's gesture could not be seen as anything but an attempt to frustrate the popular will by colluding with Mr. Bhutto. The National Assembly was the only forum where Bangladesh could assert its voice and

political strength, and to frustrate this was a clear indication that Parliament was not to be the real source of power in Pakistan.

The reaction to the postponement in Bangladesh was inevitable and spontaneous and throughout the land people took to the streets to record their protest at this arbitrary act. People now felt sure that Yahya never really intended to transfer power, and was making a mockery of parliamentary politics. The popular mood felt that the rights of Bangladesh could never be realized within the framework of Pakistan, where Yahya could so blatantly frustrate the summoning of an Assembly proclaimed by his own writ and urged that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman must go for full independence.

Sheikh Mujib however continued to seek a political settlement. In calling for programme of non-cooperation on 3rd March he chose the weapon of peaceful confrontation against the army of occupation as an attempt to bring them to their senses. This was in itself a major gesture in the face of the cold-blooded firing on unarmed demonstrators on the 2nd and 3rd March which had already led to over a thousand casualties.

The course of the non-cooperation movement is now a part of history. Never in the course of any liberation struggle has non-cooperation been carried to the limits, attained within Bangladesh between 1st and 25th March. Non-cooperation was total. No judge of the High Court could be found to administer the oath of office to the new Governor. Lt. General Tikka Khan. The entire civilian administration including the police and the Civil Service of Pakistan, refused to attend office. The people stopped supply of food to the army. Even the civilian employees of the Defense establishment joined the boycott.

Non-cooperation did not stop at abstention from work. The civilian administration and police positively pledged their support to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and put themselves under his orders.

In this situation the Awami League without being a formally constituted Government, was forced to take on the responsibility of keeping the economy and administration running whilst non-cooperation lasted. In this task they had the unqualified support not only of the people but the administration and business

community. The latter two subordinated themselves to the directives of the Awami League and accepted them as the sole authority to solve their various problems.

In these unique circumstances the economy and administration were kept going in spite of the formidable problems arising out of the power vacuum which had suddenly emerged in Bangladesh. In spite of the lack of any formal authority, Awami League volunteers in cooperation with the police maintained a level of law and order which was a considerable improvement on normal times.

Faced with this demonstration of total support to the Awami League and this historic non-cooperation movement, General Yahya appears to have modified his tactics. On the 6th March he still seemed determined to provoke a confrontation when he made his highly provocative speech putting the full blame for the crisis, on the Awami League and not even referring to the architect of the crisis, Mr. Bhutto. It seems that he expected a declaration of independence on 7th March. The Army in Dacca was put on full alert to crush the move and Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan was flown to replace Lt. Gen. Yakub to signify the hardening of attitudes within the Junta.

Sheikh Mujib, however, once again opted for the path of political settlement in spite of massive public sentiment for independence. In presenting his 4-point proposal for attending the National Assembly he not only had to contain the public mood but to leave a way open for Yahya to explore this last chance for a peaceful settlement.

It is now clear that Yahya and his Generals never had the slightest intention of solving Pakistan's political crisis peacefully but were only interested in buying time to permit the reinforcement of their military machine within Bangladesh. Yahya's visit to Dacca was a mere cover for his plan of genocide. It now becomes clear that contingency plans for such a crisis had already begun well in advance of the crisis.

Shortly before 1st March tanks which had been sent north to Rangpur to defend the borders were brought back to Dacca. From 1st March the families of Army personnel were being sent off to West Pakistan on a priority basis along with the families of West Pakistani businessmen.

The military build-up was accelerated after 1st March and continued throughout the talks up to 25th March. Members of the armed forces dressed in civilian clothes were flown in PIA commercial flights via Ceylon. C-130s carrying arms and provisions for the garrisons flew into Dacca. It is estimated that up to one division, with complementary support, as brought into Bangladesh between 1st and 25th March. To ensure security, the airport was put under strict air force control and heavily guarded with artillery and machinegun nets whilst movement of passengers was strictly supervised. An SSG Commando Group specially trained for undercover operations in sabotage and assassinations was distributed in key centers of Bangladesh and were probably responsible for the attacks on Bengalis in Dacca and Saidpur in the two days before 25th March to provoke clashes between locals and non-locals so as to provide a cover for military intervention.

