

FOCUS

Saluting Our Martyred Intellectuals Hamoodur Rahman Report and the Murder of Intellectuals

by Ahmed Salim

ALTHOUGH the Hamoodur Rahman Commission report refutes the charges, increasingly chilling evidence emerges to suggest the involvement of Pakistani troops in collaboration with Al-Badr activists in the meticulously planned execution of 50 of Bangladesh's leading intellectuals. On December 16, 1971, the state of Bangladesh was born, from a sea of blood and gore. The rejoicing was, however, short-lived. Within a week, 5000 mass graves and charnel houses were discovered, and in the following months, other mass cemeteries were discovered all over the new country. In a press statement on January 1, 1972, Madame Isabella Blum, the head of the World Peace Commission, said,

"This genocide has been even more terrible than the Nazi gas chambers."
The French writer, André Malraux, echoed Blum's sentiments. "I have seen atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis during World War II, but the brutality I have witnessed here is even more terrible," he maintained. A Sunday Times report compounded the horror. In a story printed on December 19, 1971 the newspaper contended that before they surrendered at Dhaka, the Pakistani army arrested and shot more than 50 of the city's surviving intellectuals, scientists and businessmen. It was implied that the massacre ostensibly a sudden military operation was, in fact, a carefully planned elimination of elite Ben-

gali citizens, conducted with the full knowledge of the Pakistan high command, including the commanding officer, General Niazi.
The newspaper further contended that the kidnapping was apparently done early in the morning of December 14, when squads of Pakistani soldiers drove to selected addresses, and took away men and women under armed guard. They were taken to the Rayer Bazar's brickfield said the Times, shot, and the corpses were lined up along the mud dykes so as to fall into the adjoining water pools.
It is conjectured that Major General Rao Farman Ali was the principal architect of the plan to massacre Bengali intellectuals. Rao Farman Ali's support of the Jamaat in the 1970 elections was no secret, and it is believed, the emergence of the militant wing of Bangladesh's Jamaat-e-Islami, the Al-Badr, at this time was no coincidence. The abduction and subsequent massacre of intellectuals was widely attributed to Al-Badr operatives and their sponsors, Pakistani army personnel. Lending credence to Al-Badr's involvement was the fact that the killings continued even after independence was achieved and the Pakistan army had withdrawn.
There is absolute conviction in some circles that the Al-Badr were responsible for the mysterious murders of Zahir Raihan (at Mirpur) and Professor Humayun Kabir.

Despite substantial evidence to the effect, however, the recently published Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report (HCR), denies the involvement of Pakistani army personnel in the murders of Bengali intelligentsia. Gen. Farman Ali categorically denies the charge levelled at him that he had 200 intellectuals killed. The Bengalis claim these killings occurred on December 14, and not on December 16, as General Farman contends. While the latter accepts that a sizeable number of corpses were found on the morning of December 17, he maintains that Pakistani army personnel could not have conducted the killings since they had already surrendered on December 16.
According to Maj. Gen. Farman Ali on December 9 or 10, 1971, he was summoned by Maj. Gen. Jamsheed to Peelkhana. On reaching the headquarters he says, he saw a large number of vehicles parked there. Maj. Gen. Jamsheed was getting into a car and asked Maj. Gen. Farman Ali to come along. On the way, Gen. Jamsheed informed Gen. Farman that they were thinking of arresting certain people. Gen. Farman Ali maintains he advised against it. On reaching General Niazi's headquarters he says, he repeated his advice, but neither he nor Gen. Jamsheed responded. Gen. Farman Ali states that he does not know what transpired after he left, but he thinks no further action was taken (Para 24).
However, in his book, 'How Pakistan Got Divided,' Maj. Farman does express the fear that "orders countering the earlier orders were perhaps not issued and some people were

arrested. I do not till this day know where they were kept. Perhaps they were confined in an area which was guarded by mujahids. The corps or the Dacca garrison commander lost control over them after surrender and they ran away out of fear of the Mukti Bahini who were mercilessly killing mujahids. The detained persons might have been killed by Muktis or even by the Indian army to give the Pakistan army a bad name. Dacca had already been taken over by the Indians." The Hamoodur Rahman commission accepts without demur General Farman Ali's account of the events.
For his part, Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi also denied any arrests. The commission report reads, "When questioned on this point, Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi stated that the local commanders had, on December 9, 1971, brought a list to him which included the names of

