বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ

দলিলপত্র :চতুর্থ খন্ড

মুজিবনগর : প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা

সম্পাদক : **হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান**

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিল : চতুর্থ খন্ড

প্রকাশক	:	গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার তথ্য মন্ত্রণায়ল-এর পক্ষে- গোলাম মোস্তফা হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স বাড়ি # ৭, রোড # ৪ ধানমন্ডি, ঢাকা-১২০৫ ফোন : ৯৬৬১১৪১, ৯৬৬২২৮২ ফ্রাক্স : (৮৮০২)৯৬৬২৮৪৪ E-mail : info@paramabd.com
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পুনর্মুদ্রণ	:	জুন, ২০০৯ জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১৪১৬
প্রচ্ছদ	:	বকুল হায়দার
মুদ্রাকর	:	মোঃ আবুল হাসান হাক্কানী প্রিন্টিং এন্ড প্যাকেজিং সড়ক # ৯, লেইন # ২, বাড়ি # ১ ব্লক # এ, সেকশন # ১১, মিরপুর, ঢাকা-১২১৬

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দলিলপত্র : চতুর্থ খন্ড

সচিব
তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়
গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
ঢাকা, বাংলাদেশ

পুনর্মুদ্রণ প্রসঙ্গে

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয় ১৯৭৭ সালে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস লিখন ও মুদ্রণ প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। পরবর্তীকালে এই প্রকল্প স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যসমূহ প্রকাশনার সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করে। ইতিহাস রচনার ক্ষেত্রে নিরপেক্ষতা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা রক্ষা করা ও বিকৃতির আশংকা এড়িয়ে যাবার জন্যই ইতিহাস রচনার পরিবর্তে দলিল ও তথ্য প্রকাশকেই অধিকতর গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মনে করা হয়েছে। আর সে প্রকল্পের ফসলই ''বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র''। প্রায় ১৫,০০০ পৃষ্ঠায় ১৫ খন্ডে এসব দলিলপত্র প্রণয়ন করে ১৯৮২ সালে তা প্রকাশ করা হয়। এই প্রকল্পের সঙ্গে জড়িত গবেষক ও সম্পাদকবৃন্দের আক্লান্ত পরিশ্রমের ফসল এই দলিলপত্র গ্রন্থমালা।

প্রথম প্রকাশের পরপরই বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা ও নিরপেক্ষতায় ''বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র'' গ্রন্থমালা সর্ব মহলে ব্যাপকভাবে সমাদৃত হয়।

এই গ্রন্থমালা প্রকাশের অল্প সময়ের মধ্যেই এর সমুদয় কপি বিক্রি হয়ে যায়। পরবর্তীকালে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত সকল গবেষণায় এই গ্রন্থমালা রেফারেন্স হিসেবে ব্যবহৃত হতে থাকে।

''বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র'' গ্রন্থমালার চাহিদা উত্তরোত্তর বাড়ছে। বিভিন্ন মহল থেকে তথ্য মন্ত্রণালযে গ্রন্থমালার চাহিদাপত্র আসতে থাকায় মন্ত্রণালয় ''বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র'' গ্রন্থমালা সীমিত সংখ্যায় পুনর্মুদ্রণের সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করে। প্রয়োজনীয় আনুষ্ঠানিকতা শেষে পুনর্মুদ্রণের দায়িত্ব অর্পণ করা হয় দেশের প্রখ্যাত প্রকাশনা প্রতিষ্ঠান 'হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স'কে। পুনর্মুদ্রণের ক্ষেত্রে তথ্যের কোন ব্যত্যয় বা ব্যতিক্রম যাতে না হয়, সে ব্যাপারে সর্বাত্মক সতর্কতা অবলম্বন করা হয়েছে। গত দুই দশকে প্রকাশনা প্রযুক্তিতে বৈপ্লবিক পরিবর্তন সাধিত হয়েছে। ফলে পুনর্মুদ্রিত দলিলপত্রের অঙ্গসৌষ্ঠব আরও সুন্দর ও দৃষ্টিনন্দন হয়েছে।

আমার দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস, ''বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র'' গ্রন্থমালার সংস্করণটি বরাবরের মতই পাঠক ও গবেষকদের কাছে আদৃত হবে।

ঢাকা
ডিসেম্বর ২০০৩

(নাজমুল আলম সিদ্দিকী)
ভারপ্রাপ্ত সচিব

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়
প্রেস-১ শাখা
বাংলাদেশ সচিবালয়, ঢাকা।

নং-তম/প্রেস-১/২এফ-২/৯৭/বিবিধ-১/৯৬৯ তারিখঃ ৩০ অক্টোবর ২০০৩

প্রেরক : অঞ্জলী রানী চক্রবর্তী
সিনিয়র সহকারী সচিব (প্রেস-১)

প্রাপক : জনাব গোলাম মোস্তফা
স্বত্বাধিকারী
মেসার্স হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স
মমতাজ প্লাজা (৪র্থ তলা)
ধানমন্ডি, ঢাকা।

বিষয় : ''বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ : দলিলপত্র (১৫ খন্ড)'' পুনর্মুদ্রণের নিমিত্তে প্রচ্ছদ ও অঙ্গসজ্জার নমুনা অনুমোদন।

সূত্র : তাঁর ০৮ অক্টোবর ২০০৩ তারিখের আবেদন।

মহোদয়,

উপর্যুক্ত বিষয়ে সূত্রোক্ত আবেদনের সাথে প্রাপ্ত নমুনা অনুযায়ী প্রচ্ছদ, প্রিন্টার্স লাইন ও অঙ্গসজ্জা মোতাবেক বিষয়োক্ত গ্রন্থাবলী চূড়ান্ত মুদ্রণের অনুমোদন প্রদান করা হলো। মন্ত্রণালয় কর্তৃক নিবার্চিত অনুমোদিত প্রচ্ছদ নির্দেশক্রমে এতস্সাথ ফেরত প্রদান করা হলো।

সংযুক্তি : বর্ণনা মতোবেক।

আপনার বিশ্বস্ত,

(অঞ্জলী রানী চক্রবর্তী)
সিনিয়র সহকারী সচিব (প্রেস-১)

প্রকাশকের কথা

প্রতিটি দেশ বা জাতির জন্য তার স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস একটি অমূল্য সম্পদ। সে আলোকে বাংলাদেশের ১৯৭১ সনের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ এবং তৎপূর্বের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস আমাদের কাছে এক গৌরবময় সম্পদ। বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার ইতিহাস প্রণয়নের জন্য ১৯৭৭ সনে তৎকালীন সরকার বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস লিখন ও মুদ্রণ প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। নিরপেক্ষতা ও যথার্থতা বজায় রাখার জন্য স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলাদি সংগ্রহ ও যাচাইপূর্বক তা সংকলন করা হয়। তারই ফলশ্রুতি 'বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্র' গ্রন্থাবলী। বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয় ১৯৮২ সনে ১৫ খন্ডে এই গ্রন্থাবলী প্রকাশ করে। এ উদ্দেশ্যে গঠিত কমিটির সম্মানিত সদস্যগণের অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রমের ফসল এই গ্রন্থাবলী।

এই গ্রন্থাবলী প্রকাশ হওয়ার অল্প দিনের মধ্যে তার পুরো স্টক ফুরিয়ে যায়। এই গ্রন্থাবলী স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ-বিষয়ক সকল গবেষণা কর্মের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রেফারেন্স হিসেবে ব্যবহৃত হচ্ছে এবং হবে। কিন্তু স্টক না থাকায় বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান জনগোষ্ঠীর একটি বৃহৎ অংশ আমাদের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের প্রকৃত ইতিহাস জানা থেকে দীর্ঘদিন যাবৎ বঞ্চিত রয়েছে এবং এর দুষ্প্রাপ্যতা অনেক গবেষণা কর্মে ব্যাঘাত ঘটাচ্ছে।

এমতাবস্থায় গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয় কর্তৃক **বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্র** গ্রন্থাবলী পুনর্মুদ্রণের সিদ্ধান্তটি অত্যন্ত সময়োপযোগী বলে আমরা মনে করি।

বাংলাদেশ সরকার কর্তৃক এ রকম একটি জাতীয় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কর্মকান্ডের দায়িত্ব আমাদেরকে অর্পণ করায় আমরা গৌরবান্বিত। এরই ভিত্তিতে গ্রন্থাবলীর বিষয়সূচি সম্পূর্ণ অপরিবর্তিত রেখে নতুন আঙ্গিকে নির্ভুলভাবে পুনর্মুদ্রণের আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করেছি। আশা করি, পুনর্মুদ্রিত গ্রন্থাবলী পাঠক-গবেষকদের চাহিদা মেটাতে সক্ষম হবে।

বিশাল এই কর্মকান্ডে যাঁরা অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রম করেছেন, আমরা তাঁদের আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা ও ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।

(গোলাম মোস্তফা)
স্বত্বাধিকারী
হাক্কানী পাবলিশার্স

০৭ ডিসেম্বর ২০০৩

মুখবন্ধ

বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস প্রকল্পের নয় সদস্যবিশিষ্ট প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির তরফ থেকে এই দলিল সংগ্রহের প্রকাশনা সম্পর্কে দুটি কথা নিবেদন করছি। এ প্রকল্পের উৎপত্তি ও গঠন, এর মূল উদ্দেশ্য ও কার্যপদ্ধতি সম্পর্কে বিশেষ ভারপ্রাপ্ত কর্মকর্তা জনাব হাসান হাফিজুল রহমান বিস্তারিত বলবেন।

বিপুলায়তন ও সংগৃহীত উপাত্ত থেকে প্রকাশিতব্য দলিলসমূহ নির্বাচন কমিটির সদস্যবৃন্দ নিরপেক্ষ ভূমিকা পালনে যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা করছেন। তাঁরা ঘন্টার পর ঘন্টা ধরে দলিলাদির পান্ডুলিপি ধৈর্য ধরে পরীক্ষা করেছেন, বিস্তারিত আলোচনা-সমালোচনার মাধ্যমে সংযোজন ও সংশোধনের জন্য মূল্যবান উপদেশ দিয়ে প্রকল্প বাস্তবায়নে সহায়তা করেছেন। আমাদের কোন মন্তব্য ছাড়াই দলিলগুলো সরাসরি পাঠক ও গবেষকদের কাছে উপস্থিত হচ্ছে। দলিলপত্র যথাসম্ভব মূলসূত্র থেকে উদ্ধারের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। প্রকাশিত দলিলগুলো প্রামার্ণকরণ কমিটি অনুমোদন করে দিয়েছেন।

প্রায় সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠাব্যাপী দলিল থেকে প্রাথমিক নির্বাচনের পর গুরুদায়িত্ব পালন করেছেন প্রকল্পে নিয়োজিত বিভিন্ন গবেষকবৃন্দ। তাঁরা জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানের নেতৃত্বে এ দায়িত্ব যথাযথ নিষ্ঠা ও আন্তরিকতার সংগে পালন করেছেন।

প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সকল সদস্যকে এবং প্রকল্পের গবেষকবৃন্ধকে তাঁদের প্রশংসনীয় ভূমিকার জন্য আমি অশেষ ধন্যবাদ জানাই। সেই সঙ্গে প্রকল্পের প্রধান বাংলাদেশের বিশিষ্ট কবি ও সাংবাদিক জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানকে নিরলস ও অকাতর কর্মপ্রচেষ্টার জন্য জানাই প্রাণঢালা অভিনন্দন।

বিভিন্ন সূত্রে সংগৃহীত ও সবিবেচনার সাথে নির্বাচিত দলিলগুলো থেকে আমাদের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের একটি সার্বিক, প্রামাণ্য ও নিরপেক্ষ চিত্র বেরিয়ে আসবে, আমরা এ আশা পোষণ করছি। সংগৃহীত সমূদয় দলিল একটি স্থায়ী আর্কাইভস্ গঠনে সহায়তা করবে। অনুদঘাটিত ও অনাবিস্কৃত দলিলগুলো ভবিষ্যতে সংগৃহীত হলে পরিশিষ্টের মাধ্যমে সেগুলো মূল দলিলের সংগে সংযোজিত হতে পারে।

প্রকাশিত দলিলগুলো পাঠক সমাজ ও গবেষকদের কাছে সমাদৃত হলে আমাদের শ্রম সার্থক বলে মনে করব।

১৪ সেপ্টেম্বর,
১৯৮২।

মফিজুল্লাহ কবীর
চেয়ারম্যান,
প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি,
বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস প্রকল্প।

ভূমিকা

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সময়সীমা ১৯৭১ সালের ২৫ মার্চ থেকে ১৬ ডিসেম্বর পর্যন্ত। এই সময়ে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সংগে সম্পর্কিত সারা বিশ্বে যা কিছু ঘটেছে তার তথ্য ও দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহ এবং সেসবের ওপর ভিত্তি করে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ইতিহাস রচনা ও মুদ্রণের দায়িত্ব অর্পিত হয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধ ইতিহাস লিখন ও মুদ্রণ প্রকল্পের ওপর। গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়ের অধীনে এই প্রকল্পটি প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় এবং এর কাজ শুরু হয় ১৯৭৮ সালের জানুয়ারী থেকে (পরিশিষ্ট দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ইতিহাস রচনার দায়িত্বপ্রাপ্ত হলেও এই প্রকল্প স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধসংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যসমূহ প্রকাশনার সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করে। এর কারণ, সমকালীন কোন ঘটনার বিশেষ করে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের মতো একটি যুগান্তকারী ঘটনার ইতিহাস রচনার ক্ষেত্রে নিরপেক্ষতা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা রক্ষা করা এবং বিকৃতির সম্ভাবনা এড়িয়ে যাওয়া বস্তুত অত্যন্ত দুরূহ। এ জন্যই আমরা ইতিহাস রচনার পরিবর্তে দলিল ও তথ্য প্রকাশকেই অধিক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মনে করেছি। এর ফলে দলিল ও তথ্যাদিই কথা বলবে, ঘটনার বিকাশ ও ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষা করবে, ঘটনা পরম্পরার সংগতি রক্ষা করবে।

এই লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখেই কয়েকটি খন্ডে সংগৃহীত দলিলসমূহ প্রকাশের সিদ্ধান্ত প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। এই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে প্রকল্পের সামনে একটি বিশেষ বিবেচ্য বিষয় দেখা দেয় এই যে, দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের সময়সীমা স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকেন্দ্রিক হওয়া সত্ত্বেও এ সত্যও সমান গুরুত্বপূর্ণ যে, স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের পশ্চাতে বিরাট পটভূমি রয়েছে। স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে এই পটভূমি থেকে বিচ্ছন্ন করে দেখা যায় না। এই পটভূমির ঘটনাবলী- যাকে মুক্তিসংগ্রাম বলে অভিহিত করা যায়- তার অনিবার্য পরিণতিই স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে অবশ্যম্ভাবী করে তোলে। তাই মুক্তিসংগ্রামের স্বরূপ জানা ছাড়া স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকে তুলে ধরা সম্ভবই নয়। এই পরিস্থিতিতে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিল প্রকাশের সংগে এর পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দু'খন্ড দলিলসংগ্রহ প্রকাশের সিদ্ধান্তও প্রকল্প গ্রহণ করে। এর ফলে প্রকল্পের দলিল প্রকাশের পরিকল্পনা নিম্নরূপে দাঁড়ায় :

প্রথাম খন্ড	ঃ	পটভূমি (১৯০৫-১৯৫৮)
দ্বিতীয় খন্ড	ঃ	পটভূমি (১৯৫৮-১৯৭১)
তৃতীয় খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : প্রশাসন
চতুর্থ খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা
পঞ্চম খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : বেতারমাধ্যম
ষষ্ঠ খন্ড	ঃ	মুজিবনগর : গণমাধ্যম
সপ্তম খন্ড	ঃ	পাকিস্তানী দলিলপত্র : সরকারী ও বেসরকারী
অষ্টম খন্ড	ঃ	গণহত্যা, শরণার্থী শিবির ও প্রাসংগিক ঘটনা
নবম খন্ড	ঃ	সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (১)
দশম খন্ড	ঃ	সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (২)
একাদশ খন্ড	ঃ	সশস্ত্র সংগ্রাম (৩)
দ্বাদশ খন্ড	ঃ	বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া : ভারত
ক্রয়োদশ খন্ড	ঃ	বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়া : জাতিসংঘ ও বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র
চর্তুদশ খন্ড	ঃ	বিশ্বজনমত
পঞ্চদশ খন্ড	ঃ	সাক্ষাৎকার
ষোড়শ খন্ড	ঃ	কালপঞ্জী, গ্রন্থপঞ্জী ও নির্ঘণ্ট

চার

মূল পরিকল্পনায় ৭২০০ পৃষ্ঠা মুদ্রণের পরিকল্পনা থাকলেও সংগ্রহের পরিমাণ বিপুল হয়ে যাওয়ায় আমাদের সিদ্ধান্ত পরিবর্তন করতে হয়। নতুন পরিকল্পনা অনুযায়ী প্রতিটি খণ্ড প্রায় ৯০০ পৃষ্ঠা, সর্বমোট ১৫০০০ পৃষ্ঠার মধ্যে সংগ্রহগুলির মুদ্রণ সম্পন্ন করার বাজেট বরাদ্দ অনুমোদিত হয়। এই ভিত্তিতে আমাদের কাজ এগিয়ে যায়।

দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে নীতিমালা আমরা ব্যাপক ও খোলামেলা রেখেছি। তবে পটভূমি সম্বন্ধে দলিল ও তথ্যাদি গ্রহণে কিছুটা সংযত দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী অবলম্বন করি। আমরা শুধু সেইসব তথ্য ও দলিলই পটভূমি খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশিত করার সিদ্ধান্ত নিই, যা বাংলাদেশের বর্তমান ভূখণ্ডের বৈশিষ্ট্য ও এখানে বসবাসকারী জনগণের আশা আকাঙ্খার সংগে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে জড়িত। অর্থাৎ যেসব ঘটনা, আন্দোলন ও কার্যকারণ, এই ভূখণ্ডের জনগণকে মুক্তিসংগ্রামের দিকে উদ্বুদ্ধ ও পরিচালিত করেছে, প্রধানত সেসব সংক্রান্ত দলিল ও তথ্যই এই খণ্ডে কালানুক্রমিকভাবে সাজানো হয়েছে। এই দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে আমরা বাংলাদেশের অতীত ঘাঁটতে বহু দূর-অতীতে প্রত্যাবর্তন করিনি। ১৯০৫ সালের বংগভংগ থেকেই পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দলিল-তথ্যাদি সন্নিবেশন শুরু করি। আমরা মনে করি, বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের ব্যাখ্যায় এই শুরুর সীমাটি বাহুল্যবর্জিত, প্রত্যক্ষ ও যুক্তিগ্রাহ্য।

১৯০৫-এর বংগভংগ এবং তা রদ-এর পর ১৯৪০ সাল পর্যন্ত মধ্যবর্তী এ দীর্ঘ সময়ের আর কোন দলিল এ খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশ করা হয়নি। কারণ ১৯১১ থেকে ১৯৪০ পর্যন্ত এই ভূখণ্ডে অনুষ্ঠিত সকল রাজনৈতিক আন্দোলন সর্বভারতীয় বৃটিশবিরোধী আন্দোলনের অন্তর্ভূক্ত ছিল। ১৯৪০ সালে গৃহীত লাহোর প্রস্তাবে স্বতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্রীয় সত্তারূপে বাংলার প্রতিষ্ঠার সম্ভাবনা নিহিত ছিল। আর তা উত্থাপন করেছিলেন বাংলাদেশেরই সংখ্যাগুরু জনগোষ্ঠীর অবিসংবাদিত নেতা এ, কে, ফজলুল হক। ১৯৪৬ সালে নিতান্ত অবৈধভাবে দিল্লী কনভেনশনে লাহোর প্রস্তাবের যে সংশোধনী করা হয়, তাতে বাংলার স্বতন্ত্র রাষ্ট্রীয়রূপের প্রশ্নকে পরিহার করা হয়। ১৯৪৭ সালে ভারত বিভাগ সম্পর্কে মাউন্টব্যাটেন পরিকল্পনা ঘোষণার পর স্বাধীন ও সার্বভৌম বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠার প্রচেষ্টা হয়, কিন্তু সে প্রচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয় এবং যেভাবে পাকিস্তান প্রতিষ্ঠিত হয় তাতে স্বায়ত্তশাসনের বিষয়টি সম্পূর্ণরূপে উপেক্ষিত হয়। এরই পরিণতিতে পরবর্তীকালে বাংলাদেশের জনগণের সম্মুখে স্বায়ত্তশাসন তথা স্বাধীনতার জন্য সংগ্রাম করা ঐতিহাসিক প্রয়োজন হয়ে দেখা দেয়। এই ঐতিহাসিক প্রয়োজনকে মূর্ত করে তুলেছে এমন সমস্ত দলিলই এ খণ্ডে সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে।

পটভূমি সংক্রান্ত দলিলপত্র দুটি খণ্ডে বিভক্ত। প্রথম খণ্ডটি শেষ হয়েছে ১৯৫৮ সালে আইয়ুব খানের ক্ষমতা দখলের সময়সীমায়। এখানে কাল বিভাজন করা হয়েছে একান্তই খণ্ড পরিকল্পনার পৃষ্ঠাসংখ্যার সুবিধার দিকে লক্ষ্য রেখে- কোন বিশেষ ঐতিহাসিক দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে নয়।

পটভূমির বেলায় যে ধরনের দলিল ও তথ্যাদি আমরা গ্রহণ করেছি সেগুলি হলো গেজেট বিজ্ঞপ্তি, পার্লামেন্টের কার্যবিবরণী, কোর্টের মামলা সম্পর্কিত রিপোর্ট ও রায়, কমিশন রিপোর্ট, রাজনৈতিক দলের কর্মসূচী ও প্রস্তাব, জনসভার প্রস্তাব, আন্দোলনের রিপোর্ট, ছাত্রদলের প্রস্তাব ও আন্দোলন, গণপ্রতিক্রিয়া, সংবাদপত্রের প্রতিবেদন, বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তিবর্গের প্রামাণ্য সমীক্ষা ও প্রবন্ধ, রাজনৈতিক পত্র, সরকারী নির্দেশ ও পদক্ষেপ ইত্যাদি। স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিল ও তথ্যাদির বেলায় সংগ্রহের ধরন বিস্তৃততর হয়েছে স্বাভাবিকভাবেই। কারণ এই যুদ্ধের সংগে সারা বিশ্ব জড়িত হয়ে পড়েছিল। ফলে কেবল বাংলাদেশের অভ্যন্তরে নয়, সারা বিশ্বের বিষয়াদি জোগাড় করা অপরিহার্য হয়ে দেখা দেয় এবং প্রকল্প সেভাবেই অগ্রসর হয়। এ ব্যাপারে ব্যক্তিগত ডায়েরী, চিঠিপত্র, সাক্ষাৎকার, স্মৃতিকথা, সরকারী নথিপত্র, রণকৌশল ও যুদ্ধসংক্রান্ত লিপিবদ্ধ তথ্যাদি, মুক্ত এলাকায় মুক্তিবাহিনী ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রশাসনিক তৎপরতা, জনসাধারণের সক্রিয় অংশগ্রহণ, কমিটি গঠন, বিবৃতি, বিশ্বজনমত, বিভিন্ন দেশের পার্লামেন্টের কার্যবিবরণী প্রভৃতি নানা ধরনের তথ্য ও দলিল এই সংগ্রহের অন্তর্ভূক্ত করা হয়। এ ক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে নজর রেখেছি যাতে সর্বসাধারণের মনোভাব প্রতিফলনে কোন ফাঁক না থাকে। এই লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখে গণসহযোগিতার প্রতিস্তরের তথ্য সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা করা হয়েছে। প্রতিটি খণ্ডে যতদূর সম্ভব মূল দলিল সন্নিবেশিত করার দিকে বিশেষ লক্ষ্য রাখা হয়েছে। তবে যেসব দলিল ঐতিহাসিক গুরুত্ব অর্জন করেছে এবং যেগুলি বাদ দিলে ঘটনার ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষিত হয় না সেগুলি আমরা প্রকাশিত সূত্র থেকে গ্রহণ করেছি।

এ কাজে একটিই আমাদের প্রধান বিবেচ্য ছিল, সঠিক ঘটনার সঠিক দলিল যেন সঠিক পরিমাণে বিন্যস্ত হয়। আমাদের কোন মন্তব্য নেই, অঙ্গুলি সংকেত নেই, নিজস্ব ব্যাখ্যা-বিশ্লেষণও নেই। আমরা বস্তুনিষ্ঠ ও নিরপেক্ষ মনোভাব আগাগোড়া বজায় রাখার চেষ্টা করেছি। এই মূল লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখেই দলিল-তথ্যাদি বাছাই, সম্পাদনা এবং বিন্যাস করা হয়েছে। এ ক্ষেত্রে আমরা শুধু এইটুকু সতর্কতা অটুট রেখেছি যাতে কারো প্রতিনিধিত্ব ক্ষুণ্ণ না হয়। দলিলের যথার্থতাই যার যা ভূমিকা ও গুরুত্ব তা যথাযথভাবে তুলে ধরবে। বস্তুত জনসাধারণই এ ধরনের ঘটনার প্রকৃত মহানায়ক। জনসাধারণের মধ্যে অবস্থা পরিবর্তনের ইচ্ছা যখন পরিণত ও অপ্রতিরোধ হয়ে ওঠে, কেবল তখনই জনগনের মধ্য থেকে যোগ্যতম নেতৃত্বের অভ্যুদয় ঘটে। বাংলাদেশের বেলাতেও তাই ঘটেছে। আর তাই এমন সব দল বা সংগঠনের দলিল অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে, যে দল বা সংগঠন আমাদের জাতীয় রাজনীতির ক্ষেত্রে হয়তো মুখ্য ভূমিকা বা নেতৃত্ব গ্রহণ করেনি। তবু একাত্তরের অনেক আগেই বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা চিন্তা একটা দেশের একটা জাতির নিদিষ্ট লক্ষ্যাভিসারী অন্তঃস্রোতকেই সামনে তুলে ধরে। আসলে মহীরুহের চারপাশে জেগে ওঠা অজস্র গাছপালা নিয়েই বনের গঠন-কাঠামো। বনকে জানতে হলে এর সবটাই জানা দরকার।

তবে ব্যাপক প্রতিনিধিত্বের প্রশ্নে সবটুকু হয়তো প্রতিফলিত নাও হয়ে থাকতে পারে। এর দুটো কারণ, প্রথমত গ্রন্থের সীমিত পরিসরে স্থান সঙ্কুলানের প্রশ্ন, দ্বিতীয়ত অনেক তথ্য ও দলিল হাতে না আসা যা বহুক্ষেত্রে যোগাযোগ করেও পাওয়া যায়নি, কিছু ক্ষেত্রে যোগাযোগেরও সুযোগ ঘটেনি। সবাইকে আমরা জায়গা দিতে চেয়েছি এবং ভূমিকা অনুযায়ী গুরুত্ব বিধানের দিকেও লক্ষ্য রেখেছি- এইটেই মূল কথা। এই নীতি পটভূমি ও অন্যান্য খণ্ডেএকইভাবে অনুসৃত হয়েছে।

সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠার মতো দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহসংখ্যার দিক থেকে বিপুল বলতে হবে। তবু আমাদের ধারণা এই যে, বহু দলিল ও তথ্য এখনো সংগ্রহের বাইরে রয়েছে। বাংলাদেশের প্রায় প্রতিটি লোকই কোন না কোন ভাবে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সংগে জড়িত ছিলেন। গ্রামে গ্রামে ব্যক্তিতে ব্যক্তিতে বহু ঘটনার উদ্ভব হয়েছে, বহু বীরত্বগাথা, বহু ত্যাগ, বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা, অত্যাচার, নিপীড়নের কাহিনী স্তরে স্তরে গড়ে উঠেছে। এর পরিমাণ অনুধাবন করা কঠিন। তাছাড়া সারা বিশ্ব জুড়েও ছিল এ সম্পর্কে সমর্থন ও প্রতিক্রিয়া এবং প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের ব্যাপক তৎপরতা। তাই সংগ্রহের কাজ সম্পূর্ণ হয়েছে তা বলা যায় না। দেশ ও বিদেশের তথ্য সংগ্রহের কাজ তাই কেবল বাড়তে পারে, শেষ সীমায় পৌঁছানোর ঘোষণা দেয়া এখনই সম্ভব নয়। এর জন্য দীর্ঘ পরিক্রমা ও সক্রিয়তার প্রয়োজন।

সীমিত সময়ের জন্য আমাদের প্রকল্পের আয়ু; তদুপরি আমাদের লোকবলও মাত্র চারজন। এই অবস্থায় এই বিশাল কাজের কতখানি বাস্তবায়ন সম্ভব তা ভাববার বিষয়। তবু আমরা অসাধ্য সাধনের লক্ষ্যে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছিলাম এবং যতদূর সফল হয়েছি তাতে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধসংক্রান্ত তথ্য ও দলিলের ভিত্তিভূমি রচিত হয়েছে, নির্দ্বিধায় এ কথা বলা যায়। এখন এর বিকাশ ও উন্নয়নের অপেক্ষা রাখে মাত্র। তথ্য ও দলিল সংগ্রহ করতে গিয়ে আমাদের যে অভিজ্ঞতা হয়েছে তাতে এ কথা বলা য়ায়।

দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে আমাদের প্রচেষ্টা ছিল ব্যাপক এবং খোলামেলা। ব্যক্তিগত যোগাযোগ ছাড়াও এ উদ্দেশ্যে আমরা বিভিন্ন সময়ে পত্রপত্রিকায় বিজ্ঞাপন প্রকাশ করেছি এবং মুক্তিযোদ্ধা সংসদ, শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান, পত্রপত্রিকার দপ্তর, গ্রন্থাগার এবং ইউনিয়ন পরিষদের কর্মকর্তাসহ বিভিন্ন শ্রেণীর জনগণের কাছে প্রেরণ করেছি কয়েক হাজার প্রশ্নমালা কিন্তু দুঃখজনকভাবে আশানুরূপ সাড়া মেলেনি। প্রতিটি রাজনৈতিক, ছাত্র, শ্রমিক এবং কৃষক সংগঠনের সাথেই যোগাযোগ করা হয়েছে- কিন্তু দলগতভাবে নয়, ব্যক্তিগতভাবে কেউ কেউ দিয়ে গেছেন নিজস্ব সংগ্রহের দলিলপত্র। আবেদনের জবাবে আশানুরূপ সাড়া না পাবার কারণ হিসেবে আমরা দুটি বিষয় লক্ষ্য করেছি : প্রথমত, ইতিহাসের গুরুত্ব সম্পর্কে অসচেতনতা, যার ফলে খুব কমসংখ্যক মানুষই দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহ বা সংরক্ষণ করে থাকেন এবং দ্বিতীয়ত, ভিত্তিহীন সংশয়- বিশেষ করে কারো কারো প্রতিক্রিয়ার আমাদের মনে হয়েছে যে, ইতিহাস প্রণয়নের প্রচেষ্টাটি সরকারী হওয়ায় এর সততা ও বস্তুনিষ্ঠতা সম্পর্কে তাঁরা

ছয়

যথেষ্ট সন্দিহান এবং ফলে দলিলপত্র প্রদানের মাধ্যমে পরিকল্পিত ইতিহাসকে সমৃদ্ধ করার পরিবর্তে অপূর্ণাংগতার সম্ভাবনাকেই যেন তাঁরা মেনে নিয়েছেন। ব্যাপক ব্যক্তিগত যোগাযোগের মাধ্যমে এই সমস্যা আমরা অনেকটা কাটিয়ে উঠেছি। সরকারী উদ্যোগের কারণে ইতিহাসের নিরপেক্ষতা সম্পর্কে যে আশাঙ্কা, তা আমাদের দলিল খণ্ডগুলি নিরসন করবে বলে আমরা মনে করি।

এছাড়াও আমরা লক্ষ্য করেছি, এমন অনেকের কাছেই দলিল ও তথ্যাদি রয়েছে যা তাঁরা হাতছাড়া করতে রাজী নন। অনেকেই কিছু ছেড়েছেন, কিছু হাতে রেখে দিয়েছেন। আবার কারো কারো প্রত্যাশা, দলিলাদি পুরানো হলে সেগুলি অনেক বেশী লাভের উৎস হয়ে উঠতে পারে। আমরা মূল দলিলের ফটোকপি রেখে অনেককেই তাঁর মূল কপি ফেরত দিয়েছি। এ ক্ষেত্রেও অনেকেই ফটোকপি রাখারও সুযোগ দিতে রাজী হননি- অর্থাৎ তাঁর হাতের দলিলটি তিনি বেরই করেননি ভবিষ্যতের আশায়। সরকার দলিল সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে কোন অর্ডিন্যান্স পাস করেননি। ফলে দলিল পাওয়ার জন্য আমরা ব্যক্তিগত অনুরোধ ও প্রয়াস চালাতে পারি, আইনগত চাপ সৃষ্টি করতে পারি না। অথচ এ কথাও সত্যি যে, স্বাধীনতাসংক্রান্ত দলিল মাত্রই জাতীয় ইতিহাসের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ উপকরণ, তাকে ব্যক্তিগতভাবে বা প্রতিষ্ঠানগতভাবে কুক্ষিগত করে রাখা উচিত নয়।

এই সংগে আমরা দুঃখের সংগে উল্লেখ করি যে, এই প্রকল্প শুরু হবার আগেই স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের বিশিষ্ট নেতাদের অনেককে আমরা হারিয়েছি। ফলে তাঁদের কাছে রক্ষিত দলিলপত্র পাওয়ার কিংবা তাঁদের সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণের সুযোগ থেকে আমরা বঞ্চিত হয়েছি।

এইসব বাধাবিঘ্নের মধ্যেই আমাদের এগিয়ে যেতে হয়েছে। ফলে আমাদের এতদসংক্রান্ত যে বুনিয়াদ তৈরী হয়েছে তা অতীতের ত্রুটি সংশোধনে এবং ভবিষ্যতের সম্ভাবনার ক্ষেত্রে প্রস্তুত করতে সহায়ক হতে পারে। যে তথ্যগত ফাঁক থেকে যাচ্ছে তা পূরণ হওয়া দরকার। সম্ভব হলে অপ্রকাশিত দলিলপত্র থেকে কিংবা ভবিষ্যতে আরো দলিলপত্র সংগৃহীত হলে তা থেকে নির্বাচন করে অতিরিক্ত খণ্ড প্রকাশ করে এই ফাঁক পূরণের চেষ্টা করা যাবে। দেশে-বিদেশের দুষ্প্রাপ্য দলিল সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা অব্যাহত রাখা একান্ত জরুরী বলেই আমরা মনে করি। এ ধারা ক্ষুণ্ণ হলে এ কাজ দুরূহতর হবে, এমনকি এটা সম্পূর্ণ করা অসম্ভব হয়ে উঠতে পার। এ ব্যাপারে স্থায়ী কর্মসূচী সুফলদায়ক হবে সন্দেহ নেই।

দলিল এবং তথ্য প্রামাণ্যকরণের জন্য সরকার নয়-সদস্যবিশিষ্ট একটি প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি গঠন করেন (পরিশিষ্ট দ্রষ্টব্য)।

ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রাক্তন প্রো-ভাইস চ্যান্সেলর প্রখ্যাত ইতিহাসবিদ প্রফেসর মফিজুল্লাহ কবীর এই প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান।

কমিটির সদস্যরা হলেন :

ডঃ সালাহউদ্দীন আহমদ, প্রফেসর, ইতিহাস বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

ডঃ আনিসুজ্জামান, প্রফেসর, বাংলা বিভাগ, চট্রগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

ডঃ সফর আলী আকন্দ, পরিচালক, ইনস্টিটিউট অফ বাংলাদেশ স্টাডিজ, রাজশাহী।

ডঃ এনামুল হক, পরিচালক, ঢাকা যাদুঘর।

ডঃ কে, এম, করিম, পরিচালক, জাতীয় আর্কাইভস ও গ্রন্থাগার।

ডঃ কে, এম, মহসীন, সহযোগী প্রফেসর, ইতিহাস বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

ডঃ শামসুল হুদা হারুন, সহযোগী প্রফেসর, রাষ্ট্রবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়।

জনাব হাসান হাফিজুল রহমান, সদস্য-সচিব।

প্রকল্পের কর্মীবৃন্দ নির্দিষ্ট গ্রন্থের জন্য দলিলাদি বাছাই করে প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সামনে পেশ করেন। প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি সেগুলি নির্ভুল ও গ্রহণযোগ্য কি না তা পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খরূপে যাচাই করেন। কমিটির সর্বসম্মত সিদ্ধান্তানুযায়ী যে সকল দলিল ও তথ্য প্রামাণ্য বলে গৃহীত হয়, কেবলমাত্র সেগুলিই গ্রন্থে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা হয়েছে। গ্রন্থের জন্য পেশকৃত দলিলাদির কিছু কিছু কমিটি নাকচ করেন; কিছু নতুন দলিল ও তথ্য যা গ্রন্থের উৎকর্ষের জন্য নেহাৎ জরুরী তা সংগ্রহের জন্য নির্দেশ দেন। প্রকল্পের পক্ষ থেকে তাঁদের এই নির্দেশ যথাসাধ্য পালন করা

হয়েছে। তবে এ-ক্ষেত্রে অনেক সময় প্রকল্পকে বেশ দুরূহ সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হতে হয়েছে। একেই লোকবল নগণ্য, তার ওপর স্বাভাবিক কাজ সেরে নিতান্ত দুষ্প্রাপ্য দলিলের সন্ধানে প্রকল্পের কর্মীদের হিমশিম খেতে হয়েছে। তবুও কর্মীরা লেগে থেকেছেন এবং অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রেই সফলও হয়েছেন। তবে সংগ্রহ যথাসময়ে হয়তো হয়নি, অনেক সময় গড়িয়ে গেছে। ফলে খণ্ডবিশেষে সংযোজন অধ্যায় যোগ করতে হয়েছে। বিশেষভাবে পটভূমি খণ্ড সংকলনে এই পরিস্থিতি প্রকট হয়ে দেখা দিয়েছিল। উদাহরণস্বরূপ বলা যায় যে, ১৯০৫ সালের মূল গেজেট বিজ্ঞপ্তিটি পাওয়া যাচ্ছিল না। পটভূমি খণ্ডের জন্য আমরা প্রামাণ্য গ্রন্থ থেকে এই বিজ্ঞপ্তিটি উদ্ধৃত করি। কিন্তু প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটি যতদূর সম্ভব মূল দলিল সংকলনের পক্ষপাতী। তাই মূল দলিল সংগ্রহের চেষ্টা নতুনভাবে নেয়া হয়। ঢাকা গেজেটে এই বিজ্ঞপ্তি ছাপা হয়নি। কোলকাতা গেজেটেও নয়। ইতিমধ্যে পটভূমি খণ্ডটি প্রেসে চলে যায়। এই গেজেটের ফাইল লোকচক্ষুর অন্তরালে ছিল, হঠাৎ অন্য কাগজের স্তূপের ভেতর ধূলিধূসরিত অবস্থায় পাওয়া যায়। তমিজুদ্দিন খানের রীট আবেদনের মূল দলিল খুঁজতে গিয়ে অপরিসীম পরিশ্রমের পরও তা পাওয়া যায়নি। এর মূল কপি সিন্ধু হাইকোর্টে রয়েছে। আনা সম্ভব হয়নি। সুতরাং তা উদ্ধৃতির আকারেই গিয়েছে। এ থেকে প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সংকলনের কাজ নিখুঁত ও সুষ্ঠু করার জন্য অটল আগ্রহ ও আন্তরিকতাই ব্যক্ত হয়। প্রকল্পের কর্মীরাও তাঁদের এই অনুভূতির যথাসাধ্য মর্যাদা দিয়েছেন; তাঁদের নির্দেশাবলী বাস্তবায়নে কসুর করেননি, প্রায় ক্ষেত্রেই সফল হয়েছেন। পটভূমি খণ্ডে দলিলসমূহ কালানুক্রম অনুযায়ী সাজানো হয়েছে। অন্যান্য খণ্ডের দলিলের বেলাতেও কমবেশী এই নীতি অনুসৃত হয়েছে। প্রতিটি খণ্ডেই নির্ঘন্ট ও কালপঞ্জী দেয়া হয়েছে। শেষ খণ্ডে গ্রথিত হচ্ছে সকল খণ্ডের নির্ঘন্ট এবং কালপঞ্জী; ফলে পাঠকদের পক্ষে কোন খণ্ডে কী আছে তা একনজরে জানা সম্ভব হবে।

প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির সিদ্ধান্ত ছিল দলিলসমূহ মূল যে ভাষায় আছে তাতেই ছাপা হবে; কিন্তু কার্যক্ষেত্রে এতে বিশেষ অসুবিধে দেখা দেয়। বাংলা ও ইংরেজী ভাষায় মূল দলিলগুলি আমরা সংকলনে স্থান দিয়েছি। তাছাড়া উর্দু, হিন্দী, আরবী ও রুশ ভাষার বেশ কিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দলিল অনুবাদসহ সংকলনের অন্তর্ভুক্ত হয়েছে। স্কান্দেনেভীয়, ফরাসী, জার্মান, জাপানী ও ইন্দোনেশীয় প্রভৃতি ভাষায় বেশ কিছু দলিল ও তথ্য থাকা সত্ত্বেও তার অনুবাদ করা এবং গ্রন্থে সেসবের স্থান দেয়া এখনও সম্ভবপর হয়নি। এগুলি ভবিষ্যতের জন্যে জমা রইল। প্রাসঙ্গিকতা ও পরিসরের কথা বিবেচনা করে কোন কোন দলিল সংক্ষিপ্ত করা হয়েছে, তবে সে ক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে লক্ষ্য রেখেছি যাতে মূলের বিকৃতি না ঘটে।

বর্তমানে আমাদের সংগ্রহে প্রায় সাড়ে তিন লাখ পৃষ্ঠার দলিল ও তথ্যাদি জমা হয়েছে। এর ভেতর ১৫ হাজার পৃষ্ঠা ছাপা হচ্ছে। বাকি দলিল ও তথ্যাদি ছাপার বাইরে রয়ে যাবে। এছাড়া সংগ্রহের প্রক্রিয়া অব্যাহত থাকায় আরও দলিলপত্র সংগৃহীত হবে। এগুলির গুরুত্বও কম নয়। অর্থাৎ এগুলির ওপর গবেষণা করা এবং তার ওপর ভিত্তি করে প্রকল্প-প্রকাশিত খণ্ডগুলির বাইরেও নতুন তথ্য সংবলিত মুক্তিসংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ সংক্রান্ত গ্রন্থ প্রকাশের সম্ভাবনা অবারিত থেকে যাবে। এ সুযোগ সম্প্রসারিত করা দেশ ও জাতির স্বার্থেই একান্ত অপরিহার্য। কারণ এ সম্পর্কে যত বেশী বস্তুনিষ্ঠ তথ্যাদি জাতি জানতে পারবে আমাদের অগ্রযাত্রা তত বেশী নির্ভূল ও সচ্ছল হবে। তাছাড়া এ আমাদের অনন্ত অনুপ্রেরণার উৎস; তাই এ সম্পর্কিত প্রতিটি ছত্র পরম যত্ন, দায়িত্ব ও আগ্রহে সংরক্ষিত করা দেশ ও সরকারের নৈতিক কর্তব্যের অন্তর্ভুক্ত। বস্তুত প্রায় প্রতিটি আত্মসচেতন দেশই তাদের অভ্যুদয়ের সঙ্গে জড়িত ঘটনাবলী সংক্রান্ত তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের জন্য স্থায়ী আর্কাইভস প্রতিষ্ঠা করে থাকেন এবং এ সংগ্রহের কাজ ও এর ওপর গবেষণার কর্মসূচী অব্যাহত রাখেন। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম ও স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের ব্যাপারে এ সম্ভাবনার বাস্তবায়ন করার সুযোগ সৃষ্টি সমানভাবে দরকার- বিশেষভাবে এ কারণে যে, এ সংগ্রামে এ দেশের সর্বস্তরের জনসাধারণ অংশগ্রহণ করেছিলেন, যত দিন যাবে তাদের সংগে যোগাযোগ তত বৃদ্ধি পাবে, নতুন নতুন তথ্য আর্কাইভস-এর সংগ্রহ সমৃদ্ধতর করতে থাকবে। এ সুযোগ বিনষ্ট করা দুর্ভাগ্যজনক ছাড়া আর কিছুই বলা যাবে না।

প্রকল্পের বিপুল পরিমাণ দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের কাজে স্বতঃস্ফূর্তভাবে সাড়া দিয়ে যাঁরা আমাদের সহযোগিতা করেছেন তাদের সকলকে জানাই আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ। এ পর্যায়ে কিছু প্রতিষ্ঠান, সংগঠন, ব্যক্তি ও কর্মীর নাম বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। ঢাকা যাদুঘর, বাংলা একাডেমী, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় গ্রন্থাগার, কেন্দ্রীয় পাবলিক লাইব্রেরী, বাংলাদেশ অবজারভার লাইব্রেরী, দৈনিক বাংলা লাইব্রেরী, জাতীয় সংসদ লাইব্রেরী এবং

জাতীয় আর্কাইভস ও গ্রন্থাগার বিভিন্নভাবে আমাদেরকে সাহায্য করেছেন। বাংলাদেশ প্রেস ইনস্টিটিউট, চট্রগ্রাম বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় যাদুঘর এবং দিনাজপুর কালেকটরেট হতেও আমরা কিছু দলিল ও তথ্যাদি পেয়েছি। এছাড়া তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়, প্রতিরক্ষা মন্ত্রণালয়, পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয়, বাংলাদেশ সচিবালয় গ্রন্থাগার এবং সামরিক গোয়েন্দা পরিদপ্তর (ডি, এম, আই)-এর সৌজন্যে বহুসংখ্যক দলিল-দস্তাবেজ আমরা সংগ্রহ করতে পেরেছি। তাঁদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতার জন্য আমরা তাঁদের প্রতি কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন করছি।

ব্যক্তিগত উদ্যোগে ও ব্যক্তিগত সংগ্রহ থেকে অনেকে দলিলপত্র দিয়ে প্রকল্পকে সাহায্য করেছেন। তাঁদের মধ্যে কিছু নাম এখানে উল্লেখ করা খুবই সংগত মনে করছি। প্রাক্তন রাষ্ট্রপতি বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী কিছুসংখ্যক মূল্যবান দলিল প্রকল্পকে দিয়েছেন। বিদেশে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন এবং মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের বহুসংখ্যক দলিল এ, এম, এ, মুহিতের সৌজন্যে আমরা পেয়েছি। প্রবাসে বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের সংগে জড়িত অনেকে তাঁদের দলিলপত্র প্রকল্পকে দিয়েছেন। তাঁদের মধ্যে মরহুমা রাশীদা রউফ, আজিজুল হক ভূইয়া, ডঃ এনামুল হক, আমীর আলী, সাখাওয়াত হোসেন ও জহির উদ্দীন আহমদের নাম উল্লেখযোগ্য। বিদেশ হতে কিছু মূল্যবান দলিল পাঠিয়েছেন মাহমুদুল হক এবং খোন্দকার ইব্রাহিম মোহাম্মদ। মুজিবনগর সরকার এবং স্বাধীন বাংলা বেতারের দলিলপত্র সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে যাদের সাহায্য-সহযোগিতার কথা আমরা বিস্মৃত হব না তাঁরা হলেন হাসান তৌফিক ইমাম, মওদুদ আহমদ, মাঈদুল হাসান, আবদুস সামাদ, দেবব্রত দত্তগুপ্ত, শামসুল হুদা চৌধুরী ও আলমগীর কবীর। পটভূমি পর্যায়ের কিছু গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দলিল দিয়ে সাহায্য করেছেন বদরুদ্দীন উমর, কাজী জাফর আহমদ, অজয় রায়, ইসমাইল মোহাম্মদ, যতীন সরকার, শেখ আবদুল জলিল, ডঃ সাঈদ-উর-রহমান এবং আমিনুল হক। ইসমত কাদির গামা, শামসুজ্জামান মিলন, উৎপল কান্তি ধর, স্বপন চৌধুরী ও রেজা মোস্তাক স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিল ও তথ্যাদি দিয়েছেন। উল্লিখিত সকলকে আমরা আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি। এছাড়া আমাদের বিপুল সংগ্রহের বিরাট কর্মকাণ্ডের সংগে জড়িত রয়েছেন আরও অনেকে। এই স্বল্প পরিসরে তাঁদের প্রত্যেকের নাম উল্লেখ করা সম্ভব নয়। আমাদের আর্কাইভস-এর দলিল সংরক্ষণ খাতায় তাঁদের সকলের নাম দলিলাদির উৎস হিসেবে লিখিত রয়েছে। তাঁদেরকেও ধন্যবাদ।

দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সত্যতা যাচাইয়ের ক্ষেত্রে প্রামাণ্যকরণ কমিটির অবদান কৃতজ্ঞতার সাথে স্মরণ করছি। কমিটির সদস্যগণ পরম ধৈর্য, যত্ন ও আগ্রহ সহকারে দলিলাদির প্রাসঙ্গিকতা ও মূল্য বিচার করেছেন। তাঁরা শুধু দলিলাদির সত্যতা যাচাই করেননি, প্রকল্পের উন্নয়ন এবং বিশেষ করে খণ্ডসমূহের তথ্যসমৃদ্ধি ও সৌকর্য বৃদ্ধির জন্য মূল্যবান পরামর্শ দিয়েছেন। এ ক্ষেত্রে আমরা বিশেষভাবে কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান প্রফেসর মফিজুল্লাহ কবীরের কথা আন্তরিকতার সংগে স্মরণ করছি।

দলিল সংগ্রহ খণ্ডগুলির প্রকাশনার ব্যাপারে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তথ্য মন্ত্রণালয়কে ধন্যবাদ জানাই। এই সংগে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের মুদ্রণ বিভাগ এবং দি প্রিন্টার্স-এর প্রতিও আমরা কৃতজ্ঞতা স্বীকার করছি।

সবশেষে আরও কয়েকজনের কথা বলতে হয়- স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলসংগ্রহ খণ্ডগুলির পেছনে রয়েছে যাঁদের অক্লান্ত শ্রম ও নিরলস সাধনা, তাঁরা এই প্রকল্পের চারজন গবেষক- সৈয়দ আল ঈমামুর রশীদ, আফসান চৌধুরী, শাহ আহমদ রেজা এবং ওয়াহিদুল হক। শুধুমাত্র চাকরির দায়িত্বে নয়- গবেষণার স্পৃহা ও প্রকল্পের কাজের সংগে একাত্মতায় তাঁরা দলিল ও তথ্যাদি সংগ্রহের কাজ হতে শুরু করে দলিলসমূহের সংগ্রহ, বাছাই, সম্পাদনায় সহায়তা, প্রেসকপি তৈরীকরণ, মুদ্রণ তত্ত্বাবধান-সর্ববিধ কাজ সীমিত ও সংকীর্ণ সময়ের মধ্যে সম্পন্ন করেন। এছাড়া সুকুমার বিশ্বাস ও রতনলাল চক্রবর্তীর শ্রম ও নিষ্ঠার কথা উল্লেখযোগ্য। প্রশাসনিক দিক থেকে আবদুল হামিদের গভীর দায়িত্ববোধ এবং নিরলস তৎপরতা প্রকল্পের স্বাভাবিক কাজকর্ম অব্যাহত রাখতে সাহায্য করেছে।

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে যাঁরা আত্মহুতি দিয়েছেন, যাঁরা নির্যাতিত হয়েছেন, যাঁরা ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছেন, সর্বব্যাপী প্রতিকূল পরিবেশে যাঁরা দেশপ্রেমের দীপশিখা অমলিন রেখেছেন, যাঁরা আমাদের কর্মের পথে প্রতি মুহূর্তের প্রেরণাস্বরূপ তাঁদের সকলের উদ্দেশে গভীর শ্রদ্ধা ও আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন করে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের দলিলপত্রের এই সংগ্রহ আমরা দেশের মানুষের হাতে তুলে দিচ্ছি।

হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান

সম্পাদক

দলিল প্রসঙ্গঃ মুজিবনগর-প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা

পৃথিবীর বিভিন্ন দেশে বসবাসকারী বাঙালীরা বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সফল করার উদ্দেশ্যে মুজিবনগরে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অধীনে যে আন্দোলন গড়ে তুলেছিলেন, সে-সম্পর্কিত দলিলপত্র এই খন্ডে সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে। ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লিবারেশন ফ্রন্ট (পৃষ্ঠা ২-৩) এবং ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অফ আমেরিকা (পৃঃ ২৩০-২৩২) সহ বিভিন্ন সংগঠনের মাধ্যমে প্রবাসী বাঙালীরা বিশেষ করে বৃটেন ও মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে স্বাধীনতার লক্ষ্যে আগে থেকেই তৎপরতা চালাচ্ছিলেন; ১৯৭১ সনের ১৭ এপ্রিল আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে মুজিবনগরে বাংলাদেশ সরকার প্রতিষ্ঠিত হলে তারা সরকারের নেতৃত্বে এই আন্দোলনকে পরিচালিত করেন।

বৃটেনে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের দ্বারা গঠিত 'এ্যাকশন কমিটি ফর দ্য পিপলস্ রিপাবলিক অব বাংলাদেশ' স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সহায়তার উদ্দেশ্যে বিভিন্নমুখী তৎপরতা চালিয়েছিল। বৃটেনের বিভিন্ন শহরে মিছিল ও গণসমাবেশ অনুষ্ঠানের মাধ্যমে বাংলাদেশের সপক্ষে জনমত গঠনের পদক্ষেপ নেয়া হয়। লন্ডনের এমনই একটি সমাবেশে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর ভাষণ এখানে সন্নিবেশ করা হয়েছে (পৃঃ ৬১৩-৬১৭)। বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্রের প্রধানদের প্রতি (পৃঃ ৪৩-৪৫, ১৭৩-১৭৪), বৃটেনের পার্লামেন্ট সদস্যদের প্রতি (পৃঃ ১৮-২২), বৃটিশ কনজার্ভেটিভ (পৃঃ ৩৫-৩৯) ও লিবারেল (পৃঃ ৬৬০-৬৬১) দলসমূহের প্রতি এবং মার্কিন সিনেটর (পৃঃ ১৬-১৭) ও কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের প্রতি (পৃঃ ২৪৭-২৪৮) চিঠি ও আবেদন প্রেরণের মাধ্যমে এ্যাকশন কমিটি বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের প্রতি পাশ্চাত্য-নেতৃবৃন্দের সমর্থন লাভের পদক্ষেপ নিয়েছিলো। পাকিস্তানে বন্দী বাংলাদেশের রাষ্ট্রপতি শেখ মুজিবর রহমানের বিচারের বিরুদ্ধেও তারা আন্দোলন করেছিলেন (পৃঃ ১০-১২, ৯০, ৯৬)। বৃটিশ এবং ওলন্দাজ পার্লামেন্ট সদস্য ও মার্কিন সিনেটরদের ভারত সফরের ব্যবস্থা করে এ্যাকশন কমিটি স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনকে পৃথিবীর কাছে পরিচিত করানোর প্রচেষ্টা নিয়েছিলো।

মাঝে মাঝে বুলেটিন, পত্রিকা ও পুস্তিকা প্রকাশের মাধ্যমেও এ্যাকশন কমিটি বৃটেনসহ পাশ্চাত্যের বিভিন্ন দেশে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের সপক্ষে জনমত গঠনের প্রচেষ্টা নিয়েছে (পৃঃ ৬১-৬৪, ৮২-৮৫, ২০০-২০৪, ২১৩-২২০)। পাশাপাশি বিভিন্ন সময়ে সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠানের মাধ্যমেও আন্দোলনকে জোরদার করা হয়(পৃঃ ৬৪৪-৬৪৯)। এছাড়া প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের নিয়ে একটি কেন্দ্রীয় সাংস্কৃতিক কেন্দ্র গঠনেরও উদ্যোগ নেয়া হয়। এই লক্ষ্যে বৃটেনে গঠিত 'বাংলাদেশ গণসংস্কৃতি সংসদের' পক্ষে ডঃ এনামুল হক কর্তৃক বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর কাছে পেশকৃত স্মারকলিপিটি এ খন্ডে মুদ্রিত হয়েছে (পৃঃ ৬৫৪-৬৫৭)।

বৃটেনে বাঙালী ছাত্র সমাজের তৎপরতা ছিলো উল্লেখযাগ্য। এ্যাকশন কমিটির সঙ্গে একযোগে বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদও পত্রিকা প্রকাশ, সমাবেশ ও সম্মেলনের মধ্য দিয়ে আন্দোলনকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে গেছে (পৃঃ ১৭৬-১৮৪)। বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন স্কটল্যান্ড ও বৃটেনের জনগণ, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়সমূহ ও সেগুলির উপাচার্যগণের প্রতি প্রচারপত্র ও আবেদন প্রেরণের মাধ্যমে স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে জোরদার করেছিলো (পৃঃ ১৩-১৫, ২৩-২৪)।

এ্যাকশন কমিটির তৎপরতার অপর একটি দিক ছিলো চাঁদা সংগ্রহ। 'বাংলাদেশ ফান্ড'-এর মাধ্যমে সংগৃহীত অর্থ মুক্তিযোদ্ধা ও সরকারের বিভিন্ন কাজে ব্যয়িত হয়েছিলো। এর আয় ও ব্যয়ের হিসাব সংবলিত রিপোর্টটি মুদ্রিত হয়েছে এই খন্ডের শেষাংশে। এ ছাড়া সন্নিবেশিত বিভিন্ন দলিলপত্রের মধ্য দিয়ে এ্যাকশন কমিটি ও পরবর্তীকালে গঠিত এ্যাকশন কমিটিসমূহের স্টীয়ারিং কমিটি এবং অন্যান্য সংগঠনের কার্যক্রম সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত জানা যাবে।

মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীরা বাংলাদেশ লীগ অফ আমেরিকা ও বাংলাদেশ ডিফেন্স লীগসহ বিভিন্ন সংগঠনের মাধ্যমে চিঠি, প্রচারপত্র ও পুস্তিকা প্রকাশ করে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে জোরদার করেছেন (পৃঃ ২২৩-২২৬, ৩০৯-৩১৯)। 'শিখা', 'বাংলাদেশ' ও 'বাংলাদেশ পত্র'সহ বিভিন্ন পত্রিকা ও বুলেটিন বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের সপক্ষে জনমত সৃষ্টিতে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ অবদান রেখেছিলো (পৃঃ ২৪১-২৪২, ২৬০-২৬৩, ২৭৩-২৭৮, ২৮৩-২৮৯, ২৯৮-৩০১)। বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে যোগদানকারী পাকিস্তানের সাবেক কূটনীতিকদের ভূমিকা সম্পর্কিত দলিলও এই খন্ডে সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অফ কানাডা ছিলো কানাডার প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের সংগঠন। 'স্ফুলিঙ্গ' ও 'বাংলাদেশ'সহ পত্র-পত্রিকা প্রকাশনার মাধ্যমে তারাও অত্যন্ত কার্যকর অবদান রেখেছিলেন (পৃঃ ৩২৫, ৩৩৪-৩৩৭)।

ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের আন্দোলন পরিচালিত হয়েছিলো গোপনে। প্রধানত পাকিস্তানী দূতাবাসে কর্মরত বাঙালীরা 'আমরা' নামক একটি গোপন সংগঠনের মাধ্যমে এই আন্দোলন পরিচালনা করেছিলেন। নিরাপত্তার প্রয়োজনে সংগঠনের কর্মকর্তারা ছদ্মনাম ব্যবহার করতেন (পৃঃ ৩৭৩-৩৭৪)। 'আমরা'-এর তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে জানা যাবে এই গ্রন্থে মুদ্রিত বিভিন্ন দলিলপত্রের মধ্য দিয়ে (পৃঃ ৩৫৪-৩৫৫)। বাংলাদেশের যৌক্তিকতা ব্যাখা করে 'আমরা' প্রচারিত প্রতিবেদনও এই খন্ডে সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে (পৃঃ ৩৮৯-৪০৩)।

প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা ছাড়াও বাংলাদেশের নেতৃবৃন্দ ও সংগঠনসমূহের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধকালীন বিভিন্ন দলিলপত্রও এই খন্ডে সন্নিবেশিত হয়েছে। এগুলির মধ্যে আছে রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানদের প্রতি মওলানা ভাসানীর আবেদন (পৃঃ ৪২৩-৪২৮), সংসদ সদস্যদের সমাবেশে অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলামের ভাষণ (পৃঃ ৪৭৬-৪৮৩), মুজিবনগর সরকারের সর্বদলীয় উপদেষ্টা পরিষদ সংক্রান্ত তথ্য (পৃঃ ৫১৩-৫১৫), জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটির ঘোষণা (পৃঃ ৪৫৬-৪৬০), মওলানা ভাসানীর বিবৃতি (পৃঃ ৪৪২-৪৪৫, ৪৫২-৪৫৫, ৪৫৭-৪৬২) এবং বাংলাদেশের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি (পৃঃ ৫০৫-৫০৭), বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি (পৃঃ ৫২৯-৫৩৬), পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টি (পৃঃ ৪৬৪-৪৬৬), ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টি (মোজাফফর পৃঃ ৪০৫), কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ (পৃঃ ৪৬৭-৪৬৯, ৪৭০-৪৭২), ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন সেন্টার (পৃঃ ৫৫৯-৫৬৩) সহ বিভিন্ন সংগঠনের ঘোষণা, বিবৃতি ও কর্মসূচী। স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ চলাকালে বাংলাদেশে বৌদ্ধ ধর্মাবলম্বীদের অবস্থা সম্পর্কে মুদ্রিত হয়েছে একটি বিশেষ প্রতিবেদন (পৃঃ ৫৭৫-৫৮৮)।

ভারতে প্রবাসী বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবি সংস্থা (পৃঃ ৪৭০-৪৭২, ৪৮৪-৪৮৫, ৫০৩-৫০৪, ৫৫২-৫৫৪) এবং বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির (পৃঃ ৪৭৪, ৫১০, ৫৬৭-৫৭৩) স্মারকলিপি ও বিবৃতি তাদের ভূমিকাকে তুলে ধরেছে।

পরিশেষে উল্লেখ্য যে অনেক দেশে বাঙালীদের আন্দোলন সম্পর্কিত তথ্য সংগ্রহের বাইরে রয়ে গেছে। ভাষা সমস্যার কারণেও কিছু দলিল প্রকাশ করা সম্ভব হয়নি। যে ক'টি দেশে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের আন্দোলন সংক্রান্ত দলিলপত্র প্রকাশিত হয়েছে, সেসব দেশেরও সমুদয় দলিল সংগ্রহ করা সম্ভব হয়নি। বিলম্বে সংগৃহীত হবার ফলে গ্রন্থের শেষে একটি সংযোজন অধ্যায় সন্নিবেশ করতে হয়েছে।

হাসান হাফিজুর রহমান
সম্পাদক

পরিশিষ্ট

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Ministry of Information & Broadcasting

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বিজ্ঞপ্তি

ঢাকা, ২৩শে আগস্ট ১৯৭৭

নং-তথ্য/৪ই-২৫/৭৭/৪১৪৮১- স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস রচনার উদ্দেশ্যে দৈনিক বাংলার প্রাক্তন সম্পাদক জনাব হাসান হাফিজুর রহমানকে তথ্য ও বেতার মন্ত্রণালয়ে বিশেষ ভারপ্রাপ্ত অফিসার পদে ১৯৭৭ সনের ১লা জুলাই হইতে জনস্বার্থে এক বৎসরের জন্য চুক্তি ভিত্তিতে নিয়োগ করা হইল।

২। চুক্তির শর্তানুযায়ী তিনি তাঁহার বেতন ও অন্যান্য সুবিধাদি পাইবেন।

রাষ্ট্রপতির আদেশক্রমে-
আবদুস সোবহান
উপ-সচিব

পরিশিষ্ট

[দুই]

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
DACCA

No. 51/2/78-Dev/231 Dated : 18-7-1978

RESOLUTION

In connection with the Writing and Printing of the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation the Government have been pleased to constitute and Authentication Committee for the Project "Writing and Printing of a History of Bangladesh War of Liberation" with the following members:

1.	Dr. Mafizullah Kabir	Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dacca University
2.	Professor Salahuddin Ahmed	Chairman, Department of History, Jahangirnagar University
3.	Dr. Safar Ali Akanda	Director, Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi.
4.	Dr. Enamul Huq	Director, Dacca Museum.
5.	Dr. K. M. Mohsin	Associate Professor, Deptt. of History, Dacca University
6.	Dr. Shamsul Huda Harun	Associate Professor, Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University
7.	Dr. Ahmed Sharif	Professor and Chairman, Deptt. of Bengali, Dacca University
8.	Dr. Anisuzzaman	Professor, Deptt. of Bengali, Chittagong University
9.	Mr. Hasan Hafizur Rahman	O.S.D., History of Bangladesh War of Liberation Project

The following shall be the terms of reference of the Committee:\

(a) To verify, endorse and authenticate the collected data and documents to be included in the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation.

(b) To determine validity and price of document are required for the purpose.

Syed Asgar Ali
Section Officer

GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION & BROADCASTING
DACCA

No. 51/2/78-Dev/10493/(25) Dated : 13-2-1979

RESOLUTION

In partial modification of Resolution issued under No. 51/2/78-Dev/231, dated 18.7.78 Govt. have been pleased to reconstitute and Authentication Committee for the Project "Writing and Printing of a History of Bangladesh are of Liberation" with the following members:

1.	Dr. Mafizullah Kabir Pro-Vice Chancellor, Dacca University	Chairman
2.	Professor Salahuddin Ahmed Chairman, Department of History, Jahangirnagar University	Member
3	Dr. Anisuzzaman Professor, Deptt. of Bengali, Chittagong University	Member
4.	Dr. Safar Ali Akanda Director, Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Rajshahi.	Member
5.	Dr. Enamul Huq Director, Dacca Museum.	Member
6.	Dr. K. M. Mohsin Associate Professor, Deptt. of History, Dacca University	Member
7.	Dr. Shamsul Huda Harun Associate Professor, Deptt. of Political Science, Dacca University	Member
8.	Dr. K. M. Karim Director, National Library and Archives, Dacca	Member
9.	Mr. Hasan Hafizur Rahman O.S.D., History of Bangladesh War of Liberation Project	Member-Secretary

2. The following shall be the terms of reference of the Committee:

To verify, endorse and authenticate the collected data and documents to be included in the History of Bangladesh War of Liberation.

To determine validity and price of document are required for the committee.