As part of this strategy of deception Yahya adopted the most conciliatory posture in his talks with Mujib. In the talks beginning on 16th March, he expressed regrets for what had happened and his sincere desire for a political settlement. In a crucial meeting with Sheikh Mujib he was asked to positively state the Junta's position on the Awami League's 4-point proposal. He indicated that there were no serious objections and that an interim constitution could be worked out by the respective Advisers embodying the four points.

The basic points on which agreement was reached were:

1. Lifting of Martial Law and transfer of power to a Civilian Government by a Presidential Proclamation.
2. Transfer of power in the provinces to the majority parties.
3. Yahya to remain as President and in control of the Central Government.
4. Separate sittings of the National Assembly members from East and West Pakistan preparatory to a joint session of the House to finalize the Constitution.

Contrary to the distortions now put out by both Yahya and Bhutto the proposal for separate sittings of the Assembly was suggested by Yahya to accommodate Mr. Bhutto. He cited the practical advantage that whilst 6-points provided a viable blueprint to regulate relations between Bangladesh and the Centre its application would raise serious difficulties in the West Wing. For this reason West Wing

MNA's must be permitted to get together to work out a new pattern of relationships in the context of a Six-Point constitution and the dissolution of One-Unit.

Once this agreement in principle had been reached between Sheikh Mujib and Yahya there was only the question of defining the powers of Bangladesh vis-a-vis the Centre during the interim phase. Here it was again jointly agreed that the distribution of power should as far as possible approximate to the final constitution approved by the National Assembly which it was expected would be based on 'Six Points'.

For working out this part of the interim settlement Mr. M. M. Ahmed, the Economic Adviser to the President was specially flown in. In his talks with the Awami League advisers he made it clear that provided the political agreement had been reached there were no insuperable problem to working out some version of Six Points even in the interim period. The final list of three amendments to the Awami League draft which he presented as suggestions indicated that the gap between the Government and Awami League position was no longer one of principle but remained merely over the precise phrasing of the proposals. The Awami League in its sitting of 24th March accepted the amendments with certain minor changes of language and there was nothing to prevent the holding of a final drafting session between the advisers of Yahya and Mujib when the interim constitution would be finalized.

It must be made clear that at no stage was there any breakdown of talks or any indication by General Yahya or his team that they had a final position which could not be abandoned.

The question of legal cover for the transfer of power is merely another belated fabrication by Yahya to cover his genocide. He and his team had agreed that, in line with the precedence of the Indian Independence Act of 1947, power, and could be transferred by Presidential Proclamation. The notice that there would be no legal cover to the arrangement raised subsequently by Mr. Bhutto and endorsed by General Yahya was never a bone of contention between Sheikh Mujib and Yahya. There is not the slightest doubt that had Yahya indicated that a meeting of the National Assembly was essential to transfer power, the Awami League would not have broken the talks on such a minor legal technicality. After all as the majority

party it had nothing to fear from such a meeting and its acceptance of the decision for a separate sitting was designed to accommodate Mr. Bhutto rather than a fundamental stand for the party.

Evidence that agreement in principle between contending parties had been reached is provided by Mr. Bhutto's own Press Conference on 25th March. It is, not certain what passed in the separate session between General Yahya and Mr. Bhutto but there is evidence that deliberate falsehoods about the course of the talk with the Awami League were fed to the PPP who were told that Sheikh Mujib Was determined to have a showdown and was daily escalating his demands, Needless to say not the slightest indication of these misgivings had been raised in the meetings between the Awami League team and General Yahya's advisers where amicability and optimism prevailed to the end.

Whilst hope for a settlement was being raised, more ominous signs of the intentions of the army were provided by their sudden decision to unload the ammunition ships M.V. Swat berthed at Chittagong Port. Preparatory to this decision, Brigadier Mazumdar, a Bengali officer commanding the garrison in Chittagong had been suddenly removed from his command and replaced by a West Pakistan. On 24th night he was flown to Dacca under armed escort and has probably been executed. Under the new command notice was given to local authorities of the decision to unload the ship inspite of the fact that the army had abstained from doing so for the last 17 days in the face of non-cooperation from the port workers. The decision to unload was a calculated provocation which immediately brought 1, 00,000 people on the streets of Chittagong and led to massive firing by the Army to break their way out. The issue was raised by the Awami League with General Peerzada as to why this escalation was being permitted whilst talks were still going on. He gave no answer beyond a promise to pass it on to General Yahya.