26) The commission considers the statements by all three generals as truthful, and concludes that unless the Bangladesh authorities can produce some convincing evidence, it is not possible to record the finding that any intellectuals or professionals were arrested and killed during December 1971.
The ghosts of '71 were not laid to rest after Independence on the other side of the divide either. Almost two decades after independence, various commissions, established over the past 71 years, are continuing to probe war crimes, identify criminals and collaborators and bring them to justice.
One of these commissions is the Ekattarer Ghatak Dalal Nirmul Committee. On January 19, 1992, 101 well known Bangladeshi personalities including retired Supreme Court judges, university teachers,

and the other two are pesh imams of mosques in the UK. The Nirmul Committee is currently working towards establishing a resistance against the rise of fundamentalist forces in Bangladesh. As the movement for accountability of Ghulam Azam, the amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami, Bangladesh, spread, following the symbolic trial of the amir by the People's Court on March 26, 1992, the people of Bangladesh became vocal in their demand for the official trial of Azam and other war criminals, including those responsible for the killings of Bengali intellectuals. This agitation resulted in the formation of the National People's Enquiry Commission of Bangladesh.
On March 26, 1993, a long-term programme was announced at a rally in Dhaka to investigate the activities of front-ranking collaborators of the martial law regime during 1971. Eight leading collaborator-suspects were selected for investigation during the first phase of the commission's probe. The focus of the probe was the alleged involvement of these individuals in the murder of intellectuals, and the establishment of grounds for initiating war crimes trials. The 11-member commission comprised poets, writers, university teachers, members of the judiciary, members of parliament and lawyers. Poet, Begum Sufia Kamal, was the chairperson of the commission.
Unlike the Hamoodur Rahman Commission, which had complete access to the information required for its report and to the people involved, the People's Commission encountered serious obstacles in the course of its investigation.
They discovered that many documents dating to the genocide period had been destroyed. Furthermore, government officials demonstrated a visible reluctance to make available what information there was in the archives. Moreover, the commission found that the situation in the home districts of the accused during the investigation was a cause of great concern. The ordinary people in these areas were haunted by the memory of 1971 and suffered from an acute sense of insecurity.
The summary of the commission's investigation revealed that during the war the minority Hindu community were the principal targets of the brutalities of the Yahya regime and their local allies such as the Razakars and Al-Badr para-military forces and other collaborators, and even after the establishment of Bangladesh continued to be victimised by communal elements.
As such they were unwilling to talk and the commission had to gather information from their neighbours. Families who lost near and dear ones or suffered torture provided information only on the condition of anonymity. Many others refused to do even that.
A report on the findings of the People's Enquiry Commission titled 'The Activities of The War Criminals And the Collaborators' was released in March 1994. It stated that due to the constraints mentioned, the commission's report carried only a portion of

the vast range of crimes actually committed by the eight under investigation.
The eight accused included Abbas Ali Khan, Maulana Matur Rehman (Nizami), Mohamud Kamaruzzaman, Maulana Dilwar Hussain Sayeedi, Maulana Abdul Mannan, Abdul Kader Molla and Abdul Alim.
Abbas Ali Khan held the second highest position in the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami and became a minister in the cabinet of quiescent governor M.A. Malik. Members of the Razakar force (who were given short courses in military training) were under his leadership, given powers equal to those of the regular armed forces, and they allegedly carried out widespread killings, rapes and looting in villages.
Maulana Matur Rahman Nizami was the secretary general and leader of the parliamentary party of the Jamaat-e-Islami. Addressing meetings of the Razakars he would exhort them to "carry out [their] national duty to eliminate those who are engaged in war against Pakistan and Islam," and to finish off Awami League supporters. After one such meeting, Al-Badr forces in cooperation with the Razakars, surrounded the village of Brishlika and burnt it to the ground.
Mohammad Kamaruzzaman, assistant secretary general of the Bangladesh Jamaat-e-Islami, was in charge of recruiting members for and organising the Al-Badr in Mymensingh.
A member of the Jamaat-e-Islami's Majlis-i-Shoora, Maulana Dilwar Hussain Sayeedi took active part in the organisation of the Razakars, Al-Badr and Al-Shams forces. He was also accused of involvement along with Pakistani army troops in the killing of sub-divisional police officer (SDPO) Faizur Rahman, father of Humayun Ahmad, a renowned writer and professor of chemistry at the University of Dacca.