M.A. Salam Khan
Section Officer

সূচীপত্র

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৪৩।	পাকিস্তানে বেসামরিক শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য ইয়াহিয়া খানের সর্বশেষ প্রয়াস সম্পর্কে একটি প্রতিবেদন	৮২
৪৪।	স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণের আহবান জানিয়ে গ্রুপ ক্যাপ্টেন তাওয়াবের প্রতি বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর চিঠি	৮৬
৪৫।	৩১ জুলাই অনুষ্ঠিতব্য বাংলাদেশের সমর্থন সভায় যোগদানের কথা জানিয়ে বৃটিশ এম,পি-র চিঠি	৮৭

৪৬। ৩১ জুলাই-এর সভায় যোগদানের অক্ষমতা জানিয়ে জন স্টোনহাউস এম,পি-র চিঠি ৮৮

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	সতের পৃষ্ঠা
৪৭।	অচিরে লন্ডনে বাংলাদেশ মিশন প্রতিষ্ঠার কথা জানিয়ে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর চিঠি	৮৯
৪৮।	শেখ মুজিবের বিচারের প্রতিবাদে যুক্তরাজ্যস্থ বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির একটি প্রচাপত্র	৯০
৪৯।	এ্যাকশন কমিটি কর্তৃক জাহাজ ক্রয়ের ব্যাপারে একটি বৃটিশ কোম্পানীর সাথে পত্র যোগাযোগ	৯১
৫০।	১৯৭১ সনের ৬ ও ১২ আগস্ট লন্ডনে অনুষ্ঠিত এ্যাকশন কমিটির সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	৯৪
৫১।	১১ আগস্ট প্রতিরোধ দিবস পালনের আহবান	৯৬
৫২।	বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর প্রতি মাসিক 'ভেঞ্চার' সম্পাদক জর্জ কানিংহাম এম,পি-র চিঠি	৯৭
৫৩।	১৬ আগস্ট অনুষ্ঠিতব্য কনভেনশন কমিটির প্রথম সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৯৮
৫৪।	বাংলাদেশেল রাষ্ট্রপতি শেখ মুজিবর রহমানের গোপন বিচার বন্ধের জন্য সোচ্চার আহবান সংবলিত বিজ্ঞাপন	৯৯
৫৫।	বৃটেনের বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের সাংগঠনিক কাঠামো রচনার লক্ষ্যে প্রস্তাবিত একটি খসড়া গঠনতন্ত্র	১০১
৫৬।	২০ আগস্ট অনুষ্ঠিতব্য কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১০৪
৫৭।	স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে অর্থনৈতিক সাহায্য প্রদানের সুব্যবস্থার লক্ষ্যে ন্যাশনাল ওয়েস্ট মিনস্টার ব্যাঙ্কে নতুন হিসাব খোলার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১০৫
৫৮।	২০ আগস্ট অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন সাব-কমিটির সভার আলোচনা সূচী ও কার্যবিবরণী	১০৬
৫৯।	২৪ আগস্ট অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার কার্যবিবরণী ও প্রস্তাবসমূহ	১০৯
৬০।	৩০ আগস্ট অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার প্রস্তাবসমূহ	১১০
৬১।	স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির ব্যাংক একাউন্ট খোলার সিদ্ধান্তের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে কমিটির আহবায়কের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ মেডিকেল এসোসিয়েশনের সম্পাদকের চিঠি	১১২
৬২।	বৃটেনে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের আন্দোলন ও সংগঠন সম্পর্কে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর বক্তব্য	১১৩
৬৩।	৩ সেপ্টেম্বর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার প্রস্তাবসমূহ	১১৫
৬৪।	আসন্ন কনভেনশনের সরাসরি প্রতিনিধিত্ব চেয়ে স্টিয়ারিং কমিটিকে লেখা আইলিংটন কমিটি সম্পাদকের চিঠি	১১৬
৬৫।	সাউথল বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদ সভার প্রাস্তাব ও গঠিত কমিটির বিবরণ	১১৭
৬৬।	বাংলাদেশ সঙ্কট নিরসনে সংশ্লিষ্ট সরকার এবং জাতিসংঘে চাপ সৃষ্টির আহবান সংক্রান্ত বিভিন্ন লবীর কাছে লিখত চিঠি	১১৯
৬৭।	বাংলাদেশ তহবিলের সাহায্যার্থে প্রদর্শিত চ্যারিটি শো-র বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১২১
৬৮।	কনভেনশনের সরাসরী প্রতিনিধিত্বের দাবী জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ রিলিফ কমিটির সম্পাদকের চিঠি	১২২
৬৯।	আসন্ন কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে নর্থ এ্যন্ড নর্থ-ওয়েস্ট লন্ডন শাখা এ্যাকশন কমিটির সভাপতি কর্তৃক বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে লেখা চিঠি	১২৩
৭০।	ওলন্দাজ এম, পি' দের ভারত সফরের ব্যাপারে ল্যাংকাশায়ারাস্থ বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসেয়েশনের তৎপরতা	১২৫
৭১।	২১ সেপ্টেম্বর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার কার্যবিরণী ও প্রাস্তাবসমূহ	১২৬
৭২।	বাংলাদেশ গন-সংস্কৃতি সদস্যদের সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১২৮
৭৩।	বিচারপতি চৌধরীর প্রতি বৃটিশ লেবার পার্টির চিঠি	১২৯
৭৪।	নেদারল্যন্ডের দৈনিক-এ প্রকাশিত বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিস্তির ওপর নিবন্ধের অনুবাদ	১৩০

সংবলিত ফ্যাকট্ শীট-১৮'

আঠার

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
৭৫	মুক্তিযুদ্ধের ছয় মাসঃ বাংলাদেশের অব্যহত স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ওপর একটি সমীক্ষা	১৩৩
৭৬	১লা অক্টোবর অনুষ্ঠিত কণভেনশনের কমিটির সভার প্রাস্তাবসমূহ	১৩৫
৭৭	সংগৃহিত চাঁদার হিসাব সহ রসিদ বই ফেরতদানের জন্য স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের আবেদন	১৩৬
৭৮	বে'সওয়াটার শাখা এ্যাকশন কমিটির ২রা আক্টোবরের সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	১৩৭
৭৯	বাংলাদেশকে সমর্থন দিয়ে প্রাচারিত রাশেদ সোহরাওয়ার্দীর বিবৃতি	১৩৮
৮০	কনভেনশন উপলক্ষে সকল আঞ্চলিক এ্যাকশন কমিটিকে অবিলম্বে প্রতিনিধি নির্বাচন ও তা কনভেনশন কমিটিকে জানানোর জন্যে আহবায়কের বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১৩৯
৮১	লন্ডনে ১১ আক্টোবর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন প্রশ্নে ভিন্নমতাবলম্বীদের সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	১৪০
৮২	লন্ডনের আওয়ামী লীগের সাগঠনিক কমিটি গঠন সম্পর্কে প্রাচারপত্র	১৪২
৮৩	বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বৃটিশ লেবার পার্টির সিদ্ধান্ত জানিয়ে মিঃআয়ান মিকার্ডো এম, পি-র চিঠি	১৪৫
৮৪	কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে ভিন্নমতাবলম্বীদের বক্তব্য সংবলিত চিঠি	১৪৮
৮৫	কনভেনশনের জন্য নির্ধারিত দুজন প্রতিনিধির নাম সহ কিন্ডার মিনস্টার শাখার সভাপতির চিঠি	১৫০
৮৬	কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে ভিন্নমতানলম্বীদের পক্ষেআহবায়কের প্রতি চিঠি	১৫১
৮৭	কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে ভিন্ন বক্তব্য জানিয়ে লিউটন শাখা এ্যাকশন কমিটির সম্পাদকের চিঠি	১৫২
৮৮	বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলন সমর্থনকারী জনৈক বৃটিশ নাগরিকের প্রতি এ্যাকশন কমিটির আহবায়কের চিঠি	১৫৪
৮৯	ভারতে নিযুক্ত বাংলাদেশের হাইকমিশনারের প্রতি স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের চিঠি	১৫৫
৯০	থার্ড ওয়ার্ল্ড ফার্স্ট-এর উদ্যোগে আয়োজিত সভায় বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে বক্তব্য রাখার অনুরোধ সংবলিত এ্যাকশন কমিটির আহবায়কের উদ্দেশ্যে চিঠি	১৫৭
৯১	২২ অক্টোবর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার কার্যবিবরণী	১৫৮
৯২	অনুষ্ঠিতব্য কনভেনশনের জন্য মিডল্যান্ড অঞ্চলের কমিটিসমূহের প্রতিনিধিদের সংখ্যা ও নাম সহ লিখিহ চিঠি	১৫৯
৯৩	কনভেনশনের জন্য মনোনীত বিভিন্ন কমিটির ও তাদের প্রতিনিধিদের তালিকাসহ সভাপতি ও সম্পাদকের চিঠি	১৬১
৯৪	কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে ভিন্ন মতানলম্বীদের পক্ষে স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের প্রতি চিঠি	১৬৪
৯৫	বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে গঠিত 'বাংলাদেশ ফ্রিডম মুভমেন্ট ওভারসীজ'-এর তিনটি প্রচারপত্র	১৬৫
৯৬	বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যার বিরুদ্ধে ইন্টারন্যাশনাল ফ্রেন্ডস অব বাংলাদেশ আয়োজিত একটি জনসভায় গৃহীত প্রাস্তাব	১৬৯
৯৭	বাংলাদেশ গনহত্যা বন্ধ ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতিদানের ইস্যুতে ট্রাফালগার স্কোয়ারে অনুষ্ঠিতব্য একটি জনসভার পোস্টার	১৭০
৯৮	বাংলাদেশে স্টিয়াসিং কমিটির আহবায়কের কাছে লিখিত বৃটিশ পরিবেশ নিয়ন্ত্রণ বিভাগের একটি চিঠি	১৭১
৯৯	ভারতের প্রাধানমন্ত্রীর কাছে লিখিত বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের একটি চিঠি	১৭৩
১০০	বাংলাদেশের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি আবু সাঈদ চৌধূরীর কাছে লিখিত নর্দাম্পটন এ্যাকশন কমিটির সম্পাদকের একটি চিঠি	১৭৫
১০১	বৃটেরে বাংলাদেশে ছাত্রদের প্রথম জাতীয় সম্মেলনের একটি প্রচার পুস্তিকা	১৭৬

উনিশ

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
১০২	ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর লন্ডন সফর উপলক্ষে বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে ৩০ অক্টোবর আয়োজিত একটি গনমিছিলের প্রচারপত্র	১৮৫
১০৩	৩০ আক্টোবর হাইড পার্কের জনসমাবেশ ও মিছিলের কর্মসুচী	১৮৬
১০৪	বাংলাদেশ মিশন প্রাধনের কাছে লিখিত '' ইউনাইটেড এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশের'' পক্ষে কয়েকজন সদস্যের চিঠি	১৮৭
১০৫	সুরাইয়া খানমের কাছে বৃটিশ এম-পি জোয়ান হল এর পক্ষে লিখিত একটি চিঠি	১৮৮
১০৬	স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির সেক্রেটারীর কাছে লিখিত ''ওল্ডহ্যাম বাংলাদেশ সোসাইটির '' পক্ষে সৈয়দ বশীর আহমদের চিঠি	১৮৯
১০৭	অস্ত্র ক্রয়ের উদ্দেশ্যে চাঁদা সংগ্রহের আহবান সংবলিত কর্নেল ওসমানীর চিঠি	১৯০
১০৮	বাংলাদেশ স্বীকৃতিদানের দাবীতে হাইড পার্কে একটি জনসভার প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১৯১
১০৯	বাংলাদেশ কনভেনশন কমিটির আহবায়কের কাছে লিখিত সাইথ ইংল্যান্ড রিজিওনাল কমিটির জয়েন্ট কনভেনর-এর চিঠি	১৯২
১১০	লন্ডনের ন্যাশনাল ওয়েস্ট মিনস্টার ব্যাংক ম্যানেজারকে লিখিত বাংলাদেশ ফান্ড একাউনটেন্ট জেনারেল এর চিঠি	১৯৪
১১১	হাইড পার্কে বাংলাদেশ স্টিয়ারিং কমিটি আয়োজিত বাংলাদেশ স্বীকৃতি মিছিলের পরিচয়পত্র ও পোস্টার	১৯৫
১১২	বাংলাদেশ যুদ্ধরত মুক্তিবাহিনীর সাহায্যের জন্য প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের কাছে প্রাচারিত একটি আবেদনপত্র	১৯৬
১১৩	'বাংলাদেশ স্টিয়ারিং কমিটি' প্রাচারিত একটি বিজ্ঞপ্তি	১৯৭
১১৪	বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বৃটিশ লেবার পার্টির অভিমত জানিয়ে লিখিত মিঃ হ্যারল্ড উইলসন এম, পি-র একটি চিঠি	১৯৯
১১৫	'জেনোসাইড ইন বাংলাদেশঃ' বাংলাশের হত্যাযজ্ঞের উপর একটি প্রচার পুস্তিকা	২০০
১১৬	দি এ্যাকশন কমিটি ফর দি পিপলস রিপাবলিক অব বাংলাদেশ ইন দি ইউনাইটেড কিংডম'-এর গঠনতন্ত্র	২০৫
১১৭	বাংলাদেশকে সমর্থনদানের আহবান সংবলিত একটি পুস্তিকা	২০৭
১১৮	বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে আন্দোলনকারী এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ কমিটি, ইউরোপের সমর্থক ও সহযোগী ব্যক্তি এবং দলসমূহের তালিকা	২১১
১১৯	''বাংলাদেশ কেন''? পূর্ব ও পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের মধ্যে বৈষম্যেরর একটি সংখ্যাতাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষন	২১৩

মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা

১২০	ঘূর্ণিঝড় ও জলোচ্ছাস কবলিত পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের প্রতি পাকিস্তান সরকারের নিদারুন অবহেলা জানিয়ে জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের কাছে লিখিত চিঠি	২২৩
১২১	ঘূর্ণিঝড় ও জলোচ্ছাস কবলিত পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের প্রতি অবহেলার প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্টের কাছে লিখিত চিঠি	২২৪
১২২	নির্বাচনে বিজয়লাভের জন্য শেখ মুজিব ও তার দলকে অভিনন্দন পরামর্শ দিয়ে লিখিত চিঠি	২২৫

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
১২৩	অভিনন্দনের জবাবে শেখ মুজিব কর্তৃক আমেরিকাস্থ পাকিস্থান লীগের সভাপতিকে ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন	২২৭
১২৪	ইয়াহিয়া খানকে প্রতিশ্রুত অস্ত্র সাহায্য না দেয়ার আবেদন জানিয়ে যুক্তরাষ্টের জনগণের উদ্দেশে প্রচারিত চিঠি	২২৮
১২৫	আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের জরুরী সভায় গৃহীত সিদ্ধান্তসমূহ	২৩০
১২৬	"বাংলাদেশ"- আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের মুখপত্র	২৩২
১২৭	"বাংলাদেশ ডিফেন্স লীগ"- এর বক্তব্য সংবলিত প্রচারপত্র	২৩৪
১২৮	বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংরক্ষণের সংগ্রামে সাহায্যের আবেদন	২৩৫
১২৯	প্রবাসী সকল বাঙালী ও প্রতিবেশীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের বক্তব্য	২৩৭
১৩০	মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের জনগণ ও নেতৃবৃন্দের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের সভাপতির আবেদন	২৩৯
১৩১	মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সরকার ও জনগনের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের জনগণের আবেদন	২৪১
১৩২	আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের সভাপতির প্রতি গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রীর পত্র	২৪৩
১৩৩	প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের বক্তব্য	২৪৪
১৩৪	যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার আবেদন	২৪৭
১৩৫	প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ সভাপতির বক্তব্য	২৪৯
১৩৬	প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের সম্পাদকের বক্তব্য	২৫১
১৩৭	আমেরিকাস্থ বাংলাদেশ লীগের সদস্যভূক্তির ফরম	২৫২
১৩৮	আমেরিকায় প্রবাসী আঙালীদের প্রতি সর্বাত্নক সহযোগিতার আহবান	২৫৩
১৩৯	বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	২৫৫
১৪০	বাংলাদেশ গণহত্যার প্রতিবাদ ও স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থন দানের জন্য আবেদন	২৫৬
১৪১	ক্যালিফোর্নিয়ায় আমেরিকান লীগ অব বাংলাদেশের তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	২৫৭
১৪২	বাংলাদেশর স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণের জন্য বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার আহবান	২৬০
১৪৩	আমেরিকায় বাংলাদেশের দুটো মিশন খোলা সম্পর্কে জনাব রেহমান সোবহান ও বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর পরামর্শ সম্পর্কে অবহিত করে লেখা চিঠি	২৬৪
১৪৪	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকার বার্ষিক সাধানণ সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	২৬৫
১৪৫	মিডওয়েস্ট বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশনের কলাম্বাসে অনুষ্ঠিত সভায় গৃহিত সিদ্ধান্তসমূহ	২৬৭
১৪৬	আমেরিকায় প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের জন্য স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সংগে সংশ্লিস্ট বিভিন্ন সংবাদের প্রতিবেদন	২৬৯
১৪৭	ওয়েস্ট কোস্টে বসবাসকারী বাঙালীদের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে সহযোগিতা ও তৎপরতার ওপর প্রতিবেদন	২৭৩
১৪৮	নিউইয়র্কে বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার সাধারন সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	২৭৯
১৪৯	বাংলাদেশে লীগ অব আমেরিকার গ্রেটার ওয়াশিংটন ডি সি শাখার সাধারন বিজ্ঞপ্তি	২৮০
১৫০	বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামের সমর্থনে আয়োজিত সমাবেশের বিজ্ঞপ্তিসহ মার্কিন জনগনের প্রতি সাহায্যের আবেদন	২৮১

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
১৫১	নিউইয়র্কে সমাবেশ সহ মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতার ওপর প্রতিবেদন	২৮৩
১৫২	মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	২৯০
১৫৩	যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে বাংলাদেশ সমর্থক ডঃ ও মিসেস গ্রীনোর প্রতি বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশনের সভাপতির ধন্যবাদ পত্র	২৯৪
১৫৪	বাংলাদেশের ঘটনায় ইন্ডিয়ানার মিডওয়েস্টার্ন কম্যুনিটি উদ্বেগ ও তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	২৯৫
১৫৫	স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের বিভিন্ন দিকের সংবাদ সহ প্রকাশিত 'শিখা'	২৯৮
১৫৬	শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের বিচার প্রসঙ্গে বিভিন্ন পত্রিকার সম্পাদকদের কাছে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের লিখিত চিঠি	৩০২
১৫৭	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকা কর্তৃক আয়োজিত সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠানের প্রচারপত্র	৩০৫
১৫৮	বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে মার্কিন জনগণের ভূমিকা সম্পর্কে বিশেষ প্রতিবেদন	৩০৬
১৫৯	বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে সাহায্যের আবেদন	৩০৮
১৬০	বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের পটভূমি ও বর্তমান পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে একটি প্রতিবেদন	৩০৯

কানাডায় প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা

১৬১	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডা (টরেন্টা) এর কর্মতৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	৩২৩
১৬২	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডা প্রকাশিত মুখপত্র 'বাংলাদেশ'- এর দুটি খবর	৩২৪
১৬৩	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কুইবেক- এর কর্মতৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	৩২৫
১৬৪	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডা'র সাধারণ সম্পাদকের চিঠি	৩২৬
১৬৫	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডার মুখপত্র 'বাংলাদেশ' এর সম্পাদকীয় এবং সমিতির কর্মতৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত আরও তথ্য	৩২৭
১৬৬	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কুইবেক-এর মার্কিন বিরোধী বিক্ষোভ মিছিল	৩২৯
১৬৭	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব বৃটিশ কলম্বিয়া কর্মকর্তার প্রতিবেদন	৩৩০
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১৭২	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব বৃটিশ কলম্বিয়ার একটি আবেদন	৩৪০

ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা

১৭৩	পঁচিশে মার্চে হত্যাযজ্ঞে ইন্দোনেশিয়ার সরকার ও জনগণের প্রাথমিক প্রতিক্রিয়া এবং প্রচার অভিযান সম্পর্কে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে লিখিত চিঠি	৩৪৩
১৭৪	আন্তর্জাতিক স্বেচ্ছাসেবক ব্রিগেডের প্রাক্তন প্রধান কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে যুদ্ধ করার ইচ্ছা প্রকাশ	৩৪৭

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১৮৭	বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পক্ষে ইন্দোনেশীয় জনগণের তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে লিখিত প্রতিবেদন	৩৭১
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১৯১	প্রচার মাধ্যমে বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে মতামত গড়ে তোলার সাফল্যের সংবাদ জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে লিখিত চিঠি	৩৮০
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১৯৫	'আমরা' গোষ্ঠীর সদস্যদের সাংকেতিক নাম ব্যবহার সংক্রান্ত চিঠি	৪০৪
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২০০	স্বাধীন বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠার আহবান	৪১৯
২০১	বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রতি আনুগত্য প্রকাশ করে অধ্যাপক মোজাফফর আহমদের বিবৃতি	৪২২

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
২০২	বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে সাহয্যের জন্য বিশ্ব নেতৃবৃন্দের উদ্দেশে মওলানা ভাসানীর আবেদন	৪২৩
২০৩	সমমনা দলসমূহের উদ্দেশ্যে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির আহবান	৪২৯
২০৪	পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের প্রতি মওলানা ভাসানীর আবেদন	৪৪২
২০৫	বিশ্বের আন্তর্জাতিক যুব ও ছাত্র সংগঠনের প্রতি স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের সমর্থন চেয়ে বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়নের আবেদন	৪৪৬
২০৬	জাতিসংঘের তত্ত্বাবধানে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার প্রশ্নে গণভোট অনুষ্ঠানের জন্য মাওলানা ভাসানীর প্রস্তাব	৪৫০
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২০৮	উদ্ভূত অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে মওলালা ভাসানীর প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৪৫২
২০৯	বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটির ঘোষণা	৪৫৬
২১০	বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক নিষ্পত্তির বিরোধিতা করে মওলানা ভাসানীর প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৪৬১
২১১	মওলানা ভাসানীর সাংবাদিক সাক্ষাৎকারের বিবরণ	৪৬৩
২১২	মুক্তিযুদ্ধ ও রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতি ব্যাখ্যা করে পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টি	৪৬৪
২১৩	কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের সদস্য শাজাহান সিরাজের বক্তৃতা	৪৬৭
২১৪	পশ্চিমবঙ্গে বাংলাদেশের প্রবাসী বুদ্ধিজীবীগণ কর্তৃক যুক্তরাজ্যের পার্লামেন্টারী প্রতিনিধিদলের কাছে প্রদত্ত স্মারকলিপি	৪৭০
২১৫	পকিস্তানের সাথে আপোসের বিরোধিতা করে মওলানা ভাসানী	৪৭৩
২১৬	বিশ্বের বিদ্যোৎসাহী সমাজের কাছে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের জন্য সাহায্য প্রার্থনা করে বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির আবেদন	৪৭৪
২১৭	বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবী মুক্তিসংগ্রাম পরিষদের পক্ষে জহির রায়হানের একটি আবেদন	৪৭৫
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২১৯	পশ্চিম বংঙ্গে বাংলাদেশের প্রবাসী বুদ্ধিজীবীগণ কর্তৃক কানাডীয় পার্লামেন্টারী প্রতিনিধিদলের কাছে প্রদত্ত স্মারকলিপি	৪৮৪
২২০	বাংলাদেশ রেডক্রস সোসাইটি কর্তৃক কানাডীয় পার্লামেন্টারী প্রতিনিধিদলের কাছে প্রদত্ত স্মারকলিপি	৪৮৬
২২১	জাতীয় ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদ সদস্যদের যৌথ সভার উপর লিখিত আওয়ামী লীগের মুখপত্রের সম্পাদকীয়	৪৮৭
২২২	ছাত্রলীগ কেন্দ্রীয় সংসদ সভাপতি নূরে আলম সিদ্দিকীর বক্তৃতা	৪৯০
২২৩	দিল্লীতে আয়োজিত বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে আন্তর্জাতিক সেমিনার উপলক্ষে বাংলাদেশ মিশনে অনুষ্ঠিত সভার কার্যবিবরণী	৪৯৩
২২৪	জাতীয় ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদের সদস্যগণ কর্তৃক স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম চালিয়ে যাওয়ার সংকল্প ঘোষণা	৪৯৬
২২৫	বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি প্রশ্নে অধ্যাপক মোজাফফর আহমদ	৪৯৮
২২৬	‘‘সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ একমাত্র লক্ষ্য’’ -মওলানা ভাসানী	৪৯৯
২২৭	শ্রমিক লীগের পক্ষ থেকে বিশ্বের শ্রমিক সমাজের কাছে সাহায্যের আবেদন	৫০০
২২৮	বাংলাদেশ শরণার্থী বুদ্ধিজীবীদের পক্ষ থেকে সিনেটর কেনেডীকে প্রদত্ত স্মারকপত্র	৫০৩

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
২২৯	রাজনীতি ও রণকৌশলগত খসড়া দলিলের সংক্ষিপ্তসার	৫০৫
২৩০	বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তি সমন্বয় কমিটির নিজস্ব ভূমিকা ব্যাখ্যা করে প্রদত্ত বিবৃতি	৫০৮
২৩১	বাংলাদেশের গণহত্যায় পাকিস্তানকে সহায়তা না করার জন্য মার্কিন সরকারের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির আবেদন	৫১০
২৩২	মার্কিন প্রশাসনের সমালোচনা করে বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির বিবৃতি	৫১১
২৩৩	আওয়ামী লীগ, কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি, ন্যাপ ও কংগ্রেস সমবায়ে সংযুক্ত কমিটি গঠন	৫১৩
২৩৪	সর্বদলীয় উপদেষ্টা কমিটির উপর আওয়ামী লীগের সাপ্তাহিক মুখপত্রের সম্পাদকীয়	৫১৫
২৩৫	শিক্ষা দিবস উপলক্ষে কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের সদস্য শাজাহান সিরাজের ভাষণ	৫১৬
২৩৬	উপদেষ্টা কমিটির ওপর লিখিত সরকারের কাছে প্রদত্ত একটি প্রতিবেদন	৫১৯
২৩৭	স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে আপোসের বিরোধিতা করে ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টির বিবৃতি	৫২১
২৩৮	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির শিক্ষা সমাজ সেবা বিভাগের একটি চিঠি	৫২২
২৩৯	‘‘বাংলাদেশের পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতাই সমস্যার একমাত্র সমাধান’’ আওয়ামী লীগের ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির ঘোষণা	৫২৩
২৪০	মুক্তিসংগ্রামে ছাত্র ও যুব সম্প্রদায়কে অংশগ্রহণের জন্য বাংলাদেশ ছাত্রলীগ ও বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়নের যৌথ প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৫২৪
২৪১	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্রলীগ সভাপতি নূরে আলম সিদ্দিকীর বক্তৃতা	৫২৬
২৪২	বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি কর্তৃক উপস্থাপিত রাষ্ট্রীয় রূপরেখা ও কর্মসূচী	৫২৯
২৪৩	বাংলাদেশের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির কর্তব্য সম্পর্কে পার্টি সার্কুলার	৫৩৭
২৪৪	বালাদেশের স্বাধীনত সংগ্রামের মূল্যায়ন	৫৪২
২৪৫	বাংলাদেশের অবস্থা ব্যাখ্যা করে বিশ্ব বুদ্ধিজীবী মহলের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবী মুক্তিসংগ্রাম পরিষদের আবেদন	৫৫২
২৪৬	বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবী মুক্তিসংগ্রাম পরিষদের বিবৃতি	৫৫৫
২৪৭	ভারতে আগত বাংলাদেশবাসীর যুদ্ধকালীন দায়িত্ব ও কর্তব্য সম্পর্কে একটি প্রচারপত্র	৫৫৭
২৪৮	বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনকে সমর্থনের জন্য বিশ্বের শ্রমিক সংগঠন সমূহের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন সেন্টার	৫৫৯
২৪৯	জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্টের কর্মসূচী	৫৬৪
২৫০	বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতির উপর বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির প্রতিবেদন	৫৬৭
২৫১	বিদেশে সাহায্য চেয়ে অজয় রায়ের চিঠি	৫৭৪
২৫২	মুক্তিযুদ্ধ চলাকালীন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায়ের অবস্থা ও ভূমিকা সম্পর্কে একটি প্রতিবেদন	৫৭৫
২৫৩	বাংলাদেশ নিপদস্থ পুলিশ কর্মচারী সহায়ক সংস্থার একটি আবেদন	৫৮৯
২৫৪	সিনেটর এডওয়ার্ড কেনিডীর প্রতি বাংলাদেশের বুদ্ধিজীবী, শিক্ষক, চলচ্চিত্র শিল্পী ও কুশলী এবং ক্রীড়াবিদদের আবেদন	৫৯১
২৫৫	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি গঠিত বাংলাদেশ আর্কাইভস কমিটি সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	৫৯৩
২৫৬	বাংলাদেশ বিজ্ঞান শিক্ষা সম্পর্কিত আলোচনা সভাসমূহের কার্যবিবরণী	৫৯৪

সংযোজন

২৫৭	বাংলাদেশকে সমর্থন এবং স্বীকৃতির জন্য সরকারকে রাজী করানোর অনুরোধ জানিয়ে বৃটিশ জনগনের প্রতি আহবান	৫৯৭
২৫৮	পাকিস্তানী ব্যাংক ও বীমা কোম্পানীতে টাকা না রাখার জন্য প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আহবান	৫৯৮

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
২৫৯	ব্রাডফোর্ডের বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদের ২৫শে এপ্রিল অনুষ্ঠিত সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	৫৯৯
২৬০	স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে রচিত বাংলাদেশের কবি গান	৬০০
২৬১	লন্ডনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের উদ্দেশ্য ও কার্যাবলী সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	৬০৬
২৬২	বৃটেনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদে প্রচারিত স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের গান	৬০৭
২৬৩	বৃটেনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের কর্মকর্তাদের নামের তালিকা	৬০৯
২৬৪	লন্ডনে বাংলাদেশ মিশন প্রতিষ্ঠা প্রসঙ্গে নীতিগত সম্মতি জানিয়ে মুজিবনগর থেকে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর প্রধান সহযোগীর চিঠি	৬১০
২৬৫	প্রবাসে বাংলাদেশের বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় গঠনের প্রস্তাবসহ বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে লিখিত চিঠি	৬১১
২৬৬	লন্ডনের হাইড পার্কের সমাবেশে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর ভাষণের বিবরণী	৬১৩
২৬৭	আন্দোলনের কতিপয় দিক সম্পর্কে মুজিবনগর সরকারের বহির্বিশ্ব প্রচার বিভাগের মওদুদ আহমদের প্রতি স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের চিঠি	৬১৮
২৬৮	স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির প্রতি একটি কনভেনশন কমিটি গঠনের আহবান সম্পর্কিত প্রবাসী নেতৃবৃন্দের বৈঠকের সিদ্ধান্তসমূহ	৬১৯
২৬৯	লন্ডনে আয়োজিত বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি মিছিলের কর্মসূচী-পুস্তিকা	৬২০
২৭০	বৃটেনে পকিস্তান হাইকমিশনের বাঙালী কূটনীতিক মহিউদ্দিন আহমদের বাংলাদেশের প্রতি আনুগত্য জ্ঞাপনোপলক্ষে আয়োজিত সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৬২৪
২৭১	ট্রাফালগার স্কোয়ারে প্রদত্ত ১লা আগস্টের ভাষণ সংবলিত পুস্তিকা প্রকাশের ব্যাপারে আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে লিখিত চিঠি	৬২৫
২৭২	বাংলাদেশের রাষ্ট্রপতি শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের বিচারের বিরুদ্ধে বৃটেনের পত্রপত্রিকায় প্রতিবাদ প্রকাশনার আহবান	৬২৬
২৭৩	দক্ষিণ পূর্ব ইংল্যান্ড অঞ্চলের পক্ষে কনভেনশনের জন্য প্রতিনিধি নির্বাচনের প্রতিক্রিয়া সংবলিত একটি চিঠি	৬২৭
২৭৪	লন্ডনস্থ মুকুল এন্টারপ্রাইজের উদ্যোগে আয়োজিত সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠান 'জয় বাংলা'র প্রচারপত্র	৬২৮
২৭৫	লন্ডনে আয়োজিত বাংলাদেশ সাংস্কৃতিক কর্মী সম্মেলনের বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৬২৯
২৭৬	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের কার্যক্রম সম্পর্কিত প্রতিবেদন	৬৩১
২৭৭	লন্ডনে ১৮ ও ১৯ সেপ্টেম্বরে বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদ আয়োজিত সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠানের প্রচারপত্র	৬৩৩
২৭৮	জাতিসংঘে প্রতিনিধিদলের নেতৃত্ব করার উদ্দেশ্যে নিউইয়র্ক যাত্রার বার্তাসহ বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর প্রতি মুজিবনগর থেকে প্রেরিত টেলিগ্রাম	৬৩৪
২৭৯	মুক্তিযুদ্ধের ছয় মাস উপলক্ষে লন্ডনের সাপ্তাহিক জনমত-এর আবেদন	৬৩৫
২৮০	বৃটেনের এনফিল্ড এ্যাকশন কমিটির পক্ষে চাঁদা আদায়ের রসিদ বই সংক্রান্ত অভিযোগসহ বাংলাদেশ ফান্ডের ট্রাস্টী জন স্টোনহাউস এম,পি-কে লিখিতচিঠি	৬৩৬
২৮১	ম্যাঞ্চেষ্টারে সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠান করার আমন্ত্রণ জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের প্রতি চিঠি	৬৩৮
২৮২	'মৌলভী বাজার এসোসিয়েশন' নাম নিয়ে কতিপয় ব্যক্তির ক্ষতিকর কার্যকলাপের প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে বৃটেনে প্রবাসী মৌলভী বাজারের অধিবাসীদের চিঠি	৬৩৯

ছাব্বিশ

ক্রমিক	বিষয়	পৃষ্ঠা
২৮৩	বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থন এবং 'বাংলাদেশ রিলিফ ফান্ডে' চাঁদা প্রদানের জন্য ছাত্রসমাজকে উদ্বুদ্ধ করার আবেদন জানিয়ে বৃটেনের সকল শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রধানদের উদ্দেশে লিখিত চিঠি	৬৪০
২৮৪	যুদ্ধকালে বৃটেনের বিভিন্ন শহরে মঞ্চায়িত নৃত্যনাট্য 'অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও' এর পান্ডুলিপি	৬৪৪
২৮৫	১৬ অক্টোবর ম্যাঞ্চেস্টারে অনুষ্ঠিতব্য সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠানের পোস্টার	৬৫০
২৮৬	প্রেরিত চাঁদার রসিদ চেয়ে লিবিয়া থোকে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে লেখা চিঠি	৬৫১
২৮৭	দক্ষিণ ইংল্যান্ড আঞ্চলিক এ্যাকশন কমিটি সম্পর্কে মতানৈক্যের প্রশ্নে আয়োজিত সভায় উপস্থিতির জন্য কনভেনশন কমিটির আহবায়কের বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৬৫২
২৮৮	ওল্ডহ্যামে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ ইয়োথ লীগের সংগৃহীত অর্থের সদ্ব্যবহারের উপদেশ কামনা করে স্টিয়ারিং কমিটিকে লিখিত চিঠি	৬৫৩
২৮৯	প্রবাসে একটি সাংস্কৃতিক কেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠার প্রস্তাব সম্বলিত বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর কাছে গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের পক্ষে পেশকৃত গোপন প্রতিবেদন	৬৫৪
২৯০	ঈদের ফেতরা সহ মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের অন্যান্য সাহায্যের জন্য বাংলাদেশ মহিলা সমিতির আবেদন	৬৫৮
২৯১	বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার আন্দোলনকে সমর্থন ও সহযোগিতার আহবান জানিয়ে বৃটেনের লিবারেল পার্টির ১৯৭১ সনের কনফারেন্সে আগত প্রতিনিধিদের উদ্দেশে প্রচারিত আবেদন	৬৬০
২৯২	বৃটেনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের সভাপতি ডঃ এনামুল হকের চিঠিপত্র ও যোগাযোগ	৬৬২
২৯৩	ইংল্যান্ডে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ ফান্ড ও এ্যাকশন কমিটিসমূহের স্টীয়ারিং কমিটির আয় ও ব্যয়ের হিসাব	৬৭৪
২৯৪	মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী আবুল এইচ, সাদউদ্দিনের চিঠিপত্র	৬৯৪
২৯৫	মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রচারিত 'টু এ্যাপীলস'	৬৯৯
২৯৬	পাকিস্তানের ওয়াশিংটন দূতাবাসে বাঙালী কূটনীতিকের প্রতি অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদলিপি	৭০১
২৯৭	পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্টের উদ্দেশে বাঙালী কূটনীতিক এ, এম, এ, মুহিতের স্মারকলিপি	৭০২
২৯৮	পাকিস্তান সরকারের চাকুরী ত্যাগ করে বাংলাদেশের প্রতি আনুগত্য জ্ঞাপনের কারণ সংবলিত বাঙালী কূটনীতিক এ, এম, এ, মুহিতের বিবৃতি	৭০৬
২৯৯	পাক সামরিক জান্তার অধীন গভর্নর মালিকের নিকট জনাব মুহিতের চিঠি	৭০৮
৩০০	নির্ঘন্ট	৭১১

॥ বৃটেনে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা ॥

[বাংলাদেশের অভ্যন্তরে ১৯৭১ সনের আগে থেকেই স্বাধীনতার চিন্তাভাবনা এবং আন্দোলনের ধারা চলে আসছিলো। বিদেশে অবস্থানরত বাঙালীদের মধ্যেও আন্দোলনের অনুরূপ ধারা লক্ষ্য করা যায়। ব্যক্তিগত এবং সাংগঠনিক পর্যায়ে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের এই তৎপরতার প্রমাণ মেলে বিভিন্ন প্রচারপত্র এবং পুস্তিকার মধ্যে। বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার যুদ্ধ শুরু হওয়ার পর প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের আন্দোলন মুজিবনগর সরকারের নেতৃত্বে একযোগে চলতে থাকে। ১৯৭১, ২৫শে মার্চের আগে তাদের এই আন্দোলনের ধারা প্রতিফলিত হয় এরূপ কয়েকটি উল্লেখযোগ্য তথ্য এই খন্ডে সন্নিবেশিত করা হয়েছে।]

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে গঠিত 'ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লিবারেশন ফ্রন্ট' কর্তৃক স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের আহবান।	'ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লিবারেশন ফ্রন্ট নিউজ'	নভেম্বর ১৯৭০

EAST PAKISTAN LIBERATION FRONT NEWS

A meeting of the East Pakistan Liberation Front was held at Digbeth Civic Hall on Sunday 29th November 1970, at 2.00 p.m. with about two thousand Bengalis from the Midlands attending the meeting.

The former student leader Mr. Tariq Ali addressed the meeting and said that "the steps taken by the East Pakistan Liberation Front will be an example to the whole of Asia". He also said that during British rule in India, it was commonly said that" What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow".

The convener of the meeting, Mr. Azizul Hoque Bhuia, called for the immediate and complete independence of East Pakistan; and the following resolutions were put to the meeting and carried without dissent.

This meeting of the East Pakistan Liberation Front:

1. Condemns strongly the indifference and deliberate ineffectiveness shown by President Yahya and his military Government in handling the relief work and also for trying to play down the death toll. In view of this, we hold President Yahya directly responsible for the death of 100,000 people after the disaster. These people could have been saved if prompt action had been taken by the Pakistan Government. We demand Yahya's immediate resignation.

2. Demands that in view of the recent disastrous cyclone, and International committee be set up which includes the International Red Cross, the Red Crescent and similar agencies from China and the Soviet Union, to actively supervise the relief and rehabilitation work and also to make sure that the responsibility of the relief work is not left alone to the Pakistan Army which cannot be trusted and does not enjoy the confidence of the Bengali nation.

3. Immediate steps be taken to negotiate with friendly Governments to execute a Flood Control Programme and permanent measures (like Evacuation and early warning system shelters) against cyclone and Tidal waves. Such a programme was offered, without strings by the Chinese Government several years ago, but was rejected.

4. That. Dacca Airport be declared an International Airport so that in times of emergency it can be used more efficiently.

5. Recognized that East Pakistan is being exploited by the Capitalist Government from West Pakistan. The 75 million Bengalis betrayed for the last 23 years are-no longer willing to rely on a 1100 mile away Government for their protection. This Government

which cannot protect the Bengalis and does not even want to do so, has been exposed clearly in this disaster and therefore the Bengalis declare their ULTIMATE DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE.

"LONG LIVE PEOPLES EAST PAKISTAN"

EAST PAKISTAN LIBERATION FRONT

East Pakistan Liberation Front is a revolutionary organization formed by a group of students and workers from East Pakistan with a motto of liberating people of East Pakistan from ruthless exploitation and domination by the Capitalist dominated Government which happens to be from West Pakistan. They also feel in the same way for the ordinary people of West Pakistan being exploited by the same Capitalist class and that liberation for them should come from themselves.

They firmly believe that East Pakistan should be an entirely independent *country with a people's government* and *the* economic system should be adopted to suit the needs of people in East Pakistan and develop the country's agriculture and industry in such a way that the resources of the country can best be used for the welfare of the country in all aspects of life. Working class and the peasants should enjoy the freedom to the full extent. The front will fight with all its strength against any sort of discrimination by the ruling class.

The front believes that East Pakistan has long been betrayed in the name of religion. 75 million Bengalis are quite capable of looking after their own interests and are united in their voice to have their country free from the domination by the colonialist government in West Pakistan.

The front has with them the blessings and support in carrying the wishes of all the' 75 million Bengalis for an Independent East Bengal. Each and every Bengali has, in his or her heart, the wish for an Independent East Bengali.

The front will keep its struggle for Independence to liberate the people of East Pakistan from the Capitalist exploitation and colonial domination. LONG LIVE FREE EAST PAKISTAN.

"LONG LIVE PEOPLE'S EAST PAKISTAN"

Published by M. A. H BHUIA. Convener & M AHMAD. Deputy Convener.
Primed by The Reprographic Centre, 129 Soho Hill, Birmingham 19.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লিবারেশন ফ্রন্টের মুখপাত্র 'বিদ্রোহী বাংলা'র প্রকাশিত তথ্যাবলী।	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লিবারেশন ফ্রন্ট	২১ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

বিদ্রোহী বাংলা

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আটজন বাঙ্গালী সৈন্যর নির্মম মৃত্যু

চট্টগ্রাম ৮ই মার্চ ডেইলি টেলিগ্রাফে প্রচারিত আটজন বাঙ্গালী সৈন্যকে FIRING SQUAD কর্তৃক গুলি করিয়া হত্যা করা হয়। ঘটনার বিবরণে প্রকাশ, চট্টগ্রামে বিক্ষোভ মিছিলের উপর গুলি চালাইতে বলা হইলে ৮জন অল্পবয়স্ক অফিসার গুলি চালাইতে অস্বীকার করে। তাহারা বলে যে নিরস্ত্র জনসাধারণের উপর গুলি চালান সৈনিকের কাজ নয়। তোদের কাজ বৈদেশিক আক্রমণ থেকে দেশকে রক্ষা করা। উক্ত প্রতিবাদের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে চট্টগ্রাম অঞ্চলের বিশেষ সামরিক কর্মকর্তা তাদেরকে প্রকাশ্যে ময়দানে গুলি করিয়া মারার হুমকি দেয় এবং অনতিবিলম্বে পাঞ্জাবী ফায়ারিং স্কোয়াডের সৈন্যগণ তাদের গুলি করে হত্যা করে। পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে এ ধরনের নজির আর কোথাও দেখা যায় না। এই শহীদ সেনানীদের রক্তের বিনিময়ে বাংলার স্বাধীনতা ছাড়া বাঙ্গালীদের আর কিছুই গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়।

পাকিস্তানী ব্যাঙ্কগুলির দুষ্কৃতি

পুঁজিপতি শোষকদের সবচেয়ে মারাত্মক শোষণযন্ত্র হিসাবে কাজ করে যাচ্ছে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী ব্যাঙ্কগুলি। ইদানীং পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের উপর অত্যাচার, হয়রানী ও হত্যার প্রতিবাদে ও আমানত খেয়ানতের ভয়ে বাঙ্গালীগণ তাদের নিজের জমা ব্যাঙ্ক থেকে তুলতে গেলে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী তথা পাঞ্জাবী কর্মচারীগণ (উচ্চ এবং নিম্নপদস্থ সমবায়ে) তাদের সঙ্গে তুচ্ছ-তাচ্ছিল্যভাবে ব্যবহার করে এবং রীতিমত বিদ্বেষভাব প্রদর্শন করে। শুধু তাই নয়, যাও অল্পসংখ্যক (নিম্নপদস্থ) বাঙ্গালী কর্মচারী সে সমস্ত প্রতিষ্ঠানে কাজ করে তাদেরকে পরোক্ষভাবে নাজেহাল করে তাদের জীবন দুর্বিষহ করে তোলে।

এক্ষেত্রে সকল বাঙ্গালীরই উচিত এই সমস্ত কুখ্যাত প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলোকে যতটা সম্ভব এড়িয়ে চলা এবং তাদের সঙ্গে ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্যে অসহযোগ করা। সবচেয়ে মজার বিষয় এই যে এর মধ্যে দু-একজন বাঙ্গালী তাঁবেদার এখনও সেই সমস্ত প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রশংসায় পঞ্চমুখ। মীরজাফর এখনও জন্ম নিচ্ছে। সাবধান, এদের কথায় যেন ভুল করবেন না।

আর কত দিন?

গত ১৬ই মার্চ ঢাকা থেকে প্রাপ্ত খবরে প্রকাশ, ''ইয়াহিয়া-মুজিব'' আলোচনার প্রাথমিক পর্যায়ে কোন প্রকার সমঝোতায় এখনও পৌঁছাতে পারেননি। ইয়াহিয়ার সঙ্গে আলোচনার পর প্রেসিডেন্ট ভবন থেকে আসার পথে সাংবাদিকগণ ''জয় বাংলা'' ধ্বনি করিয়া শেখ মুজিবকে সর্ম্বধনা জানায়। কিন্তুশেখ মুজিবকে তাতে খুব প্রফুল্ল দেখায়নি। সাংবাদিকদের প্রশ্নের উত্তরে তিনি শুধু ''আমাকে এখন কিছু জিজ্ঞেস করবেন না'' বলে গাড়ীতে উঠে পড়েন। গাড়ী চলতে শুরু করলে বাঙ্গালী সাংবাদিকগণ ঘন ঘন ''জয় বাংলা'' ধ্বনি করিয়া শেখ মুজিবকে বিদায় সর্ম্বধনা জ্ঞাপন করেন। সেনাবাহিনীর জনৈক উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারী জয় বাংলা ধ্বনি করিয়া ১০ বৎসরের সশ্রম

কারাদন্ডের ভয় দেখান। কিন্তু সাংবাদিকগণ তাতে মোটেই কর্ণপাত করেননি। দু'দিন আগেই হোক আর পরেই হোক জোড়াতালির পাকিস্তান আর কয়দিন।

আপোষ না সংগ্রাম (সম্পাদকীয়)

পূর্ব বাংলার জনসাধারণের এই অসহযোগ আন্দোলন নিয়ে এসেছে এক গণবিপ্লবের জয় জয়কার। এ গণবিপ্লব শুধু বাংলাদেশ আর পাকিস্তানই নয়, ভারত এবং দুরপ্রাচ্যে গণবিপ্লবের এক নতুন অধ্যায় খুলে ধরছে।

মার্শাল ল এবং মিলিটারী নির্যাতন সত্ত্বেও বাংলার স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন যে গতিতে এগিয়ে চলেছে তাকে রোধ করা পাকিস্তানী পুঁজিপতি কেন সারা পৃথিবীর সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা মিলেও রোধ করতে পারবে না।

গত ২৩ বছরের শোষণ নির্যাতন এবং বিড়ম্বনা আজ যতটা নগ্ন হয়ে ধরা পড়েছে তা বাঙ্গালী কোনদিন কোনক্রমেই ক্ষমতা করতে পারবে না। তাই বাংলা মায়ের যোগ্য সন্তানরা অকাতরে ঢেলে দিয়েছে তাদের তাজা কাঁচা তরুণ লাল রক্ত। তাদের আশা-আকাঙ্খাকে রূপায়িত করার জন্য বাংলার আনাচে-কানাচে আজ ধ্বনিত হচ্ছে ''জয় বাংলা'' বজ্রনিনাদ। বাংলার কিশোররা প্রস্তুত হচ্ছে মিলিটারীদের সঙ্গে লড়াই করার জন্য। তীর ধনু আর বাঁশের লাঠি নিয়ে বেরিয়ে পড়ার জন্য সার সার কাতারবন্দি হয়ে আছে- নব বাংলার নতুন ক্ষুদিরাম আর তোরাব আশরাফ। কৃষাণ তৈরী হচ্ছে লাঙ্গল রেখে, শ্রমিক আসছে কারখানা ছেড়ে, ছাত্রেরা বেরিয়ে এসেছে বিদ্যালয় থেকে। এরা সম্মলিতভাবে আজ আওয়াজ তুলছে জুলুমের বিরুদ্ধে, শোষণের বিরুদ্ধে। এরা প্রস্তুত হচ্ছে আজ শোষক শ্রেণীর বিরুদ্ধে। এই শ্রেণীযুদ্ধে সাধারণের জয় অনিবার্য।

শোষক শ্রেণী বুঝতে পেরেছে তাদের পরাজয়ের কাল-কুক্ষণ আর দূরে নয়। আজ আমাদের এই বলিষ্ঠ পদক্ষেপকে বানচাল করার জন্য আপোসের বায়না নিয়ে হাজির হয়েছে কুচক্রী ''ইয়াহিয়া''। এক্ষেত্রে আপোষ করা হবে বিপ্লবের এবং জনগণের আশা-আকাঙ্খা এবং তরুণদের আত্মবলির অপমৃত্যু। তাই আজ আমাদের কর্তব্য অচল-অটলভাবে আমাদের সংগ্রাম চালিয়ে যাওয়া। কৃষক, শ্রমিক, ছাত্র ও আপামর জনসাধারণের শ্রেণীশত্রুদের নিঃশেষ ও নিশ্চিহ্ন না করা পর্যন্ত চালিয়ে যেতে হবে বিপ্লবী সংগ্রাম। সংগ্রামই মুক্তির একমাত্র পথ। ''মুক্তির একই নাম- সংগ্রাম''॥

সবুজ বাংলা লাল হলো

আজিজ আল মোজাহিদ

মার্চ মাসের ৩ তারিখ বুধবার জাতীয় পরিষদের সম্মেলন শুরু হবার কথা। ১২ বৎসরের মিলিটারী শাসনের অবসান, উৎপীড়ন ও শোষণ শেষ হবে। জনসাধারণের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিরা ভার নেবে জাতীয় বিভিন্নমুখী সমস্যা সমাধানের। গণতান্ত্রিক নিয়মে নির্ধারিত হবে দেশের ভবিষ্যৎ।

হঠাৎ করে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী নেতা ভুট্টো সাহেব ঘোষণা করলেন, তিনি অসহযোগ করবেন জাতীয় পরিষদের প্রথম বৈঠকে। কারণ ইসলামী ভ্রাতৃত্বের নামে কায়েমী স্বার্থবাদী শোষণ রোধ হয় আর সম্ভব হয়ে উঠবে না।

তাই ইয়াহিয়াকে তিনি কানে কানে বুঝালেন। বাঙ্গালীরা এবার সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ। নিয়মতান্ত্রিক ভিত্তিতে এগুতে গেলে বাঙ্গালীর জয় হবে সুনিশ্চিত। বাঙ্গালী ২৩ বছর থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়ে আসছে তাদের ন্যায্য দাবীদাওয়া এবং পাওনা থেকে।

তাই এরা এবার তাদের পাওনা আদায় করবে কড়ায় গন্ডায়।

শেখ মুজিব তার ছ'দফা ভিত্তিক দাবী আদায় না করে ছাড়বেন না। তাতে পাঞ্জাব রাজের শোষণনীতি ব্যাহত হয়ে পড়বে। ধসে পড়বে ঔপনিবেশিক শোষণের পথ, বন্ধ হয়ে যাবে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের দালান, ইমারত রাস্তাঘাট ও ড্যাম নির্মাণের কাজ।

তাই যেমন করেই হোক বাংলাকে তার দাবী থেকে হঠাতে হবে বন্দুক দেখিয়ে। আর বন্দুকের বাহক পাঞ্জাবী মিলিটারীর সাহায্যে চলতে থাকবে অবাধ শোষণ। ইয়াহিয়া খান ভাবলেন কথা মন্দ নয়। নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠান করতে দিয়ে যে ভুল করা হয়েছে তাকে শোধরাতে হলে এই একমাত্র পথ।

নির্বাচনের পূর্বে যে মনোভাব নিয়ে নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠানের সুযোগ দিয়েছিলেন, তা আর হয়ে উঠে নি। আশা ছিল মৌদুদী সাহেবকে দিয়ে ইসলামের দোহাই দিয়ে নির্বাচনে জয়ী হবেন। তাদের পাক্কা ২৩ বছরের অভিজ্ঞতা, বাংলার মানুষের মুখ বন্ধ রাখার একমাত্র উপায় ইসলাম। তা এবারে আর হয়ে ওঠেনি। মৌদুদীর "ইসলাম ডুবে গেল" কথার অর্থ যে কি, বাংলার জনসাধারণ তা পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খরুপে বুঝে নিয়েছে। ফল হলো সম্পূর্ণ উল্টো। জয়ী হলো বাংলার ছ'দফা। ছাই পড়লো বুর্জোয়া মিলিটারী গুষ্ঠি ও শোষণকারী পুঁজিপতিদের মুখে।

হেন অবস্থায় কি করা যায়? 'পাঞ্জাব রাজ' যে ডুবে যায়! তাই হুট করে বুদ্ধি নিলেন বন্দুক হাতে নেওয়ার। বন্দুক দেখলে বাঙ্গালী হয়তো আর এগুবে না।

তাই বিমান ভর্তি করে আমদানী করা হলো পাঞ্জাবী মিলিটারী। পূর্ব বাংলার পথে-ঘাটে, শহরে-বন্দরে বেরিয়ে পড়ে খুনী ইয়াহিয়ার রক্তপিপাসু নরঘাতকের দল। নারী-শিশু-পুরুষ নির্বিশেষে চালিয়ে গেল আমেরিকান বুলেট। হাজার হাজার বাঙ্গালী রুখে দাঁড়ালো মৃত্যুভয়কে তুচ্ছ করে। সবুজ বাংলার শান্তিপ্রিয় সন্তানরা এবার বিপ্লবী হুঙ্কারে বেরিয়ে এল রাজপথে। বিপ্লবীদের রক্তে লাল হয়ে গেল বাংলার মাটি। সবুজ বাংলা লাল হলো মিলিটারীর গুলিতে। এ লালের লেলিহান রক্তিম আভায় লাল হয়ে উঠবে শুধু বাংলা নয়, সমস্ত দুরপ্রাচ্যে। তা প্রতিরোধ করার চেষ্টায় ধ্বংস হয়ে যায় শোষণকারী পুঁজিপতি আর তাদের পদলেহী মানবতার শত্রু বুর্জোয়া শয়তানের দল।

হত্যার প্রতিবাদে

গত ৫ই মার্চ শুক্রবার পূর্ব পাকিস্তান লিবারেশন ফ্রন্টের সদস্যগণ পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে মিলিটারী নির্যাতন ও নৃশংস্য হত্যার প্রতিবাদে ল-নস্থিত পাকিস্তান হাই কমিশন ভবনের সামনে বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শন করেন। হাই কমিশনের দেওয়ালে দেওয়ালে "জয় বাংলা" "স্বাধীন বাংলা" ইত্যাদি শ্লোগান লাল কালিতে লিখে দেন।

ফ্রন্টের সদস্যদের সঙ্গে লন্ডনের কিছুসংখ্যক ছাত্র যোগদান করেন। বিক্ষোভকারীগণ পথচারীদের হাতে তাদের স্মারকলিপি বিলি করেন। হাই কমিশনার সালমান আলীকে সাহেবকে ফ্রন্টের চেয়ারম্যান আল মোজাহিদ স্বাধীনতার দাবী সম্বলিত স্মারকলিপি প্রদান করেন। তারপর বিদেশী সংবাদপত্রের সংবাদদাতাদের উপস্থিতিতে ও BBC Television camera-এর সামনে পাকিস্তানের জাতীয় পতাকা এবং ইয়াহিয়া খানের ছবি জ্বালিয়ে এই কথা ঘোষণা করেন যে, বাঙ্গালীদের সঙ্গে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানীদের কোন সম্পর্ক থাকতে পারে না এবং স্বাধীনতা অর্জন না করা পর্যন্ত কোন মতেই তারা সংগ্রাম থেকে পিছপা হবে না।

লন্ডনে বাঙ্গালীদের বিক্ষোভ

বাংলাদেশে ইদানীং অবিচার, অত্যাচার এবং নরহত্যার যে যজ্ঞ শুরু করা হয় তার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে GREAT BRITAIN-এ বসবাসকারী বাঙ্গালীগণ লন্ডনে এক বিরাট বিক্ষোভ মিছিলের আয়োজন করেন। এই মিছিল ৭ই মার্চ রবিবার অনুষ্ঠিত হয়।

ধর্ম, দল বা রাজনৈতিক মতামত নির্বিশেষে সকল শ্রেণীর বাঙ্গালী দশ ঘটিকা হতে GREAT BRITAIN- এর সকল প্রান্ত থেকে দলে দলে কোচ, ভ্যান, কার এবং রেলযোগে লন্ডনের হাইড পার্ক কর্নারে সমবেত হয় ও পার্কে পৌঁছাবার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে জনতা স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ জিন্দাবাদ'' ''জয় বাংলা'' ''খুনী ইয়াহিয়ার মুন্ডু চাই'' ইত্যাদি ধ্বনি তুলে পশ্চিম লন্ডনের এই প্রান্তকে প্রকম্পিত করে তোলেন।

বিভিন্ন বক্তা বক্তৃতা করার পর জনতা পরম শৃঙ্খলার সঙ্গে পার্ক লেইন রাজপথ ধরে পাকিস্তান হাই কমিশন অভিমুখে যাত্রা করেন।

এই সময় রাস্তার সমস্ত যানবাহন বন্ধ হয়ে যায় এবং পুলিশের তত্ত্বাবধানে শ্লোগান দিতে দিতে হাই কমিশন অফিস প্রাঙ্গণে সমবেত হন।

ইতিমধ্যে দুরভিসন্ধিমূলক মনোভাব নিয়ে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী হাই কমিশনার আগে থেকে পুলিশ ডেকে বাধার সৃষ্টি করেন এবং হাই কমিশন ভবনের প্রবেশের দুই পাশের প্রবেশ পথ বন্ধ করে দেন। ফলে জনতা ক্ষিপ্ত হয়ে ওঠেন এবং পরে 'হাই কমিশনার মহারাজ' পুলিশ বেষ্টনী থেকে জনতাকে কিছু বলার চেষ্টা করেন।

ক্ষিপ্ত জনতা হাই কমিশনারকে ব্যানারে কাগজ এবং দন্ড ইত্যাদি নিক্ষেপ করে তার এই দুরভিসন্ধি ও দুষ্কর্মের প্রতিবাদ করেন। পুলিশের সঙ্গে ধস্তাধস্তির ফলে জনাকয়েক বাঙ্গালী আহত হন এবং একজনকে হাসপাতালে পাঠাতে হয়।

Metropolitan Police সূত্রে জানা যায় যে ইংল্যান্ডের ইতিহাসে অশেতাঙ্গদের এত বড় বিক্ষোপ মিছিল এই প্রথম।

আনুমানিক দশ হাজারের অধিক বাঙ্গালী এই মিছিলে অংশগ্রহণ করে এই কথা আবার প্রমাণ করে দিলেন যে সুদুর পাঁচ হাজার মাইলের ব্যবধানেও জননী জন্মভূমি বাংলাদেশের ডাকে বাঙ্গালীরা বিপুলভাবে সাড়া দিয়েছে।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে পাকিস্তানী সেনাবাহিনীর হত্যাযজ্ঞের প্রতিবাদে এবং স্বাধীনতার আহবানে শপথ সভার প্রচারপত্র।	'জয় বাংলা' বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

''জয় বাংলা''

শপথ সভা, ২৮শে মার্চ রবিবার,

স্মলহীথ পার্ক, বার্মিংহাম, বেলা ২ ঘটিকা

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের উপর বর্বর হামলা চালাচ্ছে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী মিলিটারী। নরঘাতক রক্তপিপাসু পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা আমাদের নবঘোষিত স্বাধীন সোনার বাংলাদেশকে ধ্বংস করার হীন ষড়যন্ত্রে মরিয়া হয়ে উঠেছে।

তাদের আক্রমণ প্রতিরোধ করার জন্য এসেছে বাংলার নর-নারী আবাল-বৃদ্ধ-বণিতা; রক্তগঙ্গা বয়ে যাচ্ছে প্রতিটি শহর, বন্দর এবং গ্রামে। বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষ কামান, বন্দুক আর বোমার সামনে প্রাণ দিয়ে চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে মুক্তিযুদ্ধ। ''বাংলাদেশ'' আর তার সাড়ে সাত কোটি লোককে বাচাঁতে হলে চাই অস্ত্রশস্ত্র, গোলাবারুদ- আর তার জন্য চাই আপনার আমার সাহায্য। আসুন শপথ সভায় যোগ দিয়ে আমাদের এই জীবন-মরণ সংগ্রামকে সার্থক করে তুলি। আসুন, এই সভাতে দলে দলে যোগ দিয়ে স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের নাগরিক হিসাবে বাংলার এই স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনকে শক্তিশালী করে তুলুন।

আহবায়ক,

বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি।

জয় বাংলা!!

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীন বাংলা স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ওপর বুলেটিন	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি	৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

স্বাধীন বাংলা

সংক্ষিপ্ত সংবাদ

(রোজ মঙ্গলবার ৩রা এপ্রিল ১৯৭১ সন)

৬টি শহর মুক্তিসেনার হস্তগত

সর্বশেষ সংবাদে জানা গেছে যে সিলেট, ময়মনসিংহ, যশোর, রংপুর, রাজশাহী ও খুলনা মুক্তি বাহিনী নরঘাতক ইয়াহিয়ার সেনাবাহিনীকে তাড়িয়ে দিয়ে নিজেদের আয়ত্তে এনেছে।

যশোরে আমাদের মুক্তিসেনা শত্রুদের একটি বিমানধ্বংসী কামান ও ১০০ মেশিনগান দখল করে নিয়েছে। মুক্তিসেনার আক্রমণে শত্রুপক্ষ যশোর থেকে ৪ মাইল দূরে আশ্রয় নিয়েছে। খবরে আরও জানা গেছে যে কুমিল্লা প্রায় মুক্তিসেনার হস্তগত। সেখানে প্রায় ৩০০ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্য ও ৫০০ মুক্তিযোদ্ধা মারা গিয়েছে বলে উল্লেখ করা হয়।

সিলেটে ১০০ ছাত্রের মৃত্যু

রক্তপিপাসু পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যরা একটি ছাত্রাবাসের উপর রাত্রি অন্ধকারে গুলিবর্ষণ করে ১০০ ছাত্রকে নির্মমভাবে ঘুমন্ত অবস্থায় হত্যা করে।

পৃথিবীর বিভিন্ন রাষ্ট্র কর্তৃক পাকিস্তানের নিন্দা

রাশিয়া, জাপান, জাম্বিয়া ও কেনিয়া বাংলায় এ নৃশংস হত্যাকান্ডের তীব্র নিন্দা করেন। সিনেটর কেনেডি মার্কিন সরকারকে অনুরোধ করেছেন যেন পাকিস্তানে সামরিক ও বেসামরিক সর্ব প্রকার সাহায্য বন্ধ করে দেওয়া হয়।

শত্রুসৈন্যদের খাদ্য সংকট

বাংলাদেশে খুনী ইয়াহিয়ার সেনাবাহিনী এক বিরাট খাদ্য সংকটের সম্মুখীন বলে জানা গেছে। কোন বাঙ্গালী তাদের খাদ্য সরবরাহ করছে না।

একটি আবেদন

বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির RADIO MONITOR SERVICE থেকে প্রাপ্ত আবেদন হুবাহু প্রকাশ করছিঃ ‘‘বাংলার মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা আপ্রাণ যুদ্ধ করে যাচ্ছে।

পৃথিবীর সকল জাতির কাছে বিশেষ করে প্রবাসী বাঙ্গালীদের কাছে আমার আবেদন- অস্ত্রশস্ত্র, খাদ্য সামগ্রী ও সাহায্য পাঠাও’’

শেষ সংবাদ

1) জাতিসংঘের সেক্রেটারী জেনারেল উ থান্ট পাকিস্তান থেকে সমস্ত জাতিসংঘের কর্মচারী অপসারণের আদেশ দিয়েছেন এবং পাকিস্তানে যে ১১টি উন্নত পরিকল্পনায় জাতিসংঘের সাহয্য ছিল তার কাজ বন্ধ করে দিয়েছেন।

২) বাংলাদেশ ১২টি শহরের উপর ভীষণভাবে বোমাবর্ষণ করেছে বলে সংবাদ পাওয়া গেছে। তাতে হতাহতের সংখ্যা ১ লক্ষের অধিক হবে বলে অনুমান করা হয়।

প্রচার দফতর, বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি।
৫২ ওয়ার্ড সওয়ার্থ রোড, স্মলহীথ বার্মিংহাম।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটিশ এমপি কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীন সংগ্রামের প্রতি সমর্থন এবং সাহায্যের আশ্বাস	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান এসোসিয়েশনের এ আর খানের প্রতি বৃটিশ এমপি-র চিঠি।	৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON, SWI
Frank Judd MP
3rd April 1971

Dear Mr. Khan

I am very glad that you and your friends came to share with me your concern about events in East Pakistan. I do share your anxiety. Please do not hesitate to approach me for my help at any time, and in the meanwhile I look forward to receiving your letter.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-

I hope your rally was successful.

Mr. Khan
East Pakistan Association
6 Britannia Road
Portsmouth.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে ও স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে সারা বৃটেনে সভা ও শোভাযাত্রার আহবান	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের প্রচার পত্র	৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে
এবং
স্বাধীন বাংলার স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে
বৃটেনের সকল শহর, বন্দর ও নগরে আগামী ৪ঠা এপ্রিল রবিবার
সভা ও শোভাযাত্রা করুন

লন্ডনে আগামী ৪ঠা এপ্রিল রবিবার বেলা দেড়টায় হাইড পার্ক স্পীর্কাস কর্নারে দলে দলে জমায়েত হউন। আপনার দেশের স্বীকৃতির দাবীর জন্য বজ্রকণ্ঠে আওয়াজ তুলুনঃ আমার দেশ তোমার দেশ- বাংলাদেশ বাংলাদেশ। শোভাযাত্রা করে বৃটিশ সরকার এবং বিভিন্ন দেশের দূতাবাসে গিয়ে স্বাধীন বাংলার স্বীকৃতির দাবী জানান।

বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের পক্ষ থেকে ৩৬ গ্যামেজেস বিল্ডিং, ১২০ হবোর্ন, লন্ডন ইসি-১ থেকে প্রকাশিত ও প্রচারিত। টেলিফোনঃ ০১-৪০৫-৫৯১৬/৭

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের গ্রেফতারের খবর এবং কমন্সসভার সদস্যগণ কর্তৃক পাকিস্তানের যুদ্ধ বিরতির আহবান সম্পর্কিত তথ্য	জনাব এ আর খানের প্রতি বৃটিশ এমপি-র চিঠি।	৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

From Frank Judd, M. P.
6th April, 1971.