Following the final meeting between General Yahya's and Awami League's advisers On 24th March where Mr. M. M. Ahmed passed on his amendments, a call was awaited from General Peerzada for a final session where the draft could be finalized. No such call materialized and instead it was learnt that Mr. M. M Ahmed, who was central to the negotiations, had suddenly left for Karachi on the 25th morning without any warning to the Awami League team.



By 11 P.M. of the 25th all preparations were ready and the troops began to take up their positions in the city. In an act of treachery unparalleled in contemporary history a programme of calculated genocide was unleashed on the peaceful and unsuspecting population of Dacca by midnight of 25th March. No ultimatum was given to the Awami League by Yahya, no curfew order was even issued when the machine gun, artillery and cannon on the tanks, unleashed their reign of death and destruction. By the time first Martial Law proclamations issued by Lt. General Tikka Khan were broadcast the next morning some 50,000 people, most of them without offering any resistance, and many women and children, had been butchered. Dacca had been turned in to an inferno with fires raging in most corners of the city. Sleeping inhabitants who had been drawn from their homes by the fires started by the military, were machine-gunned as they ran to escape the flames.

Whilst the Police, EPR and armed volunteers put up a heroic resistance the main victims remained the weak, the innocent and the unsuspecting, who were killed at random in their thousands. We are compiling a firsthand account of the details of genocide committed by the Pakistan Army on the orders of the President of Pakistan which we will publish shortly. The scale and brutality of the action exceeds anything perpetrated in the civilized world.

Yahya himself left Dacca on the night of 25th March after having unleashed the Pakistan Army, with an open license to commit genocide on all Bengalis. His own justification for this act of barbarism was not forthcoming till 8 P.M. the next day when the world was given its first explanation for the unleashing of this holocaust. The statement was self-contradictory and laced with positive lines. His branding of a part as traitors and outlaws, with whom, he had only 48 hours ago been negotiating for a peaceful transfer of power; bore no relationship to the situation in Bangladesh or the course of the negotiations. His promise to hand over power to the elected representatives of the people after banning "the Awami League which was the sole representative of Bangladesh and held a majority of seats, in the National Assembly was mockery of the freely recorded voice of 75 million Bengalis.

The crudity of the statement was clear evidence that Yahya was no longer interested in taking shelter behind either logic or morality and had reverted to the law of the jungle in his bid to crush the people of Bangladesh.

Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the army in Bangladesh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh. By resorting to preplanned genocide Yahya must have known that he was himself digging Pakistan's grave. The subsequent massacres perpetrated on his orders by his licensed killers on the people were not designed to preserve the unity of a nation.

They were acts of racial hatred and sadism devoid of even the elements of humanity. Professional Soldiers, on orders, violated their code of military honor and were seen, as beasts of prey who indulged in an orgy of murder, rape, loot, arson and destruction unequalled in the annals of civilization. These acts indicate that the concept of two countries is already deeply rooted in the minds of Yahya and his associates who would not dare commit such atrocities on their own countrymen.

Yahya's genocide is thus without political purpose. It serves only as last act in the tragic history of Pakistan which Yahya has chosen to write with the blood of the people of Bangladesh. The objective is genocide and scorched earth before his troops are either driven out or perish. In this time he hopes to liquidate our political leadership, intelligentsia and administration, to destroy our industries and public amenities and as a final act he intends to raze our cities to the ground. Already his occupation Army has made substantial progress towards this objective. Bangladesh will be set back 50 years as West Pakistan's parting gift, of a people they have exploited for twenty three years for their own benefit.

This is a point of major significance to those great powers who choose to ignore this largest single act of genocide since the days of Belsen and Auschwitz. If they think they are preserving the unity of Pakistan, they can forget it because Yahya himself has no illusion about the future of Pakistan.