Martyred Intellectuals

- Dhaka University Teachers**
Dr. N. M. Mumier Chowdhury
Dr. G. C. Dey
Mufazzal Hyder Chowdhury
Anwar Pasa
Jyotirmoy Guha Thakurata
Abdul Muqtadir
S. M. Rashidul Hasan
Dr. A.N.M. Faizul Mahi
Fazlur Rahman Khan
A.N.M. Maniruzzaman
Dr. Serajul Haque Khan
Dr. Shahadat Ali
Dr. M.A. Khair
A.R. Khan Kadim
Muhammad Sadeque
Sharafat Ali
Ghiasuddin Ahmed
Ananda Payan

- Kazi Obaidul Haq
Mrs. Ayesaha Bedoura
Chowdhury
Al-Haj Mamotazuddin
Hashimoy Huzza
Naren Ghose
Zikrul Haq
Shamsul Haq
M. Rahman
A. Gafur
Mansur Ali
S.K. Sen
Mafizuddin
Amulya Kumar Chakravarty
Atiqur Rahman
Ghulam Sarwar
R. C. Das
Mihir Kumar Sen
Saleh Ahmed
Anil Kumar Sinha
Sunil Chandra Sharma
A.K.M. Ghulam Mustafa
Maqbul Ahmed
Enamul Haq Mansur(Kanu)
Ashraf Ali Talukdar
Lt. Ziaur Rahman
Lt. Col. Jahangir
Badul Alam
Lt. Col. Hai
Maj. Rezaur Rahman
Maj. Nazmul Islam
Asadul Haq
Nazir Uddin
Lt. Nurul Islam
Kazal Bhadra
Mansur Uddin

- Rajshahi University Teachers**
Prof. Gayyum
Habubur Rahman
Shree Sukha Ranjan Samadder

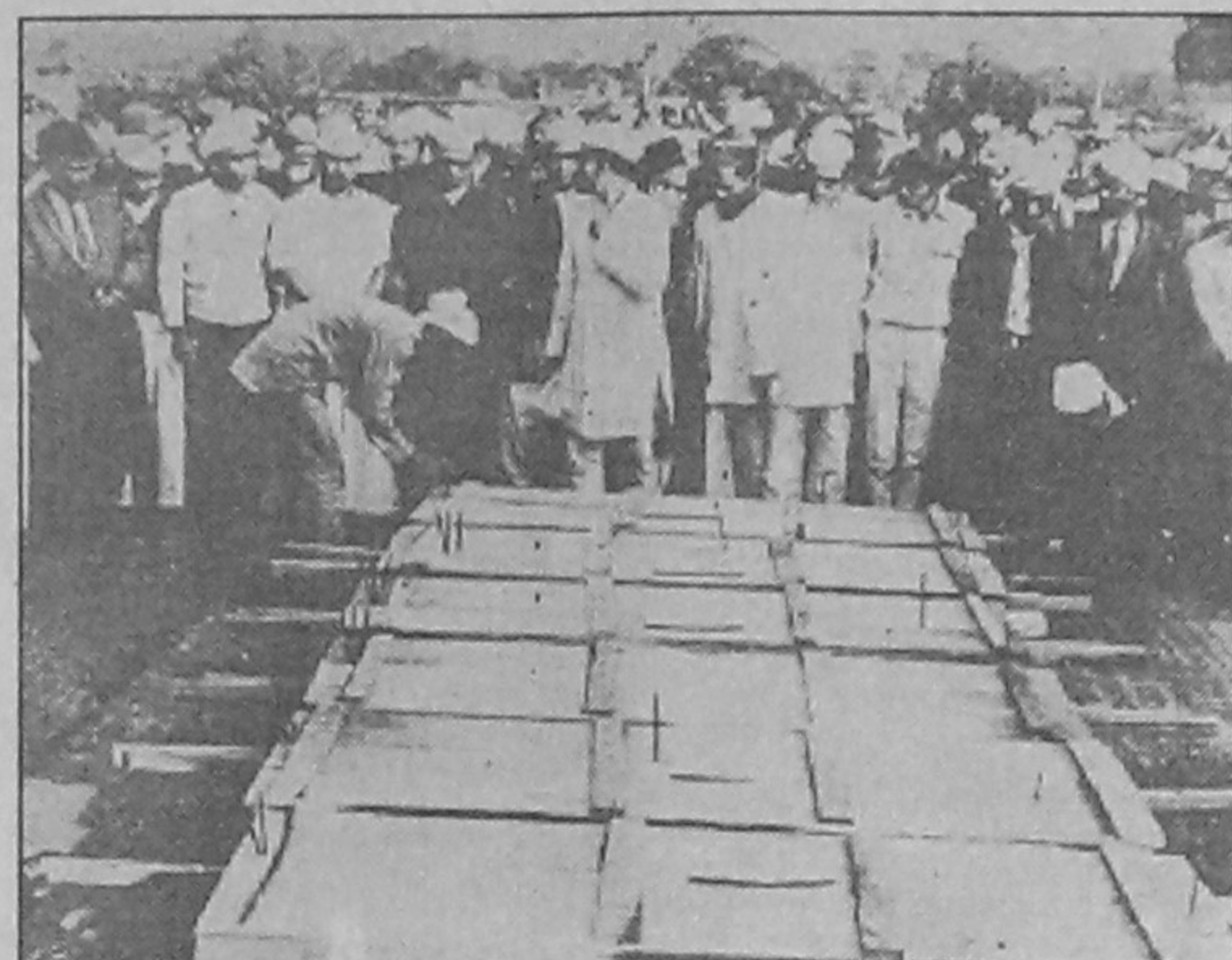
- Litterateurs**
Zahir Raihan
Ferdous Dastidar
Perdous Dowla
Indu Saha
Meherunnessa