Dear Mr. Khan,

I was glad you came to see me last week and I am now writing to thank you for your letter of 5th April which I have sent to the Home Secretary.

You may like to know that in the meantime a letter from the High Commission for Pakistan in enquiry and he writes:

"Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested by the authorities in Dacca a few days ago and is now being held in custody. Reports to the contrary which have, from time to time, appeared in the press are not true."

Also an early day motion was tabled yesterday in the House of Commons with a large number of signatures as well as mine calling on the Government to bring about a cease fire in Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,

S d/-.

Mr. M.A. Razzak Khan

6 Britannia Road

Southsea

Portsmouth.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার প্রতি সমর্থন এবং গণহত্যা ও বুদ্ধিজীবী নিধনের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদের আহবান জানিয়ে বৃটিশ বিশ্ববিদ্যালসমূহের সদস্যদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের শিক্ষক ও বুদ্ধিজীবীদের বিবৃতি	বাংলাদেশের এ্যাসোসিয়েশন স্কটল্যান্ড প্রকাশিত প্রচারপত্র	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH UNIVERSITIES

Dear Colleagues,

With the passage of each day more and more names of our colleagues are being added to the list of those who have been the victims of the genocide by the West Pakistan troops in Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan). Latest eye-witness reports published in the British press confirm the murders of the following Dacca University teachers: Professor Innas Ali, Dean of the Faculty of Science; Professor Nurul Islam. Director. Institute of Post-Graduate Medicine; Professor G. C. Dev, Head of the Dept. of Philosophy; Professor S. Murshed, Head of the Dept. of English; Professor Maniruzzaman, Head of the Dept. of Statistics; Professor Habibullah, Head of the Dept. of Islamic History; Dr. A. Sharif, Reader, Dept. of Bengali; Mr. A.Razzak, Reader. Dept. of Political Science; Dr. J. Thakurda, Reader, Dept. of Physics; Mr.A.Bhattacharya, Lecturer, Dept. of Physics; and Mr. S. Ali, Lecturer, Dept. of Mathematics. It is also feared that thousands of students have been killed in the carnage.

No doubt it is only a part of a tragedy the full magnitude of which is yet to be revealed.

Considering the extent and nature of this organized political killing to eliminate intellectuals, we feel bound to appeal to our colleagues in this country to raise their voice against the genocide.

Yours sincerely.

Members of Staff of the Universities of
Dacca, Rajshahi, Chittagong and the
affiliated Colleges now on higher studies
in Scotland.

BANGLADESH
ASSOCIATION
SCOTLAND
15 Eldon Street,
Glasgow, C.3.
14.4.1971.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যার প্রতিবাদ ও স্বাধীনতার প্রতি সমর্থনের জন্য চার্চসমূহের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন, স্কটল্যান্ড সভাপতির আহবান	প্রচার পত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES

All eye-witness reports from Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) unanimously confirm that the situation is desperate there. Thousands have been killed by the West Pakistani troops and millions are facing death by starvation. According to Ian McDonald, British relief co-coordinator for cyclone aid to East Pakistan:

> "One and a half million people are currently starving (in other words, they will be dead within the space of weeks unless outside aid reaches them). These were the total destitute, who survived the cyclone last year, and who depend completely on external relief when crops in the remainder of the country are exhausted, a further three million people will be in the same predicament. They too will come to depend wholly on outside relief and if it fails to reach them, they too will be dead within weeks or a few months." ……(The Peace News, April 23, 1971)

The Pakistan military regime has no intention to do anything to solve the problem. The International Red Cross was not allowed to go to Bangladesh. **Is the Pakistan Government trying to starve the country into submission? From all the evidence, it is.**

Hence, the only solution before all of us is to mount an international relief effort which the Pakistan Government dare not, or could not challenge. No doubt, the Relief Organisation under you would be one of the first to forward to avert the situation. But any delay will be too late.

We are confident that an early effort by each and every member of your organization will be able to save the people of Bengal from horror and death.

15 Eldon Street,

GLASGOW C.3.
Tel: 041-33-6579

President,
Bangladesh Association,
SCOTLAND

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের প্রতি সমর্থনের জন্য বৃটিশ জনগণের উদ্দেশ্য বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন, স্কটল্যান্ডের আহবান	প্রচার পত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC

As you all know that Pakistan in two parts separated by thousand miles was created out of the former British India in 1947 in accordance with the Lahore resolution of 1940 which states "…….. the areas in which Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute **Independent States** in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

The 75 million Bengalees in East Pakistan out of 120 million Pakistanis had all along been denied of these fundamental rights by west Pakistani based Governments civil or military in order to continue the economic and political exploitation of the East.

Sheikh Mujib who emerged as leader of the majority party in the national assembly after last December general election was not allowed to form Government by the West Pakistani military dictators as Mujib's 6-points programme consistent with ideological basis of Pakistan was designed to bring an end to the West Pakistani exploitation. Instead of respecting the democratic verdict of 75 million people the savage military dictatorship sent guns, tanks, artillery and aircrafts to Bengal kill thousands of children, women and men in their houses, patients in hospitals and students in their hostels.

The genocide that is now being committed in Bengal is a crime against humanity and human aspirations and we appeal to the people from this seat of democracy to support the people of BANGLADESH in their struggle for the democratic way of life.

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION

SCOTLAND.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের প্রতি সমর্থন এবং শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের জীবন রক্ষার প্রচেষ্টা চালানোর জন্য মার্কিন সিনেটরদের প্রতি বৃটেনের বাংলাদেশ লিবারেশন ফ্রন্টের আহবান	বাংলাদেশ লিবারেশন ফ্রন্টের সভাপতির চিঠি	১৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH LIBERATIONFRONT.
10. LEICESTER GROVE.
LEEDS 7.
UNITED KINGDOM.
THE I6TH APRIL. 1971.

Honorable Senator.

We acknowledge with gratitude the concern that the Government of the U S A. has expressed about the situation in BANGLADESH (previously known as East Pakistan). But with great regret we inform you that the West Pakistani barbarians are using the weapons including **TANKS** and **JETS** supplied by you against our innocent and unarmed civilians We have always considered U.S.A. as the champion of FREEDOM and DEMOCRACY, but we are disappointed with the extent of your OFFICIAL support, we have received so far for our cause.

We, however, appreciate the DIPLOMATIC difficulties that usually arise in such a situation but we would like to point out that the ease of BANGLADESH is not only different but also exceptional. We presume that you know that the basis of Pakistan Movement had been LAHORE RESOLUTION of 1940 which stated:-

"Resolved, that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslim unless it is designed on the following basic principle*, viz.. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims arc numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute INDEPENDENT STATES in which the constituent units shall be AUTONOMOUS and SOVEREIGN".

After partition of British India West Pakistan arbitrarily assumed the provision of TWO STATES in the Lahore Resolution as typographical error and imposed its colonial rule over BANGLADESH. We however, expected that the issue could be settled through democratic process. But for the last 23 years the Punjabi dominated civil and military bureaucracies conspired against us and when we ultimately forced a GENERAL ELECTION in the country they came out with their ugly faces-it is now clear that although these Westernized elites apparently look more ENGLISH than the ENGLISH

themselves, they have never believed in democracy nor in the right of the majority in a democratic government (see Appendix A).

There should be, therefore, no more illusion about the existence of Pakistan in the OLD FORM. The Lahore Resolution envisaged two states; the psychological basis of Pakistan has ended with the **Punjabi Genocide** of the BENGALIS and there is no possibility of expecting democratic norms from people who are by BIRTH, TRADITION, and UPBRINGING FEUDAL and AUTOCRATIC.

We appeal to you to realize that MUJIB'S BANGLADESH has much more legitimacy than YAHYA'S (sec Appendix B) and to RECOGNISE BANGLADESH immediately as an INDEPENDENT and SOVEREIGN STATE.

We will fight Yahya's barbarous troops till death. **We know we will come out victorious.** We are also confident that sooner or later we will get the support of your government, but we are afraid many of our people may be dead if the support comes late. Unable to strangulate our voice for SELF-DETERMINATION, Yahya has gone mad. He is now burning and bombing our people and villages and threatening us with famine and epidemic. Your timely support can help thousands of lives and give us the precious time to build up our country on the basis of the values we cherish: DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY and RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

Permit us to enclose a few editorial comments from the British press in support of our appeal to you for early effective action (see Appendix C. D. E. F). We trust the voice of 75 million people of BANGLADESH will touch your heart and we will hear you before we are DEAD.

In case you find the immediate RECOGNITION of BANGLADESH **Diplomatically** difficult kindly at least try to insure that the AW AMI LEAGUE Leader SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN is not killed and please press Yahya Khan for political settlement through the AW AMI LEAGUE which holds **people's verdict** Also kindly ensure that all military and economic assistance to West Pakistan is immediately stopped and relief supplies are sent to BANGLADESH.

Yours sincerely,
(M. M. HAQ)
On behalf of
BANGLADESH LIBERATION FRONT

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের গণহত্যা বন্ধের প্রচেষ্টা এবং স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের প্রতি সমর্থনদানের জন্য বৃটিশ পার্লামেন্ট সদস্যদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ লিবারেশন ফ্রন্টের আহবান	বাংলাদেশ লিবারেশন ফ্রন্টের সভাপতির চিঠি	১৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

Honorable Member of the Parliament,

With deep gratitude, we acknowledge the spontaneous condemnation of the British press and public on the unprecedented genocide that is being committed by the West Pakistani troops in BANGLADESH (previously known East Pakistan). The whole scheme now appears to have been carefully pre-planned and is being meticulously executed. We are also grateful to the British government for the concern they have expressed on the gravity of the situation and we would like to take this opportunity of presenting our views to you with a request to take appropriate measure necessary for

(a) the immediate stoppage of the massacre of the innocent and unarmed civilians,

(b) arranging relief supplies for the immediate need of the affected people as well as for preventing the expected famine, and,

(c) diplomatic recognition of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH as a sovereign and independent state.

(1) The case of BANGLADESH is not like that of Biafra.

(i) The historic Lahore Resolution of the 23rd March, 1940, has been the basis of the state of Pakistan. The Resolution stated:

"Resolved, that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz. that geographically contiguous units arc demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial re-adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign".

This resolution was passed by the General Body of the All-India Muslim League. It has not been constitutionally amended. In a separate meeting of the newly elected members of constituent Assembly for the proposed Pakistan, it was arbitrarily decided by Mr. Jinnah that the word "INDEPENDENT STATES" was a typographical error and inspite of protest by Mr. Abul Hashim, Secretary of the Bengal Muslim League the decision was imposed on Bengal.

(ii) However, it was expected that the nature of the stale would be decided by the members of the Constituent Assembly and a General election would be held soon to determine the public opinion on this point. We presume it is known to you that the

Punjab-dominated civil and military bureaucracies did not allow free election to take place in the country for the last 23 years. (The first general election was due in 1959. The Army moved in 1958.)

(iii) The Army was finally forced to concede general election in 1970-71. The democratically elected members for the National Assembly from BANGLADESH had every right to give the country a constitution on the basis of Lahore Resolution-the later being the basis of Pakistan Movement. Instead of accepting this democratic convention, the Punjabi-dominated army is engaged in genocide to strangulate the democratic rights of the people of BANGLADESH

2) BANGLADESH and West Pakistan have two different levels of civilization.

(i)The people of West Pakistan consider themselves as racially superior claiming Aryan origin and they look down upon the people of BANGLADESH as racially and culturally inferior creatures. This is evident from what ex-President Ayub Khan himself wrote about East Pakistanis. According to him the East Bengalis had never known any real freedom and sovereignty they have all the inhibitions of down-trodden races and have not yet found it possible to adjust psychologically to the new-born freedom." (Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters. 1967, p. 187.)

This has been the attitude of die minority West Pakistanis towards the majority population Historically the facts have been otherwise:

(a)The Bengali Muslims ruled over Bengal and considerable part of Assam, Bihar and Orissa from 1201 to 1757 frequently independent of the Muslim Emperor at Delhi,

(b) the Bengali Muslims were first among the Muslim majority provinces to capture political power in the British India, and

(c) the Bengali Muslims led the Pakistan Movement while the Punjabis were dominated by the Sikh and gave only lukewarm support and the frontier hoisted Congress flag even after independence

(ii) It is, however, not surprising that West Pakistan will have a different attitude on East Pakistan. The whole area is virtually owned by a few landlords and they own not only lands but the people (in Sind about 80% of the land are held by feudal landlords; in Punjab and Sind the proportion is about 50%). Their values are essentially feudal and their society is supported by a network of feudal codes (of caste beradari in the Punjab and tribal customs in the frontier). Democracy in West Pakistan is meaningless as votes ate controlled by the landlords and the religious leaders (Bhutto himself is a big landlord and he got his majority in Punjab through negotiation with the Punjabi landlords. The Pir of Paggaro alone controls about 4 million votes.)

The people of BANGLADESH are on the other hand democratic and egalitarian They have no caste or tribal affiliation. All lands belong to the state and so there are no feudal lords. Bengali Muslims are much MM tolerant to the minorities. West Pakistan dues IM understand this toleration. (In Punjab, millions of minorities were killed during tin.* partition of India.) They interprete the toleration of the Bengali Muslims as pro-Indian. In fact, the Bengalis are at a different level, of civilization with far more respect to the ideals of democracy, equality and religious toleration.

The feudal values of West Pakistan are also reflected in very many fields in administration West Pakistan is highly centralized without any local government institutions; in Bengal the tradition of local self-government has been strong and administration is relatively de-centralized; in politics West Pakistan is dominated by feudal lords with murder, intimidation and even abduction of women (see Hamza Alvi for village politics in West Pakistan in South Asian Review, January, 1971). while in Bengal democracy runs supreme. Examples of such differences can be multiplied.

(3) The Genocide in BANGLADESH.

The British press have published many accounts of inhuman massacre of the innocent and unarmed people of BANGLADESH by the West Pakistani troops. One naturally wonders how people could be so un-civilized in this 20th century. However, we the people of BANGLADESH who have been living with them for the last 23 years are not surprised. For most people of West Pakistan, especially the Punjabis claim themselves to be of Rajput caste'. The Aryan descents of the Rajputs cannot be said to have been established beyond dispute, but what seems likely that most of the Punjabi Musalman Rajput have sprung from the Huns or the Scythians warriors who assisted the Brahmans to destroy the Budhist Civilization and in reward was admitted into the ranks of the "twice-born", (for details, see **J. M. Wikeley. Punjabi Musalman.** The Book House, Lahore, West Pakistan.) What we are having now on BANGLADESH is therefore, a "Hun invasion" determined this time to completely annihilate the Bengali; from the East as they did to the Budhists and the Sikhs to the West.

We, therefore, appeal to you to realize the gravity of the situation. Our case is not like that of Biafra: The Lahore Resolution should be the basis of any future settlement as it was the basis of the Pakistan Movement and still stands unamended. West Pakistan and BANGLADESH cannot be one state, because their civilization, their values and their aspirations are all different. We are facing in Bengal the onslaught of the decedents of the Huns-the apparent sophistication of Yahya or Bhutto must not be allowed to covet this naked truth; like the Budhists we are at the point of total extinction; the barbarians are determined, to kill us all. We are desperately looking to the civilized world in general and to the U.K. in particular because the British people are not only the upholders of democracy, but they also know all the facts of our freedom struggle from the beginning. Since all our intellectual and political leaders have been killed by the Punjabi bayonets we are afraid it might not be possible to represent our case effectively to the world. We, therefore, appeal to you once again to take our case to the United Nations.

Yours faithfully,
(M. MOZAMMEL HUQ)
PRESIDENT,
BANGLADESH LIBERATION FRONT,
10, LEICESTER GROVE,
LEEDS- 7.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনের ট্রাফালগার স্কোয়ারে বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে জনসভা অনুষ্ঠানের অনুমতি চেয়ে আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির সম্পাদকের চিঠি	১৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

The Secretary
Deptt. of THE ENVIRONMENT.

M. A. H. BHUIA
SECRETARY
BANGLADESH ACTTON COMMITTEE
52, WORDSWORTH ROAD,
SMALL HEATH
BIRMINGHAM-10
Tel-021-773-1456.

Dear Madam,

I hereby seek permission to hold meeting of the supporters of Bangladesh on Sunday the 18th April, 71 at 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. on Trafalgar Square. We would like to use amplification apparatus. We propose to have hand held banners only. We want to distribute literature.

We would like to park two cars. The meeting will consist mainly of speeches.

Yours faithfully
M. A. H. BHUIA.
Secretary

On behalf of Bangladesh Action Committee.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে সভা ও মিছিলের আহবান জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচার পত্র	এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচার পত্র	১৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ সমর্থনে সভা ও মিছিল

ট্রাফালগার স্কোয়ার, লন্ডন
তাং ১৮ই এপ্রিল, রবিবার
সময়ঃ বেলা ২ ঘটিকা

-কার্যসূচী-

বেলা ২ ঘটিকায় ট্রাফালগার স্কোয়ারে একত্রিত হওয়ার পর বেলা সাড়ে তিন ঘটিকা পর্যন্ত সভার কার্য চলিবে। তৎপর পাশাপাশি ৫ জন করে লাইন ধরতে হবে এবং প্রতি সারির মাঝখানে ১ ফুট ব্যবধান রাখিয়া অগ্রসর হইতে হইবে। এই ধরনের ১২টি লাইনের পরে আবার তিন ফুটের ব্যবধান থাকিবে। প্রতি ১২ লাইনের জন্য একজন মার্শাল থাকিবে।

মিছিল ট্রাফালগার স্কোয়ার হইতে শুরু হইয়া ডানকান্ ষ্ট্রীট, ল্যাঞ্চাস্টার প্লেস, ওয়াটারলুস ব্রীজ, পার্লিয়ামেন্ট ষ্ট্রীট, হোয়াইট হল, হর্স গার্ড এভিনিউ হইয়া ভিক্টোরিয়া এমব্যাংকমেন্ট পর্যন্ত অগ্রসর হওয়ার পর টেম্পল প্লেনে আসিয়া শেষ হইবে। পরে প্রত্যেকে স্ব স্ব কোচে প্রত্যাবর্তন করিবেন।

বিঃ দ্রঃ মিছিল হোয়াইট হলের নিকট আসার পর ১০ নং ডাউনিং ষ্ট্রীটে আট সদস্য বিশিষ্ট ''ডেলিগেশন'' বৃটিশ প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বাসভবনে স্মারকলিপি প্রদান করিবেন।

বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি
কর্তৃক প্রকাশিত।

৫৫নং ওর্য়াডওয়ার্থ রোড,
বার্মিংহাম।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের প্রতি সমর্থনের জন্যে বিশ্বের সকল উপাচার্যদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের শিক্ষক ও বুদ্ধিজীবীদের আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসেসিয়েশন স্কটল্যান্ডের প্রকাশিত প্রচারপত্র	১৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO THE VICE-CHANCELLORS

The University teachers and students of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) have been the victims of genocide conducted by the West Pakistan army. Below we reproduce the news-item published in the Sunday Telegraph (18th April, 1971) which expresses the feelings of Mr. A. S. Chowdhury. Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University on the happenings inside his University campus. No doubt, as fellow Vice-Chancellors you will have similar feelings and considering the gravity of the situation we feel bound to appeal to you to raise your voice against tins organized political killing which aims to wipe out completely the intellectuals of Bengal,

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DACCA VICE-CHANCELLOR ON MASSACRE OF HIS STUDENTS

(The Sunday Telegraph 18th, April, 1971)

The Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University has now been in London for a little over three weeks. An unremarkable enough fact, until the dreadful realization dawns that last month tanks of the Pakistan army moved against his campus and slaughtered his students in their beds.

Abu Sayeed Chowdhury is also a senior judge of the Dacca High Court, the highest court in East Pakistan. "I should really say East Bengal now." So far during his stay here, he has spoken only to friends among British lawyers and academics about the university he left behind him. Last week, he gave Mandrake his first Press interview.

Mr. Justice Chowdhury left Dacca on February 18 to lead Pakistan's delegation to the Human Rights Commission in Geneva. He acknowledges the irony. "We spoke about self-determination in Zambia and South Africa. Now I find that the people of East Bengal have suffered in a manner that has no parallel in human history-simply for claiming that they should rule themselves and should not be ruled by West Pakistan."

With him, he brought his family. "Not that I had any idea that something like this would happen. My wife wanted to see our son who is studying for his G. C. E. here, and so our two young children came, as well."

The Human Rights Commission finished its deliberations as the tanks rolled in East Pakistan. Chowdhury learned as much when he touched down at Heathrow, but four days

passed before Simon Dring reported in The Daily Telegraph that his university had been shelled and that his students and teachers had been gunned down.

"For all that time I was stunned, and I felt a pain here". He touched his chest. 'Then, when confirmation came, the suffocating atmosphere was lifted. Immediately I passed into tears, and wept like a child. I told my wife, and she wept."

Dacca University is the largest in Pakistan, with a teaching staff of 600, and 10,000 students. Fewer than 5,000 of them, he says, play any active role in politics, and in his experience they do so peacefully. Many of the rest are "poor children from the countryside" who are obliged to live in the University halls of residence and who offered the army a sleeping target on the night of March 25.

Mr. Justice Chowdhury does not even know the fate of one hall for 500 women students which was to have been opened on March l."I appointed, the Provost, and gave strict orders that its opening date was not to be postponed for my return. Accommodation, you see, was desperately short. But then the National Assembly was postponed, and the whole of life in Dacca closed down."

He is, however, quite certain about the part that the British Government much now play and he will be putting his care before a group of Conservative back benchers this week. His argument is taut.

"To pursue the ideal of a united Pakistan after all this is to pursue a mirage. There are two alternatives. The first is to persuade President Yahya Khan to withdraw the army, to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and to allow him to frame a constitution for East Bengal. The second is to allow the President to eliminate the intelligentsia along with Sheikh Mujib, and then anarchy and confusion will continue to reign. This situation cannot be seen as an internal affair when people have been bombed continuously for two weeks."

He is equally certain that he cannot return to Dacca until the regime has changed. As a judge, it would be impossible. "How can anyone now go to the High Court with a petition to set aside a Government order? There is no rule of law now: there is a. Government of might."

As a Vice-Chancellor, it would be too harrowing. "When they killed my students, 1 had no face to return. You sec, my students loved me and I loved my students. If 1 can't remedy the wrong that's been done to them, how could I go and show my face?"

And having told all this to the British Press, be wouldn't he very welcome, either.

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION.
SCOTLAND
15 Eldon street
Glasgow. C. 3
19.4. 1971.

From:
Members of staff of the Universities of Dacca, Rajshahi, Chittagong and the affiliated Colleges now on higher studies in Scotland

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতি সর্ম্পকে প্রশ্নের জবাবে বৃটিশ পররাষ্ট্র দফতরের জবাব	জনাব এ, আর, খানের প্রতি বৃটিশ এমপি'র চিঠি।	২২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

From Frank Judd, M.P.
22nd April 1971.

Dear Mr. Khan,

I passed the letter signed by you and a number of others to the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and am enclosing the reply I have received.

This I fear does not forward the matter but you may be sure that my colleagues and I will be keeping it in view.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/

Mr. M. A. Razzak Khan
6 Britannia Road. Southsea
Portsmouth P05 1SN.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London S. W. 1
19 April, 1971.

From The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State.

Dear Frank,

Alec Douglas-Home has asked me to reply to your letter to him of 6 April with which you enclosed a letter signed by a number of your constituents about East Pakistan. As you know, the Secretary of State made a statement in the House about the situation in Pakistan on 5 April. I attach a copy of this statement which you may like to forward to Mr. Razzak Khan.

On the specific points raised by your constituents I think I can make only the following comments. The conflict in East Pakistan is essentially an internal matter for the Pakistan Government alone. It would therefore not be proper for the British Government

to intervene nor to request the United Nations to do so. Furthermore, 1 am afraid we cannot interfere in the relations between the Pakistan Government and the International League of the Red Cross Societies; but it has been made quite clear that the British Government stands ready to respond to any invitation it may receive to play a part is a humanitarian effort to relieve the suffering in East Pakistan.

As to the recognition of Bangladesh, this possibility does not at present arise and the British Government recognizes the Government of Pakistan in Islamabad.

I am returning your constituents' letter.

Yours
Anthony Royle

Prank Judd, Esq... MP,
House of Commons,
London, SW1.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলার বুদ্ধিজীবী ও গণহত্যার প্রতিবাদে ও স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থন করার জন্যে বৃটেনের ছাত্র-শিক্ষকদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সম্প্রদায়ের আহবান	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসেসিয়েশন, ডান্ডি প্রকাশিত বিজ্ঞপ্তি	২৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO THE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF GREAT BRITAIN

Bangladesh Association,
20 South George Street
(2nd Floor), Dundee.

WE would like to draw your attention to the preplanned cold blooded murders of the University teachers, members of their families and students in Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) by the West Pakistani troops in order to destroy the intellectuals of the country. The "Times" (London, March 30, 1971) writes: "At Dacca University burning bodies of students still lay in their beds. . . A mass grave had been hastily covered . . .' about the same horrible brutality the "Daily Telegraph" (March 30, 1971) reports: "Caught completely by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Equal Hall .... as shell; slammed into the building and their rooms were sprayed with machine-gun fire." Reports of those unfortunate victims as published in The "Times" (London, 2nd April, 1971) include people like Professor Innas Ali, Dean of the Faculty of Science and Dr. Kamal Hossain of Dacca University. The "Guardian[11] (5th April, 1971) writes British eye- witness account describing "how troops in Dacca shot nine professors, their families and 21 students in one of the University residence buildings."

We appeal to you to join us in condemning this crime against humanity and human aspirations.

Members of staff of the Universities of

Dacca, Rajshahi, Chittagong and affiliated colleges now on higher studies in Scotland.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের কেন্দ্রীয় সংগঠন এ্যাকশন কমিটি ফর দি পিপলস রিপাবলিক অফ বাংলাদেশ ইন ইউ-কে এর প্রতিষ্ঠার প্রস্তাব	কভেন্ট্রিতে অনুষ্ঠিত বাঙালীদের সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	২৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTIONS

অত্র ২৪ এপ্রিল Coventry - তে অনুষ্ঠিত মহতী সভায় গৃহীত প্রস্তাবাবলীঃ

(১) গ্রেট বৃটেনে কেন্দ্রীয়ভাবে এ সভায় একটি সমিতি গঠন করার সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া হল, এবং এই সমিতির নামকরণ হল "Action Committee For the People's Republic of Bangladesh in U.K."

(২) অতি অল্প সময়ের নোটিসে সম্মলিত হওয়ার জন্য পাঁচজন সদস্যবিশিষ্ট একটি শক্তিশালী কমিটি গঠন করা হল এবং ঐ কমিটির নাম হবে Steering Committee of the Action Committee এবং উক্ত কমিটিকে সংগ্রাম চালিয়ে যাওয়ার সর্ব ক্ষমতার সম্পূর্ণ অধিকার দেওয়া হল।

(৩) এই সভায় আর এক প্রস্তাবে সিদ্ধান্ত করা হয়েছে যে এই -কে প্রয়োজনবোধে আরও সদস্য বাড়াবার ক্ষমতা দেয়া হল।

(৪) এই কমিটির পাঁচজন সদস্যের নাম হলঃ-

(1) Mr. Azizul Hoq Bhuyan

(2) Mr. Kabir Chowdhury

(3) Mr. Monwar Hossain

(4) Mr. Sk. Abudul Mannan

(5) Mr. Shamsur Rahman

(৫) এই পাঁচজনের প্রথম সভার অধিবেশন উক্ত সভার সভানেত্রী বিলকিস বানুর আহবানে অনুষ্ঠিত হবে এবং ঐ সভায় একজন আহবায়ক নিযুক্ত করা হবে।

(৬) বর্তমানে গ্রেট বৃটেনে যত কমিটি আছে সে সকল কমিটি এই কমিটির শাখা সমিতি রুপে কাজ করবে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের পরিস্থিতি সর্ম্পকে পৃথিবীর বিভিন্ন মহলের অভিমতের সংকলন	বাংলাদেশ রিলিফ ফান্ড কমিটির প্রকাশনা ও প্রচার বিভাগের সংকলন	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

PRESENTED
TO
Justice A. S. Chowdhury

STRUGGLE FOR BANGLADESH-WORLD OPINION.

If blood is the price of a people's right to independence, Bangladesh has overpaid. But even if their movement is destroyed within a few days or weeks, it may only be a temporary defeat in a war of liberation which will eventually be recognized as justThe Bengali's case for statehood may be hard to refute, but it is inconvenient to everyone else So this may be the moment to consider what we, and other countries, mean by those splendid words which recur like a chorus in the United Nations Charter "the right of self-determination of peoples". East Pakistan cannot be really a 'breakaway* state in quite the same was (as Biafra). The 75 million East Pakistanis feel they have at least as much 'national call' on the General Assembly as the 45 million Westerners

--------How much human misery must be endured before that fact is accepted?

-New Statesman, 16.4.71.

Government of Pakistan really cannot hold down East Pakistan indefinitely by sheer force of arms.

-Lord Gladwyn in the House of Lords.

Britain has special obligation to the people of East Pakistan.

-Lord Wynne-Jones in the House of Lords.

Commonwealth should express this view that democracy is to establish in that territory.

-Lord Brockway, House of Lords.

People so recently with such an overwhelming vote should be treated with the respect that they deserve in a democracy.

-D. Healey. Shadow Foreign Secretary.

Sir Alec should see a Commonwealth initiative could provide a form of mediation.

-Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal Leader.

Political situation is very different then Biafra. Commonwealth should use its good offices. Chances of reconciliation is terribly small.

-M. Stewart, Former Foreign Secretary.

There was a widespread feeling that Pakistan could never be one country, after the events of past weeks. It was wrong to adopt the view that this was an internal affair of a Commonwealth country - Britain did have influence, and should be using it to secure a cease fire.

-Bruce Douglas-Mann. M. P.

There has been a sharp economic disparity between the two wings. Positive steps by World Bank and Pakistan Consortium be taken to bridge the gap.

-B. R. Braine. M. P.

The majority of Bengalis in the poor, overcrowded, neglected East will no longer submit to exploitation and neglect at the hands of the Western rulers with their strong military traditions.

-Editor, Daily Telegraph, 3.3.71.

If the President (of Pakistan) should refuse to ratify such constitutions framed by the Bengalis with all the power of their majority behind them, the Sheikh would perhaps have no other option but to declare that the West had seceded from the rest of Pakistan and the two provinces would part company for ever.

-Peter Hazlehurst, Sunday Times, 7.3.71.

Whatever the immediate practical effect of President Yahya's attempt to re-impose his authority on the East, psychologically the East's secession is already established.

-David Holden, Sunday Times, 28.3.7 J.

NO UNITY BY COMPULSION: But the unity of Pakistan cannot be maintained, or restored, by military for…… And if unity should prove to be impossible, ii would still be in everybody's best interests to arrange for a peaceful separation of Pakistan into a confederation of two friendly neighbor-states.

—Editor, The Observer, 28.3.71.

By its sledgehammer attack on a largely numbered population in the name of "One Pakistan" the military government has made sure that Pakistan cannot remain one.

-Martin Adeney of Guardian, 29.3.71.

But unity can never come through murder; and unity is not worth the price of innocent lives. East Pakistan survives today only as occupied and exploited territory, living proof of every Bengali Suspicion over the years Those-like America—who stock the Pakistan Army must realize to what uses their weaponry is put. Those-like China and Ceylon-who permit forces to ferry from the West must realize what acts and purposes-those forces pursue. Those-like Britain-who retain some vestige of influence in the area should spend it openly and forcefully.

-Editor, Guardian, 3.4.71.

An army of 70,000 cannot entirely subjugate a people of 75 millions. It is all too easy to forget the essence of the situation: that Pakistan voted fairly & democratically. That Sheikh Mujib and his party hold the mandate of a majority of all Pakistanis. That a junta

of Western Generals, and wild Western foot soldiers, have ripped apart this mandate in the cause of a "national unity" which is now, certainly, dead for ever. Atrocities cannot yoke two lands together.

-Editor, Guardian, 3.4.71.

Indian sympathy for Sheikh Mujib arose from the fact that he stood for values cherished by India-democracy, secularism and socialism. Me also had the backing of his people, almost to a man as the election results and other developments had shown. Finally tanks were being used to crush the democratic verdict of the people of Bangladesh.

-Indira Gandhi, Indian P. M.

Senseless murder, hysterical cruelty. From the evidence available, one must conclude that the aim (of Yahya) was to wipe out the Awami League leadership that it could no longer provide an effective leadership for any resistance movement.

- Editor, Times, 3.4.71.

Soviet Union is concerned about the arrest, & persecution of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bengali leader, who had received such convincing support by the overwhelming majority of the people of East Pakistan. The use of force will only make the problem more serious. Most urgent measures must be taken to stop the bloodshed and repression against the population of East Pakistan.

-President Podgorny of Russia.

India could not remain a silent spectator at events in East Pakistan. What is happening in Bangladesh is something quite out of the ordinary. It is something that is going to have global repercussions.

-Indira Gandhi, Indian P. M.

Diplomatic sources in Geneva thought the Pakistan government wanted to keep the Red Cross out of Hast Pakistan for the same reason that it expelled the newspaper correspondents-the desire to have no international witnesses or observers there.

-Patrick Keatley of Guardian, 6.4.71.

Can Pakistan be permitted by the world community to commit this aggression against a defenseless people and continue the wanton destruction and killing of men, women and children?

-Swaran Singh, Foreign Minister. India.

But the alienation of Bengalis from Pakistan is now so complete it seems impossible they will not win in the long run.

-Martin Woollacott, Guardian, 7.4.71.

What is happening in East Pakistan in unjustified military oppression. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office still seems to believe the fact that a foreign government is

diplomatically recognized is more important than the blood on its hands. What he (Yahya) has done and is doing is to use his army to oppress the East Pakistanis and their chosen leader. Nor did negotiations collapse in ordinary sense. The President did not want Sheikh Mujib to assume the powers that the people had voted him. So the President reached for his gun. By sending the army he has shown himself to be not only careless of democratic rights, but a reckless ruler as well. The military intervention in East Pakistan was a deliberate act. It could lead to a worse and more wasteful conflict than even the Indians and the Pakistanis have known so far.

-Editor, Guardian, 6.4.71.

But now that the full gravity of the situation is apparent, there seems something horrifying about the continued lack of any serious international effort at mediation in East Pakistan. But the kind of appeal already made by President Podgorny to the President of Pakistan for moderation and negotiated settlement might carry more weight if made by the whole Security Council.

-Editor, Observer. 11.4 71.

Pakistan's civil war sickens the world by the savagery of the Western troops against the Eastern people, and appalls the dangers of Russo Chinese conflict in a teeing cockpit of desperate humanity. Pakistan's whole history has shown that the only alternative was far-reaching autonomy for the East within a Federal framework.

-Editor, Daily Telegraph, 12.4.71.

President Yahya Khan and the military junta now ruling West Pakistan are determined to retain control of East Pakistan whatever the cost.

-Clare Hollingsworth of Daily Telegraph, 13.4.71

It is understood that Mr. Kosygin, the Soviet Prime Minister has informed Mrs. Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, that the Soviet Union would support Delhi if India recognizes the provisional government of Bangladesh.

-Peter Hazlehurst, Times, 13.4.71.

The situation in East Bengal could no longer be considered an "internal" affair. It is certainly not a case that we are not concerned with what is happening there. The U. S. Stale Department had announced that arms supplies to Pakistan had been stopped and that economic aid to Pakistan was under consideration and review.

-Kenneth Keating. U.S. Ambassador in India, 15.4.71.

Where, after three weeks of messy bloodshed, do the military rulers of Pakistan now stand? Superficially they prosper. They appear to have thought that cutting off the head would kill Bengali nationalism; precisely the reverse they appear to have forgotten about the world opinion. To reiterate, the Bangladesh affair is not a second Biafra. It is, at root, a simple matter: of freedom, of morality and of humanity.

-Editor. Guardian, J 4.4.71.

The time has come, it is indeed overdue, for the British Government publicly to express its disgust, in far stronger terms than it has yet done at the course of events in East Pakistan. Using more traditional, and private, diplomatic channel, it needs to let Yahya Khan know (if it has not already done so) just how dangerous and mistaken his policies are. If necessary the possibility of concerted action among the suppliers of foreign aid to Pakistan should be considered-even if it is rough justice to make the people of West Pakistan suffer for the follies of their own non-elected military rulers.

-Editor, Sunday Times, 18.4.71.

President Yahya is undoubtedly facing an increasingly difficult situation.

-The Economist, 10.4.71.

East Pakistan action was one of the most callous and brutal aggression in the world since the time of Hitler.

-Lord Brockway, 17.4.71.

A resolution was passed at the conference of the Colonial Freedom Movement calling for recognition of an independent Bangladesh. Also in London a committee designed to help restore "justice for East Bengal" was formed with Bruce Douglas-Mann, Labor M.P.

-Guardian, 19.4.71.

We just don't see why the U.S. should go on supporting a regime that behaves in this fashion.

-U.S. Visitor in East Bengal. Newsweek, 19.4.71.

The U.S. government expressed its sympathy to the victims and hoped that it will be possible soon to alleviate the suffering caused by recent events in East Pakistan.

-Charles Bray. U.S. State Department, Newsweek.

It is neither proper nor possible for India to keep quiet (over the Hast Bengal situation).

-Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Indian Prime Minister.

The watch-and-wait policy assumed by most foreign government stemming from a widely held belief that the Pakistani Army will ultimately fail in its attempt to subjugate 75 million East Pakistanis.

-Newsweek, 19.4.71.

Politically, economically, socially the West Pakistan military regimes which have ruled both Pakistan have neglected East Pakistan and there is nothing at all surprising that the Bengalis of East Pakistan should have sought independence as Bangladesh.

-Spectator, 17.4.71.

We in West Bengal recognize Bangladesh although the central government has not done so yet.

-B.S. Nahar, Chief Minister, West Bengal.

It is both barbaric & atrocious to…….unarmed East Pakistan civilians with heavy machine gun fire, even if they might have been demonstrating..

-Newsweek, 26.4.71.

On orders from Islamabad high command, troops systematically down students, engineers, doctors and any other person with a potential for leadership, whether they were nationalists or not.

-Newsweek, 26.4.71.

Despite the apparent determination of the Pakistan government to maintain its hold on East Bengal, the sheer human arithmetic of the situation seemed to indicate that the Bengalis would ultimately win freedom.

-Time, 26.4.71.

We want to see a political solution to an immensely difficult situation.

-Edward Heath, Prime Minister, U.K. 20.4.71.

Reports coming out of East Pakistan are so outrageous that some comment is called for from other members of the Commonwealth.

-Steele in House of Commons, 20.4.71.

There should be international observers-one from this country, perhaps one from Asia, the U. N. and so on to be able to report to the world outside about the conditions in East Pakistan.

-Harold Wilson in House of Commons, 20.4.71.

More than 30 M.P.'s signed a Commons motion calling for the abandonment of the Pakistan Cricket tour of Britain this summer because of the crushing of East Pakistan. The motion was sponsored by Michael Barnes, M. P.

-Telegraph, 21.4.71.

My Lai was happening everyday in East Pakistan. British government should take the initiative in imposing economic sanctions against Pakistan.

-Bruce Douglas-Mann. M. P., 23.4.71.

COMPILED BY R. ALAM, PRESS & PUBLICITY UNIT-BANGLADESH RELIEF FUND COMMITTEE.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার লক্ষ্যে বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামের প্রতি সমর্থন দানের জন্য বৃটেনের রাজনৈতিক দলসমূহের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির আহবান	এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

PLEASE SPEAK UP FOR BANGLADESH

An Appeal to the Delegates at the 1971 Annual Party Conference of the Conservative and Unionist Party

Dear Delegate,

You may know something about the great human tragedy, probably more terrible than any other the world has ever known, which has been inflicted on the unarmed and unsuspecting people of Bangladesh by the mindless and fascist army junta of West Pakistan. Newspaper stories and television pictures may have informed you. However inadequately, about mass murder, loot, arson and rape which were committed and are being still perpetrated on our people today, and yet the depth and magnitude of the tragic story, as we are witnessing, have failed to sink in the minds of most people. Is it because of the human guilt and culpability of the civilized world in allowing such atrocious crimes being committed against an innocent people on such a staggering scale that it is so slow to wake to it?

Hundreds of thousands of people have been slaughtered; millions of home have been burned and razed to the ground; and countless thousands of our women have been raped and then murdered. Nearly nine million people have been driven out of country who are now living in the refugee camps in appalling conditions. U. N. reports say that seventeen millions people are already faced with death from starvation and famine. The terrible price the people of Bangladesh have paid with their lives is for the simple fact of wanting democracy in what was known as Pakistan. It is not merely a question of our lives and dignity which are under attack, it is the question of freedom, democracy and justice which are on trial. Tens of thousands of our youth have taken up arms not only in defense of our people but in the realization of these principles and human values.

As member of a Party, which takes pride in upholding the principles of freedom, democracy and justice, we request you to:

1. Condemn the fascist regime at Islamabad for enacting the most terrible human tragedy of the century;

2. Urge for the unconditional release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed and democratically elected leader of Bangladesh.

3. Demand withdrawal of West Pakistani occupation troops from Bangladesh;

4. Ask Her Majesty's Government to stop all economic aid, except for humanitarian relief, to Pakistan that would tantamount to subsidizing and encouraging the military atrocities in Bangladesh; and

5. Implore Her Majesty's Government to accord recognition to Bangladesh, the eighth largest nation of the world.

Published by the Steering Committee of the Action Committees for the People's Republic o! Bangladesh. 11 Goring Street, London E. C. 3. Tel 283 5526 and 283 3623.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থন দানের জন্য সারা বিশ্বের গণতন্ত্র ও স্বাধীনতাকামী জনগণের প্রতি আহবান	'পিপলস ডেমোক্রেটিক ফ্রন্ট অব বাংলাদেশ'- প্রচার পত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

SUPPORT BANGLADESH LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) has called on "all democratic, peace and freedom loving forces as well as the Communists of the world to raise their voices in support of the Government of Bangladesh."

A statement from the central committee welcomed the declaration of the People's Democratic Republic of Bangladesh as "the only legally constituted Government of Bangladesh because it had been elected by the people."

"Our Party appeals to all democratic, progressive and Socialist Governments of the world to recognize the newly formed Government of Bangladesh and to give it all possible help in repulsing the brutal aggression of the reactionary fascist ruling junta of Pakistan."

"Our Party appeals to the newly formed Government to take initiative in uniting and mobilising all the fighting forces, political parties and mass organizations so that a broad and strong national united from may be formed against the aggressors."

UNION'S APPEAL

"We also appeal to the people and democratic forces of Baluchistan, Pathanland. Sindh and the Punjab to unequivocally support the Liberation struggle of Bangladesh and to continue their struggle for democracy and national rights," the Party added.

The central committee was reported to have met somewhere in Bangladesh on April 18.

Bangladesh Trade Union Centre-under the signatures of six major unions-has called for support for the new Government and appealed that it form a united front of workers and peasants movements.

"We appeal to all trade union organizations of the world to give all possible support to the struggling people and Government of Bangladesh", the trade unions added.

The Students Union of Bangladesh issued a call from somewhere in Bangladesh calling for recognition of the new Government and calling 011 Governments to give it all possible aid.

STOP YAHYA

In India the national council of the Communist Party of India has called on the Governments of the world to stop Yahya Khan's war against the people of Bangladesh.

The Party called on the Government of India to recognize the Government of Bangladesh and give all help including the supply of arms.

"The Communist Party of India appeals to all governments of the world to recognize this Government and to give it all possible assistance," the council statement added.

May 15 has been declared Bangladesh day and the Party is organizing rallies and collections for the people of Bangladesh.

-Morning Star News Service.

Published by:
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF BANGLADESH.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার সমর্থনে এগিয়ে আসার জন্য বৃটিশ জনগণের প্রতি আহবান	'বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন স্কটল্যান্ড'- এর প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

LIFE AND DEATH OF MILLIONS IS EVERYONE'S PROBLEM

IN THE NAME OF THE 'INTEGRITY OF PAKISTAN':

*Democratic right of the people of Bangladesh (formerly E. Pak.) snatched away.

*'Awami League' representing 75 million people of Bangladesh outlawed. Its leader declared enemy of the country.

*University professors and teachers killed, dormitories shelled and students burned in their beds.

*Set fire on hospitals, churches and temples.

*Priest like Father Mario Veronese from Padua, were gunned down.

***'BMS Mission Station turned into grim battlefield:**

When 'Radio Pakistan' reported that the situation was returning to normal the bullets were flying over our heads. Our compound with its three mission houses and complex of teachers' and servants' become a battlefield…..", says BMS missionary Alfred Lewis.

(Baptist Times, April 29,197 I)

*Millions of people killed in Bangladesh by W. Pakistani army and about 3,000,000 people had to take refuge in India.

*W. Pakistan Govt. is trying to starve the country into submission.

TO HIDE THE ATROCITIES:

* International journalists were expelled.

* International Red Cross was not allowed to enter into Bangladesh.

* West Pak. Govt. dreamed up fictitious stories in order to distort the facts to justify mass massacre for overseas consumption.

! ! ! !

DON'T BE A SILENT OBSERVER

RAISE YOUR VOICE:

-Suspend all the aid to West Pakistan until its ruler remove their troops from Bangladesh (East Bengal).

-Mount a massive international relief effort to reach all the areas of Bangladesh affected by famine,

WRITE LEADING ARTICLES AND LETTERS

TO THE NEWSPAPERS:

-Express your sincere support and put pressure to your Govt. to recognize Bangladesh and save the millions.

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION SCOTLAND,

15 Eldon St.. Glasgow C3. Tel: 041-339-6579.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রাম সম্পর্কে সংক্ষিপ্ত প্রতিবেদন	'বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন স্কটল্যান্ড' এর প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

SUPPORT

THE MOVEMENT FOR THE LIBERATION OF BANGLADESH

24 YEARS OF EXPLOITATION OF BANGLADESH BY WEST PAKISTAN

	BANGLADESH		W. PAKISTAN
Population	75 m	...	55 m
Per capita income	£ 15	...	£ 45
Foreign exch. Earned	60%	. ..	40%
Budgetary expenditure	30%	...	70%
Civil Service	20%	...	80%
Pakistan Army	10%	...	90%
Foreign Aid Allocation	20%	...	80%

! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !

BANGLADESH National Capital, Head Quarters of Army, Navy & Air Force, Central Govt. Offices, Head Offices of Banks and Insurance Companies are in West Pakistan which is separated from Bangladesh by 1,000 miles of Indian territory.

DEC. 1970: First General Election	National Assembly Seats
Awami League Party (Sk. Mujib)	167
Pakistan Peoples Party (Bhutto)	81
Other Parties	65
Total	313

MARCH 2, 1971: Pakistani President General Yahya Khan in collusion with W. Pakistani Leaders postponed the meeting of the National Assembly.

MARCH 15-24, 1971: While Yahya and Bhutto were having political discussion with Mujib, troops were brought in from W. Pakistan to Bangladesh in order to suppress the demands for autonomy.

MARCH 25, 1971: Barbarious W. Pakistani Soldiers:

* Shelled dormitories of Dacca University at midnight, when students were in bed. Thousands of students were killed.
* Set fire on news paper offices and hospitals.
* Used tanks and machine guns against unarmed people, and demolished the densely populated areas of the capital city.
* 7,000 people were killed in Dacca on that night.

MARCH 26, 1971

* Awami League representing 75 million people outlawed. It's leader named 'Prime Minister' elect, month ago by Yahya branded as traitor.
* FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY MAJORITY PROVINCE WAS FORCED TO DECLARE INDEPENDENCE.
* TO HIDE THE ATROCITIES: W. Pakistani Government have expelled international journalists.
* Intellectuals and University Teachers are being killed (in Dacca University alone 50 teachers have been executed in front of their families) for enslaving 75 million Bengalees.

MARCH 27,1971 onwards :

* International Red Cross was not allowed to enter into Bangladesh.
* W. Pakistani Army bombed, shelled and burned houses, and systematic killing of innocent civilians continues.
* Pakistan Govt. is trying to starve the country into submission.

"AN ESTIMATED 3.000,000 PEOPLE KILLED BY W. PAKISTANI ARMY".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে পাকিস্তানী সেনাবাহিনীর গণহত্যা বন্ধ এবং স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের প্রতি সমর্থনদানের জন্য বিশ্বের রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানদের প্রতি লন্ডনস্থিত বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির চিঠি	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

To: ALL THE HEADS OF STATE IN THE WORLD

Dear Sir,

The Carnage this is taking place in Dacca and indeed in Bangladesh is too well-known to be detailed. Burning bodies on beds of students and professors of Dacca University, destruction of cramped residential areas with rocket, gunning down unarmed individuals inside houses are open testimonies to premeditated murder tantamount to genocide.

Machine-guns, tanks, bayonets, artillery, aircraft and whipped up racial hatred in the West Pakistan soldiers are being used to suppress the will of 76 million people of Bangladesh so unanimously expressed in the general election, the first one, in Pakistan in December 1970. Yahya Khan's 11 days talk has now been proved a conspiratorial trick to buy time and complete preparations for sudden thrust. The talks continued till half-past six in the evening. By half-past one the cities were put to blaze. The nature, purpose and magnitude of the thrust invoke the application of genocide convention (Article I-1V).

Pakistan was created on the basis of Lahore Resolution (1940), which envisages independent, sovereign status to the federating units. But a united structure was clamped jettisoning the federal scheme. The concept of Pakistan is by gone.

The Bengalis 55% of Pakistan population manifestly endorsed through admitted hundreds percent response the de-facto Government of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman since March 2nd Mujibur Rahman commanded an absolute majority in the National Assembly. These members were elected on a declared positive mandate. This provides the de-jure basis of Mujibur Rahman de-facto government. The declaration of independence on March 25th has made West Pakistani troop and occupation army.

Despite hearing loss of life and property, the Liberation Army is controlling most parts of Bangladesh. Fighting is on in all the four cantonment cities. The people in Bangladesh shall continue this unfailing resolute struggle until the last soldier of this occupation army is ousted.

We appeal to all Governments to recognize immediately the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh in accordance with article i (i) of the U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966.

We appeal to all Governments of arms-supplying countries to impose immediate embargo on the use of their arms and artilleries against unarmed innocent civilians of independent Bangladesh and thus discharge this moral responsibility.

We appeal to all people to strengthen their support and recognize the Republic of Bangladesh and stop the systematic decimation of a nation-the Bengalis.

Action Committee, London, for the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh in the U. K.
58 BERWICK STREET, W l.
Telephone: 437 7111.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থনদান এবং পাকিস্তানী সেনাবাহিনীর গণহত্যা ও অত্যাচার বন্ধের জন্য প্রভাব খাটানোর আবেদন জানিয়ে গণচীনের চেয়ারম্যানের প্রতি লন্ডনস্থ বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির চিঠি	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

58, BERWICK STREET,
LONDON WT
Telephone: 437 7111

The Chairman,
The Peoples Republic of China.
Through the Charge d' Affaires
49 Portland Place, London Wl.

Your Excellency,

In the exercise of their right of self-determination, 75 million Bengalis are engaged in a protracted struggle against the West Pakistani troops.

You are aware or the genocide-systematic preplanned decimation of the militant forces of Bangladesh. You are aware of the economic exploitation Bangladesh had been subjected to by the capitalist complex of West Pakistan since the inception. The imperialist ingredients are manifest in the economic policies pursued by Pakistan in relation to Bangladesh. The world Imperialism in its new role has been seen since the last World War to create intermediaries-second class partners in its bid to get new lease for exploitation. As a deliberate policy, the world Capitalism exports a substantial part of the Imperialist capital to these second rate partners only to be re-exported in their bid to camouflage on their known Imperialist game. As a part of the same policy the world Imperialism instead of exploiting its Capital direct to Bangladesh allowed the West Pakistan capitalists to act as the intermediary construction within the world Capitalist structure and thus usurp Imperialist role before a training highest stage.

The present struggle in Bangladesh though started as a ballot-box movement has now turned into a Peoples War. The Liberation struggle has already started to move to the villages and show signs of adoption classical guerilla tactics.

The people of China have shown solidarity with Freedom fighters all over the world. You have supported the Palestinian Liberation Movement, the Basque Nationalist Movement. Your role and historic sacrifices in the Korean War, Vietnam War shall remain ever prominent in the minds of Freedom Fighters of today and tomorrow.

We appeal to you to support the Peoples War of Bangladesh. We appeal to you to recognize Bangladesh to expedite stoppage of genocide still being carried on by the mercenary army of the West Pakistan capitalist clique.

Action Committee, London, for the
People's Republic of Bangladesh in U.K.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
গৃহযুদ্ধ বা আভ্যন্তরীণ গোলযোগ নয়, বাংলাদেশের জনগণ স্বাধীনতার জন্য সংগ্রাম করছেন- বিরোধী প্রচারণার জবাবে বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH: CIVIL WAR-INTERNAL CONFLICT?

The independence of Bangladesh has been declared on March 25. There was no constitution on that date. So, the question of the violation of constitutional provisions does not arise.

In the absence of any constitution, Pakistan is back to square one-the Lahore Resolution of 1940, the accepted legal basis for the creation of Pakistan. This Resolution accords "sovereign and independent" status to the component units, one of which was Bangladesh.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, with absolute majority in the National Assembly launched non-cooperation movement on March 2. Since that date till the declaration of independence, only his writs were valid with one hundred per cent response from the people, despite Yahya's Martial Law being in force. The writs included international trade, monetary and postal regulations. Yahya's government, like any other military government got recognition on *de facto* principle. This *de facto* basis in favor of Yahya's government ceased to exist in respect of Bangladesh on March 2, making room for the *de facto* rule of Mujibur Rahman to emerge and continue till the declaration of independence. This declaration (i) did put the de jure blanket over the *de facto* authority of Sheikh Mujib. And (ii) it turned the West Pakistan Army into a foreign occupation army. Once the existence of Bangladesh as a legally independent country, for any length of time is admitted, the alleged subsequent effective control cannot provide Yahya Khan with any sanction derived from *de facto* principle. Yahya government is aware of the unassailable force of this contention and had been falsely insisting that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested half an hour before the declaration of independence.

Reported 100,000 strong Yahya's army in Bangladesh do not have a single Bengali. The Bengalis are 56% of Pakistan's population. Bangladesh military personnel are either under arrest or have joined the liberation army. Thus Yahya's army in Bangladesh is not a federal army; consequently its rule is not a federal one.

The term civil war means aimed conflict between opposing groups of the same nationality within the same country. Since the Bengalis are a distinct nation and their armed participation on Yahya's side is nil the events in Bangladesh do not constitute a civil war either by definition or by example.

The universal Declaration of Human Rights is to be obeyed. Clause 21 (3) reads, "the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be

expressed in periodic and genuine elections……This will of the people of Bangladesh was unanimously expressed in the December election and has further been reassessed during March 2 to 25. An important casualty of the genocide in Bangladesh is democracy.

The happenings in Bangladesh are neither a civil war nor an internal conflict. To characterize it so is to deny facts and add fresh and further testimony to the dictum of Mao Tse Tung that political power flows out of the barrel of a gun.

PUBLISHED BY ACTION COMMITTEE, LONDON, FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.. 58 BERWICK STREET, LONDON W 1.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানকে অর্থনৈতিক সাহায্যের বিরুদ্ধে এ্যাকশন কমিটির বক্তব্য	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

ECONOMIC AID OR BULLETS?

Hundreds of letters are piling up everyday telling the most terrifying stories of the new wave of genocide in Bangladesh. Countryside has been converted into the main target at present. Villages after villages are being burnt and bombed. The villagers are being usually lined up and gunned down. West Pakistan troops are conducting house to house search and picking up young men between 15 to 25. These men never go back home. The troops don't have either the food or the accommodation to keep these people under custody. They adopt the most straightforward policy with regard to these persons: extermination.

In order to gun down the population of the outlying districts on river banks the troops are using 400 speed boats fitted with machine guns. These speed boats have been loaned by foreign countries for relief work. Yahya's envoy is touring the world in search for more boats.

The reserve of West Pakistan government was £93m on March 25. It is now nil today. This whole amount supposed to have been used for economic development has been spent on genocide. The cost for Yahya's troops in Bangladesh is £ 1 m a day.

Yahya's chief economic adviser met Sir Alec the other day and asked for more economic aid. This aid, in all probability, will be used for military purposes. And then again this aid win enable West Pakistan economy to release further resources earmarked for economic development to diverted to military purposes.

The aid is your money, you who are the taxpayers. Will you allow your money to be turned into bullets for killing innocent and unarmed people? Would you want to be a party to this genocide?

RISE UP SPEAK OUR LOBBY YOUR MP

Action Committee, London for the People s Republic of Bangladesh in UK. 58. Berwick Street,. London WI

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি ও সমর্থনের জন্য বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির আবেদন	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

RECOGNISE AND SUPPORT BANGLADESH

We the people of Bangladesh, resident in Great Britain, on behalf of the people and the Government of the Republic of Bangladesh, appeal to the people, and Governments of the world, to immediately' recognize and support 'BANGLADESH'.

We are fighting not only for our freedom and independence but also for our very survival, and we ask for your help in our struggle for independence!

When Pakistan was formed 23 years ago, the people of East and West agreed to form a federation with full autonomy to both provinces, in accordance with the Lahore Resolution.

The peoples of East Bengal 'Strove for Pakistan' with a sense of faith and brotherhood, to their utter dismay all they received in return was inhuman oppression and naked exploitation! For 23 years our people have been kept in poverty to provide profits and wealth for the West Pakistan ruling classes.

For the last 12 years, the military and their supporters, have suppressed us by force, banned our political parties and put our leaders behind bars.

When the people of Bangladesh voted last year, in the first-frce-General Election in Pakistan, 98% voted for freedom from the tyranny of the West Pakistan rulers. The Awami League won 70% of the seats in National Parliament, giving them an absolute majority!!

The West Pakistan Army in violation of all democratic principles overthrew the democratically elected Government by invading Bangladesh. With their far superior and modern weapons of war-they systematically murdered our Teachers-Students-Doctors- Lawyers and Religious and Political leaders. With the use of tanks-bombers artillery and machine guns they have killed many thousands of our innocent unarmed men, women and children.

If blood is the price of freedom, then Bangladesh has overpaid!!!

If any man or any Government believes in freedom, then this is the moment to prove their solidarity with the freedom loving, struggling peoples of Bangladesh!!

If the united nations really stands for human rights and freedom, then now is the time to implement one of it's own basic charters, that of the "right of all peoples to self- determination".

We plead the cause of Bangladesh, to all the people of the world- our people will fight to their last drop of blood or until the last of the foreign occupying force is driven out.

When Britain stood alone in the dark days of the early 1940's, we did not hesitate to fight alongside you then-do not desert us now!!!

Let your voice be heard now, so that the peoples of Bangladesh will know that they are not deserted and friendless!!!

Bangladesh Action Committee
52 Wordsworth road,
Small Heath,
Birmingham 10
021-773 1456.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে এগিয়ে আসার আহবান সম্বলিত প্রচারপত্র	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন, ল্যাংকাশায়ারের দলিলপত্র	এপ্রিল*, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন (ল্যাংকাশায়ার ও পার্শ্ববর্তী এলাকা)

প্রধান উপদেষ্টাঃ মিঃ নজির উদ্দিন। টেলিফোনঃ

সভাপতিঃ মিঃ এ মতিন। ০৬১ ২৭৩ ৬৭৯৪

বাংলার সন্তান,

আমাদের গণতান্ত্রিক নির্বাচনকে কৌশলে বানচাল করে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইয়াহিয়া সরকার আজ বাংলাদেশের অস্তিত্বকে পৃথিবীর বুক থেকে বিলীন করে দেবার জন্য অমানুষিক রক্তক্ষয়ী নির্যাতন ও নিষ্ঠুর আঘাত করে বাংলার মাটিকে রক্তাক্ত করে তুলেছে। ঘৃণ্য পৈশাচিক শক্তির মহড়া দেখিয়ে ইয়াহিয়া বাহিনী নির্দয়ভাবে বাংলার নিরস্ত্র নিরীহ নরনারীদের হত্যা করে চলেছে। বাংলাদেশের আওয়াজকে চিরদিনের মত স্তব্ধ করে দেবার জন্য এই হিংস্র সাম্রাজ্যবাদী বাহিনী দেশের সমস্ত রাজনৈতিক নেতা, সাংবাদিক, ছাত্র-শিক্ষক, বুদ্ধিজীবী সকলকে একাধারে নির্দয়ভাবে হত্য করেছে।

আজি মহা পরীক্ষা জাতির। পবিত্র জন্মভূমিকে রক্ষা করার জন্য বাংলার নির্ভীক সন্তানরা আজ মহাশত্রুর সাথে সংগ্রামে লিপ্ত। বাংলার সন্তান যে যেখানে আছেন মায়ের বুকের এই রক্তের ধারা প্রতিটি বঙ্গসন্তানকে আজ প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ করেছে। সর্ব সামর্থ্য দিয়ে আজ প্রমাণ করতে হবে- বাংলাদেশ আমি তোমার সন্তান। শেষ রক্তবিন্দু দিয়ে আমি তোমার স্বাধীনতা, তোমার মর্যাদা রক্ষা করব।

বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের সাহায্যের জন্য ও দুর্গত জনসাধারণের জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় সর্বপ্রকার সাহায্য দানের জন্য, আর্ন্তজাতিক বিশ্বের রাজনৈতিক দরবারে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার দাবীকে জোরদার করে তুলে ধরার উদ্দেশ্যে যুক্তরাজ্যের সর্বত্র বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন গঠিত হয়েছে। আজ দেশের মা-বোনদের স্মরণ করে মিলিতভাবে এগিয়ে আসুন। আপনার সর্বশক্তি দিয়ে রক্ষা করুন পবিত্র বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা।

'কে আছ জোয়ান হও আগুয়ান, হাঁকিছে ভবিষ্যৎ
এ তুফান ভারী দিতে হবে পাড়ি, নিতে হবে তরী পাড়'।

- কবি নজরুল ইসলাম।

বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন, ল্যাংকাশায়ার কর্তৃক পরিচালিত। সর্ব প্রকার অনুসন্ধানের জন্য যোগাযোগ করুনঃ মনজিল রেস্টুরেন্ট, স্টকপোর্ট রোড, ম্যানচেষ্টার

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এখন সহস্র মাইলাই-এর অবস্থায়ঃ স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থনের আবেদন	লন্ডন এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH-A LAND OF A THOUSAND "MY-LALS".

One My-Lai in South Vietnam shook the whole world.

"But My-Lai is happening everyday in Bangladesh" a British MP observed as reported by Reuter.

Men and women are lined up and then machine gunned. Babies are bayoneted lest those orphans should grow up with anti-Pakistan feeling. Cities and Villages are being flattened day after day.

Friends, we remember with gratitude how you moved the whole world to help the cyclones victims of Bangladesh, while the Pakistan Government enriched by the foreign exchange earned by Bangladesh was almost callous and dubious.

Will you not prove again that you cannot remain unconcerned while thousands perish and millions anguish?

No power whatever big it may be can forever suppress the eighth largest nation of the world.

But your love for humanity, justice and democracy may stop this present holocaust and monumental human misery. So, raise your voice against the new Hitler of Pakistan.

Press your Government to boycott tyrannical and racialist Pakistan economically, politically and militarily.

Want to know why foreign journalists and even the Red Cross teams are not allowed to go to Bangladesh.

ASK YOUR GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNISE BANGLADESH.

Issued by the Action Committee for Bangladesh in North and North-West London, 33 Dagmar Road. N. 22

Tel: 485 2379, 889 4474.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইয়াহিয়া খানের বিরুদ্ধে বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে সোচ্চার হওয়ার জন্য বিশ্ববাসীর প্রতি আহবান	লন্ডনস্থ বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	৫ মে, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH TODAY! BANGLADESH TODAY!

BANGLADESH TODAY!

The outside world has no means to know what is going on inside Bangladesh. Yahya's military Government has expelled all foreign journalists from the country, quarantined foreign diplomats inside and has cut all telecommunications with the rest of the world. The Red Cross aid has been refused and its men have been turned out from Karachi Air port. All local newspaper reports are censored and the newspaper proprietors are forced at the point of bayonet to write reports in favor of the army. In short, the whole of 55 thousand sq. miles of Bangladesh has been turned into a vast concentration camp where unarmed and innocent men, women and children are being meticulously massacred, cities and villages arc being bombed, burnt and destroyed.

All these savageries far surpassing that of the Huns of history are being carried out by military dictator Yahya Khan in the name of God, not because that the 75 million people of Bangladesh are godless, but because they wanted justice from him. They wanted to stop the exploitation of the majority people of Bangladesh by the industrio-military clique of the minority people of West Pakistan. They wanted that Yahya, as he promised before the election in December, 1970, should transfer power to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman whose party, Awami League, turned out to be the absolute majority Party in last election. But Yahya was not ready to transfer power to Bangladesh which never happened to enjoy power since the creation of Pakistan in 1947. To the estimation of the ruling classes of West Pakistan, the Bengalis are born to be ruled, not to rule on the basis of equality.

Hence, in order to preserve the West Pakistan domination, Yahya created a political crisis by abruptly and unilaterally postponing the Constituent Assembly for indefinite period. And to solve his self-created crisis he arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his leading followers, ordered his 80 thousand West Pakistani troops in occupation of Bangladesh to kill and maim the politicians, professors, students, lawyers and all other unarmed civilians including women and children.

By committing such medieval savagery Yahya has outraged the conscience of the world and has forfeited his right to sit with the civilized community of nations. This is the time for the conscientious world to speak and force him to stop his crime against humanity.

LONG LIVE BANGLADESH

Issued by the Action Committee for Bangladesh in North and North-West London,
33 Dagmar Road. London, N. 22. Tel. 485 2379, 889 4474.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতি সর্ম্পকে বৃটিশ পত্রিকার ভুল প্রতিবেদনের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন, স্কটল্যান্ডের বক্তব্য	প্রচারপত্র	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

PRESS CONSPIRACY AIDS YAHYA KHAN

THE SUNDAY TIMES last weekend carried an astonishing report from Pakistan. It revealed details of a hitherto unreported mutiny in the West Pakistan Army during the recent battles.

The report said; 'Ten days of piecing together the details in East Pakistan have revealed a huge and almost successful mutiny in the Pakistan Army and the brutal massacre of thousands of non-Bengali men, women and children'. (Our emphasis)

It was the Pakistan Army's quick reflexes, tighter discipline and better leadership which saved it from the mutineers on that bloody Thursday and Friday '

An interesting story, But the reports of massacres on non-Bengalis in Bangladesh arc wholly inaccurate. The author of this report is Anthony Mascarenhas, news editor of the Karachi 'Morning News', the pro-government newspaper which actually receives subsidies from the government. The 'Sunday Times' carefully avoided mentioning this thus giving the impression that the report was entirely unbiased and objective. But while the 'Sunday Times' was busy publishing propaganda from the Pakistan Government, it was giving a frosty reception to Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann, the new labor MP for N. Paddington. He has just returned from an on-the-spot tour of Bangladesh and offered an article on the situation to the ' Sunday Times". Lord Thomson's men declined the article.