They must realize that Pakistan is dead murdered by Yahya-and that independent Bangladesh is a reality sustained by the indestructible will and courage of 75 million Bengalis who are daily nurturing the roots of this new nationhood with their blood. No power on earth can unmake this new nation and sooner or later both big and small powers will have to accept it into the world fraternity.

It is, therefore, in the interest of politics as much as humanity for the big powers to put their full pressure on Yahiya to cage his killer's and bring them back to West Pakistan. We will be eternally grateful to the - people of the USSR and India and the freedom loving people of all the countries for their full support they have already given us in this struggle: We would welcome similar support from the People's Republic of China, USA, France and Great Britain and others. Each in their own way should exercise considerable leverage on West Pakistan and were they to exercise this influence; Yahiya could not sustain his war of aggression against Bangladesh for a single day longer.

Bangladesh will be the eighth most populous country in the world. Its only goal will be to rebuild a new nation from the ashes and carnage left behind by Yahya's occupation army. It will be a stupendous task because we are already one of the world's poorest nations. But we now have a cause and a people who have been hardened in the resistance, who have shed their blood for their nation and won their freedom in an epic struggle which pitted unarmed people against a modern army. Such a nation cannot fail in its task of securing the foundations of its nationhood.

In our struggle for survival we seek the friendship of all people, the big power and the small. We do not aspire to join any bloc or pact but will seek assistance from those who give it in a spirit of goodwill free from any desire to control our destinies. We have struggled far too long for our self-determination to permit ourselves to become anyone's satellite.

We now appeal to the nations of the world for recognition and assistance both material and moral in our struggle for nationhood. Every day this is delayed a thousand lives are lost and more of Bangladesh's vital assets are destroyed. In the name of Humanity act now and earn our undying friendship.

This we now present to the world as the CASE of the people of Bangladesh. No nation has a greater right to recognition; no people have fought harder for this right.

Joi Bangla.

(বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা মুক্তিযুদ্ধ দলিল পত্র অনুযায়ী এখানেই ঘোষণাটি সমাপ্ত)

A final word to our erstwhile brothers in West Pakistan. Before God we tried to preserve this nation of Pakistan in spite of the oppression, neglect and servitude inflicted on us by your rulers these 23 years. But your Leaders could neither tolerate the idea of sharing power with us nor would they let go of us sufficiently to let us control our own destinies. As a result, today, you—the people of West Pakistan are silent spectators to the genocide. Being committed on the people of Bangladesh by your rulers. By their acts of mass murder in Bangladesh the name of Pakistan will rank with the Mongols, the Huns and the Nazis in the history books. On your conscience you will carry till eternity the curse of our murdered wives, our dishonoured sisters, our slaughtered children. But more destructive to you, you will carry till eternity the curse of this army of butchers with you for years to come. By God's grace and our unconquerable spirit every last man of this army of occupation will either be driven out or destroyed by the people of Bangladesh. Out of the ashes a new Bangladesh will rise committed to peace, democracy and social justice Bangladesh. Out of the ashes a new Bangladesh will rise committed to peace, democracy and social justice resting on secure foundations of creed, language, culture and race and held together by the shared experience of a struggle which must take its place in the epic struggles of our time.

But you will be condemned to live under the bayonets of the Punjabi army. Sindhi, Pathan, Baluch and even the common man of Punjab will one day have to rise against these killers who must now hold down by military force your just aspirations. Bangladesh was your last hope for Democracy in Pakistan. In trying to suppress us you may have for years to come bound yourselves to military dictatorship.

In your own interests as much as for the sake of humanity you must therefore rise in protest against this unjust war being waged by your army on the people of Bangladesh. Americans have protested in their millions against their own government for their intervention in Viet Nam. British and French liberal opinion protested against the colonial wars waged by their governments. Now you the people of West Pakistan must voice your horror and oppose by all means at your command this attempt by your army to hold down the people of Bangladesh by force and commit genocide in the name of integration.

“JOY BANGLA”

(ভাষণের অতিরিক্ত অংশের তথ্যসূত্র: সিমিন হোসেন রিমি সম্পাদিত গ্রন্থ “তাজউদ্দীন আহমদ ইতিহাসের পাতা থেকে”, পৃ.১৩১ ও ১৩২)