- Journalists**
Sirajuddin Hossain
Shahidulla Kaiser
Khondakar Abu Taleb
Nizamuddin Ahmed
A.N.M. Golam Mustafa
Shahid Sabir
Sk. Abdul Mannan(Ladu)
Nazmul Haque
M. Akhter
Abul Basar
Chisty Helalur Rahman
Shibsanad Chakravarty
Selina Akhter

- Artists, Professionals, etc.**
Altaf Mahmud
Danbir Ranada Prasad Saha
Jogesh Chandra Ghose
Dhirendra Nath Dutta
Shamsuzzaman
Mahbub Ahmed
Khurshid Alam
Nazrul Islam
Muzammel Haq Chowdhury
Mohsin Ali
Mujibul Haq

- Physicians**
Md. Fazle Rabbi
Abdul Alim Chowdhury
Shamsuddin Ahmed
Azharul Haque
Humayun Kabir
Sulaiman Khan
Kaiser Uddin
Mansur Ali
Ghulam Murtaza
Hafez Uddin Khan Jahangir
Abdul Jabbar
S.K. Lal
Hem Chandra Basak

Source: "Onslaught on Intellect and Intelligentsia" by late Nurul Islam Patwari published in BANGLADESH: A Souvenir on the First Anniversary of Victory Day, December 16, 1972



Coffins of murdered Dhaka University teachers

miscarants, heads of the Mukti Bahini etc. but not any intellectuals... but he had stopped them from collecting and arresting these people. He denied the allegation that any intellectuals were arrested and killed on December 9, 1971 or thereafter."
In his statement to the Hamoodur Rahman Commission, Maj. Gen. Jamsheed took a different position, which contradicted the statements issued by General Farman and General Niazi. He maintained that it was on December 9 and 10 that General Niazi expressed his apprehension of a general uprising in Dacca city and ordered him to examine the possibility of arresting certain persons according to lists which were already with the various agencies, namely the martial law authorities and the intelligence branch. Gen. Jamsheed said a conference was held on December 9 and 10, 1971, in which these lists were produced by the agencies concerned, and the total number of persons to be arrested came to about two or three thousand. According to Gen. Jamsheed, he suggested to Gen. Niazi that the proposal be dropped, and stated that thereafter no further action was taken in this matter." (Para

veterans of the independence war, artists and journalists formed a committee known as the Ekattarer Ghatak Dalal Nirmul Committee, to uproot the killers and collaborators of the 1971 war of independence. The committee demanded that the government take decisive action against Ghulam Azam, the amir, Jamaat-e-Islami of Bangladesh, who had collaborated with the Pakistani rulers and committed heinous crimes in 1971. A trial was held, and the people's court found Azam guilty of crimes which are usually punishable by death in most democratic countries.
On the basis of the Nirmul Committee's investigations of the killings of intellectuals, BBC's Channel 4 aired a documentary film titled 'War Crimes File'. The film documented the involvement of three war criminals in the killings of Bangladeshi intellectuals and other serious crimes. Abu Saeed, Lutfur Rahman and Chowdry Moeen-ud-Din, all Bengalis, were prominent members of the East Pakistan Jamaat-e-Islami and the Al-Badr. It is common knowledge that the three also had direct links with Gen. Farman Ali. All three men are now British nationals. One of them is running a Muslim school,