On May 14 Mr. Douglas-Mann's emergency motion on the Bangladesh struggle will be debated in the Commons. It is hoped that he takes the opportunity to reveal the press conspiracy in this country to hide the facts of the situation.

WORKERS PRESS. Thursday, May 6, 1971.

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION, SCOTLAND.
1.5 Eldon Street, (Ground Left)
Glasgow. C 3.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'বাংলাদেশ ফাইটস ফর ফ্রীডম'- বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম সম্পর্কে একটি প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি প্রকাশিত পস্তিকা	৮ মে, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

Published by:-Bangladesh Action Committee in Great Britain,
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FOREWORD

This booklet, although very short, will give an idea about the political domination and economic exploitation of East Bengal by West Pakistan.

The tie-religion-which held the two wings together has completely broken down by the unprecedented massacre of human lives by the army of West Pakistan commencing on the night of March 25, 197 L

The mass killing has made it clear that the only way to bring an end to economic exploitation and political domination is to struggle for the liberation of Bangladesh. The 75 million people of Bangladesh are now engaged in that great battle.

A. S. Chowdhury,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca,
Judge, High Court, Dacca.

8 th May, 1971.

BANGLADESH FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

PAKISTAN was founded in 1947 amid communal strife between Muslims and Hindus. The two wings of Pakistan were carved but of the Indian sub-continent and ever since then its history has been scarred by regional tension.

Under the caption the "Second Flood of East Pakistan", the Sunday Times, London wrote: "The current tragedy in Pakistan is the logical end of the process that began with the dissolution of British India 25 years ago. In insisting then on the creation of a separate and specifically Muslim State the late Mr. Jinnah and his colleagues of the Muslim League gave birth to a pantomime horse-a nation divided by culture, language and thousand miles of hostile Indian territory and, stitched together solely by the thread of Islam."

Edward S. Mason, an American Professor of Harvard University, has recently said "the independence of East Pakistan is inevitable. What started as a movement for economic autonomy within the framework of a united Pakistan has been irrevocably transformed by the wholesale slaughter of East Pakistani civilians into a movement that sooner or later will produce an independent East Pakistan-"BANGLADESH '-is a matter of time." This paper in brief traces the history of Pakistan and discusses the cultural, linguistic and social background and principally the economic and politics of the two wings are at the heart of the present conflict.

Pakistan was born on religious sentiment and after the birth the sentiment was cherished to be kept alive. There is one thousand miles of Indian Territory between East and West Pakistan. Both are Muslims, but otherwise they are similar as Portugal and Poland. As early as 1949 Richard Simonds, in his "The Making of Pakistan", observed, "the place of E. Bengal in Pakistan is the least easy of all the provinces to assess, and its future the most difficult to foresee. "The west is dry where the camel is the main means of transport of tall men with high cheek-bones, turbans and baggy trousers, the East where in the rains transport from village to village and house to house is by boat where men are short and wear bright check lungis. West Pakistan is oriented towards the Middle East, East Pakistan is irrevocably part of South East Asia." The Bengalis have different language, dress, diet and way of life from the West Pakistan and it was the Economist of London which quite correctly observed: "East Pakistan speaks Bengali, which-the difference from Urdu apart-means that its people belong to the most articulate, most politically conscious and most permanently disgruntled group in the sub-continent."

These factors, therefore, show that the two pillars of Pakistan, East and West, were not fixed on the solid ground of nationalism but on the sands of religious sentiment. Ever since the birth of Pakistan the ruling class of West Pakistan thought that so long as people could be kept in a clamorous state of sentimentality they had a fair chance of exploitation of the Bengalis. The seed of exploitation and autocratic rule was sown in the ground of political history of Pakistan by the so-called father of the nation Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah became the first Governor General and later assumed the other highest posts of the State simultaneously-the Presidency of the ruling Muslim League Party and the Presidency of the Constituent Assembly. This is unprecedented in the history of a democratic country of any shade. "It was a question of time that the "Pater familiar of Roman Society would bring discontent in the family; for the existence of his absolute authority in the 20th century in Pakistan it was inevitable that a chaos would follow and this undemocratic- show would perpetuate further undemocratic developments." So long as he was alive, he dictated his policies without having any regard to people's opinion.

Addressing the Dacca University Convocation on 24th March 1948, Mr. Jinnah made it clear that "in Pakistan there shall be one State Language and that shall be Urdu." This was very very undemocratic as the majority of the people of Pakistan speak Bengali, one of the richest languages of the Indo-Pakistan sub-Continent. He also hinted that the language controversy had been fomented by the "Fifth Columnists". This political domination was followed soon by the economic exploitation of East Pakistan by the West. The West wing is also aware that without Bengal's revenue their military machine

would collapse like a punctured balloon. Hence the cries of "Pakistan in Danger," "Islam in Danger". East Pakistanis do not believe that West Pakistan has the monopoly of either Islam or patriotism. In their own way they are adding a new dimension of Islam just as Turks, Egyptians, Algerians and Palestinians have done.

Economic Exploitation

Robert Dorfman, an economist at Harvard University, has said "the fact of large and widening gap in the average standard of living between the two regions of Pakistan is incontestable. Even the West Pakistan dominated Government admits that the average East Pakistani must make do with barely two-thirds the average income in the West, and he faces higher prices too. The income disparity is largely the result of a systematic subordination of the interests of the Eastern region to those of the West, specially the East Pakistan's charge that allocation of foreign exchange-both that earned by the export of East Pakistan's jute and that provided by foreign aid disproportionately favors West Pakistan; that allocation of domestic investment reinforces the income disparity-and that high tariffs and import quotas raise prices to East Pakistanis in order to provide profit and jobs in West Pakistan". The Economist continues "We believe that in the main the facts support these charges."

Since 1952 Pakistan has been a major recipient of foreign aid, especially from Britain, the United States, France and China, the bulk of which has been used to support industrialization of West Pakistan, with only a handful of projects undertaken in East Pakistan, and even these are owned by West Pakistani industrialists. In 1959-60, the per capita income in West Pakistan was 32 per cent higher than in the East. Over the next ten years the annual rate of growth of income of West Pakistan was 62 % while it was only 4.2 % in East Pakistan. As a result, by 1969-70 the per capita income of the West was 61% higher than in the East. East Pakistan's foreign trade earnings are diverted to finance imports for West Pakistan and specifically, tariffs, import controls and industrial licensing compel East Pakistan to purchase commodities from West Pakistan which, but for the controls, they could obtain more cheaply in world markets. To quote the London Times of 20th October 1970: "At the moment East Pakistan buys its coal from China at a prohibited price of 172 rupees a ton. This is one of the main reasons why East Pakistan's only steel mill is running at a huge loss. Yet coal imported from West Bengal across the border would only cost 50 rupees a ton. East Pakistan would also able to export its main commodities, fish and low grade jute, to eager markets and starved milts of West Bengal."

Another classic economic exploitation of the East by the Central Government of Pakistan is in the public investment sector. With 60% of the total population East Pakistan's share of central government development expenditure has been as low as 20% during 1950-55, attaining a peak of 36% during the Third Five Year Plan period 1955-66- 1969-70. East Pakistan has received an even smaller share of private investment, less than 2.5%.

The tidal wave of five months ago has taken its toll in East Pakistan. Nearly a million Bengali lives have been lost. No power on earth can stop natural disaster but the

monumental inefficiency of the West Pakistan leadership in handling the relief operation is unforgivable. As early as 1937, Subhash Chandra Bose had suggested a 260 mile long coastal dam with a six-lane traffic way for controlling floods, boosting trade and commerce, generating electricity and reclaiming land for cultivation. Such projects have been undertaken by mutually hostile powers in Europe and by West Pakistan and India. There is no reason why it cannot be done by East Pakistan and West Bengal.

The sub-continent is laced with mighty mountains. There is no dirth of rocks and boulders. Bengalis are eager to work. There is no dirth of labor; all that is needed is leadership. This can only be provided for by the Bengalis who from time immemorial have lived with the cruel sea and the uncontrolled rivers. The proposed dam will not only electrify the economy of the entire region but also generate hope for the future which poverty-stricken Bengalis are rather good at harnessing for their cause. Recently a Western diplomat in Dacca said: "If the civilization collapses, the process will start here in Bengal" The collapse can be prevented by the coastal dam. Nothing else can. The Bengalis have repeatedly been told by the West Pakistan ruling class that annual floods, it's devastating tidal bore and its drought are the acts of God whereas in the West the recent Indus Basin Project has made the deserted regions the most fertile lands, along with her fight against water logging.

Ninety per cent of the Pakistan army comes from West Pakistan. The huge national expenditure on the army maintenance adds about 75% to the advantage of the people there; its fall-out in West Pakistan and deprivation of the East has been unscrupulously maintained all these years. This is an avaricious policy of sacrificing the majority interest at the altar of the soldiers which has necessitated a policy of keeping some external problems alive such as Kashmir. It is an unwritten policy of the Pakistanis Defense Department that no Bengali should hold the office of C-in-C either in the Army. Air Force or Navy and the brilliant Bengali officers are forced to retire as Major or Lt. Colonel and given posts in the semi-Governmental institutions. All the three headquarters of army, navy and air force are situated in West Pakistan including major military installations which show that the West wanted a militarily strong Pakistan to the exclusion of East Pakistan. It is a blatant example of, keeping East Pakistan weak so that the West wing could rule it perpetually as a colony. To say that Bengalis are not a martial race is a travesty of truth. For the Bengal Regiment fought courageously and well against India in 1965 in the Lahore sector. Even now they are fighting the well-trained and. well- armed West Pakistani Army with hardly any weapons to fight with.

Lahore Resolution & the Six Points

In 1966 Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of Bengal, had produced his Six Point Programme, a detailed elaboration on the call for East Bengal' autonomy first raised at the Dacca mass meeting in 1953. It was meant for emancipating the neglected people of Bengal and was actually based on the Lahore resolution of 1940 of the Muslim League which gets the credit for fathering Pakistan. The resolution was passed seven years before the partition of India. It endorsed that the constituent provinces of Pakistan should enjoy the fullest autonomy. The heart of his demands was a federal constitution that would give federal government control of nothing but foreign affair and defense-

and even the two federating States would be entitled to raise their "Territorial's" and make their own agreements on foreign trade.

In March 1966 while visiting East Pakistan President Ayub Khan said that he considered Sheikh's Six Points as a threat of secession and warned he would rather fight a civil war like they did in the United States then concede. Sheikh was immediately arrested and the majority of the foreign press ignored the event. To Bengalis his arrest-the fourth of his career-confined him as a martyr. In the notorious Agartala Conspiracy Case which was engineered by President Ayub Khan and the ruling clique, Mujib was brought to trial with 35 others. It was alleged against them that led by the Sheikh, they had conspired with Indian accomplices to organise a mutiny to over-throw the Ayub regime. There was not a grain of truth in this allegation and for want of evidence the trial ended inconclusively in Mujib's favor and he with others were freed except one who was shot in prison. The object of this trial was to discredit Mujib and his leadership by creating a misapprehension among the East Bengalis that what he was really demanding was not autonomy but virtual secession. However, the Pakistan Government's scheme proved to be a dismal failure. President Ayub stood thoroughly discredited.

This trial reveals two very important points about the psychology of West Pakistan's ruling class, one-they have no political education to run a country, fundamentally unscrupulous and capable of doing anything which is inconceivable in a modern society; secondly, they always held Bengalis in suspicion and any popular outburst in tile East was thwarted as being the instigation of communists or of India.

The Present Crisis

In the recent election in December last tile Sheikh and his Party, the Awami League, won 167 seats of the 169 in the National Constitutional Assembly which were allotted to East Pakistan. His party got a clear majority-in fact absolute majority-in a Chamber of 313. The newly elected National Assembly of Pakistan Was supposed to meet on 3rd March. The West Pakistani leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto with his 83 members demanded that control of trade and aid should remain in the hands of the Central Government. When Sheikh Mujib refused to compromise on these instruments of past economic exploitation. Bhutto refused to attend the Assembly and with the advice of Bhutto and other military hawks President Yahya Khan postponed the Assembly indefinitely.

Bhutto won the election on the slogan "Thousand Years' War Against India". The Sheikh won the election on his famous Six Points. This means autonomy for Bengalis while West Pakistan, would, have the portfolios of defense, foreign and finance affairs. It has been reported that "Groups of Baluchis, Pathans and Sindhis marched through the streets of Karachi on 4th March in support of East Pakistan." That leaves only the province of West Punjab whose people control all the high positions in Pakistan and there is the rub. To Mr. Bhutto and the West Punjabis Pakistan becomes meaningless without "Thousand Years War Against India" and without foreign exchange earned by 78 millions Bengalis, West Punjab can wage no war.

The Kashmir dispute and the Regional Corporation and Development a pact between Turkey, Iran and Pakistan-have furthered the economic prosperity of the Western region

to the detriment of East Pakistan's economy David Holden, of Sunday Times of London, has rightly said: "The perennial Pakistan battle over Kashmir held no emotion over them (Bengalis) yet it consumed the states revenues in military expenditure of which Bengal contributed the lion's share." Commenting on Kashmir the Guardian said recently: "Pakistan alleges that India holds the Pakistani loving Kashmiris in check by steely repression. It is most ludicrous of cases now, as the junta of Islamabad openly exercises just such repressions on 75 million bonafide Pakistanis. The United Nations will surely collapse in bitter laughter if Kashmir comes up again. The issue is as dead as the students of Dacca University."

The arbitrary postponement of National Assembly by Yahya Khan brought protests and processions all over Bengal 011 1st March, which the military decided to control by force. Nearly 2000 innocent democratic loving sons of Bengal lost their lives; despite this bloody massacre the Awami League refrained from declaring independence. Instead they carried on non-violent non-cooperation. It was first time in the history of the world when at the call of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman-the leader of the political party which was outside the government-the whole governmental administration of East Pakistan defied the Central Government and transferred its allegiance to him. It was such a complete non- cooperation that even the movements led by Mahatma Gandhi never achieved this degree of unity, solidarity and spirit of dedication among the people. At this time it was a proven fact that he never wanted to secede from Pakistan, "his preparedness for negotiation and commitment to the unity of Pakistan was demonstrated by his continuation of talks for the next two weeks despite the well-advertised influx of West Pakistan troops."

What President Yahya was doing was to reinforce his army in East Pakistan and was never negotiating with Mujib in good faith. During the talks, he said publicly 011 several occasions that he was satisfied; he went back to Islamabad on 25th March and called Sheikh Mujib, the future Prime Minister of Pakistan, a traitor. He outlawed his party and unleashed reign of terror on the night of Thursday 25th March 1971 which has not been seen since the Turkish massacre of Armenian Christian and Hitler's extermination of Jewish people.

On March 25 Bangladesh shrieked with horror. Blood flowed through the streets like a flood flowing after a torrential rain. Men, women and children ran in panic. Their screams echoed in the sky. Their cries then silenced by the rattle of automatic weapons and salvoes of guns. Thousand upon thousand were killed. Human bodies lay and rotted on the road under the fierce tropical sun. The world read the news of the massacre and saw it on the television screen-thanks to the indomitable courage of a few brave journalists who escaped the net of the Pakistan Army. Did the world feel shocked? Did it feel dismayed? Whatever their reaction was, it will never be known to the innumerable victims in Bangladesh. Horrified eye witnesses described in gory detail the savage killings and atrocities committed by the West Pakistani military machine. Newspapers in East Pakistan were completely gagged-if their offices were not already blown to pieces by cannonade. Foreign journalists were harassed, searched, subjected to indignities and eventually expelled. A British woman asked a Pakistani officer, "Why did you have to kill the children?" The officer answered back "As orphans they will grow up to hate West Pakistan". The West Pakistani Army was making sure that the truth did not reach the outside world.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'ফ্যাক্ট শীট-৯'- দেশবিদেশে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ স্টুডেন্ট এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচার পত্র	মে, ১৯৭১

FACT SHEET-9

BANGLADESH MEN IN WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE

The Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh was officially represented in the 4th World Peace Conference held in Budapest, Hungary (May 13-1.6). The official delegation which was led by Mr. M. A. Samad, an elected member of the National Assembly and Roving Ambassador for the Republic of Bangladesh, included Mr. Dewan Mahbub Ali, Joint Secretary of the National Awami Party; Dr. Sarwar Ali and Mr. Wali Ashraf, an Executive Member of the Bangladesh Students' Action Committee in U.K.

WE ARE AT WAR

Thanking the Organizers for inviting the delegation from People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Samad, the leader of the delegation, declared that his country was at war. Pointing out the brutal genocide he said, "Bangladesh is an independent state today and a new nation of 75 million people. You have heard the stories of the genocide and atrocities that have been going on for the last one and a half months through newspapers and other means of communication." Referring to the 23 year history of exploitation we said, "Pakistan came into being on the basis of Principles laid down in the Lahore Resolution of 1940 passed at the annual conference of the All India Muslim League. The people of Bangladesh sacrificed most to achieve independence from the British Colonial rulers. The aspiration of the people of Bangladesh had its sources from the above- mentioned Resolution which guaranteed the creation of a confederation of autonomous and sovereign states consisting of Muslim majority areas in India. Independence was materialized on 14th August, 1947. but the power was vested in the hands of the few West Pakistanis to rule the whole of Pakistan. Since then the days of oppression and exploitation began. Bangladesh turned into nothing but a colony and jute, cultivated by the toiling masses of Bangladesh, was the main source of foreign exchange earnings and constituted 70% of the total earnings of Pakistan along with tea, hides and skin. But the earnings were hardly used for our own development. The per capita income of West Pakistan increased three times compared to that of the people residing in Bangladesh".

Explaining the last election and subsequent happenings he said, "General Yahya Khan obliged Mr. Bhutto and the Generals by postponing the Assembly. The reaction of the postponement in Bangladesh was inevitable and spontaneous and throughout the land people took to the streets to record their protests at this arbitrary act. People now felt sure that Yahya never intended to transfer power and was making a mockery of democracy. Sheikh Mujib, however, continued to seek a political settlement".

Mr. Samad briefly explained how the Generals Were preparing for the first night of horror while General Yahya was but spending times in the name of negotiation. He said, " While negotiations were not yet declared to be complete, on 25th March at about 11 p.m. Yahya Khan committed an act of treachery that has no parallel in human history. A well- trained and mechanized army of West Pakistan clamped down over the weak and unarmed civilians. Without any warning or curfew, tanks, mortars, artillery, machine guns and rockets were indiscriminately used to kill the innocent people. The approximate number of people killed on the first two nights in and around Dacca is estimated to be 100,000. There are thousands of incidents of rape, loot and arson, I can describe to you Ladies and Gentlemen, that you would feel yourselves to be sitting here purportedly holding a conference for peace".

Mr. Samad said that the Bengalis however accepted this challenge of war. "The Liberation Forces have allowed the West Pakistan troops to extend as much as they can only to surround them and fight them out at times and place of their own choice".

Mr. Samad made it clear that the West Pakistan army was nothing but an occupation army and that they had no popular support at all.

MEMBERS CONDEMN ATROCITIES

The Conference, which was attended by more than 800 members from 124 countries, unanimously condemned the atrocities and genocide in Bangladesh by the West Pakistan Army. The World Peace Council expressed their solidarity with the people of Bangladesh struggling for their liberation. The Council also awarded the LAMBRAKIS Medal to the people of Bangladesh for their heroic struggle for self-determination.

A message from Maulana Bhasani, chief of the National Awami Party was also sent to the Conference.

ROVING AMBASSADOR ON TOUR.

Mr. M. A. Samad the Roving Ambassador to the Government of Bangladesh is now on a round the World tour. He had already met the members of the Hungarian Government and discussed about the Bangladesh situation. He will very soon meet Mr. Podgorny, the Soviet President. On conclusion of his East European tour he is expected to pay a visit to the U. K.

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COMMONS MOTION

The House of Commons passed a Motion unanimously on the 14th May, 1971. Introducing the Motion, Mr. Bruce Douglas Man, M.P. said. "That this house, deeply concerned by the killing and destruction which has taken place in East Pakistan and the possible threat of food shortage later this year calls upon Her Majesty's Government to use their influence to secure an end to the strife, the admission of the United, Nations and other international relief organizations, and achievement of a political settlement which will respect the democratic right of the people of Pakistan."

Expressing the nature and extent of the tragedy he said, " .....But the lowest independent estimates start 100,000, and many estimators are that over a million have died already".

Describing his own experience about the huge magnitude of refugees who were compelled to flee to India he said"... In circumstances in which the space where the camps are situated are likely to be flooded in the near future." He added, "The food in camp was in adequate but that food is costing Indian Govt. one Rupee per head per day."

Describing his tour inside Bangladesh, despite Indian concern he said, "Time and again we heard the same story. Troops of the West Pakistan military authorities had entered the village, which had not then been defended, had shot the men in the fields, killed the women and children and then having killed a great number of people from the village, had burnt it down and left."

He further added, “The third point is that the scale of killing and hatred is such that **Pakistan as a single state** is now dead.

JUSTICE CHOWDHURY SPEAKS IN HYDE PARK

After the House rose for the day Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury the Chief Adviser to the Central Steering Committee and Rt. Hon. John Stone house, M. P. addressed a mass meeting in Hyde Park Speakers Corner, which was attended by more than two thousand Bengalis. The meeting was arranged by the Students' Action Committee and that was Justice Chowdhury's first public speech where he described details of the Common Motion.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘‘আমার সোনার বাংলা আমি তোমায় ভালবাসি’’ বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় সংগীতের প্রচারপত্র	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ, যুক্তরাজ্য	মে, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ- গ্রেট বৃটেন

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Phone- 01-405 5917

জাতীয় সংগীত

আমার সোনার বাংলা আমি তোমায় ভালবাসি
চিরদিন তোমার আকাশ, তোমার বাতাস, আমার প্রাণে বাজায় বাঁশি।।
ও মা, ফাগুনে তোর আমর বনে ঘ্রাণে পাগল করে,
মরি হায়, হায় রে- ও মা, অঘ্রাণে তোর ভরা ক্ষেতে আমি কী দেখেছি মধুর হাসি।।

কী শোভা, কী ছায়া গো, কী স্নেহ, কী মায়া গো-
কী আচঁল বিছায়েছ বটের মূলে, নদীর কূলে কূলে।
মা, তোর মুখের বাণী আমার কানে লাগে সুধার মতো,
মরি হায়, হায় রে -
মা, তোর বদনখানি মলিন হলে আমি নয়নজলে ভাসি।।

তোমার এই খেলাঘরে শিশুকাল কাটিল রে,
তোমারি ধূলামাটি অঙ্গে মাখি ধন্য জীবন মানি।
তুই দিন ফুরালে সন্ধ্যাকালে কী দীপ জ্বালিস ঘরে,
মরি হায়, হায় রে -
তখন খেলাধুলা সকল ফেলে তোমার কোলে ছুটে আসি।।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জনাব এ, সামাদ এমএনএ-র প্রতি বিচারপ্রতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর চিঠি	ব্যক্তিগত চিঠি	২৪ মে, ১৯৭১

Telephone: 01-283 3622/3

Action Committee for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in U.K.
11 Goring Street, London, E. C. 3.

Dear Mr. Samad,

I am leaving London suddenly. I hope to return by the time you reach London. In my absence, you may fully take into confidence Mr. Azizul Huq Bhuia, Convener of the Steering Committee and Mr. Mannan, a member of the Steering Committee. Both of them are most dedicated workers and I have left all instructions with them to carry on with the work.

With profound regards.

A. Samad, M.N.A.

A.S. Choudliury.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ব্রটেনে প্রবাসী জনাব এম, এ, রাজ্জাক চৌধুরীর প্রতি কোলকাতাস্থ বাংলাদেশ মিশনের জনাব আনোয়ারুল করিম চৌধুরীর চিঠি	ব্যক্তিগত চিঠি	২৪ মে, ১৯৭১

MISSION OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

9-CIRCUS AVENUE
CALCUTTA-I7

গনপ্রজন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ মিশন
৯,সার্কাস এ্যাভিনিউ
কলিকাতা-১৭
May 24, 1971

No. B-5/4/71.

Mr. M. A. Razzak Choudhury.
6, Britannia Road,
South Sea (U.K.).

Dear Sir,

Kindly refer to your letter dated May 16, 1971 addressed to Mr. M. Hossain Ali, Head of Mission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Calcutta.

The Head of the Mission conveys his thanks to you and the Bengali community residing in the U.K. for the support to the cause of Bangladesh. The people of Bangladesh are engaged in a fierce battle with the invading Pakistani troops and require substantial help to liberate Bangladesh. We would, therefore, request you to mobilize all available resources to achieve our common goal.

You will be happy to learn that we have opened a bank account in London in the following name:—

Bangladesh Fund, A/C No. 007-866-30,

Hambros Bank, 41, Bishop's Gate, London E. C. 3.

The names of the Trustees for the account are Right Hon'ble John Stonehouse MP, Mr. Donald Hesworth and Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca. Kindly deposit all contributions collected for Bangladesh, in this account under intimation to the Trustees. Funds from this account will be drawn by the Government of Bangladesh from time to time for utilization in the cause of Bangladesh.

Mr. Mohammad A. Samad elected member of the National Assembly and leader of Bangladesh delegation to the World Peace Conference at Budapest will visit London shortly on a mission from the Government of Bangladesh. You are advised to please keep in touch with Mr. Justice A. S. Chowdhury at present in London, about Mr. Samad's

arrival and programme. Mr. Chowdhury's office address is 11, Goring street. London, E.G. 2. Telephone: 283-36232, 283-35526.

Mr. Chowdhury has been appointed by the Acting President of Bangladesh as the country's Representative at the United Nations Organisation. He has also been authorized to coordinate the organizations formed in different parts of the U. K. and Continent to raise funds and to mobilize support in favor of Bangladesh. We hope you will extend to him all possible help and co-operation which will further the cause of Bangladesh.

Given due help, victory would be ours, Insha Allah.

JAI BANGLA.

Yours Faithfully,
(Anwarul Karim Chowdhury)
for Head of Mission.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে ১৯শে জুন হাইড পার্কে অনুষ্ঠিতব্য জনসভা ও গণমিছিলের প্রচারপত্র	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের প্রচারপত্র	জুন, ১৯৭১

জনসভা-

গণপ্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশের সমর্থনে আগামী ১৯শে জুন শনিবার বেলা ১টায় লন্ডনের হাইড পার্কের স্পীর্কাস কর্নারে এক জনসভা হবে।

সভায় বাংলাদেশ সরকারের বৈদেশিক মুখপাত্র বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী ছাড়াও আরো অনেকে বক্তৃতা করবেন।

গণমিছিল-

সভার পরে হত্যাকারী দেশ পাকিস্তানের ক্রিকেট দলের বিরদ্ধে বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শনের জন্য স্পীর্কাস কর্নার থেকে বিক্ষোভ মিছিল শুরু হবে। মিছিল অক্সফোর্ড স্ট্রীট, পোর্টম্যান স্ট্রীট, গ্লোস্টার প্লেস, পার্ক রোড হয়ে 'লর্ডস' ক্রিকেট মাঠের সামনে সেন্ট জন্স উড রোডে শেষ হবে।

আবেদন-

বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের প্রতি সহানুভূতিশীল সকলকে জাতি-ধর্ম-বর্ণ নির্বিশেষে উক্ত জনসভা ও বিক্ষোভ মিছিলে যোগদানের জন্য অনুরোধ করা হচ্ছে।

গ্রেট বৃটেনস্থ বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ কর্তৃক ৩৫নং গ্যামেজেস বিল্ডিং, ১২০নং হবোর্ন, লন্ডন ইসি-১ থেকে প্রকাশিত ও প্রচারিত। মুদ্রণে সাপ্তাহিক জনমত। দূরালাপনী ঃ ০১-৪০৫-৫৯১৭ ও ০১-৬৭৩-৫৭২০।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
এ্যাকশন কমিটি কর্তৃক মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের সাহায্যের প্রস্তাবের জবাবে বাংলাদেশ থেকে ক্যাপ্টেন এন, হুদার চিঠি	ব্যক্তিগত চিঠি	১২ জুন, ১৯৭১

MUKTI FOUJ COY.
BAYRA CAMP
12 June, ’71.

Dear Mr. Bhuiyan,

On behalf of my troops and myself I am extending my sincere thanks to you for having taken the trouble to visit us in our forward base camp. I am also grateful that you have very kindly offered us to help my boys with stores and equipments on behalf of your organizations. I am also made to understand by you that this help is unofficial and purely on a voluntary basis from you. I am appending below a list of few such items which are essential and shall make my boys' living a little more comfortable.

It has been a great honor for me to have been able to take you inside the Liberated Zone of Bangladesh in my sector this evening. We hope by the blessing of God and good wishes of you all we shall be victorious.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
(Capt. N. Huda)

LIST OF ITEMS.

(1) Jungle Boot	...	100 paris
(2) Uniform, Khaki	…	150 Sets
(3) Beds, complete	...	125 pieces
(4) Rain Coats	...	50 ,,
(5) Woolen Socks	...	100”
(6) Mosquito Nets	...	30”
(7) Flasks (Largest)	...	2”
(8) Binoculars	...	3”

(9) .....Compass for taking bearing readings-1 piece.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে এইড বাংলাদেশ কমিটি, ইউরোপ- এর প্রতিবেদন	'বাংলাদেশ নিউজ'	৫ জুলাই ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH NEWS
(Organ of Aid Bangladesh Committee, Europe)

July 5, 1971.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

From the ruins of pre-calculated and barbaric suppression of the democratic voice of the 76 million Bengalis, systematic exterminations of the elected representatives of the people, sleeping students in the dormitories, Engineers, Doctors, Scientists, Intellectuals, Professors and unarmed civilians, a nation has emerged in the map of South East Asia. It is the People's Republic of Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan.

The formal declaration of independence and hoisting of the national flag of the People's Republic of Bangladesh was performed by the acting President, Mr. Syed Nazrul Islam, on the 17th April, 1971. About 10,000 people, including members of World Press and TV. were present at the ceremony while Gen. Yahya Khan's occupation forces continued bombing her cities, villages and machine gunning millions of fleeing refugees. It is high time for the world to recognize the reality and to act positively to bring an end to the sufferings of the millions of innocent Bengalees. If blood is the price for recognition, we have paid enough for it.

The democratically elected representatives of Bangladesh have formed the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and her 76 million people owe their allegiance to it.

Yahya Khan, the dictator General has countered the ballots with bullets. He has unleashed a reign of terror in Bangladesh and waged a total war of aggression against the population. Our students were machine gunned while they were sleeping. Professors, Intellectuals and Scientists were bayoneted and gunned down in front of their raped wives, daughters and sisters. Our cities have been bombed and villages destroyed by napalm. The whole of Bangladesh has been turned into concentration camps where the vultures are too full to fly and dogs too heavy to move around the dead bodies of our dearest and nearest.

If one Mai Lai has aroused the passion of the whole civilized world how could hundreds of Mai Lai being committed in Bangladesh today be ignored? We, in the name of humanity and democracy urge upon the World Community to raise their voice against this brutality. They must except all their pressures to compel Yahya Khan and his savage army to withdraw from Bangladesh. It could be achieved by stopping all economic and military aid to West Pakistan. It is the incumbent duty of U.N.O. to intervene directly and force into Bangladesh with all her aids to relieve the sufferings of the people.

PRESENT POSITION IN BANGLADESH

As can be imagined, under the present circumstances, the forces and weapons available to the Bangladesh Government would have to be used economically and judiciously. The military policy of Bangladesh forces is being matched to the concrete situation on the ground. It is recognized that in frontal attacks the superior fire power of West Pakistan military would dominate. Thus the short, Bangladesh faces a new situation.

Larger cities and urban centers have passed under the control of the invades. Barbaric killing by them has partly depopulated those urban centers.

On the other hand, the Provisional Government has entrenched itself in areas geographically and tactically suitable for the immediate tasks of resistance.

The butchery and crimes by the West Pakistani Army have driven millions, six (6) millions till now, from their homes to destitution

In the occupied villages, stored grains have been destroyed. The terror and chaos of the occupation have severely affected all forms of agricultural operations, giving rise to the fear that West Pakistan plans to use the food shortage in the coming months as leverage and to break the moral and physical resistance of the people of Bangladesh.

WHAT DO THE FRIENDS OF BANGLADESH IN EUROPE DO TO HELP HER PEOPLE?

Obviously the sufferings of Bangladesh could have been easily brought to an early end if the member countries of Aid to Pakistan Club, major words powers and other nations including all aid-giving agencies had taken concerted actions to secure an early withdrawal of West Pakistani military from Bangladesh. Knowing as the world does, the geographical absurdity and the economic vulnerability of West Pakistan, we appeal the conscience of the world to stop giving any sort of aid to West Pakistan so that these cannot be used for butchering the Bengalees.

AID BANGLADESH COMMITTEE, EUROPA

The Aid Bangladesh Committee, Europa has recently been formed with headquarters at **Schepen-Tylbadestraat 25, Roormond, Netherlands.** The telephone number is 04750-9787. The objects of this Committee are to focus world opinion towards the desperate situation prevailing in Bangladesh and to organise aid in the form of food, medicines, clothes, blankets, milk and every materials and moral supports to the suffering millions and to the cause of Bangladesh. It also aims at propagating the 6-Point Programme of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, of which on analysis will clearly show that at the time of election there was no idea of Bengalees to secede from Pakistan. However, the treacherous behavior of West Pakistan Government convinced them that they could never expect justice from Pakistan. They had no other alternative but to declare independence. The Committee also try to propagate the entire political and economic background behind the declaration of independence by Bangladesh.

PRESS CONFERENCES

The Bangladesh Aid Committee, Europe convened three Press conferences to focus on the prevailing conditions in Bangladesh and to mobilize world opinion to the cause of Bangladesh. They were held at Frankfurt, Den Haag and Heerlen. The activities of the Committee were also broadcast over the German Radio and Television.

WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE CONDEMNS GENOCIDE?

On 16th April the Secretary of the World University Service at Geneva has sent a cable to the West Pakistani military dictator, General Yahya Khan; condemning the carnage in Bangladesh. The cable specially condemned the indiscriminate killing of University Teachers and students with the aim of eliminating the intellectual's leaderships of Bangladesh.

LIBERATION DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL OF OCCUPATION FORCES?

The annual conference of Liberation (formerly the Movement of Colonial freedom) held in London, 18th April has condemned the massacre in Bangladesh urged the British Government to help the end of the fighting. A resolution also demanded the withdrawal of West Pakistani troops from Bangladesh recognizing the right of Bangladesh to govern itself as an independent state.

GAFFAR KHAN CONDEMNS YAHYA-BHUTTO-QUAYUM CLIQUE

250 TEACHERS OF ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY in a memorandum condemned what Yahya Khan did in the name of Islam and Pakistan in Bangladesh. They demanded immediate withdrawal of Pakistani forces from Bangladesh. THE SPEAKER of Indonesia Parliament and Chairman of International Islamic Conference condemned the atrocities of Pakistani Army in Bangladesh.

BANGLADESH REPRESENTED IN WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE

The Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh was officially represented in the 4th World Peace Conference held in Budapest, Hungary (May 13-16). The official delegation was led by Mr. A. Samad and member of the National Assembly and Roving Ambassador of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

BANGLADESH IS AT WAR

Thanking the Organisation for inviting delegations from the People's Republic of Bangladesh Mr. Samad, the leader of the delegations declared that Bangladesh was at war. Mr. Samad briefly explained the up-to-date situation in Bangladesh and made it clear that the West Pakistan army was nothing but an occupation army and that they had no popular support at all.

ATROCITIES ARE CONDEMNED

The conference which was attended by more than 800 members from 124 countries unanimously condemned the atrocities and genocide in Bangladesh by West Pakistani

army. The World Peace Council expressed its solidarity with the people of Bangladesh struggling for their liberation. The Council awarded the LAMBRAKIS MEDAL to the people of Bangladesh for their heroic struggle for self-determination.

ROVING AMBASSADOR ON TOUR

Mr. M. A. Samad the Roving Ambassador to the Government of Bangladesh is now on a round the world tour. He had already met the members of the Hungarian Government and discussed about Bangladesh situation. He will meet Mr. Podgorny, the Soviet President, on conclusion of his East European tour, and he is also expected to pay a visit to the United Kingdom.

WORLD OPINION MOBILIZES

During the last two months Newspapers of different countries have taken important part in mobilizing the world opinion, which has now switched against the brutalities of Pakistani Army in Bangladesh.

Two English Newspapers, The Times and the Guardian, have in special reports shown that while talks were going on between Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Yahya Khan, Yahya secretly brought in crack troops and modern warfare machines to Bangladesh. While every Press hand-out by the Pakistani Government indicated that the difference between the two parties Was being…..without breaking off the talks Yahya left Bangladesh and the Pakistani Army was unleashed within all its ferocity upto the unarmed people of Bangladesh.

TRAGEDY OF REFUGEES

As latest reports shown cholera has broken out in epidemic form among the refugees in India. With the number of refugees crossing the 5 million mark, and more than 60,000 pouring in everyday, medicines have become scarce, and the Government of India has called the attention of the World Community of India has called the attention of the World Community for help. The British, Dutch and German Governments have already sent monetary and medical aid to the disease striken areas. Aid Bangladesh Committee made an emergent appeal to the German people through Television, Radio and Newspapers for help. Through its agents in Europe, the Medico International, and the agents in India St. John's Ambulance Prigado, Calcutta, the Committee has sent to West Bengal more than 250,000 DM in medical aid, and is collecting more money and material.

BANGLADESH ARMY IS ON MOVE

The latest newspaper reports show that after the first advantage it won by its blitzkrieg offence, the Pakistani Army is now losing ground. The Liberation army has gained control of further areas, and even the Dacca Airport is threatened. The Pakistan Army has suffered terribly in man and materials, and is in short supply of daily necessities because of the non-cooperation of the common people. They can move out of

cities only in convoys, and many such convoys are ambushed by Liberation Guerrillas with the aid of people.

Time is on the side of Bangladesh, and Pakistan will ... to death slowly as its army continues to fight the costly was of intervention in Bangladesh.

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BANGLADESH COMMITTEE, EUROPE-APPEALS

We appeal to all countries, national and international organizations to dispatch aids for the Bengalee refugees in India and suffering millions in Bangladesh. It is estimated that 3 million cholera vaccines, 2 million TABC vaccines, 100,000 bottles of saline. 25,000 molar lactates, one million oxytetracycline capsules, 100,000 packets of cotton, 70,000 feet of bandages and guages and 10,000 doses of anti-diphtheria serum are needed for the refugees only. The helpless millions of Bangladesh will possibly need more medical attention. But it will take some time before we reach them. We therefore appeal to the humanity in large to send money and material to us for the dispatch. ONCE AGAIN, WE IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY APPEAL TO THE WORLD CONSCIENCE NOT TO GIVE ANY SORT OF AID TO THE MILITARY JUNTA OF WEST PAKISTAN SO THAT THE SUFFERING MILLIONS OF BANGLADESH COULD BE SAVED FROM TOTAL DESTRUCTION.

We appeal to different Government to give diplomatic pressure on the Government of West Pakistan so that it removes its invading army from Bangladesh. We appeal to them also to give recognition to the BANGLADESH GOVERNMENT without any delay.

ISSUED BY AID BANGLADESH COMMITTEE- EUROPE.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে এ্যাকশন কমিটিসমূহের ঐক্যবদ্ধ তৎপরতা চালানোর প্রচেষ্টা সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	ওয়েস্টমিনস্টার এ্যাকশন কমিটি প্রকাশিত প্রচারপত্র	৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

A Call to Bangladesh Action Committees in the United Kingdom-

WE HAVE ACHIEVED UNITY IN PURPOSE: LET US NOW ACHIEVE UNITY IN ACTION

A memo from the Bangladesh Action Committee (Westminster-London)

The Great Killing of 25 March 1971 has united, as never before, the entire Bengali nation. It has merged the 6-point of the Awami League into one point of national independence for Bangladesh. The task, the immediate one and the urgent one, of emancipation of the Bengali people has been reduced to a simple one of liberating the Bangladesh from the occupation of the Army of West Pakistan.

Since then three months have gone by and nearly eight weeks since the convention of the Coventry conference and the appointment of the Steering Committee. In the United Kingdom we are still to see a national network of action committees to emerge which could give a central guidance to hundreds of our dedicated workers all over Britain. We are still to witness the transformation of patriotic urge of our nationals into disciplined and determined activities. The Steering Committee has done valuable work in many fields but unfortunately, they have totally failed to provide an organizational framework for the operation of the Bangladesh activists. Tragically, they have not even been able to produce a draft constitution which could give a framework for our national organisation.

It is, therefore, high time that the community as a whole, as they did through the Coventry conference, must come out with a lead to overcome the failures of the Steering Committee. This could be done by reconvening the delegates of the Coventry conference with additional representatives from action committees formed since then. Such a conference could receive reports on the political situation, organizational affairs and constitutional matters and try to come to grip with some of the very pressing problems facing the Bangladesh nationals in the United Kingdom.

With these reflections in view the Bangladesh Action Committee (Westminster-London) has .drafted this memo for consideration of all concerned in the work or organizing the Bangladesh nationals in the UK into a coherent and disciplined national entity.

A. We consider that:

1. The perspective before such a national organisation-for the sake of easy reference let us call it Bangladesh Council in UK-should be to harness the moral, political

and material resources of the Bangladesh nationals in the UK in order to make more forceful and productive their support to the struggle for national liberation carried on by the freedom-fighters and the Bangladesh Government.

2. The work of the Bangladesh Council must not be confused with the work of the Envoy of the Bangladesh Government. The two are complementary though different and distinct in many ways. This distinction should be clearly understood and appreciated and most carefully and conscientiously reflected in our attitudes and activities. Or else overlapping will take place resulting in conflicts and confusion.

3. The primary responsibility of the Bangladesh Council will be to mobilize the Bangladesh nationals in UK and in this field of harnessing national resources the Bangladesh Council shall enjoy full autonomy and the Bangladesh Council shall be consulted by the Bangladesh Government and its Envoy. However, in debasement of its fund and utilization of its manpower the Bangladesh Council shall seek guidance from the Bangladesh Government and its Envoy and in the field of international solidarity activities the Council shall act in accordance with the direction of the Bangladesh Government and its Envoy.

4. The primary responsibility of the office of the Envoy will be to function as the spokesman of the Bangladesh Government and initiate moves in the field of international solidarity activities both in the UK and in the countries easily approachable from London.

5. The two bodies shall join in the safe-keeping of the Bangladesh Fund in the UK and its proper disbursement.

B. NOW ABOUT THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE NATIONAL ORGANISATION
-Bangladesh Council

1. The most important assignment of the Bangladesh Council, overriding all other functions, will be to raise the maximum amount of financial contributions from the Bangladesh supporters. It should be remembered that the community as a whole has been raised to an unprecedented pitch of patriotism but the mechanism must be provided so that the organisation may reach them, and reach them regularly, once every month if not every week. Unless we are able to reach them, unless we are able to secure their active involvement in the fund-raising activities, it will not be possible to tap even 10 per cent of the potentialities of the community.

2. Therefore the basic committee-the local committee-should be constituted on the basis of concentration of our nationals because of residential or employment or professional requirement. Such grouping must not be too unwieldy, nor too widely disbursed. Both these factors will make personal and physical contact with the potential supporters difficult and.... This will be detrimental to the regular flow of communication and will undermine the collection of fund,

3. A local committee must be an operational unit and such a unit could be around 50 with about five activists in it and each activist carrying responsibility to look after at least five members of the group.

4. Such local committees should be registered with the central office of the Bangladesh Council and channel of communication on all matters of general interest should be direct. This arrangement is aimed to speed up operational efficiency. However, the representation of the local committees will have to be processed through respective regional committees where such committees are in existence or have become defunct.

5. For a local committee to have voting representation it must have on its role at least 100 paid-up members-the membership fee could be £12 per member per annum and the committee's minimum contribution to the central fund could be £1,000 per annum. A local committee should be accorded extra weightage in voting representation proportion to the additional financial contribution they would be making to the central fund.

6. For encouraging disciplined and coordinated activities the basic units could be regrouped in regional committees like (a) Glasgow & North; (b) Manchester & Lanes; (c) Leeds & Yorks.; (d) Birmingham & Midlands; (e) Bristol or Cardiff and South West England; (0 London & South .East England. Delegates of the regional committees should constitute the Central Committee of the Bangladesh Council and the entire organisation to derive its authority from the National Conference of the Bangladesh Council which shall be convened as and when the Central Committee shall decide.

C. SPEAKING ABOUT ORGANISATIONAL TASKS

1. The biggest hurdle to the achievement of UNITY IN ACTION will be provided by the growing conflict between the established community leadership (produced during the last two decades of socio-welfare activities and mostly belonging to the elder generation who are somewhat retarded intellectually-though for no fault of theirs) and the newly emerging leadership of the local action committees (mostly young and educated but many suffering from impatience and intellectual arrogance). The established community leaders are understandably worried about the incursion of the new generation of the political activists. The newly emerging leadership on the other hand rightly feels exasperated .when they find that their well-intentioned activities are blocked by parochial and factional coterie politics. Instead of seeing action, more action, and speedy action, the younger generation finds themselves wasting time in irrelevant debates and controversies. These two different types of leadership features will be very much apparent if one makes a comparative study of the style of work of two bodies in London, the Students' Action Committee or the Women's Committee and the London Action Committee. To compose these two distinctive trends into one composite stream is the most important and urgent organizational task before all of us who would like

to see UNITY IN ACTION among the Bangladesh activists in the UK. All efforts, at all levels, must be concentrated to tackle this problem. If such a blending between the established community leadership and the newly emerging leadership could be achieved then the two key problems of supply of fund and functionaries for the movement could also be tackled with comparative ease.

In order to achieve the psychological climate to unite and to cooperate both the groups-the established leadership and the newly emerging political activists-must try to learn more about one another and come to appreciate the strength and drawback of one another. Particularly for the political activist it is important to appreciate the strength and good points of the established leadership without overlooking their limitations and evolve a framework for accommodating them at the leadership level in suitable capacities. Many of these leaders are unquestionably dedicated to the cause, are capable of putting in sustained and hard work and are men of high integrity and great trust. Such persons are eminently qualified to hold posts of trustees, of arbitrators, treasurers, members of finance committees, etc. and many of them are also qualified to head organizations as presidents. But they are not, as experience has shown, suitable for secretarial responsibilities and with one or two exceptions not for the post of chairman. The fact that most of our meetings do not get a right start, get bogged down to irrelevancies, get derailed at least provocations, do not start in time, do not finish in time, do not reach any comprehensive conclusion, are because of bad chairmanship of the meetings. Because of bad chairmanship a meeting instead of helping the consolidation of the community, instead of raising our political consciousness and patriotic urge to a higher level does the reverse. Such badly conducted meetings contribute towards the creation of a hang-over of depression and frustration. These meetings instead of providing encouragement to the audience dampen our spirit and enthusiasm.

2. The functionaries, on the other hand, should be rallied around functional sub-committees, who should have specific assignments, like office administration, publications, public relations, accounting, etc. These functionaries in a suitable combination should constitute the executive branch of the organisation. Their primary responsibility should be to execute the policy decisions that will be arrived at by the delegates at the national conference or in between the conferences by the National Council.

3. To achieve UNITY IN ACTION and also EFFICIENCY IN OPERATION the organisation will come across another problem of combining the functionaries coming' through the representational apparatus of the organisation and individuals not involved with mass organizations but professionally and politically qualified to accept positions of responsibility. We cannot expect these individuals to come through the representational apparatus. The only way of getting them in is by means of draft. This problem can be best solved by providing power to co-opt to all elective bodies at the various levels of operations, from the basic unit to the National Council.

These are cursory thoughts on some of our pressing organizational problems of the Bangladesh movement in the UK and the members of the Bangladesh Action Committee (Westminster-London) shall be obliged to here comments and criticism of the memorandum from our colleagues and compatriots. We also very strongly feel that the leaders of the action committees must immediately meet to provide the movement with an adhoc constitution so that our rights and obligations as members and committees are outlined and limitations defined. Only then our organizational activities could be provided with an operational framework. Or else the frustration will deepen and undermine the patriotic upsurge of the people. If we allow this to happen, it will be a crime against the people and a betrayal of the national liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

On behalf of Bangladesh Action Committee
(Westminster-London)

23 Minford Gardens
London Wl.
7 July 1971,

A.Rahim Chaudhury
Shariful Islam
Joint Conveners.

Note: The Bangladesh Action Committee (Westminster -London) has been formed recently and with which the Campaign for Self-rule for East Bengal (established in March 1971) is incorporated.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানকে সাহায্য প্রদান বন্ধের জন্য বাঙ্গালী শ্রমিক নেতাদের আহবান	'ওয়ার্কাস প্রেস' লন্ডন	৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

Friday July 9. 1971

WORKERS PRESS

Bangladesh Exclusive

STOP PAKISTAN SUPPLIES: PLEA TO UNIONISTS

BY Robert Black

BRITISH LABOUR must block all aid to Pakistan, leaders of the four million- strong Bangladesh National Workers' League told Workers Press yesterday.

League President Shah Jahan and General Secretary Abdul Mannan are in Britain from Bangladesh to secure definite pledges of solidarity action from the major trade unions, especially those covering dockers and other transport workers.

Stressing the unity of interest between British and Bengali workers in their common struggle for basic rights, Shah Jahan said the National Workers' League had already requested that British dockers and seamen 'refrain from working on Pakistan ships or any other vessels carrying goods and arms to Pakistan*.

He intends to discuss this proposal with Jack Jones, whose Transport and General Workers' Union organizes the majority of Britain's port-workers. (The T & GWU conference opens in Scarborough next Monday.)

Shah Jahan said that after meeting trade union leaders from all over the world, he was convinced that if the British workers gave a lead in supporting Bangladesh, others would soon follow.

INFLUENCE

'It would greatly influence the workers of Europe, America and Canada', he stated.

He emphasized that workers and their leaders should not be diverted from supporting Bangladesh by the 'power considerations' of the world governments.

Their only consideration should be the cause for which workers throughout the world are fighting-political and economic emancipation.'

These points were endorsed by former jute mill worker Abdul Mannan. He spent seven years in Pakistani jails for organizing the first mass strikes against the military regime of Ayub Khan.

Seven of his family, including his mother, have been killed by the Pakistan army since March 25.

ANSWER

'We ask all British workers and their leaders in the TUC to answer our appeal', he declared.

'Blockade Pakistan. Do not load anything for Yahya Khan. If British workers give to lead, and especially their leaders, then workers all over the world will follow.'

Both Jahan and Mannan were in Bangladesh when the Pakistan army unleashed its massacres on March 25. Trade unionists bore the brunt of the attack,' said Shah Jahan.

Militants were hunted down in Dacca, Chittagong and other towns and shot on the spot.

Even workers answering calls to collect their back pay have been machine gunned down, hundreds at a time.

'But their spirit is unbroken,' Shah Jahan assured Workers Press.

He explained that 30 per cent of E. Bengal workers had received military training under the Yahya regime.

Many of these workers were now leading the Liberation Army and helping to train recruits in the camps.

Both leaders thanked Workers Press for the campaign it was organizing in the British trade unions for concrete solidarity action with the workers and peasants of Bangladesh.

Their impassioned appeal for an official trade union embargo on all goods and arms to Pakistan places the ball firmly in the court of Jack Jones, Hugh Scanlon and TUC general secretary Victor Feather.

Workers in all unions must demand that they act-and now.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তনে বেসামরিক শাসন প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য ইয়াহিয়া খানের সর্বশেষ প্রয়াস সর্ম্পকে একটি প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন অফ নিউ ইংল্যান্ডের পুস্তিকা	১৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN S LATEST FORMULA FOR RESTORATION OF CIVILIAN RULE IN PAKISTAN: AN ANALYSIS

Bangladesh Association of New England
July 14, 1971

Under pressure from the World Powers and the international organizations like the World Bank, President Yahya Khan has been obliged to offer a plan for restoration of civilian rule in Pakistan. Nothing could be more farcical than his plan announced on June 28, 1971. He has foreseen the initiation of a process through which power will be transferred to the elected representatives of the people in the course of four months or so. Even after civilian governments are formed they will have the cover of martial law However, it is not the ineffective nature of the governments to be established, but the manner in which they will be called to being is what is most amusing.

Constitution to be Drafted by a Committee of Experts

The plan has laid down that the members who were elected to the National Assembly with the primary purpose of drawing up a constitution will now lose that right. Instead a Committee of Experts has been appointed to draft a constitution, with the promulgation of which the various elected Assemblies at the National and the Provincial levels will start functioning.

After a country-wide regular election has been held and people's representatives chosen to write up a Constitution, there is no room for any so-called expert body to abrogate that right from the elected representatives. This amounts to imposing by the regime on the people a Constitution of its own make. Such an authoritarian Constitution win have no legal validity under whatever martial law order it might be inducted. Such a Constitution will not have any prospect of lasting long, as did not the Constitution given by the former President Ayub Khan. This speaks not only of an ignorance of the democratic process, but also a calculated avoidance of that process for fear of being confronted with something unpalatable to the army rulers. But who have given this inalienable right to the army rulers to give Constitution to the country from time to time?

Nature of the Constitution

The nature of the Constitution has also been indicated by Yahya Khan. According to him, this will give greater autonomy to the provinces, but at the same time will ensure a stronger Central Government. This becomes self-contradictory and only jugglery of words. After what has happened to the Bengalis since the 25th March, 1971 due to army action no measure of autonomy will be acceptable to them. The ruthless and planned

killing of the people and the destruction of the economy have clearly exposed the intentions of the army junta of West Pakistan. They do not consider Bengalis their own people. They want to subjugate the 75 million Bengalis forever and exploit Bangladesh as a colony of the type the human history has not seen.

The present plan reveals the design quite obviously, though this has been an intended move to hoodwink the World Powers and the other world bodies. There is no expression of sympathy for the people who have suffered including the six million refugees in India. There is no desire of generating confidence and goodwill among the Bengalis. To the - West Pakistani Army rulers, these are not necessary. They believe that they can hold on to power through military suppression and ruthlessness. They are yet to accept the fact that the oft-repeated bond of unity and integrity has been torn asunder by them for all lime to come.

Expected Collaborators:

Who are the persons in Bangladesh that President Yahya Khan expects to cooperate with him in forming the Governments under the present plan? Not the Awami League that won all but two seals in the National Assembly. The Awami League has been banned for ever. The Awami Leaguers who were involved in the "secessionist movement" and "anti-state or criminal acts" will not be permitted to sit in the Assemblies. The others who would come forward could participate in the Assemblies only in their individual capacities. The vacant scats will be filled up through by-elections. These are the processes envisaged by President Yahya Khan to initiate civilian rule in the country. This is how Yahya Khan expects to enlist the support of the Awami Leaguers of Bangladesh to his plan of transferring power. But he knows that he cannot expect many Awami Leaguers to show up to cooperate with him. He also knows that an outright nullification of the last election results win create complications with respect to West Pakistan as well. Hence his frantic effort at a patched up formula to maintain credibility, though he fully realized that it is an exercise in futility.

We are not bothered about the lack of options before Yahya Khan, as he is trying to make out. He has engaged himself in this futile exercise, only to appease the world at large. He expects to form an Assembly of quislings and collaborators through a fake election for the vacant seats. This will not be legal, constitutional or even moral. No one can deny the right to the duly elected members to set and participate in the Assemblies. It did not lie within the competence of Yahya Khan to presume the attitude of the Awami League within the National Assembly. His presumption of a secessionist attitude of Awami League is not borne out by facts. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman did not declare independence of Bangladesh till the unwarranted and merciless crack-down by West Pakistan army on the night of the 25th March, 1971. The whole world press will bear witness to this. Hence it is Yahya khan, and not Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who is responsible for splitting Pakistan into two. Once this split has been brought to the present, pass, any further rapprochement is totally out of the question.

Objective of the Plan

President Yahya Khan has put up the plan clearly not for the Bengalis, but primarily for the world governments and in particular for the Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium countries. He does not expect that the World Powers will not see through the hollowness of his plan. What he expects is that some of the world powers win find an excuse for continuing their policy of "non-interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan." Yahya Khan has claimed in his address that the world powers have generally approved of his army action in Bangladesh in the name of integrity and solidarity of Pakistan. Is that correct? Not in the least. The world press in a body have condemned the action in unmistakable terms. The Big Powers also have expressed their disgust and urged upon Yahya government for a political settlement of the problem.

The political settlement offered by President Yahya Khan is not what was conceived of by the world governments. This plan cannot solve the problem created by Yahya Khan over the past three months. The regime cannot revive the administration in Bangladesh through quislings and collaborators supported by the West Pakistani administrators. The atrocities still continue in the name of cleansing. But the regime very well knows that it would require the cleaning up a whole nation of 75 million people. Thus West Pakistani regime has finally failed to administer Bangladesh and by now has forfeited the right to rule them any longer.

However, Yahya Khan expects to rule Bangladesh through brutal force. He has been emboldened to feel so because of the silent support by some of the Big Powers. It is understandable that the Big Powers have many more problems to attend to. But does that justify their tacit support at perpetuation of the wholly untenable situation in Bangladesh?

The people of Bangladesh are suffering inhuman miseries and passing their days under a reign of terror, intimidation and persecution. The six million refugees across the border have not returned to their homes for fear of military action. Many independent observers have stated that the army is just trigger-happy and arbitrary.

The refugees can return only if a sense of security can be created in them, which "is possible only if their elected leaders assume power forthwith and the army aggression is withdrawn. The people inside Bangladesh will resume their full economic and reconstruction activities, only if the government of their chosen leaders administers the country.

Final Analysis

Peace and tranquility can remain undisturbed in the region, if and only if the inevitable is accepted without any further delay. President Yahya expects that with passage of lime, things will settle down and the wounds heal up. The world governments seem to think that the Bengalis will eventually submit. Nothing could be further from the truth after such a heavy price has been paid.

An organized and highly equipped army has gained control within their gun range over the territory, but not over the minds of the people. This is only natural for the armed

forces. But the non-cooperation of the people at large supported by mounting guerilla activities, along with the invisible pressure of the six million uprooted people will eventually force the army junta to crumble both economically and politically.

The sooner it is realized by the world powers, the better it is for the peace and security in South Asia. Will the world powers remain an onlooker to the greatest man-made tragedy in human history and thus help delay the inevitable birth of a new nation only through still greater sacrifices? A late response to the realities of the issue may only be too late.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণের আহবান জানিয়ে গ্রুপ ক্যাপ্টেন তাওয়ারের প্রতি বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর চিঠি	বিশেষ প্রতিনিধির চিঠি	১৯ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

জয় বাংলা

11 Goring Street
London E C 3
Tel:-01-2835526/ 3623
9-7-71

My dear Group Capt. Tawab,

It is absolutely unsafe for you to return to Pakistan. Please do not return to Pakistan. Bangladesh needs you. Please immediately get in touch with me.

With best wishes,

Yours Sincerely,
A .S Chowdhury

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১শে জুলাই অনুষ্ঠিতব্য বাংলাদেশের সমর্থন সভায় যোগদানের কথা জানিয়ে বৃটিশ এমপি-র চিঠি	এম, এ, আর খানকে লিখিত চিঠি	২১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

From Frank Judd, M. P.
21st July 1971.

Dear Mr. Khan,

Thank you for your letter of 20th July. Mr. Selway had told me about your meeting and I am sorry that I was not able to give you a reply earlier.

I shall be glad to come to St. Peter's Hall, Somers Road, at 3 p. m on Saturday, 31st July, and am looking forward to being, with you.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

Mr. M. A. R. Khan
President,
Bangladesh Action Committee
6 Britannia Road
Southsea.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১শে জুলাই -এর সভায় যোগদানের অক্ষমতা জানিয়ে জন স্টোনহাউস, এমপি-র চিঠি	এম, এ, আর খানকে লিখিত চিঠি	২২ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

From The Rt. Hon. John Stonehouse. M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON, SW1
22nd July, 1971

Dear Mr. Khan,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th July inviting me to the meeting to be held on the 31st July.

Unfortunately, due to another appointment on that day, it will be impossible for me to attend your meeting. I do hope the meeting is a success.

Yours sincerely.
John Stonehouse.

Mr. M. A. R. Khan,
The Bangladesh Action Committee,
6 Britannia Road.
Southsea.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
অচিরে লন্ডনে বাংলাদেশ মিশন প্রতিষ্ঠার কথা জানিয়ে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর চিঠি	ভেনিজুয়েলা প্রবাসী ডঃ এন আলম খন্দকারকে লিখিত চিঠি	৪ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

4th August, 1971.

Dr. N. Alam Khandker,
Instituto Oceanografico,
Apartado postal 94,
Cumana,
Venezuela.

Dear Mr. Khandker,

It was a great delight for me to receive your letter of 2nd June 1971, but I deeply regret that I could not write to you earlier. This is due to my preoccupation. For the last three months I could never go to bed before midnight. Nor have I, as yet, proper facilities for replying to letters promptly.

We are setting up a Bangladesh Mission shortly and things will get better organized and letters will be more promptly attended to then.

I was in New York for a very brief stay. As Special Representative of the Government of Bangladesh to the U. N. and overseas I have at times to go to different places, but my main work is in Great Britain and I am based in London.

I am very grateful for your kind thoughts and your kind words which will indeed inspire me as ever. I am also grateful for your concern about me personally. It has deeply moved me. If I require any such help personally I shall not hesitate to write to you.

With the very best of wishes and personal regards.

Yours sincerely,
Abu Sayeed Chowdhury

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের বিচারের প্রতিবাদে যুক্তরাজ্যস্থ বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৮ আগষ্ট, ১৯৭১

Action Committee for
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.
11 Goring Street, London, E. C. 3.

THE BENGALI COMMUNITY OF ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND PEOPLE RESIDING IN GREAT BRITAIN HAVE RECEIVED WITH DEEP ANGUISH AND SHOCK THE NEWS THAT YAHYA KHAN HAS FINALLY DECIDED TO HOLD A MOCK TRIAL ON I1TH AUGUST OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN, THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED LEADER OF SEVENTY FIVE MILLION PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH.

PEOPLE BELIEVING IN DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND HUMAN VALUES NEED NOT BE TOLD AGAIN ABOUT THE CRIMES OF YAHYA KHAN IN SLAUGHTERING ONE MILLION, DRIVING EIGHT MILLION FROM THEIR COUNTRY, MAKING DESTITUTE THIRTY MILLION AND TERRORISING THE SEVENTY FIVE MILLION PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH. HE HAS NOW DECIDED TO FLOUT INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND PROCEED WITH THE TRIAL.

WE URGE THE BRITISH PUBLIC IN PARTICULAR, AND WORLD OPINION IN GENERAL. TO RISE TO THE OCCASION AND ASK THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS TO INSIST THAT YAHYA KHAN PUT A STOP TO THIS SINISTER AND DANGEROUS ACT AND RELEASE SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
এ্যাকশন কমিটি কর্তৃক জাহাজ ক্রয়ের ব্যাপারে একটি বৃটিশ কোম্পানীর সাথে পত্র যোগাযোগ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১০ ও ১২ আগষ্ট, ১৯৭১

HORACE S. CORDRAN LTD.
Directors: H. S. Cordran, H. L. Cordran
Shipbrokers
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Telegrams: ANFIBIO. LONDON. E. C. 3.
Codes: NEW BOB & SCOTT'S

BEVIS MARKS HOUSE.
BEVIS MARKS,
LONDON. E. C. 3.

MR. BHUIA
11 Goring Street,
E. C. 3.

Attention of Mr. Bhuia.

Dear Sirs,

We thank you for your yesterday's telephonic call, and as requested, enclose herewith a list with a few coasters of about 700 tons deadweight presently available, for your kind consideration.

We shall follow up with further suggestions and meantime shall be glad to hear if you find any of these vessels of interest.

Yours faithfully,

HORACE S. CORDRAN LTD.
Sd/-

HORACE S. CORDRAN LTD.

Particulars of Screw Steamer YUK I and D U E L

Dead Weight inc. bunkers-abt. 740 tons

Draught Loaded-3.32

Bunkers -98 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons

When, Where Built- 1964/1963, Holland
Builder's Name- Scheeps v/d de Grtto

Class-Highest Lloyd's class

Last Survey- 1968 and 1969

Register Tons-455, Gross-204 Nett

Cubic Capacity-56.1 Grain/53.117 bale

Water Ballast 155 tons in double bottom,

abt. 12 tons Fresh water

Dimensions

Length 59.72 m/54.00 m

Breadth 9.20

Depth of Hold 3.32 m.

Depth Moulded 5.40

No. of Holds ..... No. of Bulkheads

.....

No. and size of Hatches 11.57 X 5.48 m

Dock Arrangements open shelter-deck

P.....B.....F.....Q.....

Particulars Presumed to be correct but not guaranteed

Engines-Description-M.W.M

Diesel Motor

Where placed-aft.

Maker's Name- Motorenwerk

Mannheim
Hores Power-750 HP at 355 r.p.m.

Diameter of Cylinders- 6:320

mm

Stoke of Piston-480 mm

Biolers.....Size.....

Age.....

Average Speed 11 Knots

Consumption per 24 hours abt.

3 tons gasoil

Heating Surfaces.....

grate S.....

Number of Furnaces.....

Working pressure.....

Ibs per sq. inch.....

Donkey Boiler.....

4 Winches hybraulic Derricks

4 @ 3 tons

Steam Windlass.....

Steam steering Gear.....

Position.....

Price.....

HORACE S. CORDRAN LTD.

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Telephone: 01-283 3971/2
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Codes: NEW BOE & SCOTT'S

BEVIS MARKS HOUSE

BEVIS MARKS.
LONDON, B.C.3.

12th August, 1971.

MR. BHU1A
11, Goring Street,
E. C.3.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your recent purchase enquiry for your Bangladesh Principals, we would draw your attention to the following further vessels which we can secure for sale:

"MOSSVILLE"-built 1953' in Holland, about 770 tons deadweight on 10'8¾ draf, classed Lloyd's, 36.000 grain, 32.800 bale, dimensions 285' o. a / by 29' 5" breadth by 11' 11" depth, single deck, 3 holds, 4 S. C. S. A. diesel engine aft, Industries engine, speed 9.5 kts. on about 1.5 tons gasoil, s. s. April 1967, two hatches: 45'3" x 16'2", 2 hydraulic winches, 2 derricks at 3 tons each.

She is trading in the Irish Sea, to Runcorn and Liverpool and as regards price we would try down to about £ 35/30.000.

"MERTOLA" about 692 ton d. w., 11'1"¾ draft, built 1950 Lloyd's class, 33.775 grain, 32.780 bale, dimensions 172' x 28' x 9' 4", one deck and raised quarter-deck, one hold, 103'6" can be divided by portable wooden bulkheads, two hatches: 34' x 157", 4 S. C. S. A. diesel aft, Deutz engine 395 BHP at 320 r. p. m. speed 8.5 knots on 1 ½ / 1¾ tons gasoil, Lister 14 HP driving ballast pump and also spare generator, two winches, two derrcisk.

This vessel also is available for early delivery U. K. port, and we would try about £.25.000 down to 24.000 for her.

We shall be glad to have your views on the above, and remain,

Yours faithfully,
HORACE S. CORD RAN, LTD.,
Sd/-

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯৭১ সনের ৬ ও ১২ আগষ্ট লন্ডনে অনুষ্ঠিত এ্যাকশন কমিটির সভার প্রস্তাবপত্র	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১২ আগষ্ট, ১৯৭১

FIRST MEETING 6TH AUGUST, 1971 RESOLUTION NOT ACCEPTED BY JUSTICE A. S. CHOWDHURY 7TII AUGUST, 1971

SECOND MEETING 12TH AUGUST, 1971 SHEIKH A. MANNAN AND MR. AZIZUL HA QUE BHUIA WERE ELECTED TO WORK IN THE CONVENTION COMMITTEE

In pursuance of Resolution No.2 of 6th August, 71, the following members had an audience with Justice A. S. Chowdhury on 7th August 71:

1. Mr. Sheikh A. Mannan
2. Mr. S. Rahman
3. Mr. K. Choudhury

Justice A. S. Chowdhury made an appeal to the members of the Steering Committee to convey the resolution of the Steering Committee to the members concerned envisaged in the unofficial resolution adopted in a meeting between Justice A. S. Chowdhury and some leaders of the Bengali Communities in Great Britain. The responsibility of ventilating the opinion of the Steering Committee to lend us convened were given to Mr. Kabir Choudhury. As Mr. Kabir Choudhury did not communicate the result of his dialogue with the leaders within the specific time, the convener of the Steering Committee conveyed an urgent meeting on 12th August, 71 at 11 Goring Street, E. C. 3 at 6 p. m. to discuss the situation.

The following members were Present at that meeting:

1. Mr. Sheikh Abdul Mannan
2. Mr. Shamsur Rahman
3. Mr. Azizul Haque Bhuia

and adopted the following resolutions:-

(a) In consideration of Justice A. S. Chowdhury's request, it is resolved that the unofficial resolution between Mr. Justice A. S. Chowdhury and some leaders of Bengali Communities be accepted with a qualification that the recommendation and suggestions of the Convention Committee will be placed for the approval of the Steering Committee who will eventually authorize the Convention Committee to hold the convention.

(b) .....It is also resolved that the following members of the Steering Committee shall sit in the Convention under the…….to the discussion of the Convention Committee.

1. Mr. Sheikh A. Mannan
2. Mr. Azizul Haque Bhuia.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

To consider the unofficial resolution adopted in a meeting between Justice A. S. Chowdhury and some leaders of the Bengali Communities in the United Kingdom, a meeting of the Steering Committee was held at 11 Goring Street, E. C. 3 on 6th August, 1971 at 9 p. m. The following members were present:—

1. Mr. Sheikh Abdul Mannan
2. Mr. Shamsur Rahman
3. Mr. Azizul Haque Bhuiya
4. Mr. Kabii Choudhury

The following resolution was adopted:

(a) It is resolved that according to the Coventry Convention the Steering Committee was fully entrusted with responsibility of holding a convention and thereby form a powerful Central Organisation to help the Steering Committee in organization of the liberation movement in the United Kingdom. The contents of the unofficial resolution cannot be accepted in full. However, the committee gladly accepts the four regional representatives as suggested in the unofficial resolution to help the committee in organizing the convention. The Steering Committee expressed their heartfelt gratitude for his endeavor to form the Central Committee.

(b) It is also resolved that the next morning the resolution to conveyed to Justice A. S. Chowdhury for which Mr. Shamsur Rahman, Mr. Sheikh Abdul Mannan and Mr. Kabir Choudhury were requested to see Justice A. S. Chowdhury and seek his approval.

Sd/
Convenor, Steering Committee
6/8/71

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১ই আগষ্ট প্রতিরোধ দিবস পালনের আহবান	এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	১০ আগষ্ট, ১৯৭১

১১ই আগষ্টঃ প্রতিরোধ দিবস

পাকিস্তানের সামরিক জান্তা গণপ্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশের রাষ্ট্রপতি শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানকে গোপনে সামরিক আদালতে বিচারের ষড়যন্ত্রে মেতে উঠেছে।

এই ষড়যন্ত্রকে বানচাল করতে হবে। একে রুখে দাঁড়াতে হবে। আসুন হাজারে হাজারে এসে আগামী বুধবার, ১১ই আগষ্ট, বেলা ২ টায় হাইড পার্ক স্পীকার্স কর্নারে জমায়েত হয়ে এই ঘৃণিত ষড়যন্ত্রের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ করুন।

বাংলাদেশের সরকারের বৈদেশিক প্রতিনিধি বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর সঙ্গে পরামর্শ করে এই জরুরী গণ-সমাবেশের আয়োজন করা হয়েছে। এতে যোগদানের জন্য আমরা আপনাদের সকলকে বিশেষভাবে অনুরোধ জানাচ্ছি।

জয় বাংলা

আহবায়ক
কেন্দ্রীয় ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি।

কেন্দ্রীয় ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি কর্তৃক ১১ গোরিং ষ্ট্রীট, ল-ন, ইসি-৩ থেকে প্রকাশিত ও প্রচারিত।
টেলিফোনঃ ০১-২৮৩ ৩৬২৩, ২৮৩৫৫২৬

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর প্রতি মাসিক 'ভেঞ্চার' সম্পাদক জর্জ কানিংহাম এম,পি-র চিঠি	ব্যক্তিগত চিঠিপত্র	১২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

VENTURE
11 Dartmouth Street London SW1 WHI3077

12th August, 1971
Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury,
Government of the People's
Republic of Bangladesh,
11 Goring Street. London.
E. C. 3.

Dear Justice Chowdhury,

I think you will be familiar with the Fabian Society's monthly magazine VENTURE which deals with overseas affairs and which I edit. VENTURE has already expressed itself in one editorial on the subject of Bangladesh (copy enclosed) and we except to carry pieces on the subject in the future.

I am anxious that our October issue should carry a well thought out piece arguing the case for a more robust British Government attitude to the problem. In particular, I would like to see a comparison drawn between the policies of British government and the American government. The Americans may not have gone as far as they should against Yahya Khan but they have gone further than the British Government has been prepared to go.

Would you be interested in contributing an article along these lines? I am afraid VENTURE cannot pay any fee to its contributors but it does have an influential readership and one which could be most valuable to your cause.

I very much hope that you will be willing to do this piece. I should be grateful if you could let me know whether I can expect an article in order to assist my planning of the October issue, copy for which I should need by September 10th at the latest.

Yours sincerely,
George Cunningham, M.P.
Editor.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬ই আগষ্ট অনুষ্ঠিতব্য কনভেনশনের কমিটির প্রথম সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৩ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

13th August 1971

Dear Mr. Ali,

Please accept my fraternal greetings on your nomination to the Convention Committee.

The first meeting of the Convention Committee will be held on Monday, 16th August at the Steering Committee Office, 11 Goring Street, London, E. C. 3. for a preliminary discussion on the subject of calling a conference of all the Action Committees for setting up the Central Action Council.

Yours fraternally,

Azizul H. Bhuia.

Mr. Arab Ali,
Kashmir Restaurant,
28 Neer Street,
Stratford upon Avon.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের রাষ্ট্রপতি শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের গোপন বিচার বন্ধের জন্য সোচ্চার আহবান সম্বলিত বিজ্ঞাপন	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির বিজ্ঞাপন	১৬ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

ADVERTISEMENT

WAKE UP WORLD PLEASE .ACT IMMEDIATELY TO STOP CAMERA TRIAL

Secure release of the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

The President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh

There were 313 seats in the Pakistan National Assembly. Of these 169 were available to Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib and his party won 167. In early February 1971, Yahya Khan actually declared that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would be the next Prime Minister of Pakistan. This was widely reported in the press.

WHAT HAPPENED THEN?

Yahya Khan's military junta was and is responsible for
(1)Unleashing the brutal attack on the unarmed civilians in Bangladesh.
(2)Killing many thousands and making millions more flee from their homes.
(3)Millions of refugees inside Bangladesh.
(4)Arresting Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the majority party.

FURTHERMORE

This same junta concocted the cover story of "waging war against Pakistan" and conspired to harm the persons of the MAN DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED

THE INTENDED "TRIAL" OF SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN Is it not the trial of 75 million people, the population of Bangladesh?

Could it be the trial of democracy?

Can the world really afford to watch such an outrageous act of vengeance?

IS IT TIME TO WATCH OR ACT?

We demand that the British Government, the United Nations and the people of the world put a STOP to this "Trial" of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and secure his release.

SPONSORS:

Steering Committee for the Action Committees for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in U. K.; Bangladesh Doctors Association, London; Bangladesh Women's Association, London, Leigh-on-Sea, Birmingham and Bradford; Bangladesh Action Committee, Bedford, Middleborough, Bristol, Bournemouth, Brighton, West London, Dorset, Exeter, Enfield. Southend-on-Sea, Ipswich, Chatham, Lufon, Oxford, Scunthorpe, SI. Alban's, Cleckheaton. Westminster, Kidderminster, Wellingborough, Mansfield, Uxpridge, Cardiff, Leicester, Coventry, Southampton, Bletchley, Southwest London, Northampton and Lancashire; Action Committee for the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Swindon, Southsea, Bradford, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Nottingham; Action Committee, London, for People's Republic of Bangladesh; Action Committee for Bangladesh, North and Northwest London; East Bengal Association, Newcastle-upon- Tyne; Islington Committee for Bangladesh; Relief fund for Bangladesh, London; People's Republic of Bangladesh Relief and Action Committee, Birmingham; Bengalee Association Cambridge; Committee for Bangladesh, Tiptree; Bangladesh Survival Committee. Croydon; Bangladesh Liberation Front, Leeds; Bangladesh Popular Front, Bradford; Bangladesh Shangram Parishad, Keighley, Halifax, Cleckheaton and Bradford; Bangladesh Association, Scotland and Manchester; Bangladesh Social Association Loughborough; Bangladesh Association Committee, Bradford: Bangladesh Juba Shangha, London; Bangladesh Students' Action Committee, Cardiff; Action Bangladesh, London; Bangladesh Students Action Committee, London.

The sponsorship for this advertisement bas been organized by:
Bangladesh Students' Action Committee,
35 Gamages Building, 120 Holborn, London, E. C. 1. Tel: 01-405-5917.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের সাংগঠনিক কাঠামো রচনার লক্ষে প্রস্তাবিত একটি খসড়া গঠনতন্ত্র	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৮ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

70a High Street
COLCHESTER Essex.
18 August 1971

Dear Friends,

I enclose herewith a draft constitution for the Bangladesh movement in the United Kingdom with a sketch-map, hoping that this may be of some help in framing the Constitution.

I would be glad to explain any point of the draft if necessary.

Yours sincerely,

(M. LOQUEMAN)

We the Bangladesh supporters in the United Kingdom, in order to establish perfect and more unified movement, to ensure our unity in action and to exercise our democratic rights, accept this constitution of the Bangladesh Action Committee in the U. K. Henceforth this Committee shall be called "Bangladesh Council" in U. K. The address of the Council shall be 11 Goring Street (subject to any changes in the future).

AIMS:

1. The aim of the Council is to raise funds in order to purchase items for the Bangladesh Government and Mukti Fouj which would otherwise not be possible.

2. To mobilize Bangladesh supporters in U. K. in order to raise the tempo of their efforts and fulfill their desire of joining the liberation struggle.

3. To appraise the Bangladesh supporters of the situation at home and to some extent keep them aware of the use of their contributions.

4.To keep a liaison between Bangladesh supporters in U. K. and Bangladesh Government and its Envoy.

5. To help the trustees of the Bangladesh funds in U. K. in safe keeping and proper use of the funds.

6. To take such measures as and when necessary to mobilize world support for the cause of Bangladesh.

7. To arrange relief and any other such measures to alleviate the suffering of the Bangladesh people.

STRUCTURE:

'I. Board of Trustees.
2.National Council.
3.Executive Committee.
4.Local Committees.

RULES: The rules herein adopted shall be binding on all concerned of the Bangladesh movement in the U. K.

THE COUNCIL:

1. The Council shall be autonomous and free to lend its support in the liberation struggle through the best possible channel.
2. The Council, however, shall seek guidance from Bangladesh, Government and its Envoy.
3. The Council shall consist of two members from each local Committee.
4. The Council shall elect one president and four vice-presidents. The Office of president and vice-presidents shall be for one year.
5. The position of the Secretary of the Council shall be non-honorary.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

1. The Council shall elect the members of the Executive Committee both from the Councils' members and from the local Committees.
2. The members of the Executive Committee shall be from the professions, i. e. Lawyers, Journalists, Accountants and similarly experienced persons.
3. The Office of the executives shall be for one year.

FUNCTIONS:

1. The main function of the Council shall be to formulate its policy to make the movement forceful and effective.

2. The Council shall be responsible to the local Committees in order to keep liaison and to keep the Local Committee well-informed.

3. The Council shall supervise the works of the Executive Committee and the Executive Committee shall be responsible to the Council.

4. The Council shall have power to nominate or to co-opt any person or persons for some specific work.

5. Except in any emergency the Council shall inform its, members in writing at least four days before any meetings.

6. The Council shall take necessary measures for the misconduct of breach of contract by any of its members or by any members of the Executive Committee.

7. The Council members shall not act ultra-vires to this Constitution. Any doubt of this kind shall be resolved by a body of select committee.

8. Any individual member of the Council shall have power to bring a motion but this shall have to be passed for discussion with a two-thirds majority of the members present.

9. The Council shall meet at least once a month, but the Executive Committee shall meet once a week.

10. The Council shall be responsible to keep records of all minutes, resolutions and any other records concerning the movement.

11. Any member of the Council shall have access to these records in Office hours with a prior notification to the Secretary.

Duties of the President:

The prime duties of the President shall be to exercise general supervision in the Councils' affairs, to represent the Council on important occasions and shall be available for consultation when required. The Vice-President shall have similar duties as and when required.

Secretary's Duties;

The duties of the Secretary shall be to make, keep and endorse a list of members, to keep an accurate record of all meetings, proceedings, etc., to summon the Members to the meetings and to conduct all correspondence to the Council.

Chairman:

The Chairman of the council shall be elected or selected by the Council's members. He shall preside at all council meetings. He shall remain impartial in all his dealings with the members and in conducting council's avowed aims. He shall have the power to adjourn, postpone any council meeting but for no longer than a fortnight. In the absence of the Chairman, the Vice Chairman shall take the chair.

Local Committee:

A local committee shall have at least 50 paid up members on its role to have voting representation in the council.

Committees with less than 50 such members shall have to join with other committee, area, or town in order to gain such voting qualification.

Below is a sketch showing my suggestion of the structure of the Bangladesh Council in U.K.:

SKETCH - MAP

M. LOQUEMAN

70a High Street,
Colchester, Essex,
Tel: 020671255.

M. LOQUEMAN
On behalf of Bangladesh
Action Committees
Cambridge, Essex, Suffolk
and Norwich.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০শে আগষ্ট অনুষ্ঠিতব্য কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৮ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

18th August 1971

Dear Mr. Khan,

Further to my telegram. I now write to confirm that the first meeting of the Convention Committee will be held on Friday. 20th August at 6 p.m. at the Steering Committee Office, 11 Goring Street, London, E C. 3, for a preliminary discussion on the subject of caning a conference of all the Action Committees for setting up the Central Action Council.

As you know, this meeting was originally arranged for Monday last. 16th August, but due to the unavailability of various members we had to change the date several times. However, as this is a most urgent meeting, 20th August, has been set as the final date for the meeting. Should you be unable to attend on this date, I regret to say that the meeting will have to proceed without you.

Yours fraternally,
Azizul H. Bhuia
Convenor.

Mr. Gous Khan,
58 Berwick Street.
London, W. C. 1.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে অর্থনৈতিক সাহায্য প্রদানের সুব্যবস্থার লক্ষ্যে ন্যাশনাল ওয়েষ্টমিনষ্টার ব্যাংকে নতুন হিসাব খোলার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৯ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U.K.

11 Goring Street.
London, E. C. 3.
Tel. 01-283-5526/3623
19th August 1971.

Dear Sir,

The success of the Bangladesh Fund has meant that the facilities provided by the Hambros Bank Limited are not now sufficient to cope with the volume of business. The account at Hambros Bank will continue but in order to make it easier for Bangladesh supporters to pay their contributions into the Fund, it has been agreed to open a further account with the National Westminster Bank Limited.

As a joint stock bank with branches in every town and village in the United Kingdom, the National Westminster Bank is in a better position to provide the services that we require for the Bangladesh Fund. It will now be possible for any Bangladesh supporter to go into any branch of the National Westminster Bank in any part of the country and pay in money to the Bangladesh Fund. To do so all the supporter needs is to fill up a bank Giro paying in slip with the following information on it. National Westminster Bank Limited, 6 Tothill Street, London, S.W.I. Bank code 60-40-03. Account Bangladesh Fund, number 007722: The bank will give a receipt for the payment on a counterfoil. It is important that the supporter puts his name and address on the paying in slip so that we know who has paid in the money to the account.

It will now not be necessary to pay in any sums to the Hambros Bank as arrangements have been made for all in-payments to be made to the National Westminster Bank account, as above.

Yours faithfully,
Azizul Hoque Bhuia,
Convenor.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০শে আগষ্ট অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন সাব-কমিটির সভার আলোচ্যসূচী ও কার্যবিবরণী	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Agenda of the first meeting of the Convention Sub-Committee to be held on Friday, 20th August 1971 at 6 p. m. at 11 Goring Street, London, K. C. 3.

1. To discover a formula acceptable to all the Bengalis in the U. K. for calling the Convention.
2. To decide the basis on which representation to the Council (to be formed) will be based.
3. To draw up a structural detail of the 'would be' Central Action Council and the Central Executive Committee.
   A. Number of Councilors
   B. Number of the Executive Committee members
   C. Selection of three Trustees
4. To discuss, improve, alter or add to a draft constitution submitted by Mr. Azizul Hoque Bhuia, or any other draft which may be submitted by any other, member of the meeting.
5. To hasten the moves and steps towards calling the Convention to provide the Bengalis with a united platform to work for the liberation movement of Bangladesh under the advice of, and the guideline given by, the Special Representative of the provisional Government of Bangladesh.

The meeting on the above agenda started at 7.20 p. m. and continued until 12.20 a.m. It progressed with full participation and covered all points upto No.3 on the agenda. Resolutions in favor of these points have been passed unanimously. The proceedings and resolutions were recorded, read and signed by all the members of the 'Convention Committee.'

The rest of the agenda will be discussed and decided upon at the next meeting of the Convention Committee to be held at 3 p. m. on Tuesday, 24th August 1971.

The meeting was conducted by Mr. Azizul Hoque Bhuia, Convenor of the Steering Committee, who has also been elected Convenor of the Convention Committee for convening meetings of the Committee itself.

Azizul Hoque Bhuia.

Proceedings and Resolutions

1. Mr. Matin of Manchester proposed to select a convenor for the Convention Committee for convening meetings and communicating to each member of the committee.

The name of Mr. Azizul Hoque Bhuia was proposed jointly by Mr. Shaikh Abdul Mannan and A. M. Tarafdar and supported by Mr. Gous Khan, Mr. A. Matin and Mr. Arab Ali. Mr. Bhuia accepted the proposal to act as Convenor to the Convention Committee.

Communications to respective units and all other organizations shall be sent out in the name of the Convention Committee and under signature of all the joint convenors.

1st Agenda moved.

1. To discover a formula acceptable to all the Bengalis in the U.K. (for the convention).

   On the above agenda, in principle the Committee agreed to accommodate all the organizations on the basis of one Committee in each city. The 'committee' takes it as its task to exert all power and use all influence to unite the committees if there is any discrepancy or disagreement within one city or town.

(Signed) Gous Khan
A. Matin
Sheikh Abdul Mannan
A. H. Bhuia
A. M. Tarafdar
Arab Ali.

Agenda No.2.

Moved- To decide the basis on which representations to the Council (to be formed) will be based.

The Basis of representation agreedto be on a population basis, accepting the following approximation of population:-

South England	30,00()
Midlands	25,000
Lancashire	9,000
Yorkshire	5,000
Scotland. Wales	
East Anglia	3,000
Students, Women &	
Doctors	72,000

(Signed) Sheikh Abdul Mannan
A. Matin
A. H. Bhuia
Arab Ali
A. M. Tarafdar
Gous Khan.

Agenda No. 3.

Moved-to draw up a structural detail of the "would be" Central Action Council and the Central Executive Committee and the following number has been agreed as follows:

Total number of Councilors 216 as detailed below:

South England	90
Midlands	75
Lancashire	27
Yorkshire	17
Scotland	3
Cardiff	2
E. Anglia	2
	216

And:
Number of the Executive Committee members:

South England	10
Midlands	9
Lancashire	5
Yorkshire	3
	27

And:
Three trustees to be elected from among the Councilors.

(Signed) Gous Khan
A. H. Bhuia
Arab Ali
Sheikh Abdul Mannan
A. Matin
A.M. Tarafdar.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪শে আগষ্ট অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার কার্যবিবরণী ও প্রস্তাবসমূহ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৪ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Second Meeting of the Convention Committee held on Tuesday 24th Aug. 1971 at Goring Street.

In discussion sponsored by Mr. Gous Khan that Mr. N. Islam and another lawyer be present on the day when the draft constitution would be discussed. These two legal advisers will only participate in the discussion on constitutional matters without any voting right.

And, it is also agreed that the copies of the draft constitutions submitted by Messrs. A. Matin, A. H. Bhuia, A. M. Tarafder and Gous Khan be circulated among the members of the Convention Committee only for their consideration.

It is agreed that the discussion on the draft constitutions shall take place on Monday, 30th Aug. 71 at 3 p. m. at II, Goring Street, London E. C. 3.

(Signed)
A. H. Bhuia
A. Matin
Shaikh Abdul Mannan
Arab Ali
A. Tarafder

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০শে আগষ্ট অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার প্রস্তাবসমূহ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৩০ আগষ্ট, ১৯৭১

THIRD MEETING OF THE CONVENTION COMMITTEE HELD ON MONDAY, 30th AUGUST 1971 AT GORING STREET, LONDON, E. C. 3.

1. Mr. Nurul Islam and Mr. Pasha have been accepted as advisers to constitution framing, without any voting rights.

   Later when the constitution is framed, a legal adviser to be invited to examine and scrutinize the legal aspects of the said constitution. The recommendations of the legal adviser would be considered by the committee of six.

2. Article 3 of the constitution.

"Trustees"

Clause I. The "Bangladesh Fund" shall consist of six trustees elected by the Council. Besides the three present elected trustees three more trustees shall be elected by the Council. Minimum four signatures shall be required to withdraw money from the Fund. No money shall be withdrawn without the prior decision of the Executive Committee. Clause II. Exception to the above article may only be made in case of urgency money could be released by the trustees on the recommendation of the Provisional Government of Bangladesh or the special representative of the Bangladesh Government in the U. K.

3. Article 4.

   The trustees shall be elected directly by the Council. They shall be ex-office members of the Council and of the Executive Committee but without the right to vote and shall not be eligible to hold any other office in the central or local committees.

4. Article 5. The Central Council.

   The Central Council shall be composed of representatives from all the existing Committees with the Regions. Regions are as follows:

   1.South England, 2. Midlands, 3. Lancashire, 4. Yorkshire and adjoining countries.

   The quota of representatives for each city and town shall be in general, on population basis.

   The central council shall sit al least once every three months.

Next Meeting

The next meeting of the Committee shall be held on Friday, 3rd September at 5 p.m.

(Signed) A. Matin
A. M. Bhuia
Nusul Islam
Shaikh Abdul Mannan
A. M. Tarafder
Gous Khan
A. Pasha
Arab Ali

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির ব্যাংক একাউন্ট খোলার সিদ্ধান্তের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে কমিটির আহবায়কের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ মেডিক্যাল এসোসিয়েশন সম্পাদকের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৩১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

ATMZC/NEC 31 st August. 1971.

A. H. Bhuia, Esq.
Convenor,
Steering Committee of the Action Committee,
For the People's Republic of Bangladesh in U.K.
11 Goring Street,
London E. C. 3.

Dear Mr. Bhuia,

Thank you for your letter of 19th August. 1971. It appears that in addition to the deposit account of Bangladesh Fund at the Hambros Bank Ltd., you have opened a new account at the National Westminster Bank Ltd. 1 would like to have a copy of the resolution which has been forwarded to the National Westminster Bank for the opening of such an account at the Bank. Furthermore, I would like to know if this is in accordance with the Bangladesh Governments approval, or the decision was taken by the Steering Committee. I would also like to know of all trustees of such account. Recently it has come to my notice that the Steering Committee also has an independent account at some other bank and I would like to know the details of this account and such signatures of this account and the resolution submitted to the bank. In this connection, may I mention that at the meeting of various committees held under the Chairmanship of Mr. Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, special representative and High Commissioner for Bangladesh in U.K.. at 11, Goring Street on 8th May, 1971, the Steering Committee's Bank Account was not approved.

I would like lo have all such details relating to these accounts.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely.

A.T.M. Zafarullah Chowdhury
General Secretary,
Bangladesh Medical Association.

c.c. Mr. Abu Sayeed Chowdhury,
Special Representative
and High Commissioner for
Bangladesh in U. K.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে প্রবাসী বাঙ্গালীদের আন্দোলন ও সংগঠন সম্পর্কে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর বক্তব্য	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৩১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

11 Goring Street
London EC 3
Tele: 01-238 5526/3623

জয় বাংলা

প্রবাসী বাংগালী ভাইবোনদের প্রতি বিচারপতি চৌধুরীর আবেদন

প্রবাসী সংগ্রামী বাংগালী ভাইবোনেরা,
আসসালামু আলায়কুম

আপনারা যে উৎসাহ ও উদ্দীপনা নিয়ে ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণ করেছেন তার জন্য আমি গণ-প্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার ও আমার নিজের পক্ষ থেকে আপনাদের কাছে কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করছি। আমার দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস, যতদিন পর্যন্ত বাংলাদেশের পবিত্র মাটি থেকে শেষ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী বর্বর সৈন্যটি নিশ্চিহ্ন না হবে ততদিন পর্যন্ত আপনার অটুট মনোবল নিয়ে দেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন ও সক্রিয় সহযোগিতা করে যাবেন।

যে কোন সংগ্রামেই প্রয়োজন বলিষ্ঠ সংগঠনের। গত ২৪শে এপ্রিল কভেন্ট্রিতে অনুষ্ঠিত বাংগালী প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলির প্রতিনিধিবর্গের সম্মেলনে যে ষ্টীয়ারীং কমিটি গঠিত হয়েছিল, তা এতদিন পর্যন্ত বিলাত প্রবাসী বাংগালী ভাইবোনদের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের কেন্দ্রীয় সংগঠন হিসাবে কাজ করে এসেছে। বাংলাদেশ সরকারের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি ও ষ্টীয়ারিং কমিটির উপদেষ্টা হিসাবে আমি এতদিন চেষ্টা করে এসেছি দেশের সংগে যোগাযোগ রক্ষা করে বিদেশে আমাদের আন্দোলনকে ঐক্যবদ্ধ ও জোরদার করে তুলতে। খোদার ফজলে আপনাদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতায় এই আন্দোলন সাফল্যের দিকে এগিয়ে গিয়েছে বলে বাংলাদেশ সরকার এবং আমি ব্যক্তিগতভাবে আপনাদের কাছে কৃতজ্ঞ।

নির্বাচন অনেক সময় দলাদলি বা ভুল বুঝাবুঝির সৃষ্টি করে। সেই কারণে আমি মনে করেছিলাম যে কাজের ভিতর দিয়ে সংগ্রামী ভ্রাতৃত্ববোধ সৃষ্টি হওয়ার পর কেন্দ্রীয় এ্যাকশন কাউন্সিলের নির্বাচন হলে ভালো হয়। তাই আমি সুগঠিত আন্দোলন গড়ে উঠবার পর নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠানের উপদেশ দেই। নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠানের ব্যাপারে ষ্টীয়ারিং কমিটির বিশেষ উদ্বিগ্নতা সত্ত্বেও তাঁরা আমার উপদেশ অনুযায়ী এতদিন নির্বাচন থেকে বিরত থাকেন।

বর্তমানে আমি অনুভব করছি যে, আন্দোলনের খাতিরে এখানকার কেন্দ্রীয় সংগঠনকে আরো বলিষ্ঠ করা প্রয়োজন। প্রথমত মাত্র কয়েকজন লোকের পক্ষে এতবড় আন্দোলনের গুরুদায়িত্ব পালন করে যাওয়া অত্যন্ত কঠিন। দ্বিতীয়তঃ যত বেশী লোক আন্দোলনে প্রত্যক্ষ অংশগ্রহণ করবেন আন্দোলন ততই জোরদার হবে বলে আমার বিশ্বাস। তাই পুরোপুরিভাবে গণভিত্তিক ও প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক আন্দোলন গড়ে তোলার উদ্দেশ্যে কেন্দ্রীয় এ্যাকশন কাউন্সিল গঠন করা খুবই দরকার। অতএব আমার উপদেশ অনুযায়ী ষ্টীয়ারিং কমিটি একটি

CONVENTION বা সম্মেলন আহবানের প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের জন্য CONVENTION COMMITTEE গঠন করেছেন। CONVENTION COMMITTEE এ পর্যন্ত তিনটি বৈঠকে মিলিত হয়ে এই কাজে অনেক দূরে এগিয়ে গিয়েছেন। আমি আশা করছি সম্মেলন শীঘ্রই ডাকা হবে। এই সম্মেলনকে সাফল্যমন্ডিত করার জন্য আপনারা সূষ্ঠভাবে ও শৃংখলার সাথে এই ব্যাপারে সহযোগিতা করবেন বলে আমি বিশ্বাস রাখি।

আমরা এক জীবনমরণ যুদ্ধে লিপ্ত রয়েছি এবং খোদার ফজলে যুদ্ধক্ষেত্র হতে খুবই উৎসাহজনক খবর আসছে। এই সময় একতা বজায় রাখা খুবই প্রয়োজন। এই ঐক্যে কোনরকম ফাটল ধরলে শুধু আমাদের সংগ্রামের ক্ষতিই হবে না, তা হবে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী শত্রুদের সপক্ষে এক বিরাট হাতিয়ার। তাই আপনাদের কাছে আমার বিনীত আরজ এই যে, দেশ ও দশের খাতিরে আপনারা এতদিন পর্যন্ত যে একতা বজায় রেখে এসেছেন তা অক্ষুন্ন রাখবেন। জয় বাংলা।

আপনাদের খাদেম-
(আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী)
৩১/৮/৭১

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩রা সেপ্টেম্বর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার প্রস্তাবসমূহ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৩রা সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Fourth meeting of the Convention Committee held on Friday, the 3rd September, 1971 at Goring Street, London.

The Central Council, The Central Council shall be composed of 217 representatives from all the existing Committees within the Regions.

Continuation of Article 5

Function of the Council: The Council shall decide all policies of the organisation except those emergency matters which need prompt decision by the Executive Committee. The meetings of the Council shall be convened by the convenor in consultation with the executive committee. The report of the E. C. activities of the E. Committees and financial matter should be submitted to the Council in every three months. A requisition meeting of the Council may be called by fifty councilors under their joint signature.

Signatures.

Article 6-Function of the Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee shall be composed of eleven Members to be elected directly by the central councilor from among the councilor by secret ballot paper.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আসন্ন কনভেনশনে সরাসরি প্রতিনিধিত্ব চেয়ে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটিকে লেখা আইলিংটন কমিটি সম্পাদকের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

ISLINGTON COMMITTEE FOR BANGLADESH
(Established 1971)
189. Caledonian Road. LONDON, N. 1
Telephone: 01-837 1480

Date: 10th September, 1971

The Steering Committee,
11, Goring Street.
London, E. C. 2.

D/Sirs,

We are writing to express our opinion on the question of representation at the forthcoming Convention. We consider that all the local committees should be directly represented at the convention and not through any introductory structure.

As our committee had all along been in existence as an independent body we would therefore request you to kindly keep us directly informed of any development in the preparation of convention.

With greetings and hoping to be found with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
E. Rahman
G. S.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সাউথল বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদের সভার প্রস্তাব ও গঠিত কমিটির বিবরণ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

প্রথম অধিবেশন

সাউথল
সময়- বিকাল ৪টা
তারিখ-১১।৯।৭১ ইং

অদ্য বিকাল ৪ ঘটিকার সময় গ্রেটার লন্ডনস্থ সাউথঅলে স্থানীয় বাঙ্গালীদের উদ্যোগে এক সাধারণ সভা আহূত হয়। উক্ত সভায় সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে সাউথল বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদ গঠন করা হয়।

প্রকাশ থাকে যে, উক্ত সংগ্রাম পরিষদ বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে জয়যুক্ত করিবার জন্য যাবতীয় দায়িত্বপূর্ণ কাজ করিতে প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ হইলেন।

উক্ত সংগ্রাম পরিষদ সর্বদাই গ্রেট বৃটেনস্থ বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদের কেন্দ্রীয় ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি এবং বাংলাদেশ মিশনের সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ সহকারে কাজ করিবেন বলিয়াও প্রস্তাব গৃহীত হয়।

সাউথল বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদ

ওয়ার্কিং কমিটি

১। মিঃ আবদুস সালাম চৌধুরী	চেয়ারম্যান
২। ” আকবর আলী	ভাইস চেয়ারম্যান
৩। ” সাদিক আলী	ঐ
৪। ” এম, ইউ, আহসান	সেক্রেটারী
৫। ” গজনফর আলী	এসিষ্ট্যান্ট সেক্রেটারী
৬। ” চাঁন মিয়া	ঐ
৭। ” সাজ্জাদুর রহমান	ট্রেজারার
৮। ” প্রতাব আলী	এসিষ্ট্যান্ট ট্রেজারার
৯। ” নূর হোসেন	অরগানাইজিং সেক্রেটারী
১০। ” আবুল হোসেন	এসিষ্ট্যান্ট অরগানাইজিং সেক্রেটারী
১১। ” আব্দুল আউয়াল	ঐ

সাধারণ সদস্যগণ

১। মিঃ সাহিদ আলী	৫। মিঃ মাহমুদ আলী
২। ” সূর্যলাল বেঘী	৬। ” আরজু মিয়া
৩। ” এম, বকস চৌধুরী	৭। ” মোহন লাল
৪। ” তাহির উল্যা	৮। ” মতি লাল

৯। মিঃ আনা মিয়া
১০। ” মকবুল আলী
১১। ” বি, এস, হাওয়ালাদার
১২। ” গোলাম মর্ত্তুজা
১৩। ” জৈন উল্যা
১৪। ” ওয়ারিশ উল্যা
১৫। ” তৈয়াব আলী
১৬। মিঃ আবদুল বারী
১৭। ” আবদুল খালেক
১৮। ” আবদুল হান্নান
১৯। ” আবদুর রকিব
২০। ” আবদুল মতিন
২১। ” হাজী আফতাব আলী
২২। ” কনু মিয়া

M.U. Ahsan
11-9-71
Secretary,
Bangladesh Sangram Parishad
Southall, Middx

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সংকট নিরসনে সংশ্লিষ্ট সরকার এবং জাতিসংঘে চাপ সৃষ্টির আহবান সংক্রান্ত বিভিন্ন লবীর কাছে লিখিত চিঠি	ইউনাইটেড এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ	সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

UNITED ACTION-BANGLADESH
91. Commercial Road, London, E. 1.

Copy for Steering Committee

Dear Sir,

We are taking the liberty of enclosing here for your information copy of a report of Yahya Khan's recent press interview which appeared in the "Le Figaro" of 1st September and as reproduced in the "Hindustan Standard" of the 2nd September.

By claiming his army kills cleanly he is admitting to the genocide and the fatal blunder he has committed. More than a million people have been killed, more than nine million (9,000,000) terrorized Bengalis have crossed the border, more than 65 million Bengalis inside Bangladesh face a famine, starvation has started in some districts, faced with a civil war, Yahya finds himself in a political cul-de-sac, and has two choices open to him humiliation in Bangladesh or a war with India.

The world must be told by Yahya Khan where is the elected leader of 75 million Bengalis-Sheikh Mujib? Yahya is the spokesman of a military junta consisting of 5 Generals. He represents no one. He is where he is by the use of his bayonets and bullets.

By putting Sheikh Mujib on trial, he has put on trial the freely expressed wish of the 75 million people of Bangladesh. Nobody trusts Yahya Khan or his propaganda machine any more. It is not enough for him to say the Sheikh is alive and well. We want to know where he is. The only crime the Sheikh has committed is that he won an election.

India is giving shelter to 9 million people who have run for their lives. India is grimly determined that Yahya must not be allowed to divert world attention by starting a war with India. The world must help India to cope with the refugees. As "The Times" said recently, what is happening in East Bengal cannot be an internal matter for Pakistan.

Sir, we appeal to you, to think about the Bangladesh crisis and weigh up the issues and then act. Please move your government and the U. N. Bangladesh must be saved

From the hands of a reckless ruler. Bengalis don't want to remain partners with Yahya and his Panjabis.

Yours faithfully,

1. M.A. Samad Khan
2. R. U. Ahmed
3. A. H, Joarder
4. A. Matlib
5. ……
6. Md. Abdur Rob.

For United Action Bangladesh

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ তহবিলের সাহায্যার্থে প্রদর্শিত চ্যারিটি শো-র বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ পিপলস সোসাইটি ইন গ্রেট বৃটেনের প্রচারপত্র	১১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ তহবিলের সাহায্যার্থে
চ্যারিটি শো

এক টিকিটে দু'টি প্রখ্যাত বাংলা ছায়াছবি।
আগামী রবিবার ১২ই সেপ্টম্বর লা কন্টিনেন্টাল সিনেমা হলে প্রদর্শিত হবে

বেলা ১২টায় শুরু

সূর্যান
অভিনয়েঃ আনোয়ার, নাসিমা খান, আনোয়ারা, রওশন আরা, কাজী খালেক।

পরবর্তী ছবি

দুই বাড়ী
অভিনায়েঃ জহুর গাঙ্গুলি, পাহাড়ী স্যানাল, রেনুকা, অনুপ, অনিল ও ভানু বন্দোপাধ্যায়

কাউন্টারেও টিকিট বিক্রি হবে

বাংলাদেশ পিপলস সোসাইটি ইন গ্রেটার লন্ডন এরিয়া কর্তৃক আয়োজিত।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশনে সরাসরি প্রতিনিধিত্বের দাবী জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ রিলিফ কমিটির সম্পাদকের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৫ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

The Convener,
Steering Committee of the Action Committee
for the People's Republic of Bangladesh,
11, Goring Street,

London, E. C. 3.

Dear Sir,

It has been brought to our notice that in an effort for its inclusion in a possible all-U. K. Central Action Committee, the so-called London Committee is making claims that it includes and represents all existing Committees in London and adjoining areas.

In order to make our position clear, we would most emphatically state and advise you that this Committee is neither included nor represented by the so-called London Committee. Any such claim by that Committee as a "representative body" would therefore be fictitious, unfounded and hence unconstitutional.

This Committee is, however, participating in the "United Action Bangladesh"-a movement of like-minded committees for the carrying out of specific Action-Programmes for continuous mobilization of Bangladesh citizens in the U. K. and for the creation of long term favorable public opinion for Bangladesh.

We are. Sir,

Dated:
15 September, 1971

Yours faithfully,
Md. Abdus Samad Khan
General Secretary
Bangladesh Relief Committee,

Copy to: Bangladesh Envoy in the U. K.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আসন্ন কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে নর্থ এ্যান্ড নর্থ-ওয়েষ্ট লন্ডন শাখা এ্যাকশন কমিটির সভাপতি কর্তৃক বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে লেখা চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৬ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

ACTION COMMITTEE FOR BANGLADESH
(North & North-West London)
33 Dagmar Road, London N. 22
Tel. 889-4474

To,

The Special Representative of the Govt. of Bangladesh.

Dear Sir,

I have read your "APPEAL" circulated among the Bengali population in the U. K. with great appreciation. The reasons given by you for advising the Steering Committee not to hold the National Convention earlier are more than valid and commendable.

We formed a local Committee on the 10th April and since then have been doing our best to help the cause of liberation of our country.

I have learned from your "APPEAL" and from the "APPEAL" of the convenor of the Steering Committee that a National Convention is going to be held soon. In this context I appeal to you sir, to ensure that each and every functional Action Committee gets proper and direct representation in the National Convention. We abhor the undemocratic decision of the so called Regional Committees to select councilors in their respective Region. It seems to me as if we have still been cultivating Ayub's Basic Democracy. We believe in the Tightness of our struggle and we have every right to have direct participation in the formation of the organisation which will fight for the cause of our liberation.

1 believe, it has come to your notice that a group of people who think that only with their support and money Bangladesh can be liberated have indulged in keeping themselves more busy and active in organizing party political activities than helping the cause of liberation. In my opinion these people are doing the greatest of harm to the cause in the name of helping it. I would like you very much sir, to come forward and denounce those people and I assure you sir, you will get tremendous support from the rank and file of Bangladesh people here in the U. K.

I have also come to know that two of the four Regional Committees have not been transferring their collection to the Bangladesh Fund. I beg you sir, to tell this loud and

clear to the people whose money they dare holding tight for no good reasons. We have accepted you sir, as our guide and leader without any reservation. We once again pledge our wholehearted support for every stand you take for the achievement of our common goal. With thanks. JAI BANGLA.

Yours faithfully,

(S. M. AYUB)
President.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ওলন্দাজ এম,পি-দের ভারতে সফরের ব্যাপারে ল্যাংকাশায়াস্থ বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশনের তৎপরতা	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION
Lancashire and Adjacent Counties

A. MATIN
Chairman
LATIF AHMED
General Secretary

Affiliated Units of the Association:
Accrington, Blackburn, Burnley, Chester.
Hoslingden & Rawtenstail, Liverpool, Mossley,
Manchester & Adjoining Towns, Oldham
Rochdale, St. Helens, Stoke-on- Trent,
Todmordern.

336, Stockport Road,
Manchester 13.
Tel. 061-273 3422
Date 20th Sept. 1971.

Ref, ...

Mr. Justice A. S. Choudhury,
11, Goring Street.
LONDON.

Dear Mr. Justice Choudhury,

We are writing this to inform you about the proposed trip of the Dutch M. Ps. to India. According to your instructions, we have arranged the tickets (return), have informed the Honorable M. Ps at Holland through the KLM airlines of their time and date of departure etc. The latest message from KLM says that the passengers (the M. Ps) have departed for India on the 30th of August.

We have not had any more information about the success of their mission in India. If you have any information about the success of their mission, please let us know.

With kindest regards,

Respectfully Yours,
Zahirul H., Choudhury
for, Chairman.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১শে সেপ্টেম্বর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার কার্যবিবরণী ও প্রস্তাবসমূহ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৬ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Proceedings of the 5th meeting of the Convention Committee held on 21sV-September. 1971.

ArticIe-6: Executive Committee

The Executive Committee shall be comprised of 11 members directly elected by the Council. They shall be members of the 'Council'. The election shall be conducted by secret ballot. The Executing Committee shall elect a Convener from among themselves at the first meeting of the committee which shall be held within seven days from the date of the election of the executive Committee. The name of the convenor elect' shall be notified by the Chairman of the first meeting of the Executive Committee. The convenor shall work under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Function

The Executive Committee shall be entrusted with the day-to-day functioning and decision making authority within the framework of the general policy decided by the Council. The executive committee shall publish other literature, pamphlets, books etc. It shall hold public meeting and demonstration on all U. K. basis. It shall carry out any other activity contributive to the National Liberation Struggle. The Executive committee shall form sub-committees with specific work and the members of such sub-committees may be non-councilors.

Article-7: Relations between the Component Regions and the Centre

The component regions will co-operate as directed by the Central Council or Executive Committee. No Constitutional decisions can be made by the component region in contravention of the Constitution nor any decisions of the Council of Executive Committee. The regions shall communicate all necessary information's to the central office. The Executive committee shall communicate all policy decision of the centre to every region by mimeographed circulars. The component regions shall not have the fight to direct recourse or dealings on any matters of National policy with the Bangladesh Government or its Mission or with any Government or any other organisation without the prior concept of the Executive Committee. At the event of direct communication by the Executive Committee to any (unit) committee, a copy of the communication be sent to the Regional Committee.

In the case of disputes between the component organizations of a region the dispute shall be referred to the regional committee concern. Any party to the dispute shall have the right of appeal to the Executive Committee against the decision of the regional committee. If the decision of the Executive Committee is not acceptable to either of the parties the matter shall then be referred to the Central Council. Council's decision shall be final.

In case of a dispute between a component organisation and its regional committee, the dispute shall be referred to Executive Committee. If the decision of the Executive Committee is not acceptable to either of the parties, the matter then be referred to the Central Council. Council's decision shall be final.

Articlc-8: Disciplinary Action: Disciplinary Action against any office bearer, member or any organisation can be referred to the convenor who will in turn place this before the Executive Committee for their consideration. Action can be taken by the Executive Committee by a majority vote. An appeal against the Executive Committees decision can be made by the office-bearer, member or organisation concerned, to the Council through the convenor within fourteen days, which shall be, in turn, placed before the Council within thirty days.

Article-9: Quorum: Seven members of the Executive Committee and 95 members of the Central Council shall form the quorum of the Executive Committee and Central Council respectively.

Article-10

Any amendment to the constitution shall be made by more than half of the total members of the Central Council.

Article-11

Notice: At least 24 hours for the Executive Committee meetings and a clear seven days notice for the Central Council meetings shall be given.

Article-12

Chief Adviser: The High Commission for Bangladesh in U. K. shall be the Chief Adviser of the Central Action Committee.

Continuation of the Article-6

Any member absenting himself from three consecutive meetings of the Executive Committee without any valid reason shall automatically cease to be a member of the Executive Committee. Any such vacancy shall be filled in by the next meeting of the Central Council.

Signatures-

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	২৮ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদ

BANGLADESH PEOPLE'S CULTURAL SOCIETY
59. Seymour House
Tavistock Place
LONDON WC 1
Phone, 837-4542

September 28. 1971.

Dear Friend,

A Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bangladesh People's Cultural Society will be held on Friday, the 1st October, 1971 at Stepney Institute, Myrdle Street, off Grand Plais Hall. Commercial Road, London. E. 1 (tube: Whitechapel) at 7 p. m. sharp.

You are cordially invited to attend.

A G E N D A:

1. Minutes of the last Meeting.
2. Preparations for the Manchester visit.
3. School Essay Competition.
4. Constitution.
5. Accounts.
6. Any other business.

With fraternal greetings

Yours sincerely,
Munni Rahman (Mrs.)
Secretary

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিচারপতি চৌধুরীর প্রতি বৃটিশ লেবার পার্টির চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৯ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

THE LABOUR PARTY

Transport House Smith Square London SW 1
Telephone: 01-834 9434
Telegrams: LABREPCOM SOWEST LONDON
General Secretary: H. R. Nicholas Obe
Hon. Treasurer: Rt Hon L. J. Callaghan MP
Assistant General Secretary: J. G. Morgan
National Agent: R. G. Hayward

29th September, 1971

TR/EE
Mr. Justice Chowdhury,
Bangladesh Office,
11 Goring Street, London. E. C. 3.

BRITISH OVERSEAS SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP

Dear Sir,

I am writing to you to confirm the arrangement you made in a telephone conversation with Mr. Daljit Sehbai, Vice-Chairman of this organisation, to speak at a meeting organized jointly by the British Overseas Socialist Fellowship and Mr. Peter Shore, M. P. on Bangladesh at 5-15 p. m. on Tuesday, October 5th, at the Brighton Labor Club, Lewes Road, Brighton. I understand that you want to observe the Labor Party Conference and accommodation has been booked for you at the Bedford Hotel, Kings Road, Brighton, for the nights of October 3rd, 4th and 5th.

The British Overseas Socialist Fellowship was established by the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party with the original intention of working for better contacts between members of the Labor Party and the immigrant communities in Britain, and in recent years has concentrated on informing Labor Party members about aspects of foreign affairs. The Chairman of the fellowship is Miss Joan Lestor, M.P. a member of the National Executive Committee and a member of the Labour Government.

I shall be in Brighton on Tuesday, and I look forward to meeting you.

Yours faithfully,
Tim Ridoutt
Secretary

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নেদারল্যান্ডের দৈনিক 'DE TIJD' -এ প্রকাশিত বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতির ওপর নিবন্ধের অনুবাদ সম্বলিত 'ফ্যাকট শীট-১৮'	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের বুলেটিন	৩০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ গ্রেট বৃটেন

BANGLADESH STUDENTS ACTION COMMITTEE IN GREAT BRITAIN

35 Gamage Building
120 Holborn, London EC I
Phone: 01-405 5917

Date 30. 9.71

FACT SHEET-18

The following is a translation of an article published in DE TIJD, Amsterdam (the largest circulated newspaper in the Netherlands) dated 14th September, 1971

SINCERE RESPECT?
by Aire Kuiper

De Tijd, Amsterdam
Heading: **Sincere respect?** (Comment by Aire Kuiper)
Column: From Time to Time.

14 9-71

"The Embassy of Pakistan expresses its respect for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Dutch Government and has the honor to invite the Ministry's attention for an article entitled 'From Time to Time' in De Tijd, Amsterdam, April 22, 1971. The article gives false information on the present situation in East Pakistan and the writer of the article uses the most insolent, abusive and derogatory language about the Pak President. And he sows hatred against the Pak Government. The Pak Embassy is 'distressed and pained' by the fact that such an article can be published in The Netherlands, a country with which Pakistan maintains such friendly and happy relations. The Pak Embassy protests strongly against publication of this article and hopes that the Ministry will see to it that 'appropriate action' will be taken in this case.

"The Pak Embassy seizes this opportunity to renew the assurances of its high esteem for the Foreign Ministry of the Royal Dutch Government."

The Pak Embassy sent this letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a few months ago. His Excellency the Ambassador was indignant at an article 1 had written under the heading "Nobody can explain it".

My last words were: "Even if the future is glorious, one world full of peace, happiness and justice, it would not serve the people in the East Pakistan, Biafra and Vietnam. They live only once and nobody can explain to them why they have to suffer like this:"

This passage did not rouse the Ambassador's indignation, of course. He was displeased with the whole article; but to be honest, that was not my intention at all. It would have been a very bad article, if it had pleased him at all.

His Excellency was particularly angry about what I wrote about the Pak President, General Yahya Khan. Quoting one's own words is a form of vanity, but I have a good excuse this time. I wrote: "Yahya is the man who ordered his army to suppress the East Pakistanis. We tend to consider him a villain, an unprincipled criminal who should be arrested, who should be imprisoned for the rest of his life, or at least placed in a lunatic asylum, for he might be mad, otherwise he would not do such idiotic things: a deliberate murderous assault at thousands or tens of thousands of his own countrymen, whom he as President is supposed to protect! Indeed, such a man must be mad or a criminal."

I also quoted a Sunday Times reporter, according to whom Yahya was honestly convinced that he had the duty to preserve Pak unity at all costs. I wrote: "He does not realize that he is guilty of a crime. Such a man is the top of the pyramid which moves him, which he cannot control." And: "It is possible because the world is roaming about under circumstances of complete anarchy".

IN THE MEANTIME WE HAVE COME TO KNOW A LOT MORE ABOUT THE SITUATION IN EAST PAKISTAN. IT IS MUCH WORSE THAN 1 THOUGHT ON APRIL 22. THE NUMBER OF REFUGEES IS ESTIMATED AT EIGHT MILLION, OR TEN MILLION. HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE HAVE TESTIFIED WHAT THEY HAVE SEEN; THEY HAVE TOLD THE WORLD WHAT THE PAK PRESIDENT HAS DONE TO HIS EAST PAK SUBJECTS.

The American weekly Newsweek has published a long story about the activities of the Pak President under the title: "Genocide in East Pakistan". The cover showed an emaciated East Pak child, without parents, without food, without hope (why do we live, if we allow children to suffer?)-but His Excellency the Pak Ambassador does not care a straw. He wants the Dutch Government to take "appropriate measures", not to relieve the suffering of the East Pak children, but to stop a journalist expressing the feelings of many people in this rotten world: anger and despair, because these are happening before our eyes without us being able to do anything about it.

The only thing we can do is to help stimulate the world conscience, the consciences of 3 billion people, till the world conscience is so strong and irresistible that it puts a stop to the activities of incompetent politicians like Yahya Khan. But all the same: "those people live only once, and nobody can explain to then why they have to suffer like this".

If the Government of Pakistan, represented by its embassy at The Hague, want to prosecute me, they will have to prosecute Newsweek and (I give only an example) the **New York Times**, which wrote on August I about Yahya's "ruthless policy" and about the "systematic massacres, rapes and expulsion of Hindus to India".

And they will have to prosecute Senator Edward Kennedy, who declared in. New Delhi on August 16, that Pakistan is committing genocide in East Pakistan. And the World Council of Churches, which visited the refugees in India and ascertained that the Pak army has committed "the most terrible cruelty".

But undersigned and **De Tijd** will probably not be prosecuted. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs passed the letter on to the public prosecutor in Amsterdam. He ordered the CID to interrogate me. I asked the CID officers to include in' their report that in my opinion the article is not "insulting to the Pak President, unless a critical examination of his policy insulting by definition".

This happened six weeks ago and I have not heard from them since.

The case has probably been put apart. A pity, for I would have liked to explain to the judge that the Pak Embassy has been giving false information on the situation in East Pakistan, that I was "distressed and pained" by the fact that such a shameless insulting and humiliating policy can be followed by the President of Pakistan, with which The Netherlands maintains such friendly and happy relations.

I would also have said that President Khan has hurt my most elementary humane feelings, that he is sowing hatred against the Pak Government. I would have strongly protested against his policy and I would have expressed the hope that appropriate measures will be taken in this case.

But I would probably have failed to seize that opportunity to renew the assurances of my esteem for His Excellency the Ambassador of Pakistan."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মুক্তিযুদ্ধের ছয় মাসঃ বাংলাদেশের অব্যাহত স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ওপর একটি সমীক্ষা	বাংলাদেশ ষ্টুডেন্ট এ্যাকশন কমিটি, গ্রেট বৃটেন।	সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SIX MONTHS OF LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The vast rivers of Bangladesh do not easily turn red!

The blood that Yahya's invading Pakistan army has spilt in Occupied Bengal is best measured in cusecs. Like the floods of the Meghna and the Padma, this blood will partly be emptied in the Bay of Bengal and partially absorbed by Bengali's emerald soil. The soil of deltaic Bangladesh, enriched by the myriad martyrs' blood, would smile again- when the invaders have been driven into the sea.

Meanwhile, there is an occasion to pause and remember that today is September 26. Six months have elapsed since that fateful night of March 25 when Yahya hurled his mechanized forces against unarmed Bengalis in a genocidal campaign. To be sure, these six months will be no more significant than a punctuation mark in the resistance struggle that has since unfolded in Bangladesh.

Yet, one remembers! The first six months have seen the savage Pakistan armed forces engaged in killing civilians and subjecting women and children to sadist assaults and weird brutalities-brutalities borrowed from nightmares of diseased minds. And both on a scale unknown in human history after the horrors perpetrated by Central Asian barbarians who descended in the medieval times on the fertile plains of Asia and Europe!

The crimes of Yahya's packs of wolves in Bangladesh would go down in history as among the worst any human group has suffered at the hands of an organized armed force.

These one hundred and eighty-odd days are also packed with other vital lessons. These emerge from a study of the enemy's known objectives and results of his crimes. To take but one of his objective. General Tikka Khan, "the butcher of Dacca", had launched his genocidal campaign with the avowed object of reducing the numerical superiority of East Bengal's population vis-a-vis West Pakistan's.

Well might he be pleased with his apparent success, with the demographic changes his crimes have caused: about a million killed outright in the initial bloodlust of the Pakistan army; nine millions driven as destitute into India where in refugee camps epidemics and malnutrition decimate many of them; and several more million uprooted people floating about within Bangladesh, fleeing Yahya's savage hordes.

Allied to Yahya's hordes is famine, the apocalypse whose arrival the Islamabad junta awaits hopefully. The expected famine, for which Pakistan has created conditions by destroying crops and driving cultivators away from their fields, will not only kill off another section of the Bangladesh but would also give the occupation forces a chance to purchase the starving people's acquiescence in exchange for food. All these genocidal

calculations designed to reduce the Bengali population would have had meaning, had Bangladesh remained in Pakistan. But, with Bangladesh independent, the invading army's demographic designs against the Bengali race are manic crimes which are even less successful than Hitler's ultimate solution of the Jewish problem!

The other lesson is the speed with which Bangladesh has succeeded in organizing its State and armed forces. Looking back on the dark weeks of last May, it seems incredible that the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh have managed to create so soon after the initial reverses, out of the wreckage of Bengal, a machinery of state and weld together an effective liberation force. The liberation forces new gains need not be recounted here. The strength of popular resistance to the invaders and the Mukti Bahini's successes are being acknowledged almost daily by neutral Western news media.

Internationally, Bangladesh remains a victim of the "great power game". Aside from the natural reluctance of existing States to welcome a new State created through exercise of popular will, a strange confluence of interest of America and China in Pakistan keeps the evil junta in power in Islamabad, providing it with the sinews of war against Bangladesh. India, staggering under the weight of nine million refugees, waits on events and hopes that the Mukti Bahini's military endeavors would eventually force Yahya to withdraw from Bangladesh, and make possible the return of refugees to their homes.

The Soviet Union waits and watches, weighing the chances of survival of the new People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Thus the international situation predicates that the liberation of Bangladesh must come about very largely through efforts of the Government and people of Bangladesh. Even so, it would be wrong to exaggerate Islamabad's capacity to continue a distant colonial war indefinitely. Pakistan is not America.

While the agonies and indignities of the people of Bangladesh may have already exceeded those of Vietnam, the war in Bangladesh may not last as long as the current phase of the Vietnam War.

The patriots of Bangladesh must therefore view the immediate future with considerable hope.

ISSUED BY THE BANGLADESH STUDENTS' ACTION COMMITTEE
IN GREAT BRITAIN
35 Gamages Building, 120 Holbom, London E.C.I. Tel. 01.405 5917
Printed by Larcular Ltd.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১লা অক্টোবর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার প্রস্তাবসমূহ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

1st October, 1971, Convention Committee resolution

(i) It is agreed that letters be sent to the regional Committees in compliance with the resolution No.2 of the 7th meeting of the Convention Committee held on 1st October by the Convention Committee, which may be signed by Convenor, Convention Committee on behalf of all six members.

(ii) It is agreed that a circular shall be issued in Sangbad Parikrama urging individual Committees to co-operate with the regional committees to speed up the process.

(iii) It is also agreed the Convention shall be held on Sunday the 7th November 1971 at 10-30 a.m.

The Election Commission shall be invited to sit with the members of the Convention Committee on 22nd October, 1971. The selected members of the Election Commission be informed about their selection as members of the Election Commission.

It is resolved that an Election Commission be set up with the following members:

(1) Barrister Amin,

(2) Barrister Ferdous,

(3) Doctor Harun,

(4) Doctor Sirajuddoula

(5) Mr. Ganesh Chandra Dey.

It is also resolved that the terms of reference regarding the fourth coming election will be given to the Election Commission by the Convention Committee.

The Commission shall elect one Chairman from among themselves. The Commission shall have the fullest authority to conduct the election of the Executive Committee and the three Trustees of the Bangladesh Fund.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সংগৃহীত চাঁদার হিসাবসহ রসিদ বই ফেরতদানের জন ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের আহবান	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STEERING COMMITTEE OF
THE ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U.K.

জয় বাংলা

11 Goring Street
London E C 3
Tel : 01-2 83 5526/ 3623

জরুরী আবেদন

বাংলাদেশ ফান্ডে চাঁদা আদায়ের জন্য গ্রেট বৃটেনের জন্য যে সমস্ত শাখা কমিটি বা ব্যক্তি বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি থেকে ছাপানো রসিদ বই নিয়েছেন তাঁদের সবাইকে অবিলম্বে চাঁদার হিসাব সহ সমস্ত বই ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি অফিসে ফেরত দিবার জন্য অনুরোধ জানানো হচ্ছে।

কেন্দ্রীয় কমিটি গঠনের প্রস্তুতি ও তৎপূর্বে হিসাব-নিকাশ পরিষ্কার করার জন্যই রসিদ বইসমূহ এবং তার হিসাব ফেরৎ নেওয়া প্রয়োজন বিধায় ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির এক জরুরী সভা উক্ত সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ করেছেন।

এ ব্যাপারে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি আপনাদের সর্বপ্রকার সহযোগিতা কামনা করছে।

আজিজুল হক ভুঞা
আহবায়ক
ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি
১লা অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বে'সওয়াটার শাখা এ্যাকশন কমিটির ২রা অক্টোবরের সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	বে'সওয়াটার এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH,
BAYSWATER BRANCH, LONDON. W. 11

EXTRACT OF THE RESOLUTION
Dated 2nd October, 1971.

অত্র ২রা আগষ্ট শনিবার ১০৩ লেডবারী রোডে বে'সওয়াটার শাখার কার্য সংসদ পরিষদের সভায় নিম্নলিখিত সিদ্ধান্তগুলো সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে গৃহীত হয়।

১। রিজিওনাল কমিটির প্রতি এই বে'সওয়াটার প্রতিষ্ঠানের কোন আস্থা নাই। বে'সওয়াটার শাখা সম্পূর্ণ নিরেপক্ষ এবং ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি ব্যতীত অন্য কোন কমিটির অধীনস্থ নয়।

২। কেন্দ্রীয় কমিটিতে নিকট-ভবিষ্যতে যে প্রতিনিধি নেওয়া হইবে তাহা এই শাখা হইতে সরাসরি নেওয়ার জন্য দাবী করা হইতেছে।

৩। এই প্রতিষ্ঠান রিজিওনেল কমিটির মধ্যস্থতায় কোন প্রতিনিধি কেন্দ্রীয় কমিটিতে পাঠাইতে সম্পূর্ণ অসম্মত।

এম, মোরশেদ
২-১০-৭১
সভাপতি, বে'সওয়াটার কমিটি।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশকে সমর্থন দিয়ে প্রচারিত রাশেদ সোহরাওয়ার্দীর বিবৃতি	লন্ডনস্থ বাংলাদেশ মিশনের প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭২

বাংলাদেশ প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি
BANGLADESH PRESS RELEASE

London, Oct. 8:-Mr. Rashed Suhrawardy, the only son of late Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy who was the founder of the Awami League and a former Prime Minister or Pakistan, in a statement issued in London 011 October 7, expressed his full support to the liberation movement of the people of Bangladesh and hoped that the brave freedom fighters would succeed in their struggle for full independence from the invading army of West Pakistan.

Following is the full text of the statement issued by Mr. Rashed Suhrawardy:-

"My sympathy and full support were with the liberation movement of the people of Bangladesh as soon as 1 learned of the genocide committee by the army of West Pakistan. Not being in politics I did not think a statement from me personally was necessary but since it has become apparent that the image and memory of my beloved father, Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, are being sought to be furnished by one member of my immediate family by her recent statements, I felt it incumbent upon me to speak out.

I would like to express in unequivocal terms that I wish the liberation movement of the people of Bangladesh all success. They have been economically exploited and politically dominated by West Pakistan for the past 24 years and they have now been forced to take up arms to resist the genocide and other heinous crimes that have been and are being perpetuated by the West Pakistan Army.

I have no doubt in my mind that the brave freedom fighters will succeed in achieving full independence by ejecting the invading army.

I eagerly look forward to going to Bangladesh in the near future, to see that in an independent, Sovereign Republic people of all faiths and political affiliations are living in peace and harmony.

I also convey my greetings to the Government of Bangladesh, the members of which were all colleagues of my father and who were great objects of his affection."

Sd/
(Rashed Suhrawardy)
October 7, 1971)

Forwarded for favor of Circulation / Publication / Broadcast. Photocopy of the handwritten statement is also enclosed.

(Mahiuddin A. Choudhury)
Press & Publicity Division
Bangladesh Mission.

Issued by Press and Publicity Division, Bangladesh Mission in U. K.. 24 Pembridge Gardens. London W. 2. Phone: 2290281.229 5435.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশন উপলক্ষে সকল আঞ্চলিক এ্যাকশন কমিটিকে অবিলম্বে প্রতিনিধি নির্বাচন ও তা কনভেশন কমিটিকে জানানোর জন্য আহবায়কের বিজ্ঞপ্তি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

8th October. 1971

The Secretary/President
Action Committee for the
People s Republic of Bangladesh
in U. K. (Midland Region)
93, Stratford Road
Birmingham-11
Dear Sir,

The Convention Committee is pleased to inform you that it has approved of a draft constitution and agreed upon procedural points regarding calling a convention of all the action committees.

According to the decision of the Convention Committee at its meeting held on 1st October 1971, the Regional Committees are requested immediately to call a meeting of all the local committees in their regions for the allocation of number of delegates to each committee by joint consultation with all the Committees. **As soon as the allocation is finalized, each local Committee should call its own Committee meeting for nominating its delegates / councilors** and forward their names along with the resolution to the Regional Committee with a copy to the Convention Committee on or before 20th October 1971.

Delegates have been allocated to the 4 regions and other units in the following order:

London & South	90
Midland	75
Lancashire	29
Yorkshire	20
Students	4
Women	4
Glasgow (Scotland)	3
Wales	2
East Anglia	2
Bangladesh Medical Association	4
	233

The tentative date for the convention has been fixed as November 7, 1971. Please await further notification regarding the final date. Please find enclosed a copy of the resolution taken at the Convention Committee. Should any committee need any further clarification please write or telephone.

Convenor,
Convention Committee.

Copy to: All the Action Committees for information.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনে ১১ই অক্টোবর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন প্রশ্নে ভিন্নমতাবলম্বীদের সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE LONDON MEETING OF BANGLADESH ACTIVISTS ON 11 OCTOBER AT CONWAY HALL, UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF S. M. AYUB

1. This meeting of the activists of the Bangladesh action committees, concerned with the healthy and democratic development of the Bangladesh movement, convened to discuss the forthcoming national convention of the action committees, hereby (a) takes note with appreciation of the decision of the Steering Committee, though belated to regularize the constitutional framework and activities of the action committees and offers the Steering Committee full support far the success of the convention; (b) endorses the decision of the Convention Committee to give direct representation to the local action committees.

2. The meeting has, however, serious reservations on the procedures recommended for the constitution of the central body, adoption of the constitution and the mechanism of representation.

3. The meeting firmly believes that the right to voting-participation on the decision- making agenda of the convention belongs only to those among the Bangladesh community in the UK who have given organized support to the work of the Bangladesh liberation movement either through financial contribution or by active involvement. The number and composition of their representation may or may not be related to the population concentration. As such we recommend that all action committees should be invited to send at least two delegates to the convention with provision far additional weightage commensurate with their contributions to the common pool of the liberation movement in the UK.

4. The meeting believes that the process far setting up the central authority of the action committees should be phased out in two stages. The first stage should be limited to the adoption of constitution for the action committees. For this purpose the Convention Committee should immediately circulate the first draft of the constitution among all the action committees and invite their comments. In the light of the criticism and amendments that will be received the Convention Committee should then prepare the final draft, which should farm the basis of deliberation at the first conference of the delegates of the action committees.

5. After the adoption of the constitution of the proposed central organisation of the action committees the document should be immediately circulated and all action committees should be asked to reconstitute themselves in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. The regularized action committees then should be invited to send their delegates, in accordance with the provisions in the constitution, to the national

convention which would adopt a programme of activities for the action committees and (b) elect its officers and governing bodies to execute the policy and programme as adopted by the convention.