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh
Board of Investment
Prime Minister's Office
Jiban Bima Tower
10, Dilkusha Commercial Area, Dhaka

Memo No: I/B/Vehi/Vehicle Purchase/113/2000/283(10) Dated: 6/12/2000

Tender Notice for Purchasing Vehicle

Sealed tenders in the pads of the respective establishments concerned are invited from the suppliers standardised by the government for purchasing 4 (four) door and 4 (four) seated one new car and 5 (five) door and 12 (twelve) seated 1 (one) new microbus for the Board of Investment. Schedule of tender can be procured from the Head Office of Board of Investment, Jiban Bima Tower, 10, Dilkusha Commercial Area, Dhaka, Vehicle Section (17th floor) till 20/12/2000 during office hours on payment of Taka 750/- (Seven hundred fifty) (non-refundable). Tenders will have to be submitted in the tender box kept at the office chamber of the Secretary, Board of Investment on 19th floor of the office of Board of Investment on 21/12/2000 till 12:00 Noon and tenders will be opened at 12:15 PM before the tenders present (if anyone remains present). The authority reserves the right to accept any tender or reject all tenders without assigning any reason.

Abdul Khaleque
Secretary
Board of Investment

DDP-29820/7/12
G-2176

Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh
Ministry of Local Government Rural Development & Cooperatives
Local Government Division
Reproductive Health in Metropolitan Cities
Urban Primary Health Care Project
Project Implementation Unit (PIU), Room # 620, Nagar Bhaban, Fulbaria, Dhaka
Tel/Fax: (8802) 9559649, 9667792
Email: uphpc@bangla.net, <unipaurban@bangla.net>

Invitation for Bids Re-Tender

Date: December 10, 2000 UNFPA BGD/05/01/02

1. The Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh has received a grant from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) towards the cost of Reproductive Health in Metropolitan Cities, Urban Primary Health Care Project. It is intended that part of the proceeds will be applied to eligible payments under the contract for procurement of Medical Equipments for the Comprehensive Reproductive Health Care Centres (CRHCCs).

2. Project Director, Reproductive Health in Metropolitan Cities - Urban Primary Health Care Project for Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna, Rajshahi City Corporations under Local Government Division of the Ministry of LGRD & Cooperatives now wishes to invite sealed bids through Local Competitive Bidding (LCB) from eligible bidders for the supply of the goods for the purposes of the project.

3. Package # 2: Medical Equipment (Re-Tender) LCB-UNFPA BGD/05/01/02 2K001

4. A complete set of bidding documents with detailed specifications, terms & conditions may be purchased by any interested eligible bidder on the submission of a written application and upon payment of a non-refundable fee of Tk 700/= (Taka seven hundred) only the package at the office of Project Director, Reproductive Health in Metropolitan Cities - Urban Primary Health Care Project, Room # 620, Nagar Bhaban, Fulbaria, Dhaka on all working days during normal office hours up to December 20, 2000. Eligible bidder from abroad can make the payment of non refundable fee of USD 100.00 (US dollar one hundred) only as fee for document and dispatching the tender documents by Courier Service, to the STD22, Rupali Bank, Ramna Corporate Branch, Fulbaria Dhaka, Bangladesh.

5. All bids must be accompanied by a bid security of 2.5% of total bid price in the form of Bank Draft/Pay Order in favour of the Project Director, Reproductive Health in Metropolitan Cities - Urban Primary Health Care Project and must be submitted in accordance with the instructions to bidders on December 21, 2000 from 09:00 AM to 12:00 Noon (local time). The bids will be publicly opened at 12:30 PM of the same day by the office of the Project Director in presence of those representatives of the bidders who like to attend.

6. The project authority will not be responsible for any costs or expenses incurred by bidders in connection with the preparation or delivery of bids.

7. The authority reserves the right to accept any tender, or to accept any part of the tender, or to reject any or all tenders without assigning any reason thereof and in such case no compensation will be entertained.

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