6. Further, this meeting considers that the Convention Committee, as at present constituted, has not the adequate human resources to undertake the heavy burden of preparing adequately for the national convention. It, therefore, recommends that the Convention Committee should be expanded by co-option of representatives from the action committees of the students, doctors & women, and if needed the Convention Committee should also set up sub-committees with special assignments.

7. The meeting also appointed a ten-member Campaign Committee for the National Convention of the Action Committees and appealed to all local action committees to send similar recommendations to the Steering Committee and to offer their support and services to the Campaign Committee to create a healthy and democratic body for the Bangladesh movement in the UK.

Issued on behalf of the Campaign Committee for the National Convention of the Action Committees by S. M. Ayub, 33 Dagmar Road, London N 22 (01-889—4474).

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনে আওয়ামী লীগকে সাংগঠনিক কমিটি গঠন সম্পর্কে প্রচারপত্র	লন্ডন আওয়ামী লীগের 'প্রচারপত্র-১'	অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

'প্রচারপত্র-১

আওয়ামী লীগ লন্ডন

পূবের আকাশে সূর্য উঠেছে
আলোকে আলোকময়
জয় জয় জয় জয় বাংলার জয়।

পাকিস্তানের ইতিহাস হলো মোনাফেকী, বেঈমানী শাসক ও শোষক চক্রের ইতিহাস। জিন্নার সাধের পাকিস্তান পূর্ব বাংলার মানুষদের জন্য ছিল এক বিরাট ফাঁকি আর ফাঁকিস্তান। পূর্ব বাংলা পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের উপনিবেশে রূপান্তরিত হয়েছে, আর এর সম্পদ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে পাচার ও স্তূপীকৃত হয়েছে। শাসন ও সামরিক বিভাগে বাংগালীদের স্থান নেই। জাতীয় সম্পদ হতে বাঙালীরা বঞ্চিত হয়েছে সদাই। সমগ্র পাকিস্তানের মোট রাজস্বের শতকরা ৬২ ভাগ দেশরক্ষা খাতে ব্যয় হয়, শতকরা ৩২ ভাগ খরচ হয় ইসলামাবাদে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার পরিচালনায়। মোট রাজস্বের ৯৪ ভাগ বিভিন্ন নামে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানেই ব্যয় হয়। মাত্র ৬ ভাগ পূর্ব বাংলার ভাগ্য জোটে। যদিও পূর্ব বাংলা পাকিস্তানের আয়ের শতকরা ৬৪ ভাগ যোগায়। তাই পূর্ব বাংলার মানুষের পরিশ্রমের বুনিয়াদের উপর পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের ইমারত গড়ে উঠেছে। বাংলাদেশের মানুষকে পায়ের তলায় দাবিয়ে রাখার জন্য পাকিস্তানের শাসকগোষ্ঠী গত ২৩ বছর ধরে বাংগালী জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে চক্রান্ত ও ইসলাম বিরোধী জিগির-বাহানা প্রয়োগ করে আসছে। অতএব বাংলার মানুষ রাজনৈতিক ও স্বাধিকার নিয়ে বাঁচার দাবী উঠালো। শোষিত, নিপীড়িত ও বঞ্চিত পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের মুক্তির জন্য অগ্রসর হলো আওয়ামী লীগ। আওয়ামী লীগ গত ২০ বছর ধরে বাংলার দাবী নিয়ে চরম লড়াই করে আসছে শাসক ও শোষক গোষ্ঠীর বিরুদ্ধে। পূর্ব বাংলার মানুষেরা পাকিস্তানে জনসংখ্যার অনুপাতে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ। গত ডিসেম্বর জাতীয় পরিষদের নির্বাচন হলো। মহান নেতা শেখ মুজিব সমগ্র পাকিস্তানে জাতীয় পরিষদে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ দলের নেতা হলেন। পাঞ্জাবী শাসক, শোষকচক্র ও নররক্তপিপাসু পশুরাজ ইয়াহিয়া বাংলার দাবীকে বানচাল করে দেবার জন্য "ডান্ডা দিয়া ঠান্ডা করার খেয়ালে" ২৫শে মার্চ রাত্রে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের বর্বর সৈন্য বাহিনী বাংলার মানুষের উপর লেলিয়ে দিলেন। বাংলার প্রিয় জননেতা শেখ মুজিবকে বন্দী করলেন। এসব নৃশংস ও নারকীয় কার্যকলাপের কাহিনী আপনাদের সবার জানা। বাংলাদেশকে কলোনীতে পরিণত করে রাখার জন্য অসূর ইয়াহিয়ার সৈন্যরা ১২ লক্ষ নিরস্ত্র নাগরিককে হত্যা করেছে। প্রায় এককোটি মানুষকে দেশ থেকে বিতাড়িত করেছে আর শত শত নারীকে ধর্ষণ করেছে। দলে দলে তরুণীদের গ্রেফতার করেছে। বিভিন্ন ক্যান্টনমেন্টে আটক তরুনীদের একেবারে উলংগ অবস্থায় রেখে পাক পশুবাহিনী এক নারকীয় আনন্দ উপভোগ করছে। শত শত তরুণীকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে চালান দেওয়া হয়েছে। পূর্ব বাংলার আজ বড়ই দুর্দিন। অসহায় ছেলেমেয়ে ও লাঞ্ছিত নারীত্বের ক্রন্দনে বাংলার আকাশ বাতাস আজ ভারী। গরীব মানুষের লাখো লাখো ঘরবাড়ি জ্বালিয়েছে। তাই অসূর ইয়াহিয়ার সামরিক জান্তার বিরুদ্ধে বাংলাদেশের আপামর জনসাধারণ আজ রুখে দাঁড়িয়েছে। বাংলার স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম চলছে। হানাদার পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী শাসক ফৌজের বিরুদ্ধে বাংলাদেশের মানুষ 'মুক্তি বাহিনী' গড়ে তুলেছে। সার্বভৌম ও প্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ সরকার গঠিত হয়েছে, বাংলার মাটিতে 'মুজিবনগরে'। বাংলাদেশ এখন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সংগে যুদ্ধে লিপ্ত। আজ এই জাতীয় সংগ্রামে বাংলাদেশের সকল মানুষকে ঐক্যবদ্ধ হতে হবে। পাক শত্রুকে মরণ আঘাত হানতে হবে। ইনশা-আল্লাহ বাংলার জয় অনিবার্য।

জনাব সামাদের সভাপতিত্বে

লন্ডনে আওয়ামী লীগ কর্মী সম্মেলন

সম্প্রতি বাংলাদেশ সরকারের রাজনৈতিক উপদেষ্টা ও ভ্রাম্যমাণ দূত এবং সিলেট জেলা আওয়ামী লীগের সভাপতি জনাব আবদুস সামাদ এম-এন-এ ইংল্যান্ড সফরে এসেছিলেন। তিনি বার্মিংহাম, ব্রাডর্ফোড ও ম্যাঞ্চেষ্টার প্রভৃতি শহরগুলিতে আওয়ামী লীগ কর্মী সম্মেলন ও বিভিন্ন সভা- সমিতিতে বক্তৃতা করেন। গত ১৩ ই অক্টোবর আওয়ামী লীগ লন্ডন শাখার এক কর্মী সম্মেলন হয়। এই কর্মী সম্মেলনে লন্ডন আওয়ামীলীগকে শক্তিশালী ও জোরদার করে গড়ে তোলার জন্য জনাব আবদুস সামাদ বিশেষ জোর দেন এবং সকলের পরামর্শ অনুযায়ী জনাব সামাদের সভাপতিত্বে নিম্নলিখিত কর্মীবৃন্দকে নিয়ে আওয়ামী লীগ লন্ডনের অস্থায়ী কমিটি গঠিত হয় ।

সভাপতি	ঃ	জনাব আলহাজ আবদুল মান্নান।
১ম সহ সভাপতি	ঃ	জনাব মিনহাজ উদ্দিন আহমদ
২য় সহ সভাপতি	ঃ	জনাব ইসমাইল মিয়া
৩য় সহ সভাপতি	ঃ	জনাব মোহাম্মদ ইসহাক
সাধারণ সম্পাদক	ঃ	জনাব মোহাম্মদ আবুল বশর
সংগঠন সম্পাদক	ঃ	জনাব সুলতান মোহম্মদ শরীফ
জন-সংযোগ সম্পাদক	ঃ	জনাব জিল্লুর হক
সামাজিক সম্পাদক	ঃ	জনাব মিম্বর আলী
শ্রম সম্পাদক	ঃ	জনাব শাহ সিরাজুল হক
বহিরাগত সর্ম্পকীয় সম্পাদক	ঃ	জনাব আব্দুর রকিব
মহিলা সম্পাদিকা	ঃ	বেগম হেলেন তালুকদার
দফতর সম্পাদক	ঃ	জনাব এম, এ, হাকিম
কোষাধাক্ষ্য	ঃ	জনাব মজির উদ্দিন
সদস্যবৃন্দ	ঃ	জনাব রমজান আলী, শফিকুর রহমান, এন ইউ আহমদ, নুরুল ইসলাম, গউস খান, বি এইচ তালুকদার, আবদুল হামিদ, শফিক মিয়া, মোহম্মদ কলমদার আলী, শরিয়ত উদ্দিন আহমদ, মোহাম্মদ একরাম হোসেন, নুরুল হক, তোয়াহিদ আলী, শামসুর রহমান, মশরফ আলী, মোহাম্মদ ওমর, রেদওয়ান মিয়া, এ কে এস ইসলাম, তৈয়বুর রহমান, মইন উদ্দিন, শায়েস্তা মিয়া, আবদুল আজিজ ও রহিম উদ্দিন।

অস্থায়ী আওয়ামী লীগ লন্ডন কমিটির সভা অনুষ্ঠিত হয় গত ১৭ই অক্টোবর। এই অধিবেশনে বৃহত্তম লন্ডন শহরকে সাংগঠনিক কার্যকলাপের ও গণ- সংযোগের সুবিধার জন্য লন্ডনকে ৯টি আঞ্চলিক ভাগে বিভক্ত করা হয় এবং এর এক এক ভাগকে একটি সাব-ডিভিশন আওয়ামী লীগের মর্যাদা দেওয়া হয়। সাব ডিভিশনগুলি নিম্ন লিখিত পোষ্টাল ডিষ্ট্রিক্ট এলাকা নিয়ে গঠিত হবেঃ-

১। এন+এন-ডাবলিউ
২। ডাবলিউ+ডাবলিউ-সি

৩। ই-১ ৪। ই-২+৮+৫ ৫। ই- ৯+১৪+১৬+৬+১৩+১৫+৭+১২ ৬। ই- ১০+১১+১৭+১৮+৪+ইসেক্স ৭। দক্ষিণ টেমস এলাকা ৮। উত্তর টেমস এলাকা ৯। নর্থ+এন- ডাবলিউ	৩ হতে ৬ পূর্ব লন্ডন

লন্ডনের বাংগালী ভাইবোনদের কাছে অনুরোধ

আপনারা রাজনৈতিক বিভিন্ন 'ইজম' পন্থীদের প্রভাব থেকে নিজেদেরকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে নিয়ে আওয়ামী লীগে যোগদান করে আওয়ামী লীগ ও বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামকে শক্তিশালী করে তুলুন আর একটি মাত্র আওয়াজ তুলুনঃ

প্রিয় নেতা শেখ মুজিব আমাদেরকে ডাক দিয়েছেন গোলামীর জিঞ্জির ছিঁড়ে ফেলতে। আসুন, আমরা বাংলাদেশের কল্যাণের জন্য সর্বস্ব পণ করি।

সাধারণ সম্পাদক জনাব মোহাম্মদ আবুল বশর কর্তৃক ২৭৫ উলড ব্রোমটন রোড, লন্ডন, দঃ পঃ ৫ হইতে প্রকাশিত ও প্রচারিত। দুরালাপনীঃ ০১-৩৭৩ ৭৫৬১, ০১-৬০৩ ৭৪৬১

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বৃটিশ লেবার পার্টির সিদ্ধান্ত জানিয়ে মিঃ আয়ান মিকার্ডো এম, পি-র চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৩অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

Palace Chambers
Bridge Street, London SW1A 2JX
Telephone: 01.8392721

Mr. M A H Miah BCom
37' Biscott House
Devas Street
London E3 3LZ

13 October 1971

Dear Mr Miah:

I now have an opportunity, on my return from the Labor Party Conference, of thanking you for your letter of the 3rd. I am sure you .will have read of the resolution which was put to Conference by the National Executive Committee, and unanimously accepted; and also of the speeches made both in Conference and in meetings outside in the evenings. There is a considerable volume of support for your cause within the Labor Party.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/

Dictated by Mr. Mikardo
and signed in his absence.

from: Ian Mikardo, M.P.

……..

NEWS RELEASE

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PAKISTAN

The Pakistan situation was discussed at today s meeting of the Labor Party International Committee and the following resolutions were adopted.

1. The N.E.C., deeply concerned about the present human crisis in West and East Bengal, believes that the dangers of the present conflict within Pakistan are a threat to international peace and security; that only a satisfactory political solution to the conflict within Pakistan can restore stability and end the threat to peace; and that the urgency and

scale of the present human suffering among the refugees, and the dangers of early famine demand an unsparing response from Britain. It therefore urges H. M. Government to take the following immediate steps:

(a)To raise the conflict in Pakistan in the Security Council as an urgent question threatening peace and endangering the security of others;

(b)To increase substantially the present British contribution to U Thant's Relief Fund and to make an immediate bilateral offer of generous additional aid to India to assist her in the costs of meeting the refugee problem.

The N.E.C. further believes that in this situation it is right that the British people should know what approach H.M. Government is proposing to take in the forthcoming early meeting of the Pakistan Aid Consortium, which will consider the very serious economic crisis facing Pakistan.

The N.E.C. believes that in a situation in which political institutions in East Pakistan have collapsed; aid for development cannot be meaningful. It therefore calls upon H. M. Government to urge at the forthcoming meeting of the Consortium that, until a peaceful settlement bas been achieved in East Pakistan, aid to Pakistan should be limited to the relief and prevention of actual disease and distress, bearing in mind that many of those who most need aid are no longer in Pakistan."

2). "In view of the obvious failure to get adequate relief to India and Pakistan and similar technical problems during other recent catastrophes, this Committee urges H. M. Government to propose the establishment of an international Relief Commission. This Commission should be set up immediately and be composed of those with experience of relief, transportation, and the management of large scale organisation. In circumstances such as now existing in Pakistan the Commission would meet continuously and report on what measures would be necessary on a world scale for implementation by the United Nations. The Commission would establish permanent machinery to provide immediate relief in natural and manmade disasters, to save life, furnish essential medical supplies and if necessary take control of the situation until longer term measures can be brought into effect. In proposing the establishment of this Commission, H.M. Government should pledge full British participation and financial support."

June 8, 197

ID/1970-71/93

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON PAKISTAN

Conference expresses its horror and concern at the terrible human tragedy now taking place in Bengal. It believes that the Pakistan Government must take full responsibility for the terrible suffering endured by the people of East Bengal and Conference condemns the

Government of Pakistan for its totally unjustified use of military force against the people and democratically elected leaders of East Bengal.

Refugees

Conference expresses its grave concern at the totally inadequate response of the World Community to the vast refugee problem. The Government of India has carried a disproportionate share of this burden and Conference urges the establishment of a United Nations Disaster Relief Agency to take full responsibility for refugee aid. Conference urges the British Government to pledge full support for such an agency and meantime to substantially increase its bilateral aid to India to enable the Indian Government to cope with the urgent and immediate problems of relief.

Aid

Without a satisfactory political solution" long-term aid to Pakistan would mean subsidizing a discredited military regime. Conference, therefore urges all countries and in particular the members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium to withhold all but urgent humanitarian aid until a satisfactory political solution has been agreed to by the people of East Bengal.

Political Solution

Conference believes that a political solution can only be reached after:

1. Military repression in East Bengal has ceased;
2. The political leaders of East Bengal and in particular Sheikh Mujibur Rahman have been released.

Any political solution should be negotiated with the democratically elected leaders of East Bengal and be acceptable to the people of the region.

Threat to Peace

Conference believes that the present situation on the Indian sub-continent constitutes a threat to World Peace. The United Nations should therefore, involve itself directly in working for a political solution which is in accordance with the will of the people of East Bengal. Conference urges the British Government to raise this matter at the current session of the United Nations.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে ভিন্ন মতাবলম্বীদের বক্তব্য সম্বলিত চিঠি	ক্যাম্পেন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৪ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

S. M. AYUB

01-889 4474

33, Dagiriar Road
London N 22
14. Octobcr 1971

Dear Friend,

I am enclosing the proceedings of a meeting held on Monday 11 October at the Conway Hall, London W C 2, under my chairmanship. Over 40 Bangladesh activists from 14 different action groups in and around London participated in the meeting and unanimously adopted the enclosed resolutions.

It is our hope that your Committee will give serious thoughts to the problems raised in the document if you find yourself in broad agreement with the views expressed in the resolutions please write directly to the Convention Committee, 11 Goring Street, London E C 3, giving the comments of your Committee on the points raised.

We would very much appreciate if it would be possible for you to join us as one of the members of the Campaign Committee for the National Convention of Action Committees and thus assure that the Bangladesh activities in the UK precede on democratic and healthy lines.

We hope you will appreciate that time is running out and frustration among the people is growing deep. Unless this process is checked, our movement in the UK will suffer irreparable loss.

To facilitate early reply we are providing a form for your use. I hope you will give the matter your urgent attention.

Should you need any elaboration please do not hesitate to get in touch with me.

With greetings and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Ayub
on behalf of the Campaign Committee.

FORM

The Secretary
Convention Committee
11 Goring Street
London E C 3

Our Committee is broadly in agreement with the recommendations of the London meeting of 11 October. It is also our view that the constitution of the proposed central body of the action committees should be framed at a specially convened conference of the action committees. Only after such a constitution has been adopted the national convention should be held to elect the officers, governing bodies, etc.

Your Name----------Tel. No----------
Name & Particulars of the Action Committee----------

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশনের জন্য নির্ধারিত দুজন প্রতিনিধির নামসহ কিডারমিনষ্টার শাখার সভাপতির চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH ACTION COMMITTEE
72 COVENTRY STREET, KIDDER MINSTER
Tele No. 62011

Dated: 15 Oct, 71.

The Secretary
Convention Committee
11 Goring Street, LONDON E. C. 3.

Dear Sir,

I am forwarding herewith the required papers together with a copy of resolution which been passed unanimously by Bangladesh Action Committee, KIDDERMINSTER WORCS.

A meeting of Bangladesh Action Committee Kidderminster was held on 15th Oct. 71. This meeting's urgent talk was about delegate which should invariably be sent to Convention Committee, LONDON.

Everybody has gone through the contents of Convention Committee letters dated 8th Oct, 71 and 14th Oct, 71 respectively.

This meeting has appreciated the resolutions adapted at the LONDON meeting under the chairmanship of MR. S. M. AYUB.

As per resolutions adapted by the Convention Committee in LONDON I am sending herewith the names of two delegates who will entirely represent Bangladesh Action Committee, KIDDER MINSTER to the Convention Committee in LONDON.

Further, I would like to draw your attention to the fact, that this Committee is not inclined to submit the necessary documents to the Convention Committee in LONDON through the region MIDLAND. The matter of non-attitude to the region can be discussed with the delegate.

Hope, the request for inclusion of the names of delegate in your Conventional Committee, will be acceded to:

Thank You

Name of delegate.	**Address**
1.SYED ALBAB HUSSAIN	72 Coventry Street, Kidderminster WORCS Tele No. 62011
2.SYED AFRUJ HUSSAIN	28 GILGAL., Stourport on severn WORCS

President of Bangladesh Action Committee, Kidderminster.
(SYED MUJTABA HASAN)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে ভিন্ন মতাবলম্বীদের পক্ষে আহবায়কের প্রতি চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

S. M. AYUB

33. Dagmar Road
London N 22
15. Oct. 1971

The Convener
Convention Committee
11 Goring Street
London EC 3.

Dear friend.

I am enclosing a copy of the resolution adopted at the Conway Hall meeting on October 11, under my chairmanship.

The meeting was held on a two-day notice. Never the less it was attended by a large number of activists from 12 local action committee namely.

1 Enfield	5 Westminster	9 Bangladesh Cultural Asscn
2 Colchester	6 Bayswater	10 Islington
3 Uxbridge	7 Hendon	11 Relief Committee (East London)
4 Balham	8 North-West London	12 Students Action Committee

It can therefore be safely assumed that the recommendations made by the meeting have substantial support among the local action committees.

May we, therefore, hope that you will give this representation your serious consideration and let us have your reply at an early date so that we could take the next step for effective participation at the proposed convention.

Yours sincerely.
Sd/-
(S. M. Ayub)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশন সর্ম্পকে ভিন্ন বক্তব্য জানিয়ে লিউটন শাখা এ্যাকশন কমিটির সম্পাদকের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.
LUTON (Beds.) UNIT

5 Kenilworth Road.
LUTON.
Phone: LUTON 26998 Beds.
17th October. 1971.

The Convener,
Steering Committee of the Action Committee
for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in U. K.,
11 Goring Street.
LONDON. E. C. 3.

Dear Sir,

We are surprised to note that you have not yet replied to our letter dated the 9th September. 1971, which was very important for the continuation of our movements in U. K. for the Independence of Bangladesh Even the letter was not acknowledged and as a result, our Committee, which was solidly organized is now on the way of collapsing and if such thing happens, you will be held fully responsible for this unexpected incident.

Meanwhile, we have been informed that a National Convention is going to be held shortly to form a Central Committee. We believe there will be chaos informing the proposed Central Committee in this way unless you hold a meeting we have already proposed, in consultation with the heads of the Regional Committees, to discuss the various matters which may come from the representatives of different Sub-Committees and to give clear understanding to all the Sub-Committees so that it may become possible to form a strong Central Committee peacefully and in a Democratic way.

We understand that some Committees are not aware what would be the constitution and how the Committees would be represented. The copy of the draft Constitution should be distributed to all the Committees to prepare them to debate the items, clauses and other things.

We hope that you give importance to this letter in the name of Unity among the Bengali people in U. K.

JOY BANGLA.

Yours faithfully,
Sd/-
(MD. BURHAN UDDIN)
Secretary.

Copy to: Mr. Justice A. S. Chowdhury.
The High Commissioner for Bangladesh
in U. K., 24 Pembridge Gardens,
London. W. 2, for information arid
necessary action thereon.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলন সমর্থনকারী জনৈক বৃটিশ নাগরিকের প্রতি এ্যাকশন কমিটির আহবায়কের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

October 18, 1971

Mr. Brian M. Key
21 Schofield Dr
Darfield
Barnsley
Yorks.

Dear Mr. Key,

I am very much pleased that you attended our meeting in the Labor Party Conference at Brighton. We are very much encouraged to note your willingness to help our cause.

Bangladesh cause has not yet received the proper attention of the youths of this country. As such you can help us tremendously by helping and advising us as to how we can go about a national campaign to publicize and explain our cause to the young socialist in the country.

I would personally be grateful if you could suggest us if there is any possibility of a meeting in your area where I could send one of our workers to either to address a gathering or talk to a group of young socialist in your area. Looking forward to hearing from you meanwhile, we will keep you informed the developments in Bangladesh as well as our activities here.

Yours sincerely,

(M. A. H. BHUIA)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতে নিযুক্ত বাংলাদেশের হাই কমিশনারের প্রতি ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STEERING COMMITTEE OF
THE ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.

জয় বাংলা

11 GORING STREET
LONDON E C 3
TEL: 01-283 5526/3623
October 18. 1971

Mr. Hossain Ali
High Commissioner for the People's
Republic of Bangladesh in India.

Dear Mr. Ali,

Mr. Abu Yusuf Khan the bearer of this letter who was till recently an engineer of the Pakistan Air Force (Stationed somewhere in Saudi Arabia) is proceeding to Bangladesh to join the Mukti Bahini. Mr. Khan's brother Major Taher who is one of the Sector Commanders of our Forces written a letter to Mr. Khan requesting him to procure some surgical instruments in London and take those instruments with him to Bangladesh (Base hospital somewhere in Meghalaya). As soon as Mr. Khan revealed this to us, we thought it proper to bring it to your notice in the home of obtaining the permission of the Government of Bangladesh so that the instruments concerned could be supplied by the Steering Committee. Since this will cost us a very small amount of money, we feel that you will gladly approve our decision and send us a very quick reply.

In this connection probably it is not out of place to refer to your letter No. B 5/4/71 dated 13th October 1971 circulated to all the Action Committees in Great Britain affiliated by the Steering Committee. Unlike many of your circular, this particular one has caused a great concern among the Bengali Community in Britain. Your direct appeal to various committees has created an impact of serious significance. The Govt. has ordered the Steering Committee through their Chief Adviser Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury to collect money and freeze it in the bank to be used by the Government at an appropriate time. Ever since we are collecting money and depositing it with the bank. This action of yours has put us in great jeopardy. Many responsible leaders in the field of politics, government and armed forces have written impatient letter to many action committees, individual Bengali leaders and to various other organizations depicting vividly the pitiful conditions and immense suffering of our boys in the training camps and battlefields and urging them to send contribution immediately. Since the entire Bengali population in this country gave and are still giving subscription to "Bangladesh Fund" they genuinely desire that their money should produce concrete and tangible result. Now

please try to imagine our position. The Liberation Army needs many things and you write to our people asking for those things, innocent people come to us and blame us. They say we are responsible for the sufferings of our fighting forces. They ask if money is not utilized for the purpose for which it has been contributed, why should further subscription be made? We are being accused of inaction. Just at a time when the Steering Committee was considering writing to you about their unfortunate predicament, your latest circular has reached the people in Britain. Scores of people are coming to us and asking why medicine, garments and other essential things have not been sent. They demand explanation, they want action and want us to be penalized for all our silence over sending materials for which you are writing to them.

We do not understand why we are not allowed to spend a fraction of the money we have collected for you. Frankly speaking, because of our inability to send any help and your direct approach to the individual, Committees for help the Central Authority shall be utterly disregarded and in all practical purposes and shall eventually collapse. The Pakistan High Commission through his agents is trying to prove that the Steering Committee has dwindled and money should not be contributed to Bangladesh Fund. Consequently, it is highly likely that out of sheer patriotism, individual organization shall operate different Fund, collect money and shall remain responsible only to themselves.

I hope I have been able to communicate to you the enormous pressure and insult that are being thrown at us.

In any case I have sent out a similar circular asking people to give warm clothing for the Mukti Bahini and hope inspite of all the points I have mentioned. I am sure it will receive tremendous response. I shall soon be writing to you again. With kindest regards.

JOY BANGLA.

Yours sincerely,

(M. A. H. BHUIA)
Convener.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'থার্ড ওয়ার্লড ফার্স্ট'-এর উদ্যোগে আয়োজিত সভায় বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে বক্তব্য রাখার অনুরোধ সম্বলিত এ্যাকশন কমিটির আহবায়কের প্রতি চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

THIRD WORLD FIRST
Britwell Salome
Watlington
Oxon
OX95LH
22nd October 1971
Bangladesh Action
Comm.
11 Goring Street
London E. C. 3

Dear Mr. Bhuia,

I am writing to confirm the arrangements we made over the telephone for you to speak at Newland Park College, Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, on Wednesday 27th October at 7 p. m. I have written to Steve Day who is our representative at the College and asked him to ring you and give you the details of how to get there and whether you can be met from a train.

I shall also ask the organizer of the Third World Convention to be held on Saturday, November 6th at Imperial College London, to contact you in order to finalize the arrangement for that.

Thank you very much for agreeing to come to these two meetings and I am sorry there was a misunderstanding about the meeting in Birmingham College of Education which I have discovered had to be cancelled at the last minute.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Barbara Clark.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২শে অক্টোবর অনুষ্ঠিত কনভেনশন কমিটির সভার কার্যবিবরণী	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

Meeting of the Convention Committee
22nd October, 1971.

It is resolved that in view of the objection raised by some committees from the South England Region the Convention Committee shall organise a meeting inviting representatives from the Existing Committees to sit with the Convention Committee and the representative of regional Committee on Saturday the 30th October at 2 p. m. in London. The said meeting shall take into consideration the outcome of the reconciliation attempt to be made by the Regional Committee tomorrow, Saturday, the 23rd of October, 1971.

Signatures-
22. 10. 71

It is also resolved that the members of the Election Commission be requested to be present at 11 Goring Street, at 7 p. m. on 30th October 1971 to sit with the members of the Election Commission.

Signatures—

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
অনুষ্ঠিতব্য কনভেনশনের জন্য মিডল্যান্ড অঞ্চলের কমিটিসমূহের প্রতিনিধিদের সংখ্যা ও নামসহ লিখিত চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH ACTION COMMITTEE
(MIDLAND REGION)

93 Stafford Road.
Spark brook.
Birmingham Bll IRE
23.10 1971

The Convener,
Convention Committee
11. Goring Street, London. E C. 3

Dear Sir.

In compliance with your request/letter dt. 8-10-71 we had held a meeting of all the Committee in the Midland Region. And the allocations of seats were made in presence of and incomplete agreement of all the Committees in the Midland region.

We ore forwarding the lists as follows:

Committee	No. of seats allocated
1. Conventry	3
2. Leicester	2
3. Loughborough	2
4. Northampton	2
5. Wellingborough	I
6. Nottingham	1
7. Derbey Mansfied	1
8. Worcester	1
9. Kidderminster	2
10. Blackhealth	2
11. Wolverhampton	1
12. Wednessbery	2
13. Oarlaston	I
14. Walsall	2
15. Westbromwich	2
16. Tipton	2
17. Smethwick	4
18. Birmingham (B. D. A. C)	44
Total	75

WESTBROMWKH :(l) Mr. Abdul Jalil, 79, Hamilton Rd, Biham-21, (2) Mr. Ayas Miah, 68, Beechers Road, Biham-21

WORCESTER : (1) Mr. Muzahid Ahmed, 74, Wylde Line, Worcester

LOUGHBOROUOH : (1)Mr. A Ahmed 102. Freehold Street, Looghborough
(2)Mr. S. A Hye

NORTHAMPTON : (1)Mr. A. H. Choudhury, 7 Marcparc. Northampton.

(2)Mr Abdul Ahad

WELLINGBOROUGH : (1) Mr. Israil Ali, 32, Church Si Wellingborough.

SMETHWICK : (1) Mr. Modoris Ali. 104. Lewisham Rd. Smethwick. Staffs

(2) Mr. Muslauddin, 33. Middleman Rd. Smethwick. Staffs.

(3) Mr. Ashabur Rahman Jaigirdar. 125, Oxford Rd. Smethwick. Staffs.

(4) Mr. Monuhor Ali, 26. Central Place. Smethwick. Staffs.

NOTTINGHAM : (1) Mr. M A. Yusuff Choudhury, 177. Alferton Rd. Nottingham

DARLASTON- WEDRESSBURY- COVENTRY- LECESTER- DERBY/MARSFIELD KIDDERMINSTER- BLACKWHEATH- WOLVERHAMPTON- WALSALL-	Would be forwarded later	TIPTONBIHAM, BDAC.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশনের জন্য মনোনীত বিভিন্ন কমিটির ও তাদের প্রতিনিধিদের তালিকাসহ সভাপতি ও সম্পাদকের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
BANGLADESH ACTION COMMITTEE

93, STRATFORD
ROAD,
SPARKBROOK.
BIRMINGHAM Bll IRE
23-10-1971

The President, Republic of Bangladesh Action Committee
(Midland Region)
93, Stratford Road, Birmingham-11

Dear Sir,

We are submitting the following list of names and addresses of the delegates for the forthcoming Convention to be held on the date to be decided by the Convention Committee. This may kindly be forwarded to the Convention Committee. This list has been appended by the Executive Committee in a meeting held on Saturday the 23rd October 1971.

Your faithfully,

President

Secretary

Copy to the Convener, Convention Committee, 11, Goring Street, London E. C-3. for perusal & necessary action.

HANDSWORTH

.	15, Richmond Road, Handsworth	B'Ham-19
Mr. Noor Ali	91, Hunters Rd	Do
Mr. Azizur Rahman	31 John st.	Do
Mr. Mobeshir Ali	18, Sendwell Rd. SALTEY	Do
Mr. Md. Afruz Meah	96 Adderley Rd,	B'Ham-8
Mr. Razaur Rahman Jaigirdar	46 Hardford St.	B'Ham-12
Mr. Sajidur Rahman	146, St. Saviours, Rd.,	B'Ham-8
Mr. Jahur Ali	48, Bowyer Rd.	Do
Mr. Mohibur Rahman	120, St. Saviours Rd.	Do

Mr. M. U. Ahmed	234, Victoria Rd.	Aston	B'Ham-6
Mr. Akmol Hussain	18, Lynton Rd.	,,	Do
Mr. Abdul Moclib	158, Victoria Rd.	,,	Do
Mr. Cherag Uddin	100, Frederick, Rd	,,	Do
Mr Monir Uddin	99,Frederick Rd.	,,	Do
Mr AsekAli.	118,Frederick Rd.	,,	Do
Mr. Gous Ahmed	60, Vicarage Rd	,,	Do
Mr. Abdus Subhan	227, Bevington Rd.	,,	Do
Mr Syed Aliq Ullah	310, Albert Rd.	,,	Do
Mr. Madhu Miah	125, Upper Sutton St	,,	Do
Mr. Abdus Sabur	Choudhury15, Vine St	,,	Do

SMALLHEATH

Mr A. M. Jagul Pasha	52, Wordsworth Rd.	Smallheath,	B'Ham-10
Mr. A. H. Bhuya	93,Stratford Rd	,,	B'Ham-11
Mr. Ismail Azad	23,Lloyds St	,,	B'Ham-10
Mr. Aftab Ali	75,Waverly Rd	,,	Do
Mr Kazi Abdul Monnan	2/416, Bolton Rd.	,,	Do
Mr. Moula Uddin Ahmed	29,Wordsworth Rd.	,,	Do
Mr. Abdul Bari	35, Dora Rd	,,	Do
Mr. Anwar Hussain	52,Aubory Rd.	,,	Do
Mr A. K. M. A Haque	93,Stratford, Rd.	,,	B'Ham-11
Mr Abdun Noor	21,Goldenhillock Rd.	,,	B'Ham-10
Mr. Abdul Hannan	35,Dora Road.	,,	Do

BALSALHEAT

Mr. Abul Hussain	122, Balsalheath Rd.	B'Ham-12
Mr. Abdul Matin	20,Alexandar Rd.	B'Ham-5
Mr. Giyas Uddin	115,Alexandar Rd.	Do
Mr. Monohar Miah	58,Alexandar rd.	Do
Mr. Lai Mohammed	13,Princess Rd.	Do
Mr. Jamshed Miah	64, St. lucks Rd.	Do
Mr. Shah Nurul Islam	218, Broad st.	B'Ham-15
Mr. Syed Abdur Rahman1	42,Balsalheath Rd.	B'Ham-12
Mr. Mohammed Ali	8/438, Bolton Rd.	B'Ham-10

SPARKBROOK & SPARKHILL

Mr. Askir Miah.	17/24, South Rd.	B'Ham-11
Mr. Manawar Hussain Khan	94,Kyrwicks Lane,	B'Ham-11

WEST BROMWICH

Mr. Abdul Jalil,	79,Hamilton, Rd.	Handsowrth,B'Ham-21
Mr Mobarak Ali	32,Bilhye St. West Brownich	Staffs

TIPTON

Mr. Rais Uddin	10,Peel St.	Tipton	Staffs
Mr. Ahmadul Haque	16,Peel St.	,,	,,

SMATHWICK

Mr. Madaris Ali	104,Lewishan Rd.	Smathwick	B'Ham-40
Mr. Ashabur Rahman Jaigirdar	125,Oxford Rd.	,,	Do
Mr. Monuhar Ali	26,Sendwell Place,	,,	Do
Mr. Muslch Uddin	20,Mafekine Rd.	,,	Do

WALSALL

Mr. Johurul Hussain Choudhury	18,Cald More Green	Walsall	Staff
Mr. Abdur Rahman	420,Old Walsall Road	"	B'Ham-22a

WEDNESSBURY

Mr. Abdul Khalique	14,Pery St.	Wednessbury	Staffs
Mr. Akaddas Ali	16,Holloway Bank, Hilltop,West Bromwich,Staffs		Staffs

DARLSTON

Mr. Abdul Jabbar	192,Walsall Rd.	Darlston	Staffs.

MOSLEY

Mr. Nuruzzaman Khan	570,Mosley Rd.	Mosley	B'Ham-13

SELEYOAK

Mr. Safir Ahmed	507,Bristol Rd.	Seleyoak	B'Ham-29

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কনভেনশন সম্পর্কে ভিন্ন মতাবলম্বীদের পক্ষে স্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের প্রতি চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৫ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

To The Convenor,
Steering Committee
11 Goring Street,
London EC 3.

Dear Friend,

I have been asked by the Saturday, 23 October 71 meeting of 12 action committees operating in the Greater London area, namely Relief Cttce, (Hessel St, El), Relief Cttee (Fordham St El), Bayswater Action Cttee, Islington Cttee, Hendon Cttee, Enfield Cttee, N & NW Cttee, Westminster Cttee. Students Action Cttee, Womens Association, Archway Cttee, Moulvibazar Cttee, to convey their opinion on the various questions relating to the forthcoming national convention of the action committees. They are:

1. That the education committee represented at the meeting have all been active since April/May 1971, some long before the Coventry Convention and have been responsible for making substantial contribution to the Bangladesh Fund and also have been active in the field of solidarity action.

2. That the so called 'London Committee' based at 58 Berwick Street, London WI, does not carry our authority to represent us the 12 committees mentioned in the foregoing para and the so called 'London Committee' do not carry our confidence.

3. That the aforementioned action committees would, therefore, like to be represented directly at the proposed convention and not through any intermediary bodies like the so called 'London Committee' or the so called 'South Regional Committee' (also based at 58 Berwick Street, London WI).

4. That the aforementioned committees, would, therefore, like to lie informed by you directly as to the number of delegation they were entitled to commensurate with the financial contribution, organizational involvement and population concentration.

We hope you will please let us have your reply at an early date.

We are also forwarding copies of this letter to the action committees concerned for their information and attention.

Yours Sincerely,
S. M. Ayub Chairman
33 Damgar Road
London N 22.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সর্মথনে গঠিত 'বাংলাদেশ ফ্রিডম মুভমেন্ট ওভারসীজ'-এর তিনটি প্রচারপত্র	'বাংলাদেশ ফ্রিডম মুভমেন্ট ওভারসীজ'-এর দলিলপত্র	অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

From: TASADDUQ AHMED
Ganges Restaurant
40 Gerrard Street
London W 1
Tel. 01-437 8705/0284

This letter I am addressing to you as I presume you will be one of the many overseas Bengalis feeling completely frustrated and depressed because of lack of central initiative to give support to the resistance movement in Bangladesh. We share your feelings and your anguish and how we wish our national leaders for once at least could forget their parochial bickerings and join hands to give the 70,000 overseas Bengalis a national lead. The established leadership has miserably failed the community at a time of dire need.

However, a few groups of professional individuals have emerged during this period of patriotic upsurge with qualities of leadership. The ones that we have come to know in London are the Bengal Students' Action Committee, Women's Committee, Doctors' Committee, Campaign Committee, etc. These units have been trying to do their share during this critical period, but their work was terribly handicapped because of lack of adequate financial support. After all they ate tiny groups of individuals with very little link with the masses of the population.

To provide even a limited coordination to sporadic activities and prevent over-lapping, particularly in the field of solidarity campaign among foreign nationals, two committees have been recently sponsored, one is an all-party Parliamentary Committee styled JUSTICE FOR EAST BENGAL, the other one is an all-party citizen's campaign committee headed by Reverend David Mason, convener, Methodist Conference Committee for Community Relations. The international campaign committee will be known as BANGLADESH FREEDOM MOVEMENT OVERSEAS. In its panel of Vice- Presidents it has representatives from Canada, America, Ceylon. It is hoped that soon representatives from Middle-East and other countries will also be invited to join the Movement in suitable capacities. Our limited efforts so far have resulted in establishing regular contact with the Bangladesh Government. We were directly responsible for arranging the visit of Bruce Douglas-Mann M. P. to Bangladesh. International relief agencies have also been persuaded to come immediately to the aid of victims of the civil war. We have been closely in touch with John Stone house M. P. who recently went to Calcutta to assess the refugee situation. Weekly shipment of relief goods by plane has already been arranged. We are meeting the expenses of a representative now campaigning among the members of the Pakistan Aid Consortium in Paris. Arrangement has also been completed to send a two-man delegation to the United Nations. Besides, we have been able to send one of our associates to Karimganj with the special assignment to report on the situation Sylhet district.

Should you consider that we are trying to do our bit in our own humble way, then we would invite you to give us your full support. We are enclosing the appeal containing the aims and objectives of the Movement. Please read it carefully and distribute copies among your friends who may be interested to associate themselves with the Movement. Please let us know what support we can expect from you and your associates.

With greetings and regards,

Yours sincerely,

2.

BANGLADESH. FREEDOM MOVEMENT OVERSEAS
155 Whitfield Street, London W 1
Telephone: 01-387 6482/437 8705
Cable: Probashi London W 1
President-Rev. David Mason.

Pakistan is dead to us. The land which gave birth to so many of our hopes is a playground of inhuman hordes of an occupation army. All our unfulfilled dreams of tomorrows have become nightmares of murdered wives, dishonored sisters, and slaughtered children.

We who refuse to return to our homeland as slaves of the occupation army and are determined to back to a free country committed to peace justice and democracy are sponsoring the BANGLADESH FREEDOM MOVEMENT OVERSEAS-an international campaign of solidarity with the freedom Fighters of Bangladesh. The aim of the Movement is (a) to rouse world conscience against the inhumanities and brutalities carried out systematically and ruthlessly by the colonial army of West Pakistan; (b) mobilize international relief and aid for the victims of the civil war; and (c) to secure support of the civilized, democratic and socialist countries of the world to attain the right of self-determination for the 75 million people of Bangladesh.

The group which is sponsoring this new body has been active in securing international understanding and sympathy for the cause of Bangladesh since the unleashing of mass murder of unarmed civilians in Dacca in the small hours of 25 March 1971. We have been responsible for the English language bulletin 'Bangladesh', five weekly issues of which have so far been published and widely distributed. We intend to make the bulletin a regular feature of our activities and supplement it by occasional publications of pamphlets, booklets, posters, etc. This assignment alone is likely to cost us around £ 1,500 during the next couple of months.

Besides, we intend to mount solidarity campaigns in UN & USA (cost approx £ 1, 500), in Nepal, Ceylon, Burma and Afghanistan (£ 1,500) in UK (£ 1,500) and in Europe (£ 500). The total estimated cost for the projects is likely to be around £ 7,500. This money we intend to raise primarily from among those who have been deprived of their

right to have a free life in their own homeland and whose kith and kin in Bangladesh are today victims of the civil war imposed on the people by an invading army and their proteges.

Should you be one who would like to see our homeland smile again with freedom and be prepared to pledge your spare-fund and spare-time to the emergence of a new nation out of the ashes of our ruined lives then join us and help us to raise the amount we need. We expect the first hundred sponsors to pledge to contribute and/or collect £100 each during the first year of launching the campaign.

The new body will be non-partisan and non-sectarian in its approach to various problems related to the attainment of freedom for Bangladesh and multi-national and multi-racial in its composition. Anyone interested in the activities of the campaign may join as active members, supporting members or sympathizers. Should you be interested to get further details please get in touch with the undersigned?.

Yours sincerely.

HOW CAN YOU HELP THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT OF BANGLADESH-A Guideline.

1. Form an action committee wherever you may get together at least Five supporters of Bangladesh. It may be your place of work or of residence or of recreation. To start with, we recommend that all Bengali restaurants should be constituted as campaign centers for the Bangladesh movement and collection centers for fund and relief material. The committee should select an appropriate address for receiving mail and a place for meeting purposes. (We shall be prepared to help you with a model constitution and assign one of our colleagues in setting up your committee.)

2. The Committee should then get in touch with various national and international organizations who are campaigning for Bangladesh and try to secure moral and material aid for the freedom fighters and/or the victims of occupation army of West Pakistan. Ask these organizations to send you their literature, publications etc. Distribute them among your contacts.

3.The freedom fighters in Bangladesh, the Provisional Government of Bangladesh, the campaign for solidarity with Bangladesh-all of them need financial support to carry on their work. So create a fund for your committee. Open an account with a local branch of a bank. Appoint two trustees to operate the account. Persuade each member of your committee to contribute at least a pound a week to the Liberation Funds Persuade your contacts and associates to contribute to the fund. Small collections should be made in sealed boxes, which can be had from international and national relief and/or campaign organizations. Contributions of over a pound should always be receipted. Ask for receipt books from national and international campaign bodies.

4. The Bangladesh Government and their overseas agencies need qualified administrators, technicians, public relations personnel, etc. Please compile a list of such persons willing to place their services at the disposal of the Bangladesh Government and the liberation movement. When compiled, inform respective organizations of the availability of such personnel. In selecting such activists preference should be given to those who have acquired British citizenship or are qualified for British citizen-ship. Those who are dependent on remittances from Pakistan or are enjoying the benefits of stipends of the Pakistan Government must be persuaded not to get involved with the Bangladesh movement though it should be made clear that we value their concern and sympathy very much.

5. The Committee should be careful with the disbursement of funds. Funds or other forms of material aid collected for a specific purpose must be contributed to advance the particular cause. Choice and recommendations of the individual collectors must be respected. In case a committee wants to make a collective contribution the committee members should be asked to examine the various projects open to them and make the decision at the general body meeting of the Committee. These measures are extremely essential so that the contributors are satisfied that their contributions are being properly utilized. This way only can we win the confidence of contributors on any long-term project and gain their sustained interest in the Bangladesh movement.

Issued on behalf of BANGLADESH FREEDOM MOVEMENT OVERSEAS. 40 Gerrard Street. London W 1. 01.437 8705. by Tasadduq Ahmed.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ গণহত্যার বিরুদ্ধে ‘‘ইন্টারন্যাশনাল ফ্রেন্ডস অব বাংলাদেশ’’ আয়োজিত একটি জনসভায় গৃহীত প্রস্তাব	‘‘ইন্টারন্যাশনাল ফ্রেন্ডস অব বাংলাদেশ’’	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

RESOLUTION ON GENOCIDE IN BANGLADESH

At a public meeting in Conway Hall organized by the International Friends of Bangladesh on Friday, June 25th under the Chairmanship of Lady Gifford, the following resolution was moved by Mr. John Plats Mills, Q. C., and supported amongst others by Mr. Asoke Sen, Barrister at-Law (ex-cabinet Minister for Law of the Government of India) Mr. Justice Abu S. Chowdhury, Vice Chancellor of the Dacca University and special Envoy of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Shakwat Hossain, Barrister- at-Law and Lord Gifford, Barrister-at-Law and passed unanimously:

This public meeting resolves to require its conveners to take immediate steps to set up a preparatory Committee with the Genocide convention to ask the Security Council to establish an International War Crimes Tribunal to inquire into the conduct of the Pakistan Government in Islamabad and its military regime established in Dacca and military leaders serving them and try and punish those who may have committed crimes in violation of the Genocide Convention.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যা বন্ধ ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে স্বীকৃতি দানের ইস্যুতে ট্রাফালগার স্কোয়ারে অনুষ্ঠিতব্য একটি জনসভার পোষ্টার	এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ লন্ডন	১ আগষ্ট, ১৯৭১

STOP

GENOCIDE

★

R e c o g n I s e
B A N G L A D E S H
Rally at Trafalgar Square
on Sunday August 1, 1971
at 2 p. m.

★

ACTION BANGLADESH
34 Stratford Villas
LONDON NW 1
Phone 01 485 2889

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের কাছে লিখিত বৃটিশ পরিবেশ নিয়ন্ত্রন বিভাগের একটি চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি, লন্ডন	২৯ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

Department of the Environment

Royal Parks Division

Gaywood House (5th Floor) 29 Great Peter Street London SW 1 P/3L W
Telephone 01-799 7533 ext 398

A H Bhuia Esq
Convener
Bangladesh Steering Committee
11 Goring Street
LONDON EC 3

Your reference -
Our reference: AL 103/3

Date 29 October 1971

Dear Sir.

1. I refer to our telephone conversation on Thursday 28 October 1971 and confirm that permission is given for your organization to assemble at the Speakers' Comer area of Hyde Park from 1.30 pm to 2.30 pm prior to marching to Claridges, on Sunday 31 October 1971. It is agreed exceptionally because of the very large attendance which you anticipate to the use of amplification equipment mounted on a lorry for the purpose of marshalling the crowds. The volume must be strictly controlled to the minimum necessary to enable to audience to hear the speakers and any signs or advertisements must be covered whilst the vehicle is in the parte and no reference should be made to the sources of the equipment.

2. This permission is given on condition that:

a. all arrangements for the entry of the lorry, the proposed site for the meeting and the entry and exit routes be agreed beforehand with the Inspector of Hyde Park Police (Telephone: 723 8274);

b. no annoyance is to be caused nor interference with the reasonable enjoyment of other persons using the Park and that you will leave the Park in a clean and tidy condition and will make good or (at the option of the Department) pay compensation to the Department in respect of any damage which may be caused to property belonging to or under the control of the Department arising from your use of the Park;

c. you will indemnify the Crown against all claims and proceedings in respect of personal injury (including death) loss of or damage to property arising out of

your use of the Park and against all payments made to a Crown servant by way of indemnity against such claims, and proceedings or made in respect of injury suffered by him (whether made in pursuance of a legal obligation or not);

d. any instruction which may be given by the Police or Park keeping staff to be complied with;

e. all the Park Regulations be observed your attention is particularly drawn to those prohibiting the solicitation or collection of alms, donations, contributions or subscriptions of any kind; the sale or distribution of pamphlets, leaflets, programmers, newspapers or similar articles, the display of banners, exhibiting or affixing any notice, advertisement or other written or pictorial matter and the playing of musical instruments.

2. It would be appreciated if you would appeal to your members not to leave litter in the Park. I must advise you that if it is necessary to divert Parks staff from their normal duties to that of clearing litter left by people attending a meeting or assembly we may have to ask the organizers to pay for this service.

4. We should be glad to receive your acceptance of these conditions.

5. Copies of this letter have been sent to Hyde Park Police and the Commissioner of the Police of the Metropolis.

Yours faithfully.
Sd/-
G R HART.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রীর কাছে লিখিত বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির আহবায়কের একটি চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি	২৯ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STEERING COMMITTEE OF
THE ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.

11 GORING STREET
LONDON EC 3
Tel: 01-283 5526/3623
October 29, 1971

To

Her Excellency the Prime Minister of India,

Your Excellency.

People of Bangladesh residing in Great Britain offer their respectful greetings on the occasion of your august visit to this country and we would like to avail of this opportunity to offer you our heartfelt gratitude for the immense help that your Government and people have extended to all those millions who had to take shelter in your land from the terror of the West Pakistan army.

Your Excellency is fully aware that genocide, rape, loot and arson are still being committed in Bangladesh by the army of Yahya Khan. The flow of refugees to your country is due to their ruthless oppression unparalleled in human history and will not end until they can go back to an independent Bangladesh to live there in safety, honor and dignity.

You are also aware how our land has been exploited economically and dominated politically by West Pakistan for the last 24 years, and when without calling off the talks with our beloved leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the army of Yahya Khan unleashed a reign of terror in Bangladesh, we took up arms to resist them, declared independence and the elected representative of Bangladesh formally installed a Government.

We have a territory of our own and we are a separate nation by virtue of our habits, thoughts and culture. We already have vast tracts of liberation zones.

In exercise of the right of self-determination guaranteed under the U.N. Charter we have declared independence, and it is the duty of the world community and of the Government of the world to recognize this reality.

We do fervently hope that as Prime Minister of the country closest to our land, you will be pleased to take a forthright step and your Government will immediately recognize the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Assuring your Excellency of our highest esteem and regards,

Yours faithfully,
Sd/-
(AZIZUL HAQUE BHUIA)
Convener,
Steering Committee of the
Action Committee of the
People's Republic of Bangladesh.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি আবু সাঈদ চৌধূরীর কাছে লিখিত নর্দাম্পটন এ্যাকশন কমিটির সম্পাদাকের একটি চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটি	৩০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

From: Bangladesh Action Committee,
21, Castilian Street,
NORTHAMPTON.
30th October 1971.

To
Mr. A. S. Choudhury,
Special Representative of Bangladesh,
11, Goring Street,
LONDON E.C. 3.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter 21st September 1971. I am sorry that we could not collect any funds recently. The previous Action Committee has been dissolved and new Action Committee for Northampton is being formed for efficient and active works for the independence movement.

We are very glad to inform you that we have started collecting clothes (trousers and shirts) and money. The clothes will be sent to you soon.

The fellow Bangladeshi eager to see you Mr. Choudhury here in Northampton. Would you be kind enough to let us know when you will be able to visit us so that a meeting will be arranged accordingly I am sure if you visit people will regain and refresh their confidence and faith in Bangladesh movement and will contribute more generously to the cause. Weekly contributions will continue from now on.

I like to inform you of the Northampton Action Committee as follows:
(1)President-Mr. A. H. Choudhury
(2)Vice President-Mr. Israil Ali
(3)General Secretary- Mr. B. Meah
(4)Joint Secretary-Mr. Irshad Hussain
(5)Treasurer-Mr. Abdul Ahad

The address of the office has also been changed. Please note the address as above.

Yours,
B. MEAH
General Secretary.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে বাংলাদেশের ছাত্রদের প্রথম জাতীয় সম্মেলনের একটি প্রচার পুস্তিকা	বাংলাদেশ স্টুডেন্ট এ্যাকশন কমিটি, গ্রেট বৃটেন	৩০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

FIRST
BANGLADESH NATIONAL STUDENTS CONVENTION
IN GREAT BRITAIN
(30th OCTOBER, 1971)
HENRY THORNTON SCHOOL
Clapham Common, Southside
LONDON, W 4

Bangladesh Students' Action Committee to Great Britain
35 Gamages Building
120 Holborn, London EC1.
Tel. 01-405-5917.

"THIS. FIGHT IS THE FIGHT FOR EMANCIPATION, THIS FIGHT IS FOR INDEPENDENCE."
-SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN
President-People's Republic of 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."
-TAJ UDDIN AHMED.

Prime Minister of Bangladesh

Message from KHANDAKER MOSHTAQUE AHMED, Minister of Foreign and Parliamentary, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

"Extremely happy to learn about first Bangladesh National Students Convention in the U.K. Being held on October 30th. Bangladesh Students abroad have great role in mobilising world public opinion for our sacred cause of national liberation. Wish your convention all success. JAI BANGLA." (Telegraphic message)

"We will free Bangladesh from the occupation of the inhuman, Godless enemy totally devoid of all ethics, whatever be the cost.

Strike the enemy with whatever you can find, strike him hard, destroy him, and obliterate all semblance of his existence. Forward my countrymen to protect the lives and honor of our men and women, to secure the future of our citizens, whatever be their religion, caste or creed and to defend the independence of Bangladesh".

-Col MAG. OSMANI
Commander in Chief, Bangladesh Mukti Bahini.

I am glad to learn that a Convention of the students of Bangladesh residing in Great Britain is being held in London. I wish the Convention all success. My fervent prayer is that their cherished desire and their dedicated efforts will be crowned with success.

The deep anguish of the country is revealed in the determination, courage and patience. My relationship with the youth of Bangladesh is deep and I naturally feel personal pride in their glory. Youth of Bangladesh is indeed inspired with truth and patriotism.

-ABU SAYEED CHOWDHURY.
Special Representative of the Government of Bangladesh.

AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME

Your Excellency, distinguished guests. International friends of Bangladesh, and delegates friends:-

On behalf of the revolutionary students and the peoples of Bangladesh we have the great honor in welcoming you all to this first historic convention of Bangladesh Students in U. K. It is historic because it is the first International gathering here to express support and solidarity with the people of Bangladesh.

We are at war. It is true that we are mainly fighting for our own independence. But let no body forget that we are also fighting for humanity. Human values and human civilization have never been so debased and defiled as it was done by Pakistani Military Junta in Bangladesh. Pakistan has committed a gigantic crime against humanity. It would be very sad if world the let her go uncensored.

In this war of liberation, we seek and solicit the support and understanding of every right-thinking people but in our war against inhumanity unleashed by the Pakistani Military Junta we demand the active support of the International community. If the community fails then it would not be surprising if 75 million suffering people of Bangladesh lose faith in humanity. And in no time that will make the world a beastly

place to live in. Here we firmly believe that we have a common cause to fight for and thereby make the world a better place. This is a sacred duty and we carry a heavy responsibility to see that the world is made a safer place for posterity to live in. This is one of the main reasons why we have convened this convention.

But as a part of the fighting students-workers forces in Bangladesh, let us make it clear from this forum to the Governments and the people of the world that their cannot be any political solution short of independence. We cannot let millions sacrifice go in vain. We are also very much concerned about our President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's safety and well being. We warn the West Pakistan Junta if any harms befalls on Sheikh Mujibur then the peace of the sub-continent would suffer in a way that has yet to be seen. We have learnt to die, and no power can stop us from commitment to peace, Democracy and social justice.

We take this opportunity to thank the people of the world who have come forward in our plight. We also thank our honorable guests. The representative of different organizations and the delegates. Without your co-operation, ladies and gentlemen, it would have been impossible to arrange this convention.

Once again we extend to you our warmest welcome.

Joy Bangla!

PROGRAMME

11.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m. Report and Review (For Bangladesh Students only)

1.00 p.m.-2.00 p.m. Lunch Break.

2.00 p.m.-4.00 p.m. Opening Session (Open to all)

(I) Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdury, Special representative of Bangladesh and High Commissioner for Bangladesh in the U.K. will declare the convention open.
(II) Guest Speakers:
(a) Rt. Hon. Mr. Peter Shore, M.P.
(B) Mr. Peter Hain, Chairman Young Liberals.
(c) Mr. Sylvia Murr, Representative of Comite Francais de Solidarite avec le Bangladesh
(e) Mr. Philip Clarke, President University of London Student's Union.
(F) Syed Abbdus Sultan, M.M.A.

4.00 p.m.-4.30 p.m. Tea break

4.300 p.m.-6.00 p.m. Discussion Session (Open to all)

(i)Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdgury will be in the chair
(ii)Discussion to be initiated by:

(a) Mr. Rehman Sobhan, Reader of the University of Dacca and Ambassador Extraordinary for Economic Affairs.
(b) Dr. Azizur Rahman Khan, a leading Economist of Bangladesh.
(c) Mr. Martin Adney, *The Guardian'.*

(iii) Open participation from the floor.

6.30 p. rn.-7.50_ p. m. CULTURAL SHOW
Dance Drama-"Astra -Hat-e Tule nao" ("*Take up Arms*")
to be presented by: the Bangladesh Peoples' Cultural Society.
7.50 p. m.-9.30 p. m. "Future line of Action" (*only for Bangladesh students*),

OUR STRUGGLE

When the West Pakistani army launched their aggression on East Pakistan on 25th March with express orders to crush the political and intellectual leadership "within 48 hours", they in fact buried the very concept of Pakistan, in addition to over a million corpses in the shallow graves. For the concept of Pakistan, comprising of two separate units 1,200 miles apart was mooted on the basis of consent. In the 1946 referendum, East Bengal almost unanimously voted in favor of creating a new State whereas in the Punjab and in the North West Frontier Province the All India Congress still enjoyed a majority.

But the confederation of "sovereign and autonomous states" conceived in the lahore Resolution of March 23rd, 1940, was never to be. On achieving independence in August 1947 the erstwhile "doubters", the usurpers, came to look upon themselves as the masters, the neo-colonials in the new-bom State. In doing so they derived their strength from the predominantly Punjabi army. The Bengalis, who constitute 56 per cent of the total population of the country, were systematically and deliberately debarred from the armed services on the bogey that they were a non-martial race.

The following 24 years have seen a long history of exploitation, deprivation, repression and the denial of fundamental rights to 75 million people. "Treason" was discovered whenever the majority attempted to voice their opinions on matters of vital importance-whether in the advocacy of a secular constitution in the form of a joint electorate system in the early fifties, in the demand for the adoption of the majority's language as one of the State Languages or whether in the way they voted in the Provincial elections of 1954. Ruthless repression inevitably followed.

President Yahya Khan, the "honest soldier" would have the world believe that he genuinely wanted the restoration of a democratic system when he ordered the country's first-ever general elections in December 1970. But the world has now seen with horror the monstrocity of the wrath of this "honest soldier" and his military junta, because the Bengalis did not vote the way they would have liked them to.

It is reasonable to assume with the benefit of hind sight that the West Pakistani Army was given the brief to eliminate the political and intellectual leadership (who were "trouble-makers") and the Hindus and other minority communities, who were "Kafirs"

(heathens) and Indian agents. The manner in which they carried out this brief would have put Hitler, Chengiz Khan and Atila to shame. One million men, women and children have been killed, thousands of women raped, entire villages and towns have been burnt down and over nine million Bengalis have been made to flee across the border into, to say the least, an uncertain future.

But the-"48-hour Objective" was never to be achieved. The myth of the Bengalis not being a martial race has, once and for all, been exploded. For over seven months now the Bangladesh Liberation Army and the guerrillas have been harassing the West Pakistani army, inflicting heavy casualties on them. Everywhere they go, they receive the whole- hearted co-operation of the local populace. On the other hand, even the Government- controlled newspapers in Pakistan are full of stories of the deserving fates of whoever decides to turn quisling.

The panic-stricken junta is now trying to save its face by escalating the issue. They are endeavoring to blame India for the consequences of their own misdeeds. And the irony of the game of power politics is that this danger of war between India and Pakistan, especially in official circles, seems to move more people than were moved by the greatest man-made tragedy in history.

According to newspaper reports certain Big Powers seem to favor a return to the position obtaining before March 1st. But let there be no mistake about it! As far as the 75 million Bengalis are concerned, this idea is a non-starter. Nothing short of full independence will be acceptable to the Bengali Nation. For instance, is it conceivable that any Bengali would ever contribute a single penny in revenue knowing full-well that over 60 per cent of it would go to maintain and equip an army which butchered over a million of their brethren?

No. Pakistan is dead and buried along with a million corpses. The Freedom Fighters are on the advance and it is only a matter of time before they completely rid the sacred soil of Bangladesh of enemy forces. American arms and aid can do nothing to erase the writing on the wall. After all America had also committed all its men, material, resources and prestige in Vietnam.

OUR ACTIVITIES

As we stand here today to report to you the activities of Bangladesh Students Action Committee, we not only urge upon you to look back to the early days of March, 1971 but to the glorious movement of 1969 in Bangladesh and beyond that. The endless endeavor, the sincere political scheme and the unexhaustable magnanimity on the part of the then East Pakistan had failed to save Pakistan-a nation whose two component parts were different in every respect but religion. And that unity of faith, metaphysical and spiritual as it were could not evoke an iota of decency and fairplay of the ruling class of the then Pakistan who were mostly from West Pakistan. Hence came the bloody end to Pakistan.

All these 24 years there were people in Bangladesh who foresaw the events that are taking place today. Here, even if we don't go for big names, we can mention many of our

friends believed that Pakistan could not survive. Again many of our friends believe and professed that they were Bengalis first and Pakistani next, which in turn were ridiculed by the conventional Pakistani Student leaders. We mention all these here only to show the mental and mutual confusion that existed amongst ourselves about Bengali nationalism even in early 1971.

Then came the most apparent and naked-the most unfathomable malifide design of the West Pakistani ruling clique on the people of Bangladesh in the shape of postponement of national assembly where Bangladesh won a massive mandate from its people on a much discussed programme at the first general election held on the principle of universal adult franchise. The nation, all of a sudden reckoned that it was about time we called it a day and quit the facade of false federation of Pakistan. Back in home, the students were in the vanguard of the movement. Here in London, we a large number of students rallied and determined that all love is lost and must put our meager might in the creation of a new nation-our own land-Bangladesh-sovereign and independent. It immediately caught the imagination of all students cutting across the party affiliations. With this aim in view in a mass meeting on the 7th March, 1971 after about two hours deliberation a student's committee was formed-Bangladesh Students Action Committee with eleven members with powers to co-opt if and when the committee felt it necessary.

Although the committee came into being on the 7th March we the students were directly involved in the current movement from 28th February. That was when London Awami League called a demonstration to protest against Pakistan Juntas anticipated designs to postpone the national assembly.

From 1st March to 7th March we were maintaining a constant 24 hour vigil in the Pakistan High Commission as a mark of protest. The 7th March was another landmark in the movement in U. K. where thousands of Bengalees came out for a demonstration against Pakistan at the call of U. K. Awami League. We the students were in the forefront in organizing and attending these meetings and rallies.

The Action Committee in fact was born in the street and functioned till 25th March from the street corner; we are emotionally so involved that we responded to every situation automatically instead of planning our actions. In those days we were putting our last ounce of physical energy with the unattainable desire to move heaven and earth to wake the world's conscience. These were the days when we handed our memorandums and appeals to the Embassies of different countries. To mention a few we went to the following places more than once: 10 *Downing Street, U. S. A., U. S. S. R., Chinese, Indian, Ceylonese, and Burmese Embassies.*

During that period we sent cables to the Heads of the States of different Nations and U.N.O. drawing their attention to the plights of the people in Bangladesh. That was the period when we wished to impress upon the world that what happened in Bangladesh was a pure and simple case of GENOCIDE.

From the very beginning, we decided to mobilize the British M. Ps for Bangladesh. We started meeting them and kept all of them posted with our fact-sheets, newspaper cuttings and other materials. We were the first group to approach a British M. P. in

connection with Bangladesh. We met Mr. Peter Shore for the second time before he expressed his concern about Sheikh's safety. Since then, many M. Ps have come out for us.

We are highly grateful to Messrs. Peter Shore, John Stonehouse, Bruce Douglas-Mann, Fred Evans, Toby Jessel and other M. Ps for their support and understanding. And in our dealing with the M. Ps we always made it clear that nothing but complete independence would only satisfy the people of Bangladesh. With the same aim in view we wrote to other Parliamentarians. We were and still are in constant communication with U.S. Senators. We were in touch with the Senators who co-sponsored the Saxbe-Chuch amendment (S 1675) to the foreign assistance act of 1961. We note with pleasure and thank the Senators for their support for Bangladesh. In the later part of July we approached 5,000 American lawyers who were in London for the American Bar Association's conference. We supplied them all with a set of literature on Bangladesh, coupled with an appeal to act for the sake of humanity. We are glad to inform you that many of them on returning to America had contacted their Senators and Congressmen.

Our publications are wide and varied. The most important are our fact sheets. These are information sheets published as the occasion demanded. These are always sent to the Press, M. Ps and other organizations. To date we have published 20 fact sheets. Apart from these I we I also issued Press statements on different occasions. To inform the world we also reproduced the following booklets:

1) Prime Minister's statement which proclaimed the creation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
2) Conflict in East Pakistan-Background and Prospect.
3) The murder of a people-Why Bangladesh?
4) Why Bangladesh.
5) Six months of liberation struggle.

We inserted for advertisements in the local national dailies. The first one appeared in the Times urging upon the world to stop 'Genocide in East Bengal'. That was before 25th March. The next one appeared in the: Guardian on 27th March under the caption' Recognize Bangladesh. That was the time when news came over that Major Jiaur Rahman formed the Provincial Government in Bangladesh. The third advertisement in the, Guardian on 20th July was captioned "An open letter to the delegates of the American Bar Association from the people of Bangladesh". Sheikh's alleged trial moved us in the same way as it did to millions in Bangladesh. We put a half page advertisement in the Times on 16th August under the caption "Wake up world. Please act immediately to stop; camera trial." We also put an advertisement in the local Weekly Bengali JANOMOT urging upon, amongst other things, the local Bengali diplomats to sever their relations with Pakistan High Commission. The advertisement appeared on August 1st, 1971. The advertisement happily coincided with the mammoth rally-RECOGNISE BANGLADESH. On the first August, 1971, Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed, Second Secretary Pakistan High Commission severed his relation with Pakistan High Commission.

Lobbying the different organizations was one thing we went with vigour and enthusiasm. Here we mention in brief the Party and Union conferences that we attended. Mr. Anis Ahmad attended the National conference to the National Union of Miners at Aberdeen. They passed a, resolution supporting the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. Again Mr. Anis Ahmad and our convenor, Mr. A. Z. M. Hossain went to lobby at the Transport and General Workers Union's conference at Scarborough. The conference did not move any resolution but their General Secretary Mr. Jack Jones made a pledge to our representatives to discuss Bangladesh at their National Executive's meeting.

Our representatives along with representatives of other organizations lobbied at the Liberal, Labour and Conservative Party Conference of 1971. The Liberal and Labour parties consequently passed resolutions on Bangladesh. Unfortunately, we could not have had such success with Conservative conferences.

Many of our friends travelled to foreign countries on different occasions representing Bangladesh and to propagate the cause of Bangladesh. Mr. Walie Ashraf, our Committee Member, on the request of the Government of Bangladesh, attended the World Assembly for Peace held in Budapest as a delegate from Bangladesh. Incidentally, the World Assembly for Peace was the first international forum where Bangladesh was allowed to participate.

Khandaker Mosharraf Hossain and Nazrul Islam went to Holland at the invitation of the Friends of Bangladesh in Holland to attend a Press Conference. Mr. Walie Ashraf also attended the same conference as the representative of Justice A. S. Chowdhury. They formed Europa Committee and they also visited Belgium to seek and solicit support for Bangladesh.

We also sent representative to attend Inter Parliamentary Union Conference in Paris. They were Dr. A. H. Pramanik, Nazrul Islam and A. Z. M. Mohammed Hossain. Their lobbying was a successful one. The I. P. U. Conference was attended by 70 nations. A large number of countries-Scandinavian, Latin American and quite a good number of Middle Eastern too I great interest and showed good understanding of the problem of Bangladesh. In the end I. P. U. conference moved and passed a resolution on Bangladesh.

At the request of Steering Committee we sent Mr. A. Z. M. Hossain to attend the Pug- Wash conference on Science and world peace in Sinaia, Rumania.

As we mentioned before we also took the informing committees in support of Bangladesh in some parts of the continent. The Committee formed in Holland styled as "Europa" is functioning mainly in the Scandinavia, Germany and Belgium. We also took part in formation of Comite Francais De Solidarite Avec le Bangladesh. We are happy to mention that their representatives are attending this convention. We are also in constant touch with other continental committees for Bangladesh and always posting them our latest publication. With the same aim in view we maintained close co-operation with American Committees for Bangladesh. We are in touch with Systeme Bibliograpique International Sur Le. Genocide, Les Crimes Contre L'Humanite Et Les. We are also in touch with a large number of Bengalis living in Arabia and Gulf States.

Our involvement with our own community in U. K. is all embracing and meaningful. We took the first initiative to form an all-embracing Central Action Committee. We had organized a large meeting of Bengalis on the last 19th March for the said purpose. For irreconcilable differences of opinion we could not form the' committee. But the movement was never slowed down in those days. Our movement even in those days had the full support of various sections of our own community.

We organized many demonstrations and took part in every demonstration. The first public meeting in London addressed by Justice A. S. Chowdhury and the Rt. Hon. John Stonehouse was organized by us. Since then we organized many rallies, processions and demonstrations. We also organized demonstrations against the visiting Pakistan Cricket team. Our comrades Manik Choudhury and Afroz Afgan staged a hunger strike in front of 10 Downing Street demanding recognition of Bangladesh. We also staged a hunger strike in from of the U. S. Embassy*. The evening of 25th March was a turning point in the lives of all and every Bengali living in the U. K. We took part along with many more Bengalis in the spontaneous outburst that took place in front of Pakistan High Commission in London. Since then we urged upon every Bengalis to sever their relation with Pakistan and never again we went to demonstrate in front of Pakistan High Commission. Bengalis in every localities formed Action Committees and we in turn made it a cardinal principle to co-operate with every Committee on the issue involving Bangladesh.

Friends, this report is not likely to give you the full details of our activities. We tried here in brief to give you the nature and character of our activities. We stand firm for the People's Republic of Bangladesh and let the world know that there is to be no compromise on that.

JOI BANGLA!

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*against U. S. arms shipment to Pakistan. Mr. A Hye Khan and Mrs. Razia Choudhury called off their hunger strike at the request of Mr. Justice A. S. Chowdhury.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর লন্ডন সফর উপলক্ষে বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে ৩০ অক্টোবর আয়োজিত একটি গণমিছিলের প্রচারপত্র	বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি	অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

মিসেস গান্ধীর লন্ডন আগমন উপলক্ষে
বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে
বিরাট গণ-মিছিল

স্থান	ঃ	হাইড পার্ক স্পীর্কাস কর্নার
সময়	ঃ	বেলা দেড় ঘটিকা (১-৩০মিঃ)
তারিখ	ঃ	শনিবার ৩০শে অক্টোবর,১৯৭১
গণমিছিল	ঃ	হাইড র্পাক স্পীর্কাস কর্নার হইতে আরম্ভ করিয়া ব্রুক ষ্ট্রীট ক্লারিজেস হোটেল হইয়া হ্যানোভার স্কোয়ারে শেষ হইবে।

সভায় বক্তৃতা করিবেনঃ

বাংলাদেশ সরকারের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি ও রাষ্ট্রদূত বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধূরী, বৃটিশ পার্লামেন্টের কয়েকজন সদস্য ও বাংলাদেশ থেকে আগত আওয়ামী লীগের ৪ জন এম-এন-এ ও এম-পি-এ এবং বিভিন্ন আঞ্চলিক কমিটি প্রতিনিধিবৃন্দ।

প্রতিটি বাংগালী ভাইকে উক্ত মিছিলে অংশগ্রহণ করার জন্য অনুরোধ করা হচ্ছে।

বিনীত
আহবায়ক, বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি
১১নং গোরিং ষ্ট্রীট, লন্ডন, ই সি ৩।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০শে অক্টোবর হাইড পার্কের জনসমাবেশ ও মিছিলের কর্মসূচী	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির স্টিয়ারিং কমিটি	৩০ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

STEERING COMMITTEE OF
THE ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE S
REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.

জয় বাংলা

11 Goring Street
London EC3
Tel:-01-283 5526/3623
October 30.1971

PROGRAMME FOR THE RALLY AND PROCESSION

Proposal by:-
1. Shamsur Rahman, Member. Steering Committee
2. Seconded by-Shamsul Alam
3. Presided by-M. Azizul Hoque Bhuia, Convener. Steering Committee 6Minutes

4. Quran Tilwat by...	3Minutes
5. Kator Chowdhury. Member. S. C	3 "
6. Mr. Pasha	2
7. Mr. Abdul Matin	2
8. Mr. Gous Khan	2
9. Mr. A. M Tarafdai	2
10.Mr A Z Chowdhury	5
11.Dr. Mafiz Choudhury	5
12.Dr. Zafrullah Choudhury	2
13.Women Association	2 "
14.Zakaria Chowdhury	2
15.Students Action Committee	2
16.Rezaul Karim	2
17.Enamul Huq	
18.Mr. A. Momen.	3
19.Talukdar B. H.	
Chief Speaker Justice A. S. Chowdhury	25 "
for Announcement	2
	70 minutes

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ মিশন প্রধানের কাছে লিখিত 'ইউনাইটেড এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশের' পক্ষে কয়েকজন সদস্যের চিঠি	'ইউনাইটেড এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ	নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

UNITED ACTION-BANGLADESH
91, Commercial Road, London, E. 1

Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Choudhury
Bangladesh Mission in the U. K.
24, Pembridge Gardens.
London, W. 2.

Dear Justice Choudhury,

We are enclosing herewith some papers which this Action Group has circulated in the past few days for the generation of favorable public opinion for the cause of Bangladesh.

We are particularly pleased to have been successful in stimulating the British National Union of Students in passing the enclosed Resolutions through our Appeal. Hitherto this Union was not aware to the fullest extent of the Disaster and it would appear that we have succeeded in persuading them to pass the composite Resolution. Also, we feel happy that United Action-Bangladesh has been successful in persuading Bishop Ruddleston , Rt. Hon. Richard Crossman M. P. and Lady Gifford to be the Trustees of the Relief Fund which we have established. We now hope that there will be some response from about six hundred Students' Unions to which we have circulated our Appeal; but in any case we have taken the message of Bangladesh to every corner of England and Wales through every University, College, Polytechnic etc.

We are also receiving direct various publicity materials from Calcutta Bangladesh Mission. One such message received recently is being circulated to all British M. Ps with a covering note from us. This is also enclosed for your information.

The third immediate thing in our hands is the organizing of a public meeting which is being held at Conway Hall on the 6th November at 6.30 p. m. We have sent invitations to your good self and other Bengali leaders present in England along with British M. Ps, Churchmen etc. We do hope that you will be able to attend as we believe that your presence is important to re-energize Bengali opinions in and around London.

We will keep you advised of our activities.

We are Yours Sincerely,
Signatures-
for UNITED ACTION-BANGLADESH.

c. c. Steering Committee
11 Goring St
E. C. 3.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সুরাইয়া খানমের কাছে বৃটিশ এম-পি জোয়ান হল- এর পক্ষে লিখিত একটি চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির স্টিয়ারিং কমিটি	৩ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

From Joan Hall, M. P.
3rd November, 1971.

Dear, Sir

Thank you for your letter of 27th October addressed to Miss Joan Hall.

Miss Hall is at present out of the country with a Parliamentary Delegation, but on her return at the end of next week she will reply personally to your letter.

Yours faithfully,
Per Pro Joan Hall.

Suraiya Khanam, Esq.,
Steering Committee of the Action Committee
for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in U. K.
11, Goring Street,
London, E. C. 3.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির সেক্রেটারীর কাছে লিখিত 'ওল্ডহ্যাম বাংলাদেশ সোসাইটি'র পক্ষে সৈয়দ বশীর আহমদের চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাকশন কমিটির ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি	৪ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

To
The Secretary Steering Committee,
(B.D.S.) 11 GORING St. London. E.C.3.

Dear Sir,

আমি ওল্ডহ্যামের পক্ষ থেকে দু'একটি কথা না লিখে পারছি না। ওল্ডহ্যাম বাংলাদেশ সোসাইটি গণতান্ত্রিক উপায়ে গঠিত না হওয়ায় আপনাদের নিকট অভিযোগ করেছি। আপনারা মিঃ মতিনের অপেক্ষায় আমাদের কোন উপদেশ দিতেছেন না। মিঃ মতিন দ্বারা কোন কাজ সম্ভব হবে না। কারণ আমাদের পূর্বের চাঁদা ১৩/১৪ হাজার মানচেষ্টার জমা রহিয়াছে। আমরা ওল্ডহ্যামের বিষয় আপোষের চেষ্টা নিয়ে ব্যর্থ হই। গতিকে আপনাদের কোন উপদেশ না পেয়ে কোন কাজে অগ্রসর হতে পারছি না।

অতএব, আপনারা মেহেরবানী পূর্বক অতি সত্বর কিভাবে মুক্তিফৌজ বা বাংলাদেশের শরণার্থীদেরকে সাহায্য করতে পারে তার ব্যবস্থা করতে এবং উপদেশ দিতে মর্জি হয়। ইতি-

Your's
Syed Bashir Ahmed
11-PLOUGH St.
OLDHAM. Lancs.
Telephone : 061-652-4244

৪/১১/৭১ইং

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
অস্ত্র ক্রয়ের উদ্দেশ্যে চাঁদা সংগ্রহের আহবান সম্বলিত কর্নেল ওসমানীর চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৯ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার

Colonel M. A. G. OSMANY, p. s. c,
M.N.A,
Commander-in-Chief,
Bangladesh Forces
C/o Govt. of the People's
Republic of Bangladesh
Mujibnagar
DO No. 1151 A

29 Nov. "71

Dear Mr. Razzak.

Many thanks for your letter of 18 Oct 71 together with a copy of your letter of 10 August addressed to Justice A. S. Chowdhury, received by me on 26 Nov 71.

I am most grateful for the trust you exhibit in suggesting that some of the funds collected by you in U. K. be sent to inc. I fear I would NOT like the funds to be sent here to me and have been advising our people in U. K. to raise as much funds as they can for purchase of weapons but make sure the funds are held in UK and carefully husbanded for being lent solely for purchase of weapons.

I deeply appreciate the offer of your services to the MUKT1 BAHINI. In your situation I think you could do valuable look in UK, along with our people there, maintaining unity in support of the liberation war.

With Kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

M.A. RAZZAK KUAN CHOUDHURY Esqr.,
6 Brittania Road,
South Sea,
PORTSMOUTH
U.K.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতিদানের দাবীতে হাইডপার্কে একটি জনসভার প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি	৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

STEERING COMMITTEE OF
THE ACTION COMMITTEE FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.

11 GORING STREET
London E C 3
Tel 01-283 5526/3623
9th Dec. 1971

PRESS RELEASE
RALLY AT HYDE PARK DEMANDING RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

Bangladesh has been recognized as an Independent Sovereign-Republic by India and Bhutan. The Steering Committee for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in the United Kingdom is holding a rally at Hyde Park Speakers' Corner on Sunday, the 12th December, 1971 at 12 Noon demanding recognition of Bangladesh by Her Majesty's Government and other countries of the world.

Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, Special Representative of the Government of Bangladesh is coming from the United Nations to address this rally.

At least 75 thousands Bengalees are expected to come to London from every nook and corner of the United Kingdom to participate in this historic rally of the people of Bangladesh.

Sd/-
(M. A. H. BHUIA)
Convener.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ কনভেনশন কমিটির আহবায়কের কাছে লিখিত সাউথ ইংল্যান্ড রিজিওনাল কমিটির জয়েন্ট কনভেনর-এর চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ কনভেনশন কমিটি	নভেম্বর ৪, ১৯৭১

4th November, 71

From: Joint Convenors
South England Regional Committee
58 Burwick Street
London W 1

To: Mr. M. A. Bhuia
Convenor
Convention Committee.

Dear Mr. Bhuia,

Mr. Gous Khan informed me that you have called a meeting of the South England Regional Committee (SERC) on 7th November 1971 to consider the Validity' of the very Committee. I find it is difficult to understand what made you to take this action, while, neither you have discuss the matter of such grave nature with me prior to calling the meeting, nor you have the usual courtesy of inviting me to the meeting.

May I bring to your notice that the SERC has been carrying out its duty and responsibility from the very date of its formation faithfully with full democratic support of its member Action Committees; and according to the curriculum and the constitutional procedures of the Committee. May I also remind you that the Convention Committee, of which you are the Convenor, was formed by the representatives of the Regions plus the Steering Committee members. Therefore, the validity of the SERC cannot be considered in a meeting called by you in the name of the Convention Committee. Moreover, the Region has not authorized you to hold any meeting, not to speak of considering the 'validity' of the Committee. I, therefore, strongly object to your holding any such meeting of our Region; furthermore, I suggest that you should immediately put to a stop to such a meeting.

I am afraid that your thoughtless action and unconstitutional procedure may jeopardise the unity of the region. You should, therefore, be held responsible for bringing any disunity among the 'Probashi Mojahid' of Bangladesh at this critical moment of our national liberation struggle.

I would also like to inform you that in case any member of our Region has disagreement with the committee actions, we would be too happy to discuss the reason of

the member's disagreement and try to mitigate the grievances at the Committee level only.

Yours sincerely.
Sd/
(M. A. Chowdhury)

Copies for information to:
1. All Regional Committees.
2. All Action Committees of the SERC.
3. Mr. Justice A. S. Chowdhury.
4. Mr Gous Khan. Member, Convention Committee

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনের ন্যাশনাল ওয়েস্টমিনস্টার ব্যাংক ম্যানেজারকে লিখিত বাংলাদেশ ফান্ড একাউনটেন্ট জেনারেল-এর চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ ফান্ড	৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

3rd December 1971

The Manager,
National Westminster Bank Ltd.
Craxton House, 6 Tothill Street
London SW 1.

Dear Sir.

Please send me a credit transfer book so that we can use that book to deposit cash received in this office.

Yours faithfully,
(M. Q. RAHMAN)
Accountant General.
Bangladesh fund.
A/C. No. 48007722.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
হাইডপার্কে বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি আয়োজিত স্বীকৃতি মিছিলের পরিচয়পত্র ও পোষ্টার	বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি	১২ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

সালাম, সালাম, হাজার সালাম
গণপ্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ সরকারের
রাষ্ট্রপতি ও বাংগালী জাতির জনক
শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানকে
জানাই সংগ্রামী অভিনন্দন।

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ স্বীকৃতি মিছিল

রবিবার ১২ই ডিসেম্বর ১৯৭১ বেলা ১২টায় হাইডপার্ক স্পীর্কাস কর্নার

স্বাধীন বাংলার সংগ্রামী ভাই ও বোনেরা,

আমাদের রক্তক্ষয়ী মুক্তি সংগ্রাম আজ বিজয়ের চূড়ান্ত পর্যায়ে। আমাদের বন্ধু ও প্রতিবেশী দেশ 'ভারত' আমাদের স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছেন। সেই সাথে স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছেন 'ভুটান'। আমরা পৃথিবীর প্রত্যেকটি দেশের কাছে আবেদন ও দাবী জানাইতে চাই 'স্বীকৃতির' জন্য। বিলাতের এক লক্ষ প্রবাসী বাঙ্গালীর মিছিল থেকে আমরা লক্ষ কণ্ঠে আওয়াজ তুলতে চাই ''গণ-প্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দাও।''

সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের পক্ষ হয়ে তোমাদের নিকট আমাদের দাবী স্বীকৃতি দাও। বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকৃতি দাও।

বাংলাদেশ সরকারের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি ও গ্রেট বৃটেনস্থ হাইকমিশনার বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী এই সভায় ও মিছিলে যোগ দেয়ার জন্য জাতিসংঘের অধিবেশন থেকে আসবেন।

দলে দলে আপনারা সভা ও মিছিলে যোগ দিন।

যাতায়াতের জন্য নিজ নিজ এলাকার কমিটির সংগে যোগাযোগ করুন।

বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি
কর্তৃক আয়োজিত।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে যুদ্ধরত মুক্তিবাহিনীর সাহায্যের জন্য প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের কাছে প্রচারিত একটি আবেদন পত্র	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ লন্ডন	ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

জরুরী আবেদন

মুক্তিবাহিনী বাংলাদেশের অভ্যন্তরে শত্রুমুক্তির জন্য আজ জীবন-মরণ সংগ্রাম করে যাচ্ছেন। আমরা প্রত্যক্ষ সংগ্রামে অংশ নিতে না পারলেও তাদেরকে টাকা-পয়সা দিয়ে সংগ্রামকে জয়যুক্ত করার জন্য নিয়মিত সাহায্য করে যাচ্ছি।

টাকা-পয়সা ছাড়াও আজ যেসব জিনিস মুক্তিবাহিনীর নিত্যপ্রয়োজন আমরা নিম্নলিখিত সেই প্রয়োজনীয় জিনিসগুলি সরাসরি বিনা খরচে বাংলাদেশে পাঠাবার ব্যবস্থা করেছি। প্রবাসী বাংগালী ভাইদের কাছে অনুরোধ তাঁরা যেন সম্ভবমত নিম্নলিখিত জিনিসগুলো অতি সত্বর নিচের ঠিকানায় পাঠিয়ে দেন।

মুক্তিবাহিনীর জন্য যেসব জিনিস পাঠাবেন

নতুন কাপড়ঃ পুলওভার, সোয়েটার ও কম্বল।
খাদ্যদ্রব্যঃ টিনে ভর্তি মুক্তিবাহিনী মাংস, মাখন, চীজ, বিস্কুট ও ফলমূল।
উপরোক্ত জিনিস আগামী ১২& ই ডিসেম্বরের মধ্যে

BANGLADES MISSION, 24 PEMBRIDGE GARDENS, LONDON, W-2. ঠিকানায় পাঠাবেন।

বিস্তারিত জানার জন্য টেলিফোন ০১-৪০৫ ৫৯১৭ নম্বরে বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ, ৩৫ নং গ্যামেজেস বিল্ডিংস, ১২০ নং হার্বোন, লন্ডন, ই সি ১ অফিসে সন্ধ্যা ৭টার আগে যোগাযোগ করুন।

বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ
লন্ডন ই সি ১।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
''বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি'' প্রচারিত একটি বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি লন্ডন	১৪ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

জরুরী বিজ্ঞপ্তি

স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম গণ-প্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে হাইড পার্কে গত রববারের জনসভা ও মিছিলকে কেন্দ্র করে যে তর্কের ঢেউ উঠেছে এবং ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি বর্তমানে যে প্রশ্নবাণের সম্মুখীন হয়েছে সে সম্বন্ধে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির বক্তব্য ব্যাখ্যা করে বলার খুবই প্রয়োজন। বিচারপতি জনাব আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর নির্দেশক্রমে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি এ সভা ও গণমিছিলের আয়োজন করে এবং নিমন্ত্রণপত্র ও খবরের কাগজে বিজ্ঞাপনের মাধ্যমে সমস্ত শাখা কমিটিগুলোর কাছে ঐ সভা ও শোভাযাত্রাকে সাফল্যমন্ডিত করে তোলার জন্য আবেদন জানায়। বিলাতে সর্বত্র এ্যাকশন কমিটিগুলোর অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রম এবং দল নিরপেক্ষভাবে সকল বাংগালীর সমবেত প্রচেষ্টায় ঐ দিন হাইড পার্কে প্রচুর লোকসমাগম হয়। সভামঞ্চে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির কাউকে না দেখে মানুষের মনে প্রশ্ন জাগে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি কর্তৃক আয়োজিত জনসভা ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি পরিচালনা না করে একটা দলের উপর ছেড়ে দিল কেন? দূর-দূরান্ত থেকে আগত হাজার হাজার মানুষ এই জন্যই সেদিন প্রতিবাদ করেছে, প্রকাশ্যে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির কাছে কৈফিয়ৎ তলব করেছে এবং ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি বাধ্য হয়ে জনতার কাছে ক্ষমা চেয়েছে। কিন্তু এখন সময় এসেছে সমস্ত কিছু বুঝিয়ে বলার।

ঐদিন ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি ছাড়াও যুক্তরাজ্য আওয়ামী লীগ স্বীকৃতির দাবীতে হাইড পার্কে জনসভা এবং সভাশেষে গণমিছিলের বন্দোবস্ত করে। প্রথমে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি এ বিষয়ে সম্পূর্ণ অজ্ঞাত ছিল। পরে যখন ঘটনাটি জানাজানি হয় তখন ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি অপর পক্ষের নেতৃবৃন্দের কাছে পৃথকভাবে তাঁদের সভা পরিচালনা না করে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির সাথে সহযোগিতার অনুরোধ জানান। দুঃখের বিষয়, লীগের এই দলের নেতৃবৃন্দ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির প্রস্তাব প্রত্যাখান করে। এমতাবস্থায় ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি এক জটিল সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হয়। একদিকে জনতার কাছে ওয়াদাবদ্ধ এবং খবরের কাগজের মাধ্যমে বহুল প্রচলিত জনসভা চালিয়ে যাওয়া, অন্যদিকে দু'টা সভা হলে গত আট মাস ধরে প্রবাসী বাংগালী জনতা একতা ও দুর্নিবার সংগ্রামের মাধ্যমে যা কিছু অর্জন করেছে তার সবকিছু বিসর্জন দেওয়া।

লীগের নেতৃবৃন্দের কাছে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি এই মর্মে দাবী জানায় যে, খুনী ইয়াহিয়া বাংগালী জাতিকে নিশ্চিহ্ন করে দেওয়ার সংকল্প নিয়ে সেদিন যখন নিরস্ত্র নর নারীর উপর বর্বর আক্রমণ করেছিল তখন ভিন্ন ভিন্ন রাজনৈতিক মতবাদ, সকল ভেদাভেদ দলীয় কোন্দল এবং ব্যক্তিস্বার্থ ত্যাগ করে প্রবাসী বাংগালীরা ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির জন্ম দিয়েছিল। দেশপ্রেম আর বিবেকের কাছে সেদিন ক্ষুদ্র স্বার্থ ও অহম পরাজয় বরণ করেছিল। স্মরণ থাকে যে, ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি এ্যাকশন কমিটিগুলোর সাহায্যে বিদেশে যে সংঘবদ্ধ দুর্বার আন্দোলন গড়ে তুলেছিল তার কাজ এখনও শেষ হয়ে যায়নি। শত শত শহীদের তাজা রক্তে অর্জিত স্বাধীনতা কে বানচাল করে দেওয়ার জন্য সাম্রাজ্যবাদী মার্কিন কুকুর আর বিভ্রান্ত গণচীন আজ বদ্ধপরিকর। তা ছাড়া পৃথিবীর কোন বৃহৎ শক্তির কাছ থেকে আমরা এখনও কোন স্বীকৃতি আদায় করতে পারিনি। জাতীয় ঐক্যের মাধ্যমে বিরামহীন সংগ্রামের এখন বরং সবচেয়ে বেশী প্রয়োজন। যা হোক আওয়ামী লীগের এই দলটির নেতৃবৃন্দের কাছে আমাদের যুক্তিতর্ক কোন মূল্য বহন করলো না। তাঁরা তাদের সংকল্পে অটল থাকলেন।

অতঃপর এই জটিল পরিস্থিতির মোকাবিলা করার জন্য ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি এক জরুরী সভায় নিম্নলিখিত বিষয়গুলো আলোচনা করেনঃ

১। একই জায়গায় একই সময়ে একই উদ্দেশ্য বাংগালীদের আলাদা দুটো সভা ও শোভাযাত্রার ফলাফল কি দাঁড়াবে?

২। এর ফলে বৃটিশ জাতি পৃথিবীর কাছে আমাদের কি নতুন রূপ প্রকাশ পাবে?

৩। পৃথিবী কর্তৃক স্বীকৃতি পাবার আগেই বাংগালীদের মধ্যে প্রকাশ্য রাজপথে দলাদলি দেখানোর ফল কি দাঁড়াবে?

৪। বাংগালী বীরের রক্তস্রোতের মধ্যে যে স্বাধীনতা অর্জিত হয়েছে বর্তমান মুহূর্তে শুধু একটা শোভাযাত্রাকে কেন্দ্র করে তার সবকিছু জলাঞ্জলি দেওয়ার অধিকার প্রবাসী বাংগালীদের আছে কি?

উপরের বিষয়গুলো আলোচনা করা এবং সেই আলোচনার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে তাদের পূর্ব সিদ্ধান্ত পরিবর্তন করার অনুরোধ জানিয়ে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি লীগের ঐ দলটির কাছে পুনরায় আবেদন জানান। কিন্তু দলটি যে কোন মূল্যে তাদের নিজের সভা চালিয়ে যাওয়ার কথা ঘোষণা করেন। ঠিক এ সময় নিউইর্য়ক থেকে গ্রেট বৃটেনে নিযুক্ত স্বাধীন বাংলার হাই কমিশনার, বৃটেনে বাংগালীর মুক্তি আন্দোলনের নেতা এবং জাতিসংঘে বাংলাদেশ ডেলিগেশনের নেতা বিচারপতি জনাব আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী টেলিফোন মারফৎ ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটিকে জানান যে ঐ দলটি যখন যে কোন অবস্থাতেই মিটিং করে যাবেন তখন দেশের সম্মান রক্ষার্থে এবং বাংগালী জাততে নিশ্চিত অপমান থেকে বাঁচানোর উদ্দেশ্যে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি যেন ভিন্ন সভা না করে সকল এ্যাকশন কমিটিগুলোকে ঐ দলটির সাথে সভা ও শোভাযাত্রায় যোগ দিতে অনুরোধ করেন।

এ পরিস্থিতিতে দেশের মর্যাদাহানির সম্ভাবনা দেখে, কেন্দ্রীয় সংস্থা হিসেবে নিজেদের গভীর দায়িত্বের কথা স্মরণ করে এবং স্বাধীন বাংলার বৃহত্তর স্বার্থের কথা চিন্তা করে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি সমগ্র বাংগালী জনতার কাছে তাদেরকে লীগের সভা ও শোভাযাত্রায় যোগদান করেতে অনুরোধ জানায়।

ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি ত্যাগ স্বীকার না করলে আমাদের স্বাধীনতার নতুন সূর্য সেদিন কিছুটা ম্লান হয়ে যেতো- প্রবাসী বাংগালীর এতদিনের সংঘবদ্ধ দুর্বার আন্দোলনের মাধ্যমে অর্জিত সবকিছু সাফল্য মাত্র এক ঘন্টার ব্যবধানে ধ্বংস হয়ে যেতো। নিজস্ব সভা বাতিল করে ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি যে অভিযোগের সম্মুখীন হয়েছেন এবং যে লাঞ্ছনা-গঞ্জনা ও অপমান ভোগ করেছেন তার জন্য ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটির সদস্যরা দুঃখিত হন। কেন্দ্রীয় নেতৃত্বও দায়িত্ব পালনে ব্যর্থ হলে বর্তমান অপমানের চেয়ে অনাগত ভবিষ্যতে তাদের সমগ্র বাংগালী জাতির কাছে অপরাধী হতে হতো। দল, গোষ্ঠী এবং ব্যক্তির চেয়ে জাতি অনেক বড় এবং জাতির জন্য অপমানিত হলে তাতে গৌরব ছাড়া ক্ষতি নেই, একথা স্মরণ রাখা দরকার।

জয় বাংলা।

নিবেদক-

ষ্টিয়ারিং কমিটি, লন্ডন

ইসি ৩।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে বৃটিশ লেবার পার্টির অভিমত জানিয়ে লিখিত মিঃ হ্যারল্ড উইলসন এমপি-র একটি চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৫ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

From: The Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson, OBE, FRS, MP.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON, SW 1.

15th December. 1971.

Dear Mr. Khan.

Mr Wilson has asked me to apologies for the delay in replying to your letter about (he sad situation in East Pakistan. The pressure of correspondence on this and other issues has been so heavy that it has been impossible to answer as quickly as we would have liked.

At Mr. Wilson's request, I am enclosing a copy of the Statement on Pakistan supported unanimously by the Labor Party at the annual conference at Brighton in early October.*

This statement was immediately forwarded both to the British Government and to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

The Parliamentary Labor Party as a whole remains deeply concerned about the situation and will continue to demand the most effective action possible by the Government.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/
Parliamentary Private
Secretary

M. A. Razzak Khan, Esq.,
General Secretary.
Bangladesh Action Committee in Portsmouta,
6, Britannia Road,
Southsea, Hants.
P05ISN.

* মিঃ আয়ান মিকার্ডো এম, পি-র চিঠি দ্রষ্টব্য, ১৩ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'জেনোসাইড ইন বাংলাদেশ' বাংলাদেশে হত্যাযজ্ঞের উপর একটি প্রচার পুস্তিকা	ব্যারিস্টার সাখাওয়াত হুসাইন	------- ১৯৭১

GENOCIDE IN BANGLADESH
SAKHAWAT HUSAIN
Barrister-at- La w

SECOND PRINT
Price 5 New Pence

The term 'genocide' coined in 1944 by Dr. Raphael Lemkin, means among other things (a) killing; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm; (c) deliberate infliction of conditions of life "calculated to bring about" physical destruction with intent to destroy in whole or in pan, a national ethical, racial or religious group (Article II, Genocide Convention). The Genocide Convention was passed by the General Assembly on December 9, 1948. The Convention represents the moral force of a unanimous proclamation by member states that "genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aim of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world" (U.N. Resolution 96 (i), dated December 11, 1946, Preamble to the Convention). It came into force on January 12, 1957. Including Pakistan. 68 Governments are signatories to the Convention.

The Nazi Government of Germany systematically annihilated millions because of their religion or ethnic origin. A shocked world than rejected the contention that such crimes were internal affairs of the state which perpetrated them. The Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremburg incorporated the world opinion and recognized the concept of "crimes against humanity", whether or not such crimes violated the domestic law or the country in which they took place.

Article IV of the Convention declares that persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals. This ban to plead immunity only shows the severity and seriousness with which the provisions of the Convention are supposed to be applied.

Pakistan was created on August 14, 1941. BANGLADESH is separated by 1,200 miles from West Pakistan. Pathans, Punjabis and Sindhis are linguistically and culturally identifiable groups in West Pakistan. Despite differences the West Pakistan, as a whole, is distinctively different to culturally cohesive Bengalis. All people in BANGLADESH speak Bengali-a highly developed language. Sanskrit is its root. A Bengali poet got the Nobel Prize in 1931. None in West Pakistan speaks this language. The Bengalis are different from West Pakistan in race, food, dress, climate and political attitudes. The difference in political attitudes needs some elaboration.

Muslim League, the communal political organisation, which created Pakistan, lost its grip on BANGLADESH in 1952. It had been routed at the first opportunity-the 1954 Provincial Election. Its re-emergence under military dictatorship of Ayub Khan (1958- 1969) was artificial and superimposed. In BANGLADESH, 23.6% people are Hindus (1961 census). BANGLADESH opted for joint electorate in 1956 and gave its verdict in favor of secularism. In contrast, the elite in West Pakistan still hovers around Iqbal and his pan-Islamic doctrine. The Ahmadi-Quadiani (two Muslim sects) riot in 1953, in which 50,000 people died in Punjab, and the Shiah-Sunni (two Muslim sects) riots in Lahore are positive testimonies of the dimension of foul-play with religion, the vested interests is West Pakistan indulge in.

Further, the West Pakistan ruling class has hammered out a new divisive concept of first and second class Muslims. In the eyes of West Pakistan, the Bengalis are converted Muslims from Hinduism. It should be mentioned here that it is not these differences that prompted BANGLADESH to declare independence. The primary cause is of course the economic exploitation the Bengalis were subjected to for the last 25 years. The differences are important to understand the mechanism through which the capitalist class of West Pakistan could make possible the connivance in their deliberate infliction on Bengalis conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction. In the last flood in East Pakistan (1970), according to some estimates, half a million died. The unconcerned attitude of Pakistan administration is well known.

To show the extent of economic exploitation, we shall quote only a few figures. In terms of the contribution of manufacturing to gross domestic product. BANGLADESH and West Pakistan started from the same level. (Planning Department, Government of East Pakistan, 1963). In 1959-69 the per capita income in West Pakistan was 32 % higher than in the East. By 1969-70, the per capita income of the West was 61 % higher (Reports of the Advisory Panels for the fourth Five-Year Plan 1970-75. Vol. I; Planning, Commission, Government of Pakistan. The Report notes these estimates as understatements, because of a lack of adjustment in the basic official data for the generally higher prices which prevail in BANGLADESH compared to West).

In the last 25 years, BANGLADESH'S share of total Pakistan export earnings has varied between 50% and 70%, while its share of imports has been in the range of 25% to 30% (Official statistics issued by the Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan). On the basis of population. BANGLADESH should have imported 67.5%. During the period 1948-49 to 1968-69, BANGLADESH has transferred approximately 2.6 billion dollars to West Pakistan (Conflict in East Pakistan: Background and Prospect, by three Professors of Harvard University). This calculated exploitation constitutes the crime of genocide under (c). Article II, against Bengalis-a distinct national ethnical, racial group.

Article III enumerates different acts punishable under the Convention, namely (a) genocide; (b) conspiracy to commit genocide; (c) direct and public incitement to commit genocide; (d) attempt to commit genocide; and (e) complicity in genocide.

The West Pakistan Army in BANGLADESH has committed the offence under (a). The attack started at 10.30 at night. There was no curfew. No provocation. The attack was

preplanned. Indiscriminately, they killed men, women and children. The logic, as they put forward, of killing children, is that, as orphans, they would have grown with contempt against West Pakistan. Sub-Article (e). Article II, makes even "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group", an indictable offence under the Convention. They killed unarmed civilians, many in their beds-the entire population of residential areas, university halls of residence and slum areas. In Nazi Germany, people were first put in Concentration Camps and. slaughtered afterwards, Compared to this, the extent of atrocities in BANGLADESH has been more.

President Yahya and Mr. Bhutto are guilty, particularly under (b) and (e). The President had been engaged in talks for 11 days for a political solution until 3 hours before the start of the onslaught. Mr. Bhutto had been a party to those talks. The President in his 'savage' (Daily Telegraph) tone, spoke to the country of his hard line after completion of the initial onslaught at 8 o'clock in the morning, 26 March. On the same morning, Mr. Bhutto said to the reporters-'God has saved Pakistan". These evidences show that they were engaged not in talks but in buying time to complete military preparations.

The twenty families of West Pakistan, who own 85% of the wealth of former Pakistan, came under (e) complicity in genocide. BANGLADESH is important to them for foreign exchange and market. The infra-structure in West Pakistan is well built. At present, BANGLADESH is more important as a market-40% of the total export of West Pakistan is made in BANGLADESH. In the past, West Pakistan capitalists had been trying desperately, in vain, to find alternative markets. RCD is an example of these efforts. Since the popular uprising in 1968, the Punjabi (including migrant settlers), industrialists, businessmen, bureaucrats, had been admitting in private, that BANGLADESH could not be subjugated for long. Thus they started to close down their industries, business and monetary interests in BANGLADESH. But, nevertheless, due to the absence of an alternative market, they insist on holding on to BANGLADESH even at gun point, as a captive market for the next 10-12 years. This genocide is a follow-up of their insistence.

All senior military members have been West Pakistani, or the senior officers in the central civil services, 87% were from West Pakistan in 1960 and this proportion has not changed much since. Pakistan runs a top-heavy administration, both in military and civilian sectors. Moreover, 300.000 strong Pakistan Armed Forces cannot be sustained without usurpation of BANGLADESH resources. West Pakistani Armed Forces, civil servants and capitalists have jointly conspired this genocide for their individual and group interests. They all come under the purview of (b) and (c) of Article III.

According to press and first-hand reports, the Army committed the genocide with slogans-"Ea Ali, Ea Haider[1]'. These are conventional slogans for 'Jihad', holy war against the infidels. Through systematic indoctrination, amounting to conspiracy, the soldiers and public in West Pakistan are made to believer that the 'Kafir,' (infidcl-the Hindus) and the 'semi-Kafirs' (the converted Muslims) must be killed. The soldiers have shot people after slashing off their male organs. They are forcing people to show their proof of circumcision in order to prove their faith in Islam. A former Prime Minister of Pakistan, the late Firoze Khan Noon once said that most Bengali Muslims do not undergo.

circumcision. The troops are competing girls to recite verses from the Quran to avoid rape. These facts prove, the religious bigotry of Yahya's troops. They are conducting a 'religious war' against the Bengalis.

The Hindu areas have been special targets. Many of those have been just wiped out and their entire population killed. Prominent Hindus are systematically killed because of their religion. The army's intention to destroy Hindu religious groups is manifest enough.

Another group as special targets are the intellectuals. Many have already been killed and most have been forced to flee from the country. This onslaught on intellectuals is no sporadic incident, but a major part of the scheme of systematic destruction that is being perpetrated on BANGLADESH. Though the percentage of literate persons is higher (17.6) in BANGLADESH than in the West (13.6), the number of graduates in actual terms, despite, constant increase of population, has gone down enormously in BANGLADESH- from 41,484 (1951) to 28.069 (1961). while the West has shown an increase of 21.3 % in the same period (Population Census of Pakistan-1961).

Articles V and VI provide for trial in a competent national court. There is no scope for such a national action. The Convention also envisages trial by an International Penal Tribunal. Under Article VII, Parties to this Convention agree that genocide and other listed acts shall not be considered as political crimes. Therefore, Pakistan, as a signatory, is pledge bound to grant extradition of all persons, including President Yahya (under Article IV), charged with genocide, to stand the trial before an International Penal Tribunal.

The idea of International Penal jurisdiction is envisaged and provided for under Article VI. Further the International Law, Commission on invitation by the General Assembly, studied both the desirability and the possibility of establishing such international judicial organ "for the trial of persons charged with genocide, or other crimes over which jurisdiction will be conferred upon that organ by international conventions". The Commission recommended the establishment of an independent International Criminal Court. The recommendation is still under consideration by the United Nations. The United Nations must act now and set up this Court immediately, to try this case of genocide in BANGLADESH.

Under Article VIII, any contracting party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations, as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the related acts. The Charter confers wide and effective powers on the Security Council, including "complete or partial interruption of economic relations and the severance of diplomatic relations (Article 41)" demonstrations, blockage and other operations by air, sea or land "forces of members of the United Nations (Article 42)" (Chapter VII, Charter of the United Nations).

Lastly, Article IX of the Genocide Convention provides clear avenue for any of the signatory States to raise the issue before International Court of Justice-'disputes between the contracting parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide

or for any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be submitted to the request of any of the parties to the dispute". The mute world must act and act now

POSTSCRIPT

The first edition of this pamphlet ran out within a week. The publication of a second edition, therefore, was in order. But the snag arose at this point. The first edition was solely financed by Mr. Abdul Hamid and was distributed free. But where could the funds for the second edition come from? The publishers were scratching their heads when, once again. Mr. Hamid came forward with his characteristic kindness, and with him Mr. Shafiqur Rahman, with the ready funds. Our debt to these gentlemen is totally and literally i me pay able.

It is not possible to make demands on a person's generosity over and over again. We have, therefore, decided to put a price on the pamphlet this time, which is five new pence. It is inspired by the conviction that a cause needs material support. And it is our sincere hope that this conviction is justified.

AMEER ALI,

SHAMSUL MORSHED.

Courtesy-

Abdul Hamid

and

Shafiqur Rahman.

Published by Ameer Ali and Shamsul Morshcd from 29 RUPERT STREET.

LONDON W1.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘দি এ্যাকশন কমিটি ফর দি পিপলস রিপাবলিক অব বাংলাদেশ ইন দি ইউনাইটেড কিংডম’-এর গঠনতন্ত্র	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	---------- ১৯৭১

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE. "No people have secured freedom and justice unless they spill blood for it. To establish an independent, sovereign Bangladesh, to create a socialist economic order free from exploitation of man by man and of region by region."- Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The People of Bangladesh have waged an armed struggle against the forces of reaction in West Pakistan.

We the Bengalies in the United Kingdom solemnly .affirm our support, sacrifice and contribution to the National Liberation Struggle of Bangladesh. Unity is imperative to "win the war" we are united. We have unity of purpose. We should unite in action too; so we form this organisation of all Bengalis in the United Kingdom.

THE ARTICLES. The name of the organisation shall be "The Action Committee for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in the United Kingdom." The Head Office of the organisation shall be in London. The "Bangladesh Fund" at Hambros Bank with three Trustees namely-

1.Mr. Abu Sayeed Chowdhury

2.Mr. John Stonehouse

3.Mr. Chesworth

shall be the Central fund of this organisation. The "Central Council" shall elect three Trustees and the total number of Trustees shall be six. Minimum four signatures shall be required to withdraw money from the Fund. No money shall be withdrawn without prior valid decision of the "Central Committee."

The elected Trustees shall be elected directly by the "Central Council". They shall be ex-officio members of the "Central Committee", but without the right to vote and shall not be eligible to hold any other office, either in the Central or Local Committees.

There shall be nine member of "Central Finance Committee", including Mr. Abu Sayeed Chowdhury and the three elected Trustees. The other five members including two accountants shall be elected directly by the "Central Council". These five members shall not be eligible to, be elected as members of the Central Committee.

The function of the Central Finance Committee shall be to keep proper accounts, raise funds and submit accounts before the Central Council.

THE CENTRAL COUNCIL. The Central Council Shall be composed of representatives from all the Committees. The quota of representatives for each city and town shall be in general on population basis.

The Central Council shall sit at least once in every three months. The Central Council shall elect directly a Central Committee of 15 members.

FUNCTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. The Central Committee shall be the supreme body to take and implement all political decision. It shall publish at least one Bengali and one English weekly or fortnightly paper which shall be the mouthpiece of the organisation. The Central Committee shall publish other literature, pamphlets, books etc. It shall hold public meetings, demonstrations on all U.K. basis. It shall carry out any other activity considered to be contributive to the National Liberation struggle. The Central Committee shall form sub-committee with, specific work and the members of such sub-committees may be non councilors.

FUNCTIONS OF THE LOCAL COMMITTEES. Local mobilization-raising of funds on a weekly or monthly basis and maintenance of a membership register.

There shall be only one active Committee in each city or town. In case of there being more than one existing Committee, efforts shall be made for conciliation and merger and if the 'efforts fail, both the Committees shall be recognized by the Central Council and Committee and their representative shall be proportional on membership basis.

In this first Conference-the Steering Committee shall sit with representatives of the Committees-shall first try for a merger and in the event of failure decide on an amicable appointment.

DISPUTE. In the case of a dispute between Committees, in a city or between a local Committee and the Central Committee or Committees of two or more cities or towns-the Central Committee shall adjudicate within 14 month of receipt of the formal complaint. The party to the Completion shall have the right of appeal to the Central Council against the decision of the Central Committee. Council's decision shall be final.

AMENDMENT Any clause to this Constitution may be amended by 2/3 councilors present. The number of members voting in favor of the amendment shall not be less than 50% of the total number of Councilors.

QUORUM. A 1/3 and 1/2 shall form the Quorum for Central Committee and Council meetings respectively.

NOTICE. At least 24 hours and a clear 7 days notice shall be given for the Central Committee and Central Council meetings. In case of emergency the Central Committee may meet without notice, but efforts shall be made to inform all the members available. Mr. Justice A. S. Chowdhury shall be the Adviser of the Central Committee.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশকে সমর্থন দানের আহবান সম্বলিত একটি পুস্তিকা	বাংলাদেশ সলিডারিটি ক্যাম্পেন	১৯৭১

SOLIDARITY WITH
BANGLADESH
LIBERATION
STRUGGLES

A CALL FOR SUPPORT.

We call on the British people-and especially the workers-to support the workers and peasants of Bangladesh at present fighting for the irrational liberation, for freedom from exploitation and for a socialist society.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH? WHY DO THEY DESERVE SUPPORT? These are very natural questions. British Press and Television have conspired to confuse the issues. They gave full coverage to news of the atrocities and of the refugees. But they have given no real explanation of the events leading to these tragedies, or to the causes of the crisis. A detailed account of the economic and political situation in Pakistan since 1947 is needed. Here are a few of the main facts only.

THE TREACHERY OF THE WEST PAKISTAN RULING CLIQUE. At midnight on Thursday 25 March, in Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, an act of treachery occurred which is unparalleled in contemporary history. Without issuing any warning or ultimatum, soldiers of the West Pakistan army, acting on orders, suddenly attacked the sleeping and unsuspecting civilian population with machine guns, artillery and tanks. They set Fire to their houses, and shot them down as they ran into the streets to escape the flames. That night some 50,000 died-most were women and children.

During the succeeding days the intentions of the West Pakistan assassins became clear. A carefully planned, absolutely ruthless policy of genocide was being followed. By indiscriminate mass killings they sought to cow the masses. By the selective destruction of administrators, politicians, intellectuals, technicians, students and professors they hoped to destroy the potential leaders of the resistance. They have failed in both these aims: but no-one knows how many have died so far. (The number is in the region of 1 million)

FAKE NEGOTIATIONS IN DACCA!!! From 16th March talks had been continuing between Yahya Khan, acting President of Pakistan, and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, leader of the East Pakistan Awami League. Mujibur had, the full backing of the East Pakistan population, expressed in the elections and also in the peaceful non-cooperation movement from 10th to 25th March. The entire administration was involved, including judges, police and civil servants. On the 2nd and 3rd March the West Pakistan army had fired on peaceful demonstrators, killing more than one thousand. But Yahya Khan had expressed his regret and his desire for a peaceful settlement of the constitutional issues. Mujibur

accepted these assurance: he had chosen the path of negotiation. We know now that the whole negotiations were a fake: a cover behind which military preparations for the massacre were proceeding.

The killings which were carried out on 25th March, 1971, and on the days which followed, brought a violent end to the state of Pakistan after 23 years. They also brought into being the new state of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH. From every possible viewpoint Bangladesh has established its rights to international recognition. The leaders won the votes of 80% of the population; the Awami League had a clear majority in the Provincial and National Assemblies. But Bangladesh will NOT be recognized at least not yet. It is inconvenient for the Great Powers to do so. The people of Bangladesh will fight on until they achieve self-determination. Their appeal is for moral and martial assistance in their struggle. Every day more lives are lost and more of the country's resources are destroyed.

WHY THE GENOCIDE? These actions of the corrupt ruling class in West Pakistan are not a sudden act of folly; they are the logical and necessary outcome of the policies of economic exploitation and political oppression followed ever since Pakistan was established in 1947.

HOW WEST PAKISTAN EXPLOITED TIIE EAST

Here are some of the basic facts of the economic domination of East Pakistan and the subordination of East Pakistan's interests to those of the West.

1. INCOME. There was a great disparity in the per capita income of West Pakistan and East Pakistan. In 1952-1960, the income in the West was 30% more than in the East. And by 1969-70 it was 61% more. Thus in ten years the income gap had doubled in terms of percentages.

2. INVESTMENT. This situation arose because Pakistan's investment funds derived from internal sources and foreign aid was directed mainly to West Pakistan's population of 75 million is 60% of the whole. But in the period 1950-1955 East Pakistan received only 20% of central government expenditure. And the peak during the Third Five Year Plan period 1965-70 was still only 36%.

East Pakistan's share of private investment was less than 25% in that period.

3. TRADE. Between 1950 and 1970 East Pakistan's foreign exports earnings were between 50% and 70% of the total exports earnings of Pakistan. But East Pakistan's share of imports from abroad was between 25% and 30%. Over the period 1948-69 East Pakistan transferred to West Pakistan resources to the amount of S 2.6 million.

(All of these figures are obtained from official statistics issued by the Central Statistical Office of the Government of Pakistan and from the Reports of the Advisory Panels of the 4th Five Year Plan, 1970-75, Vol 1, Planning Commission, Government of Pakistan, July 1970.)

The conclusion from these facts is that the development of West Pakistan has been at the expense of East Pakistan, that the East is in fact a colony of the West. This situation did not come about chance, it was a consequence of major political decisions. By whom were these decisions taken?

WEST PAKISTAN'S MILITARY DICTATORS. Since 1958 there has been a military dictatorship in Pakistan. All decision has been made by the military bosses and the senior civil servants. And since the Federal Capital of Pakistan is in West Pakistan, power has been concentrated in the hands of military clique made up of .West Pakistanis. However, the real decisions were made not in Islamabad out in Washington. As an integral part of its world strategy U. S. imperialism relies on the support of the West Pakistan military leaders, the bureaucracy and the corrupted politicians. And it rewards its supporters handsomely; it even gives them a 'Colony to exploit".

U. S. AID TO PAKISTAN. Between 1954 and 1965 Pakistan received between SI.5 to $2 billion in military aid. This included weapons such as Star lighters, Patton tanks, armored personnel carriers, automatic and recoil less infantry weapons. They were for the purpose of 'containing' Communism, but apart from the brief border war against India in 1965, their main use has been the murder of East Pakistan's unarmed civilian population.

Economic aid from the U.S. to the extent of $ 3 billion was received by Pakistan between 1951 and 1959. This was used to establish industries mainly in West Pakistan.

THE TWENTY TWO FAMILIES. The result of this decisions taken in Washington bas been to create the ruling clique in West Pakistan, the famous "twenty two families". They include military, civil servants, industrialists, and politicians. The clique controls 80 % of the country's Banking Assets, 75% of the Insurance Assets, and 60% of the Industrial Assets. They are allied by marriage and they combine to secure their economic and political interests. They will maintain-by force if necessary the unequal terms of exchange between West and East Pakistan. By means of the military coup d'etat they recognized the State apparatus so as to make it an instrument of their economic and financial Policy.

THE RESISTANCE OF THE PEOPLE IN EAST PAKISTAN

There has been sporadic resistance by workers and peasants in West Pakistan. But organized resistance by almost the whole population of East Pakistan has gone on ever since the State of Pakistan was established. And they have own important successes. The following is a brief chronology of some of the more important events:

1947 The Muslim State of Pakistan was established.

1948 In the "separate nation" campaign many deaths occurred. But the result was that Bengali was accepted as one of the two official languages.

1953 Election victory for the United Front in East Pakistan laid the basis for the struggle for secularism and for a workers' and peasants' state. At this time, too, the Awami League was established to defend the Bengali nation.

1958 Ayub Khan seized power and imposed martial law principally in order to restrict the development of the militant peasant movement in East Pakistan headed by the National Awami Party and its leader Moulana Bhashani.

1956 War between India and Pakistan was convenient for both Ayub Khan and Shastri of India. After the war East Pakistan people suffered severe hardships by the cutting of trade links with India.' But West Pakistan traders and industrialists benefitted.

1968 The Awami League's Six Points demanded provincial autonomy of East Pakistan, with control over foreign trade, foreign aid allocation and taxation. The National Awami Party's Thirteen Point Programme included a call for the nationalization of industrial assets and the limitation of land holdings.

1969 Overthrow of Ayub Khan's regime, mainly through the agitation of the East Pakistan masses.

1970 Cyclone in delta area of East Pakistan demonstrated clearly the indifference of the West Pakistan clique to the plight of the people in the East. In the General elections the Awami League won an absolute majority: 167 seats out of the 169 seats allocated to East Pakistan in the National Assembly. And it own 201 out of 343 in the Provincial Assembly.

1971 The corrupt clique of West Pakistan realised finally that their colonial exploitation of East Pakistan would end if the democratic election results were to stand. The massacre was the only possible policy in face of the unity of the Bengali masses.

NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

A new stage in the struggle of the peasants and workers of East Pakistan has begun. In the long run the emergency of an independent Bangladesh is inevitable. In a popular guerilla war the people of Bangladesh will triumph finally over the military bureaucracy of West Pakistan and their mercenary troops. The people of Bangladesh have the right to expect from the rest of the world not charity but material aid in their battle against the forces of Imperialism and Capitalism.

SOLIDARITY WITH BANGLADESH

The Solidarity Campaign makes the following demands we call on the British Government to carry out.

1) The immediate cessation of all arms deliveries to West Pakistan.

2) The cessation of all credits, loans and aid of any kind to West Pakistan.

We call on the working class in Britain and other countries to impose their own sanctions on West Pakistan. We ask dockers and other workers to refuse to load or produce goods intended for the military regime in West Pakistan.

VICTORY FOR BANGLADESH
VICTORY FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS STRUGGLES!
VICTORY FOR SOCIALISM!

Signed: BANGLADESH SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN
70, HARCOURT ROAD,
SHEFFIELD S10 1DJ.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে আন্দোলনকারী এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ কমিটি, ইউরোপের সমর্থক ও সহযোগী ব্যক্তি এবং দলসমূহের তালিকা	এ, বি কমিটি, ইউরোপ-এর দলিলপত্র	--------- ১৯৭১

List of sonic sympathising groups, individuals, VIP's, Action Committees etc. with which A. B. Committee, Europe, worked and co-operated for the cause of Bangladesh.

1. Workgroup Bangladesh
   Wustelaan 80
   Santpoort
   Netherlands
   023-378134
   Mr. Paul Erftermijor.
2. Prof. DR. IR. P. M. Heertjes
   Julialaam 136, Delft, Holland.
3. Mr. A. Razzak
   Bangladesh Representative
   Durholmsgrand 38
   Stockholm, Sweden.
4. Relus Ter Beek, MP
   Tweede Kamer der staten-General
   Den Haag. Holland.
5. W. G. Neijman
   Kenmerk Television Holland
   (Produced television report about P. M. and Bangladesh).
6. Paul Meijs (Director; Third World Shop) of
   Stichting S O. S.
   (Stoun Ontwikkelings-streken)
   Post bus 25; Holz straat 19, Kelkrade,
   Nederland.
   Giro No: 1045678 ;
   Tele: 04445-537
   (This org. is also now working in Bangladesh)
7. Action Bangladesh
   34, Stratford Villas
   London N W 1
   Tele: 01-485 2889
8. Operation Omega
   151, Daitmonth park Hill
   London N 19, Tele: 01-263 0940
   5, Caledonian Road, London N I
   (Their volunteers are still working in B" desh)

9. Ganashasthya Kendra
132, New Eskaton
Dacca-2, Bangladesh.
(Now functioning in Bangladesh at Savar, Dacca with volunteers form Holland.)

10. Netherlands Committee for Couple Communities Bangladesh.
13, Strauss Laan; Bilthoven,
Netherlands.

(After call from the well-known french priest, Abberpierre, to stimulate the European people in town and villages, to build up friendship with and to lend help to the people of in towns and villages in Bangladesh, the above organisation was formed. A Branch group has already come here on goodwill mission.)

11. Drs. John C. W. Van &
Ronnie Dane (visited Bangladesh in connection with the above purpose and selected Kushtia District).

12. Mr. F. J. F. M. Van Thiel
help Bengali Refugee Committee"
The Hague, Netherlands.

13. Workgroup Bangladesh-Venlo
Keuller Straat, l;Venlo;
Tele: 15573
Holland.

14. AKTIECOMITE KOPPELGE MEENTE DELFT'-BANGLADESH. DELFT. HOLLAND.

15. BANGLADESH BULLETING
Leyden, Holland.

16. Mr. Frans A. Wildenberg.
Martin Luther King Centrum
Amsterdam, Holland.

(Took active part for the cause of Bangladesh, helped to raise fund and promoted mobile exhibition on Bangladesh in collaboration with Action Bangladesh of London. Mobile exhibition was held in almost all major places in Holland.)

17. Action Committee for the People's Republic of Bangladesh, United Kingdom.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
"বাংলাদেশ কেন?"ঃ পূর্ব ও পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের মধ্যে বৈষ্যমের একটি সংখ্যাতাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ	বাংলাদেশ রিলিফ কমিটি, লন্ডন	--------- ১৯৭১

WHY BANGLADESH

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF DISPARITY BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN
R. ALAM

The Bengalis demand for independence had been forced upon the people of East Pakistan by the savage and atrocious action of the West Pakistani Army government. What the Bengalis had really been wanting were regional autonomy and social and economic justice. Recent events have conclusively proved that there was no plan for secession and there was no armed preparation on the pail of the Bengalis to achieve that. They were confidently expecting a good result from President Yahya Khan's democratic gesture. But the West Pakistani army, through its systematic butchery of unarmed civilians forced the Bengalis to take the ultimate decision-to become a completely- independent sovereign state. A clear cut line has been drawn decisively, separating the Bengali speaking people of the East and the people of West Pakistan. The decision was inevitable because or the continuous exploitation of the East by the West. To the world it naturally did not come as a surprise. On the other hand many voices had been predicting it for a long time. Besides religion, there was nothing common between these two people. Ethnically, culturally, in their thought, language, way life-in every way they were two nations. There was no attempt towards reconciliation but only economic exploitation and social injustice. East Pakistan existed only for the benefit of the West Pakistani capitalist merchants, industrialists and contractors, for the militarists and civil bureaucrats. For the last 24 years the Pakistan government, manned mostly by West Pakistanis, dominated the state policy aiming to develop the deserts of West by a deliberate policy which impoverished the East. Cleverly enough, Pakistan government, tried its best not to reveal the figures separately to show the gross disparity. Nevertheless, from available figures, mostly official, the truth could not be kept concealed.

Average Annual Budget

Total Revenue	Rs. 6,000 million	W.P.	E.P.
Expenditure of Defense	Total 60%	50%	10%
Civil Expenditure	Total 40%	25%	15%

While E. P. provides 60% of the total revenue, it receives only about 25% its expenditure and West Pakistan providing 40% in the central exchequer receives 75% of the revenue.

Foreign Trade and Exchange Earnings

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	Export	Import	Export	Import
During 10 year period	£ 820 m	£2,315m	£I,153m	£1,000 m
1958-1968	41%	70%	59%	30%

In foreign trade East Pakistan exports constitute 59% of the total but imports only 30% of the imports which consists of consumer goods and food, very little is left for development projects. During the same period West Pakistan earned 41% of the total foreign exchange and was allowed 70% of the foreign exchange earnings. Major portion of this was spent on various development projects in West Pakistan.

Inter Zonal Trade

1964-1969	Exports from West to East Pakistan	Exports from East to West Pakistan
	Rs. 5,292 million	Rs. 3,174

This is an example of continuous drain of E. Pakistan Capital to West Pakistan. It has been estimated that total transfer of resources from East Pakistan to West Pakistan since 1947 had been £3,000 million.

Let us look at a typical Export items for the Year 1664-65:

Jute and jute products (all from East Pakistan)	Rs. 124,580 m
Cotton and cotton manufactures (mainly from W. P.)	51,880 m
Hides and Skins (mainly from East Pakistan)	6,130 m
Tea (all from East Pakistan)	1,000 m
Wool (ail from East Pakistan)	7,300 m
Others (Oast and West together)	56,200 m

Percentage of allocation of funds for development projects

Items	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Foreign Exchange for various Developments	80%	20%
Foreign Aid (Excluding U. S Aid)	96%	4%
U. S Aid	66%	34%
Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation	58%	42%
Pakistan Industrial Credit & Investment Corp	80%	20%
Industrial Development Bank	76%	24%
House Building	88%	12%
	---	---
	77%	23%

Above figures are clearly indicative for the tremendous industrial growth in West Pakistan which received 77% of the total development expenditures for its 40% of the total population.

Foreign Aid to Pakistan

Chinese loan to Pakistan U. S $ 60m in 1965 mostly spent in West Pakistan including a Heavy Machinery Complex costing U.S. $ 9m but only U.S. $ 125,000 for East Pakistan Water & Power Development. But the loan is to be repaid by exporting jute and jute products.

World Bank credits in 1954 $ 14m and in 1965 $ 15 m for Sui gas project in West Pakistan. Same source supplied $ 17m in 1964 for Karachi Port development and $ 30m to Pakistan Investment and Credit Corporation to finance mostly projects in West Pakistan. International Development Association (U. N. Agency) gave a credit of $5m to West Pakistan and $ 4.5 m to East Pakistan in 1964 for educational projects.

Russian Aid of $llm to Sl8m was given to West Pakistan in 1965 for oil prospecting.

U. K. Loan during the period 1947-1965 amounted to £64m has been spent mostly in West Pakistan.

U. S. Aid of $ 3.6 billion- $2.7 billion spent for Mangla Dam & Tarbela Dam in West Pakistan and only $ 0.9 billion for control of flood in East Pakistan. These loans no doubt converted the barren lands of the West into fertile ones whereas very little was done to tackle effective ely the flood problem of East Pakistan- the most fertile land in the world. The people of East Pakistan had been allowed to suffer from recurring cyclones and flood disasters since 1953.

COMPARATIVE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
Established Industries				
in both wings	1947/8	1966/7	1947/48	1966/67
Cotton Textile production	350	6,836	508	550
in million yards	1,853%	Increase	8.25%	Increase
Sugar production	10	304	25	112
in '000 tons	2,943%	Increase	348%	Increase
Cement production	305	1,934	46	75
in '000 tons	534%	Increase	63%	Increase

Above tables clearly shown how the established industries in East Pakistan had been allowed to grow extremely slowly in comparison with the extremely fast growing industries in the West. In 1947 East Pakistan had more industries than West. With the influx of Capitalists from Bombay the picture began to change rapidly.

In the field of new industries the percentage of investment in West and East Pakistan is roughly 75% and 25% respectively. Moreover, East Pakistani industries are mainly owned and controlled by the West Pakistanis whose main interest is to transfer the profits to West Pakistan instead of helping East Pakistan's prosperity. It has been calculated that since 1947 the real transfer of resources from East to West to the tune of $3,000 million.

There was no state control over private investment and as such the flow had been completely unchecked.

Steel-the basic item required for any development is now being produced in two mills in West & East Pakistan. Funds provided for these mills were £56 million for West Pakistan and £11 million for East Pakistan.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
Fertilizer distribution during				
1964-68 in "000 nutrient tons	739	66%	371	33%
Improved seed distribution during				
1964-69 in '000 tons	342	89%	40	11%
	1951-52	1966-67	1951-52	1966-67
Increase in fish production				
in '000 metric tons	56	153	175	259
273%increase			48% increase	
Distribution of Tractors				
Wheel type, (numbers)	20,069			1,825
	2,000			350
Other large	91%			9%

Needless to mention that the agricultural land in East Pakistan has more acreage and most lands produce 2 to 3 crops a year whereas in the West the acreage is less and the productivity per acre is much smaller. One fails to understand the logic in these state of affairs.

Needless to mention that the agricultural land in East Pakistan has more acreage and most lands produce 2 to 3 crops a year whereas in the West the acreage is less and the productivity per acre is much smaller. One fails to understand the logic in these state of affairs.

In agricultural finance, the Pakistan Agricultural Development Bank has lent over Rs. 600 million but most of these went to West Pakistani farmers. Most of the large irrigation projects have been treated as federal projects and financed by the central government and has been completed in West Pakistan. This was a deliberate attempt to keep the 75 million Bangalis at starvation level. In the federal army of 500.000 only 20,000 are Bengalis. These 480,000 West Pakistanis spend their income in the West which indirectly help the economy of that part of the country. Economic experts have evidence that in 1959 an average East Pakistani was 20% worse off than another in the West. In 1968, he was 40% worse off than his brother in Islam in West Pakistan.

POWER DEVELOPMENT

Another criterion to measure progress is the consumption of electric power per head of the population. In Pakistan growth in power production has grown considerably. West Pakistan generates by hydel, thermal and other means 838,000 KW (83% of the total) whereas East Pakistan generates 179,500 KW (17% of the total). A great share of foreign aid had been spent on various power development projects. Two giant irrigation & power development projects in Indus Basincost $ 1800 million and WAPDA spent Rs. 1453 m. in 5 years 1959-64

EDUCATION : Progress in 20 Years

Area	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
	1947-48 1968-69	1947-48 196-69
Primary Schools	8,413 39,418	29,663 28,300
	Number increases 4'/2 times	Number decreases in spite of increased children
Secondary School	1947-48 1965-66	1947-48 1965-66
	2,598 4,472	3,481 3,964
	176% increase	114% increase
	1947-48 1968-69	1947-48 1968-69
Colleges-various types	40 271	50 162
	675% increase	320% increase
Medical/Engineering/	4 17	3 9
Agricultural Colleges	425% increase	300% increase
Universities	2(654 scholars)	1(1,620 scholars)
	6(18,708 scholars)	4(8,831 scholars)
Increase in scholars	30 times	5 times

It is interesting to note that although the school going population increased in East
Pakistan the number of schools decreased through deliberate policy of neglect whereas during the same period the Pakistan government spent vast sums of money and increased the number of schools in West Pakistan by 4 and half times. Was not that a systematic plan for giving the West Pakistani children a better academic start so that their future career was firmly assured? The natural result was the vast increase in the number of colleges of all kinds and universities. This is clear evidence of government policy aiming at keeping the East Pakistan children intellectually inferior by not providing the facilities they deserve. The end product that we see is in the number of University scholars. In East Pakistan, which had double the number of scholars in 1947, the number only increased by five times in 20 years and in West Pakistan the corresponding increase is thirty times. In the field of research and development centers established for agricultural, medical, scientific, industrial research, out of 16 centers 13 are located in West Pakistan. As far as the scholarships and training grants for studies abroad under Colombo Plan, Ford Foundation, Commonwealth Aid and many others the bulk of these go to the West Pakistanis. Some of these are not even advertised in the East Pakistani press and many of these are awarded directly from West Pakistan.

If we consider the question employment, we can see the repetition of the same injustice. While the state policy on education had kept the East Pakistanis less developed, in the case of recruitment in civil, military and other services the same policy of depriving the Bengalis had been effectively carried out. Having most of the recruitment centers, they have the most advantage. Headquarters of the army, navy, air force and all central government services as well as private employers of all kind are located in West Pakistan. Most of the vacancies are either not advertised in the East Pakistani press or the practical difficulty of being interviewed is present. Moreover, the various recruitment

boards consisting mostly of West Pakistanis are not so well disposed to accept an East Pakistani. In the armed forces, by making a physical standard far too high for an average Bengali, the system of eliminating the Bengali candidates had been very easy and successful. The following figures show some examples of disparity in this field.

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Central Civil Service	84%	16%
Foreign Service	85%	15%
Foreign Head Mission (Numbers)	60	9
Army	95%	5%
Army : Officers of General Rank (Numbers)	16	1
Navy Technical	81%	19%
Navy - non Technical	91%	9%
Air Force Pilots	89%	11%
Armed Forces (Numbers)	500,000	20,000
Pakistan Airlines (Numbers)	7,000	280
P. I. A Directors (Numbers)	9	1
P. I. A Area Managers (Numbers)	5	none
Railway Board Directors (Numbers)	7	1

ORGANISATIONAL IMBALANCE

The selection of the capital of Pakistan in Karachi in 1947 gave the West a boost to growth in all spheres. Rs. 200 million was spent on its development and when it was fully developed it was handed over to the West Pakistan provincial government. All incomes derived as a result went to the provincial government. Thereafter another Rs. 200 million was allocated for the capital development at Islamabad. A sum of only Rs. 20 million was provided for a second capital at Dacca, in East Pakistan.

All the offices of the central government are located in the West including the Headquarters of the army, navy and the air force. All the military academies as well. It is important to note that 60% of Pakistan's budget is spent on defense and 80% of that goes to the military contractors, armed personnel who are West Pakistanis.

Head offices of all the public and private establishments, e. g. State Bank of Pakistan, Pakistan International Airlines, National Bank of Pakistan and other banks, Insurance companies, Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation, National Shipping Corporation, Foreign Mission and hundred other Pakistani and foreign agencies have their head offices in West Pakistan and with their West Pakistani bosses and West Pakistani connections made sure that the policies of those organizations favor West Pakistanis.

SOCLAL WELFARE

In the field of social welfare, the same pattern is reflected. Let us look at some of the statistics comparing the two wings:-

	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Population	55 million	75 million
Total number of doctors	12,400	7,600
Total number of Hospital beds	26,000	6
Rural Health centers	325	88
Urban Community Development Projects	81	52

East Pakistan has been described as one of the poorest countries in the world. Even the economists, impartial and foreign admitted that How does the average East Pakistani compare with his compatriot in West Pakistan?

Employment of civil labor force	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
	59 %	41%	86%	14%

In West Pakistan the industrial development provided 4% of the total labor force, employment and better standard of life. In East Pakistan, the poor development in industrial sphere made only 14% of the total employment available in the cities. The result is reflected in the figures for per capita income and gross domestic product.

Per Capita income in Pak. Rupees	West	Pakistan	East	Pakistan
	1960	1970	1960	1970
	355	492	269	308

The difference in per capita income between East and West Pakistan had been 86 in 1960. Ten years later the difference soared to 184. In other words while the standard of living had been increasing in the West in had been declining in East Pakistan.

Gross domestic product per capita	West Pakistan		East Pakistan	
	1959/60	1964/65	1959/60/	1964/65
	312	391	242	297

Staple food of East Pakistan is Rice and of West Pakistani is Wheat. Let us compare the market price of the two.

Rice per maund (82 lbs)	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
Wheat per maund (82 lbs.)	Rs 18	Rs. 50
	Rs. 10	Rs. 3

How could one expect a better health standard when the East Pakistani has to pay a far higher price for his food when his income is far below that of his compatriot in the West?

The picture becomes clearer when we compare the average calories intake in rural areas.

Calorie intake in rural areas in	West Pakistan	East Pakistan
1960-65 per head per day	1,625	1.556

In the urban areas the disparity is even greater. (Calorie intake in U. K. is 3,250)

These facts and figures, backed by current available statistics, prove that East Pakistan is economically viable. The necessary resources vital for the development of a country are present, thought undeveloped. Given substantial foreign aid, and opportunities to develop its natural resources there is no reason why Bangladesh not be self-sufficient in course of time. World powers must realize that since Bangladesh is fully capable of attaining economic stability, the right of self-determination, vital to here very existence can no longer be denied.

Above all, the injustice meted out to her, the social and economic neglect that was
here share over the past two decades, justifies in all fairness that she be given the right to govern herself.

All these statistics have been taken from official and other reliable sources which include National planning Commission, 20 Years of Pakistan, Central Bureau of Education, Department of Investment promotion, Central Board of Revenue. Central Statistical Office, Pakistan Year Book, 1970, Marine Fisheries Department, Pakistan Economic Survey, Government of Pakistan Budgets, Keesing's Contemporary Archives, Financial Times, The Economist, Department Prospects of Pakistan (by a Norwegian Economist).

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E. C. 3 Phone 01-283-3622/3 by R. Alam (Press and publicity Unit). On behalf of the Central Action Committee lor the People's public of Bangladesh in U. K.

Twenty New Pence.

॥ মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা ॥

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ঝূর্ণিঝড় ও জলোচ্ছ্বাস কবলিত পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের প্রতি পাকিস্তান সরকারের নিদারুণ অবহেলা জানিয়ে জাতিসংঘ মহাসচিবের কাছে লিখিত চিঠি	আমেরিকাস্থ পাকিস্তান লীগের সভাপতির চিঠি	২৫ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭০

November 25, 1070

His Excellency U. Thant
Secretary General, United Nations.

Honorable Secretary General,

We the Pakistanis residing in the U. S. A. and Canada have observed the grave situation and magnitude of the recent cyclone and tidal wave disaster in the coastal areas of East Pakistan-where more than a million perished and still another million awaiting death from starvation, cholera, typhoid, dysentery, pneumonia, etc. The food dragging in the relief work by the dominant West Pakistani bureaucrats in the central govt., including the President of Pakistan has proven again that East Pakistan is only being used for exploitation. East Pakistanis do not even get humanitarian consideration during natural calamities-not to speak of their rights and privileges from the so-called Pakistan govt. We have seen similar behavior for the last 23 years. In spite of the Indian Govt's permission to fly over her territory for relief work-no planes or helicopters were taken in East Pakistan from West Pakistan. As yet, the Pakistan govt. has not even sent any helicopters by sea route, This proves that the present govt. of Pakistan is purposely ignoring their responsibility.

Indo-Pak subcontinent got their independence in 1947. Pakistan was supposed to be formed into two separate independent sovereign countries-but this was never implemented. The military-bureaucratic clique-always denied the human rights of East Pakistanis. Since the partition of India the central Govt. of Pakistan was captured by the West Pakistani Military bureaucratic complex and was ruling East Pakistan and transferring her wealth to West Pakistan. East Pakistan is practically being made a colony of West Pakistan.

Having suffered for the last 23 years, we urge you to bring our grievances to the attention of the Human Rights Committee of the U. N., so that 75 millions of East Pakistanis may get their human rights recovered and decide their own destiny.

Sincerely yours,
K. S. Ahmed
President
Pakistan League of America
2667 Broadway
New York. New York 10025.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
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November 25, 1970

The President of Pakistan
Islamabad, Pakistan.

Dear Sir,

We, the Pakistanis residing in the U. S. A. and Canada, observed the grave situation and magnitude of the recent cyclone and tidal wave disaster in the coastal regions of East Pakistan-where more than a million have perished and another million awaiting death from starvation, cholera, typhoid, dysentery, pneumonia, etc.

The foot-dragging efforts in the relief work of the dominate West Pakistani bureaucrats in the central govt., including your Excellency, has proven again that East Pakistan is only being used for exploitation. East Pakistanis do not even get humanitarian treatment during disastrous natural calamities—not to speak of their rights and privileges from the so-called Pakistan govt. during normal times. We have experienced similar behavior for the last 23 years. All the defense spending is still being drained in West Pakistan. Although 70% of the total foreign exchange and 60% of the total revenue is being earned by East Pakistan, not even very, small fraction has been spent in the development of East Pakistan. During this calamity if we have to depend solely on foreign nations, what is the use of being tagged with West Pakistan as a counterpart when West Pakistan's ruling clique is deliberately undermining the cause of relief work in East Pakistan.

We urge you to look into the 1940 Pakistan resolution moved by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Hoq, which called for two independent Pakistans. This was promised to East Pakistanis, but never fulfilled. Now we demand you to transfer the power to the present National leaders of East Pakistan and establish a separate, independent, sovereign East Pakistan and thereby avoid future enmity, violence, mistrust, hatred, and bloodshed between East Pakistanis and West Pakistanis.

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K. S. Ahmed
President
Pakistan League of America
2667 Broadway
New York, New York 10025

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নির্বাচনে বিজয় লাভের জন্য শেখ মুজিব ও দাঁর দলকে অভিনন্দন ও পরামর্শ দিয়ে লিখিত চিঠি	আমেরিকাস্থ পাকিস্তান লীগের সাংস্কৃতিক ও সামাজিক সমিতির সভাপতির চিঠি	১৯ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭০

THE PAKISTAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

2667 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10025.

December 19, 1970

Mr. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, President
Pakistan Awami League
Dhanmondi, Dacca
East Pakistan.

Dear Mr. Rahman,

On behalf of the Pakistan League of America, I would like to congratulate you and your party on your overwhelming victory during the first genuine election in the history of Pakistan. The result of the election explicitly proves that East Pakistanis can no longer tolerate the domination by W. Pakistan.

East Pakistan's resources are being exploited for the last 23 years to develop W. Pakistan. Today per capita annual income of an East Pakistani is $ 63.00 where as that of a West Pakistan is $125.00. East Pakistan is only being used as a colony of W. Pakistan. I am sure that there are many other issues involved and that one could be more aware of them than you.

However, there are a few other things which disturb me and I would like to call them to your attention. There are three thousand Pakistani students in the U. S. A..according to the latest registration statistics in the Embassy of Pakistan and out of which only 163 students come from East Pakistan. This kind of disparity regarding students also exists ill U. K. and in most of the other countries where Pakistani students go for higher study. A fantastic disparity also prevails in the 'Foreign services. For instance, in the ministry of Foreign Affairs, both Foreign Secretary and Assistant Foreign Secretary are from W. Pakistan. Also, there are 54 ambassadors and out of which only 14 from E. Pakistan.

The injustices which the East Pakistanis have suffered for the last 23 years is unimaginable and would be impossible to rectify even if E. Pakistan gels autonomy. The only way we can rectify this is to become the master of our own destiny.

We, the East Pakistani students and scholars in the U. S. A., therefore, do urge you to struggle' for the implementation of the 1940 Pakistan resolution moved by Mr. A. K.

Fazlul Hoq, which called for (wo independent and sovereign Pakistans. We have nothing in common with W. Pakistan that can keep us united. Now is the best time to struggle for independence. You not only have the support of 75 million Bengalis, but also the world's opinion in your favour.

Sincerely yours.

Sd/

Rafique U. Ahmed

Chairman
Cultural & Social Comm.

c. c. Mr. Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan.

Moulana A. H. K. Bhashani, Pres. of National Awami League.

Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, Pres. of Pakistan National League.

Mr. Nurul Amin, President of Pakistan Democratic Party.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
অভিনন্দনের জবাবে শেখ মুজিব কর্তৃক আমেরিকাস্থ পাকিস্তান লীগের সভাপতিকে ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন	রফিকউদ্দিন আহমদকে লিখিত শেখ মুজিবের চিঠি	১৯ জানুয়ারী, ১৯৭১

SHEIKHMUJ1BUR RAHMAN
677, Dhanmandi R. A;
Road No. 32
Dacca. Tel. 242561.
19. 1.71.

Dear Mr. Ahmed,

Thanks for your kind letter of congratulation on the success of my party in the general election of the country. The verdict of the people is in vindication of the Six-Point programme which we are committed to implement in order to establish a society where justice between region and region and between man and man shall prevail. We shall not fail to honor that verdict.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/.
(Sheikh Mujibur Rahman)

Mr. Rafique U. Ahmed.
Chairman; Cultural & Social Comm.,
Pakistan League of America,
Inc. 2667 Broadway
New York,
N. Y. 10025.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইয়াহিয়া খানকে প্রতিশ্রুতি অস্ত্র সাহায্য না দেয়ায় আবেদন জানিয়ে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের জনগণের উদ্দেশ্যে প্রচারিত চিঠি	আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের দলিল	১২ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE EAST PAKISTAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

2667 BROADWAY, NEW YORK. N.Y. 10025

Dated: 12th of March, 1971.

Dear Sir,

The organisation on whose behalf I am writing this letter represents the people of East Pakistan origin and their many friends in the United States. I feel impelled to write this letter to you because of what is going on in East Pakistan at this time.

The memory of the greatest natural disaster of recorded history which befell East Pakistan is still fresh in the minds of the American people. Few of them, however, seem to be aware of the magnitude of the danger that confronts the people of East Pakistan today. Unlike November last year the danger this time is man-made and, therefore, preventable. Seventy five million people-unarmed and helpless-stand face to face with machine guns and napalm bombs of an occupation force more than a thousand miles away.

In the twenty three years since Pakistan came into being, the people of (he Eastern Wing have been consistently exploited by the power elite in West Pakistan. Through their control of the bureaucracy and the army, they have been able to run the affairs of Pakistan in a manner which benefits them at the expense of the people of East Pakistan. They have frustrated the evolution of a democratic form of Government because it would mean giving a just share of the administration of the country to East Pakistan. Although 56 per cent of the population lives in the Eastern Wing, they have made significant concessions and sacrifices in a vain effort to weld the two distant parts into a nation. In 1956, they agreed to parity in representation by surrendering the rights of the majority. They did not even object to the capital being located ill the other wing. All this, however; was of no avail. Repeated blows were struck at the very basis of nationhood in 1956, 1958 and several times thereafter by an unholy alliance of the bureaucracy, the business interests and the army-all from West Pakistan. For nearly two decades the dominate clement in the politics of Pakistan has been the Army which is almost wholly composed of West Pakistanis. A series of coups engineered by the army took place to deny the people of East Pakistan their inalienable rights.

The result has been utter destitution of the people of East Pakistan. The world got a glimpse of the unabashed callousness and indifference of the ruling circles in Rawalpindi to the plight of East Pakistanis in the wake of the cyclone last November.

Driven to the wall by stark poverty and a tremendous pressure of increasing population in a small area, the people rose in revolt against Ayub whose 10 years rule collapsed under the assault of an aroused population; when General Yahya took over

power from Ayub, the people acquiesced in it, only because there was a clear understanding that power would be transferred to the representatives of the people after a constitution was framed by the elected representatives of the people.

Today, the stage has come for the drafting of the constitution but the military junta backed by the West Pakistani vested interests have struck again in order to thwart the restoration of power to the people. The "indefinite suspension" of the National Assembly, on the specious pretext of a agreement between Bhutto and Mujib and tensions between India and Pakistan has not fooled the people of East Pakistan. They knew from their bitter experiences in the past the perfidy of the vested interests in West Pakistan.

Thousands have already died in different cities and towns of East Pakistan protesting against the attempt to continue the military rule indefinitely. The solidarity that the people of East Pakistan has demonstrated on this issue is unparalleled in the world. Students, professionals, government servants have all joined together in a common cause. For once the vested interests in West Pakistan have not been able to find a single quisling among the 75 million people of East Pakistan. Is it not now the time for Americans to ponder over their role in this situation? How many Americans know that the arms furnished by U.S. over the years for defending the country are now being used against unarmed civilians in East Pakistan?

East Pakistan will fore-ever remember with gratitude the unstinting aid provided to them by the United States during their hour of need in the aftermath of cyclone only a few months ago. It is now their hope that Americans will not look on with unconcern at a human tragedy that is in the process of unfolding and may outstrip the devastating effects of the cyclone in human suffering.

Historically, the primary concern of the army in Pakistan has not been the defence of Pakistan, but defense of the vested interests of West Pakistan against the legitimate aspirations of the people of Pakistan.

The shameless role of the army is now being re-enacted in East Pakistan in full view of the world. It is therefore our earnest appeal to the American people, their representatives in Congress, their government, that the U.S. refrain from resuming arms aid promised to Yahya Khan during his visit to Washington in October last year.

The situation in East Pakistan today is not much different from what was in the United States when you embarked on your glorious struggle. (Like the British colonies in America, East Pakistan is being bled white in the interests of alive rulers thousand miles away. Like you, we arc having to pay taxes to a distant government indifferent to our welfare, without any rights of representation. Like you, we have decided to exercise our right of self determination. Like you, we will prevail, no matter what the cost.)

If you cannot help us, we beg of you, at least do not help the occupation forces in East Pakistan to continue their oppressive colonial rule.

Yours sincerely,
KAZI S. AHMAD
President.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের জরুরী সভায় গৃহীত সিদ্ধান্তসমূহ	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের সভার কার্যবিবরণী	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

(212) 866-7474 Established in 1947

THF. EAST PAKISTAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA

2667 Broadway, New York. N. Y. 10025

March 28. 1971.

The East Pakistan League of America, New York, held an emergency meeting at 2.00 P. M. this afternoon to discuss the current situation in Hast Pakistan and to consider the ways and means to help the unarmed and innocent people of Bangladesh who are engaged in a heroic struggle to preserve their independence. The meeting, attended by the people of Bangladesh living in the United States and Canada unanimously resolved the following:

1. This meeting of more than 300 Bengalis representing all Bengalis living in the U.S. and Canada vows to spare no sacrifices for liberating (heir motherland from the barbarous clutches of the West Pakistan Occupation Army.

2. This meeting also commemorates the 31st anniversary of the historic Lahore Resolution of 1940 which clearly had asked for the creation of two separate and independent states in the North-East and North-West regions of British India

3. This meeting also notes the sacrifices of Bengalis of East Pakistan for the former State of Pakistan in that they agreed to parity of representation and the various services. East Pakistan also agreed to Jive under a Federal framework under the 6-point program of our democratically elected leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The West Pakistani Military Dictator Yahya Khan instead of accepting this demand of 75 million people of Bangladesh has started a war of annihilation and medieval savagery against our people using Jet Bombers, Tanks. Artillery and other modern weapons.

4. This meeting further resolves that all the democratic peoples of the world should come forward in this grave hour of need of Bangladesh and they (the Bengalis) request the Governments of U.N. Member States especially the United States of America. United Kingdom. France and India to immediately recognize the Provisional Government of Bangladesh by Major Zia Khan and based in Chittagong and extend all possible help to throw out the aggressors from West Pakistan. The meeting also requests these countries through their Heads of Permanent Missions to the United Nations to convene a meeting of the United Nations Security Council and allow the State of Bangladesh to retain the membership of U.N. currently being held by Pakistan on the analogy of the case of India in 1947 when India retained the original membership and Pakistan had to apply afresh.

5. This meeting also requests President Richard M. Nixon to immediately ask for UN military intervention in East Pakistan to save the eternal ideal of "Government of the people, by the people and for the people".

6. This meeting expresses its deepest gratitude to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for her support to the cause of the democracy in East Pakistan and requests her to send aims and every other help to our valiant people in their struggle for survival with honor and dignity in the name of democracy, human rights and international morality.

7. This meeting further requests the Secretary-General of U. N. U Thant to call a meeting of the Security Council under Article 99 of the UN Charter and arrange to dispatch UN Peace Mission to East Pakistan to slop the Genocide.

Sd/-

(KAZI S. AHMED)

President.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘‘বাংলাদেশ’’- আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের মুখপাত্র	‘বাংলাদেশ’ ভল্যুম ১, সংখ্যা ১	৩১ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH

An Organ of the East Pakistan League of America, Inc.
2667 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10025

Volume 1 Number 1 March 31, 1971

MUJIB APPEALS

The following is the text of a broadcast message by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to the people of the world monitored at a wireless station near Calcutta on the morning of Friday, March 26, 1971. The time of broadcast was 09.08 hrs. on 500 kcs:

"Pakistan Armed Forces suddenly attacked East Pakistan Rifles base at Peelkhana and Rajarbagh Police Station in Dacca on March 26 from 12 midnight killing lots of unarmed people. Stern fighting going on with East Pakistan Rifles and Police Force in Dacca. People fighting gallantly with the enemy for the cause of freedom of Bangladesh. Every section of people of Bangladesh are asked to resist the enemy forces at any cost in every corner of Bangladesh. May Allah bless you and help in your struggle for freedom. JOY BANGLA."

-Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

WHY BANGLADESH

This is the first issue of Bangladesh. Its only function till the Pakistani aggressors,
bombing and burning our cities and killing unarmed civilians, are driven out of our sacred soil, will be tell you, the readers, what the Pakistanis are trying in vain to blackout-the heroic struggle of our entire people to preserve their freedom won at the' cost of their blood and tears.

Bangladesh will also endeavor at this historic moment of the birth of our nation to express without fear the hopes and aspirations of our compatriots living in this pan of the world fully convinced that those are also the hopes and aspirations of our suffering people at home.

-The Editorial Board

The East Pakistan League of America presents its compliments to the people of Bangladesh living in the United States and Canada and wishes to convey the news of the historical declaration of independence of 75 million Bengalis by our leader Sheikh

Mujibur Rahman. The proclamation of independence came in a broadcast over The Bangladesh Radio by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

While this should have been an occasion of great rejoicing and happiness for us, We can hardly indulge in any such celebration now. As you all know; the West Pakistani occupation forces in Bangladesh are at the moment engaged in a ruthless and savage act of war against our innocent and unarmed people. A State Department spokesman in Washington said Americans reaching the United States consulate in Dacca had told of extensive shootings by Pakistani Army troops and tanks throughout Dacca city. As you must have read in the international press, the Pakistani Armed Forces are using jet bombers, tanks, heavy artillery, machinegun and naval shelling against our helpless people.

All freedom-loving and sensible people in the world would surely condemn this medieval act of butchery and naked aggression against the Bengalis whose only fault was that they had asked for their inalienable right of self-determination. The 75 Million people of East Pakistan wanted to shape their own destiny as during the 23 years of their existence under the flag of Pakistan, they have been savagely exploited by West Pakistanis and mercilessly machine gunned whenever they tried to resist or demand their fair share.

WE HAVE NO LANGUAGE TO CONDEMN THE SAVAGERY OF THE WEST PAKISTANI MILITARY MACHINE. ITS ATROCITIES AND HORRIBBLE MEDIEVAL CRIMINAL ACTS AGAINST OUR INNOCENT PEOPLE HAVE BEEN FULLY REPORTED IN THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS.

By Ali Ahmed

Bengalis in U. S. Vow To Sacrifice AH For Bangladesh

At a meeting of East Pakistan League of America held in New York on March 28,
1971, more than 300 Bengalis from all over U.S. and Canada resolves to spare no sacrifices to preserve the independence of their motherland. The meeting further requested the Governments of the friendly countries especially the USA, UK, French and India to immediately recognize the provisional Government of Bangladesh, headed by Major Ziaur Rahman and located in Chittagong. and extends all possible help to throughout the West Pakistan aggressors.

INDIAN PARLIAMENT ADOPTS RESOLUTION

Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, moved resolution in both houses of Indian parliament, on March 31, 1971, demanding "immediate cessation" of use of force and "massacre of defenseless people" of East Bengal by the Pakistan Government "to put and end immediately to the systematic decimation of the people which amounts to genocide."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘‘বাংলাদেশ ডিফেন্স লীগ’’- এর বক্তব্য সম্বলিত প্রচারপত্র	‘‘বাংলাদেশ ডিফেন্স লীগ’’ - এর প্রচারপত্র	মার্চ, ১৯৭১

Bangladesh
Defense
League

The BANGLADESH DEFENSE LEAGUE (BDL) is a tax-free, nonprofit organisation of Bengalis and Americans, incorporated in the State of Illinois. It was formed after the Pakistani army attacked the defenseless people of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) on March 25, 1971.

The League's purposes are:

1. to place the Bengali view of the current crisis before the American public and keep it there.
2. to raise funds for the purpose of producing and distributing information.
3. to persuade the Congress and the Nixon Administration to change U. S. policy.
4. to maintain morale among the Bengalis in the U. S., many of whose friends and relatives are dead or missing.
5. to keep Bengalis and their American friends abreast of current developments inside Bangladesh, news of which is poorly covered.

The League also coordinates the efforts of the many Bangladesh groups in the U. S. and publishes a Bangladesh Newsletter periodically from Chicago.

I wish to join the BANGLADESH DEFENSE LEAGUE and receive the Newsletter

Enclosed is my contribution for $.....

NAME .....

ADDRESS.....
.....PHONE.....

BANGLADESH DEFENSE LEAGUE
5245 S. KENWOOD AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60615

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংরক্ষণের মাধ্যমে সাহায্যের আবেদন	আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের প্রচারপত্র	৩ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

STRUGGLE FOR PRESERVATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF BANGLADESH

The entire world is now fully aware of the barbaric atrocities let loose through the use of jet-bombers, tanks, heavy artilleries, machineguns and other modern weapons on the innocent and unarmed people of Bangladesh whose only crime was that they had asked for the transfer of government to their democratically elected leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman who won an absolute majority in the newly elected National Assembly and further that they should be allowed a large measure of autonomy within the federal framework.

It may be recalled in this connection that the Lahore Resolution of 1940 passed by
All India Muslim League the political party of Muslim community clearly and unequivocally expressed the will of the entire Muslim community of India to have "TWO SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT STATES IN THE NORTH EAST AND NORTH WEST REGIONS OF BRITISH INDIA".

We would also like to point out the sacrifices of the people of Bangladesh for the former state of Pakistan in that they agreed to parity of representation in parliament and various services.

Already during the first three days of fighting three hundred thousand Bengalis have been killed by the shameless aggression of West Pakistan against our unarmed people.

In this grave hour of need of our people, we have approached the member states of the United Nations to accord immediate recognition to the provisional government of Bangladesh headed by Maj. Ziaur Rahman and located in Chittagong and extend all possible help to throw out the aggressor.

We have also requested the members of the U. N Security Council and other member-nations to convene an emergent meeting of the Security council and allow the state of Bangladesh to retain membership of the United Nations held by Pakistan 011 the analogy of the case of India in 1047 when India retained the original membership and Pakistan had to apply afresh.

As Mr. Samar Sen, the Ambassador of India to the U. N. has so courageously stated that although the situation in Pakistan was a domestic matter, it was a domestic matter which had taken **immoral proportions**. It is precisely a situation of this kind in which Article 99 of the U. N. Charter can be very effectively applied.

We have therefore requested 'the Secretary-General U Thant to call a meeting of the Security Council under Article 99 of the U. N. Charter and arrange to dispatch U. N.

Team to Bangladesh to stop the merciless and SELECTIVE Genocide which has no parallel in human history, not even in the annals of medieval savagery and butchery

JOI BANGLA ! VICTORY TO BENGAL'

New York
April X 1971

K S. AHMED
President.

The East Pakistan League of America. Inc.,

2667 Broadway,

New York. New York 10025

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসী সকল বাঙালী ও প্রতিবেশীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের বক্তব্য	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের দলিলপত্র	৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

CIRCULAR NO. 1. April 5. 1971

To All Bengalis:

The devastation of our Country was so sudden and shocking that for some time an of us were stunned. We now realize that victory will certainly be ours but that the struggle will be long. The first and foremost, thing to remember is that every one of us must keep up our spirits, and not let ourselves be disheartened by temporary reverses. Remember that Bengalis are among the most courageous people in the world. They have fought machineguns, mortars, and tanks with sticks and spears. They have had the courage to face such overwhelming odds and in many instances they have own.

What can we, who are abroad, do to help the situation? There are some things we should do immediately.

1. Bangladesh League of America

It has been decided that East Pakistan League of America Inc., New York will be the parent body for all Bengali organizations in U. S. A. It's name will shortly be changed to Bangladesh League of America. You should form chapters of this body and inform us at the address given at the end of the circular. As far as possible Bengalies with American citizenship should be made presidents of local chapters. This will facilitate fund raising and support from local Congressmen, local elected bodies and the local people.

2. Fund Raising

Arrangements are being made for supply of material help to our people Money is needed immediately to purchase and ship these goods. All Bengalis should go out on a fund raising campaign. Most of our funds' will come from conscientious Americans who have been shocked by the brutality of the West Pakistan army. It should be emphasized that enormous amounts of assistance will be needed to provide food, medical aid and other forms of relief to the victims of the: atrocities. In every city where there are Bengalis you should start a body called "The American Friends of Bangladesh". This body may or may not be incorporated. Such bodies have been founded in Cambridge. Mass., Nashville, Tenn. and Washington D.C. An American citizen should be the president of your local AFB. When funds are collected the checks should be made out to BANGLADESH FUND. These checks should be kept with each chapter till further instructions. Weekly information on amounts actually collected should be sent by express delivery post to the address below. We should save on long distance telephone calls and better use it for purchase of supplies. The names, addresses and phone numbers of all Bengalis in each chapter should also be sent to the address given below, by special delivery post.

3. Information Campaign:

Various groups of Bengalis have already done good work in publicizing the atrocities perpetrated on our people and in approaching various influential persons to lend their voice in condemning West Pakistan. This work should now be taken up by every Bengali. Special attention should be paid to student bodies, academic councils, and eminent professors. The intellectual community should be informed of the enormity of the crimes committed by the West Pakistani Army. Try to get these bodies and persons to pass resolutions asking for the cessation of the genocide. Arrange to speak to any group or organization interested in hearing about our view of the conflict. It is important to point out that we are not "Rebels" as we are being called so often in press. TV and radio. (There is absolutely no analogy with the situation in America during their Civil War. Rather our struggle is analogous to their independence struggle against colonial rulers in 1776.)

It is the army which has rebelled against the majority of the duly elected representatives of the people. Emphasize the fact that a legitimate, elected body is being destroyed by an army led by a dictator. Also emphasize their Nazi-style attack on the entire educated class, the destroying of Dacca University, the wanton killing of students and the cold-blooded murder of at least 50 professors and lecturers of Dacca University. (We hear the among them there may have been Dr. Shah Azizur Rahman, Dr. G. C. Deb and Dr. Muzaffer Ahmed Choudhury.) It is absolutely imperative for the movement that the sympathy of the press, TV, radio and other publicity media is awakened and kept alive.

4**. India, Ceylon, Borma**

There should be unrelenting pressure on these three countries to help us. Ceylon should not allow re-fuelling as well as over flight of military or PIA planes. P1A is continuously ferrying troops into Bangladesh. Burma should not allow over flights of military planes coining via China. India should immediately help the Republic of Bangladesh with materials. Letters from Bengalis and Americans, telegrams, telephone calls, resolutions passed by Indian, Ceylonese and Burmese nationals, all these will help in our campaign. There is not a moment to lose. Please give your utmost for the cause of Bangladesh.

JOY BANGLA.

Temporary Address:

3117 7th Street, N. E.

Washington, D.C. 20217.

Telephone: 703-356-0277.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের জনগণ ও নেতৃবৃন্দের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের সভাপতির আবেদন	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অফ আমেরিকার সভাপতির প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

The East Pakistan League of America, Inc.

2667 BROADWAY, NEW YORK. N. Y. 10025"

Dear Sir,

The United States cannot stand by with folded arms while 75 million people of East Pakistan are being savagely repressed by the military junta headed by Yahya Khan in an effort to prevent democratic process from taking root in Pakistan. Considering the closeness of the military regime in Pakistan to Communist China, considering the importance of repairing our already fragile relations with India, the only major bastion of democracy in South Asia and the long-standing need to foster stable non-Communist societies on the periphery of Communist States, we urge support for East Pakistanis in their struggle for self-determination.

Since March 25 a region of terror has been let loose against defenseless people of East Pakistan by the military forces from West Pakistan. They are diverting U.S. food ships to Karachi on the pretext that the port of Chittagong is congested, while ships carrying U. S. ammunition continue to unload there. They have severed all communication between East Pakistan and the rest of the world. Even International Red Cross plans are not allowed to carry relief supplies to East Pakistan. An foreign correspondents have been expelled from East Pakistan. But foreigners, including Americans, who have been interviewed by the press after getting out of East Pakistan confirm wholesale shooting, rape and pillage of Innocent civilians.

In order to solidify American position in Asia, and the world, and to uphold our moral values, we should use our influence to stop bloodshed immediately. We can do so without risking direct involvement.

The deficit economy of West Pakistan is heavily dependent on (a) continued exploitation of Hast Pakistan as a colony and market and (b) foreign aid, especially from the United States. The aroused populace of East Pakistan is denying the exploitation of its resources for the benefit of the vested interests of West Pakistan. The Achilles Heel of West Pakistan, then, is its reliance on foreign aid. Without it, it cannot sustain military operation in East Pakistan for long.

Quite apart from moral consideration, it is in American interest to use its leverage on West Pakistan to put a stop to repressive measures by its army against the people of East Pakistan. Unless this is done, guerilla warfare will continue, cause radicalization of the political forces in both East and West Pakistan, and hamper the stability of the region.

Action, and speedy action, is necessary, if the United States is to maintain its position, and its stature, in this strategic part of the world. The United States as an immediate measure should move along the following lines:

1) The United States should cease all aid, military and economic, including any in the pipeline, to West Pakistan until its troops are withdrawn from East Pakistan.
2) The United States should put pressure on the Government of Pakistan to allow international relief efforts to aid distressed Pakistanis in areas under its occupation. In the liberated areas, relief can be provided through the newly-formed provisional government of Bangladesh, if necessary in cooperation with the Indian Government.
3) The United States should recognize the provisional government of Bangladesh, as the democratically expressed will of the people of East Pakistan as soon asn possible.
4) The United States should support the idea of a U.N. observer mixtion to go to East Pakistan and report on the situation to the Security Council for appropriate action.

Your sincerely,
Sd/-
KAZI S. AHMED.
PRESIDENT. THE EAST PAKISTAN
LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সরকার ও জনগণের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের জনগণের আবেদন	আমেরিকান লীগ অফ বাংলাদেশ প্রকাশিত বুলেটিন	১৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH

Only four months ago the people of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) experienced the greatest natural disaster of modern times when a cyclone hit the coastal areas. The utter apathy and criminal negligence of the military regime was witnessed by the whole world at that time. To-day the same military junta are enacting the greatest man-made human tragedy of modern era.

A wholesale massacre of defenseless people by the army with machine guns and bombs has been going on for the past three days. Hospitals have been bombed, population centers razed to the ground, unarmed people mowed down in the streets- this is the picture that has been given to the world press by foreign correspondents present in Dacca when the carnage began. It is a measure of the horrible intention of the military - that they have found it necessary to expel the foreign correspondents at gun point. What is taking place is a massacre without parallel in modern history.

The people of Bangladesh are being systematically killed, because they have committed the crime of demanding that the military junta led by General Yahya hand over power to the elected representatives of the people. This promise was solemnly made by General Yahya when he illegally usurped power and was repeated before the General Assembly of the United Nations in October last year.

The events of this month have made it clear, if there was any doubt, that the military junta have no desire to abdicate power to the people, or loosen their colonial grip over Bangladesh. They are determined that Bangladesh should continue to remain a colony and captive market for West Pakistan, even if it means decimating the population.

The people of Bangladesh are no less determined to break themselves loose from a forced union with their oppressors from West Pakistan.

Let there be no doubt as to the outcome of this contest of wills. They are equipped with modem weapons, we are equipped with invincible faith in our cause. They are mercenaries, we are freedom fighters. They are few, we are many. They are morally corroded, we are morally strong. They may win a few battles, but we will win the war.

The struggle that is now going on in Bangladesh is part of the general world-wide movement for liberation from colonial domination. It is no different from the struggle that the American people waged against their distant rulers two centuries ago. Like the British colonies in America, East Pakistan is being bled white in the interests of alien

rulers thousand miles away. Like you, we are having to pay taxes to a distant government indifferent to our welfare, without any right of representation. Like you, we have decided to exercise our right of self-determination. Like you, we will prevail, no matter what the cost.

Knowing the great traditions of the American people, the people of Bangladesh have no doubt that the American Government and people will do their best to arrest the monstrous genocide in Bangladesh. Time, however, is of essence. If innocent human beings have to be saved, the time for action is now.

In the name of humanity, we appeal to you to use your influence as a world power to stop the indiscriminate killing of thousands of innocent civilians.

You can help us by not helping our oppressors. We beg of you not to give any assistance, military or economic, to the Yahya regime.

You can help us by recognizing the newly formed provisional Government of Bangladesh. We implore you to recognize this democratic government immediately.

April 15, 1971

AMERICAN LEAGUE OF BANGLADESH

416, Sinclair Avenue,

Glendale, CA91206

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের সভাপতির প্রতি গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পররাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রীর পত্র	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	২২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

জয় বাংলা গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার

MUJIBNAGAR
April 22, 1971

K. S. Ahmed, Esqr.,
President.
The East Pakistan League of America, Inc
2667 Broad Way,
New York 10025.

Dear Mr. Ahmed,

Acknowledge your letter dated 9th April 1971 through Mr. Faruqul Islam and Mr. Mahbub Husain.

I thank you for the same and congratulate you and your Committee for organising the people of Bangladesh residing in America for all they can do in achieving our ultimate goal.

Your organisation is being authorized to mobilize pressure for the recognition of People's Republic of Bangladesh in the United Nation and upon the ambassadors of U. N. member countries.

I shall rely upon you to do the following :-

(a) Organise our people more vigorously.

(b) Create public opinion in America through mass rally, meetings, seminars, publications and other possible means against the mass killing and genocide that are now going on in Bangladesh.

(c) Mobilize and co-ordinate collection of funds and relief materials such as food grains, medicines, winter clothing's etc. and arrange to send them at convenient interval. Further instructions with regard to utilization of funds shall be communicated to you in due course. In the meantime, specification of certain items have been handed over to Mr. Husain and Mr. Islam.

(d) Move International Red Cross and other similar humanitarian organizations for relief, aid and all kind of assistance.

(e) To co-operate with Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury our Special Representative to U. N. and extend to him as much assistance as possible.

For correspondence, it would be for the time being convenient to use the address at Bangladesh Diplomatic Mission, 9, Circus Avenue, Calcutta-17.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Minister, Foreign Affairs.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের বক্তব্য	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের দলিলপত্র	২৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

April 26,-1971

CIRCULAR NO.2

Contact has been established with our government in Bangladesh and we have been given certain directives to carry out. Our Prime Minister, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, wishes the Bengali community abroad to concentrate on two aspects of the struggle against the invaders: fund-raising and diplomatic pressure.

Fund-raising: The Prime Minister has asked for certain purchases to be made through funds raised abroad. Some of these items need not be revealed at present. Other items are medical supplies, certain items of clothing etc. These funds are also to be used support the diplomatic arm of the Bangladesh government.

Fund-raising should be for two different purposes. Funds raised through the American Friends of Bangladesh and various church groups should be earmarked clearly for relief supplies. We estimate that so far the invading Pakistan army has burnt 2000 villages, rendering a million persons homeless. Half-a-million refugees have crossed over to India for sanctuary. We have to help both the refugees in India and the homeless people in Bangladesh. For help to the homeless in Bangladesh arrangements are being worked out and will be intimated to you in another circular.

Funds raised for help to the Bangladesh government should be collected in the name of Bangladesh Fund (as intimated earlier in Circular No.l). Direct personal contributions can also be made to the Representative of Bangladesh in North America. This Representative is likely to be appointed within the next 2 weeks. For the Bangladesh fund we should elicit generous contributions from Bengalis. Our brothers and sisters are going through great sufferings at home. The least we can do is to suffer a little with them by sacrificing some of our comforts.

Diplomatic Campaign: The declaration of Mr. Hossain Ali in Calcutta has been a tremendous boost to our diplomatic campaign. 'His address is given below: Please do not write to him unless absolutely necessary. As the chief diplomatic mission of Bangladesh they have their hands very full. However a letter of congratulation to Mr. Ali and his colleagues will be much appreciated. The telegraph address is BANGLADESH. CALCUTTA.

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* Mr. Hossain Ali
Chief Representative of Bangladesh in India
Bangladesh Mission
9 Circus Avenue
Calcutta-17. India.

Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury, Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, is expected to come to New York to present our case before the United Nations. As soon as the exact dates of his visit are known we shall inform the bigger chapters telephonically. We expect the bigger chapters to inform the smaller groups/individuals around them. A big turnout to welcome and support Justice A. S. Chowdhury is expected. Each chapter should send at least one person to New York during his visit.

We must continue writing letters to Senators and Congressmen. Letters from Americans would be specially effective. Please do not relax the publicity campaign.

News from Bangladesh: From our contact with the Peoples Government of Bangladesh we have learnt about the following developments:

(a) Outside Dacca all civil servants have joined the Mukti Fouj and many instances the Deputy Commissioners and S.D.O.'s have led the resistance. Outside Dacca formers East Pakistan government employees have joined the Bangladesh government. Nearly all class II, III and IV employees of government offices in Dacca have gone to their villages and towns and joined the Mukti Fouj. The remaining officers in Dacca are being taken to and from their offices by armed escorts. This is necessary for the military invaders since at every opportunity people are slipping out of Dacca, because of the complete insecurity of life and property in the city. Biharis from Mirpur and Mohammadpur have occupied most of the house in Dhanmondi and they are looting without hindrance. "Muslim" Biharis in Dacca and other place (Saidpur, Lalmonirhat etc.) have been issued rifles and they have formed marauding gangs against the local people. Other non-Bengalis, such as the Garos and Santhals, are fighting against the, West Pakistani invaders. Most of these "tribal" people are Christians and, like the Hindus, are in danger of being killed as soon as they are caught by the West Pakistanis.

(b) Many persons have rushed to Bangladesh to help the war efforts. Unfortunately most of them do not have the skills urgently necessary. The Cabinet advised our emissary that they urgently need

(i) radio/electronics engineers and mechanics,

(ii) persons with UOTC/army/police training,

(iii) civil servants of all categories,

(iv) mechanical engineers and mechanics,

(v) medical doctors and nurses.

Anyone wishing to serve in Bangladesh should contact the Bangladesh Mission,

Calcutta, till such time that a mission is opened in USA.

(c) The seat of Bangladesh government is in Mujibnagar, which is not at a fixed location. Mujibnagar is wherever the Cabinet meet. This is to prevent the Pakistan Air Force from napalm-bombing the actual location. Till such time as we acquire antiaircraft capability the "capital" shall remain mobile. However, even at present the Pakistan army is incapable of holding most of the country.

They move in columns of 1000 or more with armored cars and tanks. Villages on either side of the advancing column are burnt, the Towns are shelled by howitzers and strafed, cannoned and napalm-bombed by Sabre jets. These marauders destroy or loot everything. However, they cannot hold on. For example they did advance from Ishurdi to Kushtia, Chuadanga and Meherpur. but now they have withdrawn to Bheramara. They are having considerable logistics trouble and are afraid of moving out without-artillery or air support. Pakistani troop of company strength is liable to be overwhelmed by the Mukti Fouj and this has made them change their tactics to one of massive but temporary force. The Mukti Fouj has also changed its tactics. They offered resistance in conventional form at first, but lacking armour, artillery or air force they found this to be rather costly. They have now switched largely to guerilla type warfare with great success. The supply position of the Pakistan army has been badly affected. Trains are not running in any part of Bangladesh. Chittagong port is paralysed. Chalna is in Mukti Fouj control (but Khulna is in Pakistan army control.) With the early advent of the monsoon rains and the deterioration of the financial position of Pakistan, coupled with training and arming of larger Mukti Fouj, we should see a reversal of the military situation in the next few months.

JOY BANG LA !

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	২৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

TO THE HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

In December 1970, for the first time in its brief history as a nation, Pakistan held free and fair elections at the provincial and national levels. The national elections were designed to produce a constituent assembly which was to prepare a national constitution as a step toward the restoration of democratic government, absent from the country since 1958. The peoples of East Pakistan, or what is now called Bangladesh gave their overwhelming support (167 out of 169 seats for East Pakistan in the constituent assembly) to one party, the Awami League. The League under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, had pledged to work for a national constitution which would grant more autonomy to the province of East Pakistan as a principal means of bringing an end to politico-economic discrimination against its citizens. And, as a result of this overwhelming support, the Awami League became the majority party in the constituent assembly, by virtue of which it would have been able to formulate a constitution of its choice. Nonetheless, for two months prior to the outbreak of violence, and before any convening of the assembly. Sheikh Mujibur attempted to work out a consensus with the leader of the principal minority party, Z. A. Bhutto, and Pakistani President Yahya Khan. Without warning on night of March 25, 1971, the negotiations were abruptly ended by premeditated military attacks against civilians, especially intellectuals, students, and political elites of the province.

For more than a month now, the Government of Pakistan has been using brute military force to suppress a non-violent democratic movement, in Bangladesh. The Pakistani army has committed without discrimination acts of atrocity against the civilian population of all ages and both sexes resulting in casualties ranging somewhere between 200,000 and 1,000,000 persons. Contrary to the original intention of the American military alliance with Pakistan, the weapons and military supplies acquired through this alliance have been used against citizens of the country not a foreign enemy. These acts of genocide transgress all values which the civilized world has come to classify as basic human rights, and especially the right of life.

By virtue of it5 military assistance to Pakistan, the United States has indirectly become a party to this instance of egregious inhumanity. And, while the United States cannot be expected to intervene to stop the Pakistani Government from using these weapons, it can take several measures which may help to stop the bloodshed and create a political community in that region which would be most consistent with the wishes of the Bengali people and restore political stability.

The measures are as follows:

1. Diplomatic recognition of the Government of Bangladesh.

2. Proscription of all economic and military assistance to Pakistan until the violence has ceased and the legitimate aspirations of the Bengali people are realized.
3. Adoption of measures in conjunction with other nations, the United Nations, and international relief agencies to arrange and assure the delivery of food, clothing, and medical supplies to the victims of the atrocities; and the adoption of all other possible steps which may be required to assure relief and rehabilitation of victims in Bangladesh and Bangladesh refugees in India.
4. Diplomatic efforts to influence the Government of Pakistan to end the atrocities immediately and to recognize the rights of the Bengali people.

The Pakistani armed forces may have gained the upper hand in the fighting thus far; but the legitimate aspirations of 75 million people are destined to prevail. American interests would be served best if the violence were stopped immediately and the justifiable rights of the Bengali people recognized. Otherwise, prospects for a stabilized region are non-existent. And, there is a possibility that the Bangladesh movement, presently under leadership of the democratic Awami League, might fall into the hands of the democratic Awami League, might fall into the hands of radical leftist elements.

April 27, 1971'

Bangladesh League of America
3117 7th St. N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20017
Tel: 832-8727

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ সভাপতির বক্তব্য	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	৩ মে, ১৯৭১

THE EAST PAKISTAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

2667 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10025.

May 3, 1971

Dear Friend,

As you already might be aware of, the East Pakistan League of America, New York, had sent two representatives to Bangladesh to meet with the national leaders and also make a firsthand study of the situation. One of representatives, Mr. Mahbub Husain has just returned and has brought with him instructions from the Bangladesh Government Mr. Husain presented a detailed report to a General Meeting of the League held yesterday. Mr. Husain stated that the residence was now being organized on guerilla tactics and that by and large the countryside was under the control of the liberation Army. He further stated that the enemy army were using long-range heavy shelling and aerial bombardment and staffing. This led to large scale exodus of helpless Bengali refugees so much so that by the end of April, 1971 an estimated 2.5 million refugees had crossed over into India. The Bangladesh Government was taking all necessary steps for carrying out a guerilla warfare and throw out the enemy occupation forces.

The Government has also set up a Central Secretariat with the help of all former Pakistan Civil Servants and other officials. A High Command consisting of Members of National and Provincial Assemblies, teachers and student leaders has been established under the leadership of Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury to co-ordinate the training and supply activities for the Mukti Fouz (Liberation Army). We are fully convinced of our ultimate victory and we offer our complete and unsticted co-operation with Bangladesh Government.

We are enclosing a copy of the letter received from Bangladesh Foreign Minister, Khondker Mushtaque Ahmed dated April 22, 1971 for your information. The Foreign Minister has thanked the League for organizing the people of Bangladesh in America and has also authorized us to organise, mobilize and co-ordinate collection of funds and relief materials such as food and medicines.

We would also like to take this opportunity to inform you that Bangladesh Government has authorized Mr. A. H. Mahmood Ali, former Pakistan Vice-Consul in New York, to establish Bangladesh Mission in New York. Mr. Ali is now busy setting up the. Mission.

The Bangladesh Govt. has also requested for the services of experienced personnel in the fields of diplomacy, telecommunication, freedom fighting, press and broadcasting.

Copies of Bangladesh Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed's press statement are available with our office on donation.

JOY BANGLA!

Yours sincerely.
Sd/-
(Kazi S. Ahmed)
President.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আমেরিকাস্থ ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগের সম্পাদকের বক্তব্য	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	৩ মে, ১৯৭১

THE EAST PAKISTAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

2667 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10025

May 3, 1971

Dear Friend,

Please he informed that the Annual General meeting of League will be held somewhere in the vicinity of New York metropolitan area. The exact date and the time will be notified later. We are calling all the Bengalis in the USA and Canada to attend that meeting. It is important that you do response and let us know if you would attend the meeting. Arrangements have to be made accordingly.

The election of the Executive Board will take place at that meeting to elect the following office bearers viz. President, Vice-President, Secretary, Asstt. Secretary. Treasurer, Chairman Cultural and Social Committee, Membership and public relation committee. Chairman, Editorial Board and not more that 6 members.

A nomination Committee has been appointed for the purpose. Please submit your nomination to Mr. A. K. M. Shahadat Hussain, not later than June 10. 1971. You will please note that both nominee and the nominator should be members of the E. P. L. A. or its affiliated chapters.

Please note the following two important information's:

1. A resolution has been adopted at the general body meeting held on May 2, 1971 at 145 Bleeker St. to change the name of E. P. L. A. to Bangladesh League of America Inc. All accounts and books of records will, however, continue to function as usual under the present name until the legal formalities are met with and the new name is approved by the State Govt. in Albany.

2. For the benefit of those who are enquiring about our relation with Bangladesh Govt., I would like to inform you that we have direct contact with our Govt. One of emissaries came back with directives from the Bangladesh Govt. A detailed information will be made available to the leaders of all local chapters.

We need fund and need it badly to comply with the request of our Govt. Please co- operate and response to our call.

For nomination, contact:
Mr. A. K. M. Shahadat Hussain,
397 8th Avenue, Yew York, N. Y. 10001.
Phone: 868-9794.

Sincerely yours,
Sd/-
(Fayzur Rahman)
Secretary.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আমেরিকাস্থ বাংলাদেশ লীগের সদস্যভুক্তি ফরম	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	মে, ১৯৭১

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To

The Secretary
The Bangladesh League of America. Inc.
Greater Washington. D. C. Chapter.

Dear Sir.
I. MrVMrsVMiss.----------

do hereby desire to be member of your organization. I shall abide by the constitution and shall render my services to the best of my ability.

My membership fee of $ 2.00 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours.

Signature.

Mailing Address:
Street :
Apt. :
City :
State :
Zip Code :

Note: Cheque should be made payable to: The Bangladesh League of America.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আমেরিকার প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি সর্বাত্মক সহযোগিতার আহবান	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	১৩ মে, ১৯৭১

WASHINGTON CHAPTER

সুধী,

আমাদের সোনার বাংলা আজ জ্বলে-পুড়ে ছাই হয়ে যাচ্ছে বর্বর পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সৈন্যের ট্যাংকের আঘাতে। আমাদের ভায়েরা আজ বিকৃতদেহ বোমার আগুনে, আমাদের মা-বোন ধর্ষিত হচ্ছে নৃশংস, পশুসম পাঞ্জাবী সৈন্যের হাতে। আমার সোনার দেশের মানুষ আজ হীনতম পশুর চেয়েও জঘন্য অবস্থায় জীবন কাটাচ্ছে- কুকুর-বেড়ালের মত তাদের রাস্তায় গুলি করে মারছে। শকুন-চিল তাদের মাংস ছিঁড়ে খাচ্ছে বাংলাদেশের পথে ঘাটে।

আমাদের কি অপারাধ? আমাদের অপরাধ বিদেশী শোষকের শোষণে অত্যাচারিত মাতৃভূমিকে আমরা মুক্ত করতে চেয়েছি। আমরা চেয়েছি বাংলাদেশের নিরন্ন চাষী-মজুরের মুখে খাবার দিতে, আমরা চেয়েছি শিক্ষাবঞ্চিত, চিকিৎসাবঞ্চিত বাংলাদেশের মানুষের আর্থিক অবস্থার উন্নতি। আমাদের যা নায্য পাওনা, আমাদের রক্ত জল করা সেই পাটের পয়সা, চায়ের পয়সা- আমরা চেয়েছি আমার দেশের মানুষের উন্নয়নে তা ব্যয় হোক। আমরা চেয়েছি গত তেইশ বছর ধরে ধর্মের নামে, ইসলামের নামে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের কায়েমী স্বার্থ আমাদের আর্থিক জীবনকে পঙ্গু করে দেয়ার যে চক্রান্ত চালিয়েছে তার অবসান।

আমাদের এই গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকারের জবাবে আজ তারা। পূর্ব বাংলায় ধ্বংসের তান্ডবলীলা চালিয়েছে। গ্রাম, শহর, গঞ্জ আজ ধ্বংসস্তূপ। সাধারণ মানুষ, শ্রমিক, চাষী, সরকারী কর্মচারী, ছাত্র, শিল্পী, অধ্যাপক- সমস্ত বাঙালীকে হত্যা, করে বাঙালীকে একটা জাতি হিসাবে পৃথিবীতে মাথা তুলে দাঁড়াতে না দেয়া হচ্ছে ইয়াহিয়া-ভুট্টো চক্রের পরিকল্পনা। পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে নৃসংশতার, বর্বরতার এমন দৃষ্টান্ত মেলা ভার।

কিন্তু ইয়াহিয়া-ভুট্টো চক্র একথা জানে না যে এই বাংলাদেশ একদিন ক্ষুদিরামের জন্ম দিয়েছিল, এই বাংলাদেশ জন্ম দিয়েছিল সূর্যসেনের, এই বাংলাদেশ জন্ম দিয়েছে বরকত-সালামের। আজ বাংলার ঘরে ঘরে ক্ষুদিরাম, ঘরে ঘরে বরকত-সালাম। যদি প্রয়োজন হয় সাতকোটি বাঙালীর জীবন দিয়ে হলেও আমরা আমাদের স্বাধীনতা অর্জন করবো। আজ আমাদের দেশ যদি স্বাধীনতা লাভ না করে, আমাদের জন্মভূমিতে যদি আমরা মাথা তুলে দাঁড়াতে না পারি, পৃথিবীর বুক হতে বাঙালী জাতি নিশ্চিহ্ন হয়ে যায় তাহলে আমাদের বেঁচে থাকার কি প্রয়োজন, কি প্রয়োজন আমাদের সম্পদে, পরদেশের জৌলুসে? আমাদের ব্যক্তিগত বৈভব, আমাদের শিক্ষা কোন স্বর্গ উদ্ধার করবে, আমাদের মাতৃভূমি যদি দলিত-মথিত হয় শত্রুর পদতলে?

বাংলার মানুষের আজ চরম পরীক্ষার দিন। আমরা যারা বিদেশে আছি, যারা বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামী মানুষের সঙ্গে কাঁধ মিলিয়ে যুদ্ধ করতে পারছি না, যারা মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের সঙ্গে দাঁড়িয়ে জীবন দিতে পারছি না মাতৃভূমির কলঙ্ক মোচনের জন্য, আসুন আমরা সংঘবদ্ধ হয়ে আমাদের জীবনপণ করি এই স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে জয়ী হওয়ার জন্য। আজ প্রয়োজন আমাদের সমগ্র প্রচেষ্টা একত্রিত করা- যারা শত্রুর মুখোমুখি দাঁড়িয়ে যুদ্ধ করছে, তাদের সর্বাত্মক সাহায্য দেওয়ার জন্য।

বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকা (যা পূর্বে পূর্ব পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকা নামে পরিচিত ছিল) উত্তর আমেরিকার বাঙালীদের প্রতিষ্ঠান হিসাবে সুবিদিত। দীর্ঘদিন ধরে এই প্রতিষ্ঠান পূর্ব বাংলার স্বাধিকারের জন্য

সংগ্রাম করে যাচ্ছে। এই সংগঠন কোন বিশেষ রাজনৈতিক মতবাদের মুখপত্র নয়। যে কোন বাঙালী তার দেশকে ভালবাসে, যে কোন বাঙালী তার দেশের স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণ করতে চায়, এই প্রতিষ্ঠান এই প্রতিষ্ঠান তার জন্য। আমাদের একান্ত অনুরোধ, এই প্রতিষ্ঠানে যোগ দিন এবং বিদেশ থেকেও কিভাবে আমরা আমাদের আজকের জীবণ-মরণ সংগ্রামে সাহায্য করতে পারি, সে বিষয়ে আপনাদের অভিমত অন্য সবাইকে জানান।

আজ বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার একটাই মাত্র লক্ষ্য- মাতৃভূমির স্বাধীনতা।

জয় বাংলা।

মে ১০, ১৯৭১।

মহসীন রেজা সিদ্দীক
সম্পাদক, বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকা,
ওয়াশিংটন ডিসি শাখা।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	মে, ১৯৭১

THE CAUSE OF 75 MILLION PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH

You must have heard of the greatest man-made disaster in Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) by the West Pakistan Army led by military dictator Yahya Khan. The army has indiscriminately killed thousands of unarmed innocent people and has carried out large-scale planned murders of University Professors, school teachers, students, doctors, engineers and political leaders.

This mass murder is in response to the result of the first election in the history of Pakistan; it is the West Pakistan military Government's answer to an overwhelming popular victory of the representatives pledged to defend the interest of the people of Bangladesh.

Ever since the creation of Pakistan, the United States of America has provided economic aid for the development of entire Pakistan and military aid to defend the country against Communist aggression. When people of Bangladesh demanded autonomy to share the economic aid, which was denied to them for years by West Pakistan dominated Central Government, the built-up military force is used to exterminate them enmasse.

A reign of terror persists in Bangladesh. Thousands of people have fled to neighboring country India to save their lives. Those who escaped the bullets of the army are facing danger of starvation. Widespread cases of smallpox and cholera are reported.

The people of Bangladesh are fighting a desperate battle of survival. Their cause needs help and support from each and every peace-loving member of civilized society.

The Bengalis living in the United States have organized themselves to help the cause of Bangladesh. We, on behalf of the East Bengali community in Pittsburgh, appeal to you to voice your opinion by letters and telegrams to your Senators, State Department and World Bank to stop both economic and military aid until the military rulers stop their oppression and a democratic rule is established. We also appeal to you for generous help for alleviating the sufferings of the people of Bangladesh.

Contributions can be made to Bangladesh League of America by mailing your check to Dr. Ayub Iqbal, 5217 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15232. For further information call 363-2223 or 683-3146.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যার প্রতিবাদ ও স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থনদানের জন্য আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার প্রচারপত্র	মে, ১৯৭১

When Silence Becomes Shameful
One Must Speak out!

G E N O C I D E I N B AN G L A D E S H

Pakistan Military butchered 200.000 defenseless civilians with arms given by your country.

Professors, Engineers, Doctors, Students slaughtered in their homes.

Dacca University shelled and destroyed by U. S. supplied Tanks.

Cities and Towns Bombed; Villages Burned.

-Please condemn the military atrocities in Bangladesh.
-Please raise your voice to protest against sending U. S. assistance to PAKISTANI DICTATORSHIP.

-Please help us. Send your contribution to:-

AMERICAN LEAGUE OF BANGLADESH
416 Sinclair Avenue
GLENDALE. Ca. 91206
-Your help can mitigate the suffering of the victims.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ক্যালিফোর্নিয়ায় আমেরিকান লীগ অব বাংলাদেশের তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	আমেরিকান লীগ অব বাংলাদেশের দলিলপত্র	১২ মে, ১৯৭১

AMERICAN LEAGUE OF BANGLADESH
416, Sinclair Avenue
Glendale. California-91206

U. S. A.
Telephone: (213) 245-2709

May 12. 1971

Dear Mr. Muhith,

Received your circular No.2 in time. As you are aware, our being a central office for the western states kept us so busy that we couldn't write you sooner.

As you are the leader of our parent organization, I am enclosing copies of material
prepared here for the use of our organization as well as a few bumper stickers. This will give you an idea as to how far the work has progressed in California and the adjoining states, for the American League of Bangladesh.

This bumper sticker idea of our organization would be beneficial. It would help us to raise funds and at the same time give wide publicity. The minimum donation for each sticker is one dollar. I believe that almost anybody in this country can afford a dollar without too much difficulty. I do hope nobody should have any problem collecting this minimum amount or even more

Among many other responses from different important people of this country, of our activities regarding Bangladesh, I am enclosing a copy of a letter from the U. S. Presidential candidates for 1972, senator Edmond S. Muskie of Maine, along with a copy of his statement addressed to the U. S. senate and the President of the United States of America, in this matter. A valuable copy of a booklet on the "Conflict in East Pakistan" by three eminent professors at the Harvard University is also being enclosed.

Thank you very much for your kind guidance. **Joy Bangla.**

Sincerely yours,
AMERICAN LEAGUE OF BANGLADESH
Sd/
(S. M. S. Doha)
President

Edmond S. Muskie
Maine

UNITED STATES SENATE
Washington, D. C. 20510
April 23, 1971

S. M. S. Doha, President
Bangla League of America
416 Sinclair Avenue
Glendale, California 91206

Dear Mr. Doha.

Thank you for expressing your views with regard to the current situation in East Pakistan. I appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

I share your concern over the tragic events which have occurred in East Pakistan in recent weeks. You may be interested to know that I have joined in co-sponsoring a resolution which would suspend an U. S. military assistance to East Pakistan until the conflict is resolved. I am enclosing a copy of a recent statement I have made on this subject which I hope will be of interest to you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely.
Edmond S. Muskie.
United States Senator

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD
Proceedings And Debates Of The 92d Congress, First Session
Washington, Wednesday, April 14, 1971.

Vol.117. No. 51.

SENATE

EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I have been reading with growing concern and apprehension the daily press reforts on the tragic events now taking place in East Pakistan. This is the second major loss of life in recent months in that unhappy region. While the picture is not absolutely clear, I believe that there is enough information on the dimensions of the tragedy to make it clear that concerned Americans should speak out.

The relation between our economic aid and the recent political and military developments in Pakistan is a matter of concern to me. Last week, in this connection, I

joined the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Mondale), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Brooke), and the Senator from Oregon (Mr. Hatfield) is sending a letter to the Secretary of State. In that letter we requested a clarification of the extent of American involvement, direct and indirect, in the civil strife and bloodshed in Pakistan. We are now awaiting a reply.

I also support the resolution regarding U. S. military assistance to Pakistan proposed by the distinguished senior Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Case).

The U.S. Government has been the principal supplier of arms to Pakistan since the
middle of the 1950's. There are reports that American supplied planes, tanks, weapons, and other materials are being used by the central government forces in both the cities and the countryside of East Pakistan.

Mr. President, the time has arrived for America unequivocally and immediately to
cancel any plan which would supply weapons of destruction to the Government of Pakistan under these circumstance-weapons which can only further exacerbate the tensions and bloodshed. There should be an immediate suspension of all military assistance to the Pakistani Government. The "one-time exception" to our 1965 embargo on the sale of lethal end items to India and Pakistan, agreed to in October 1970, proposed the supply of armored personnel carriers, Starfire jets, and B-57 bombers. These deliveries should not be carried out.

We have a responsibility to do an we can to reduce tensions and conflict in the world. As we seek to disengage ourselves from the conflicts of Indochina, can we allow our military support to be used to magnify tensions in South Asia?

I say we should not. I urge support of the Case resolution and I am proud to join in cosponsoring it.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণের জন্য বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার আহবান	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার মুখপত্র 'বাংলাদেশ পত্র'	১৪ মে, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ পত্র

কলেজস্টেশান, টেক্সাস — প্রথম সংখ্যা — চৌদ্দই মে, ১৯৭১

স্বাধীনতার ডাকে

বাংলাদেশে আজ রক্তগঙ্গা বইছে। বাঙ্গালীর রক্তে হোলী খেলে পাঞ্জাবী দস্যুদল পৈশাচিক আনন্দে মত্ত। আমাদেরই ভাইবোনেরা যখন অত্যাচারীর খড়গ রুখে দাঁড়াতে গিয়ে নির্বিচারে জীবন বিলিয়ে দিতে দ্বিধা করছে না, তখন মার্কিন দেশের বিলাসময় পরিবেশের মধ্যে থেকে দেশের জন্য আমরা কি করছি? স্বাধীনতা আমরা পাবই, এ ব্যাপারে দ্বিমতের কোন অবকাশ নেই। তবে এ আন্দোলনে আমরা আমাদের দেশবাসীকে কতটুকুই বা সাহায্য করছি? ছিন্নবস্ত্রে, অনাহারে ও অন্নাভাবে থেকেও বাংলাদেশের বীর জনতা স্বৈরাচারী সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বেয়নেট শাসনকেও ভূলুণ্ঠিত করেছে। স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের এই সংকটময় মুহূর্তে দেশবাসী আমাদের কাছে অনেক কিছু আশা করে। আজ আমাদের সামান্য আত্মত্যাগের ভয়ে ভীত হলে চলবে না। কৈ আমরা কি একটুকু আরাম-আয়েশ বিসর্জন দিতে পেরেছি? হাজারো মানুষের রক্তের ঋণে গড়া এই সংগ্রামের ডাকে আমরা এককভাবে সাড়া দিতে না পারলে উত্তরসূরীরা আমাদেরকে ক্ষমা করবে না।

তাই আজ আমাদের একতাবদ্ধ হতে হবে। আসুন, বাংলা মায়ের ডাকে সবাই একসাথে কাজ করে যাই। দলাদলি ও বিভেদ ভুলে গিয়ে মাত্র একটি লক্ষ্যে পৌঁছাবার জন্য আমাদেরকে আত্মোৎসর্গ করতে হবে।

করণীয় আমাদের অনেক। প্রচারকার্যে দলবদ্ধ হয়ে কাজ করতে হবে। গণতন্ত্র ও স্বাধিকার আদায়ে বাংলাদেশের বীর জনতার মহান আদর্শ ও আত্মত্যাগের সংগ্রাম বিশ্ববাসীর কাছে তুলে ধরতে হবে। প্রচারকার্যের এবং বাংলাদেশের দুর্গত মানবতার জন্য আর্থিক সাহায্যের একান্ত প্রয়োজন। এই মুহূর্তে আমাদের যথাসাধ্য সাহায্য নিয়ে এগিয়ে আসা উচিত।

এই চরম সংকটকালে নির্বিকার হয়ে বসে থাকলে চলবে না। বিনা ত্যাগে স্বাধীনতার আকাঙ্খা করলে ভুল হবে। এ ভুল অমার্জনীয় অপরাধ। সংগ্রামহীন স্বাধীনতা লাভের নজীর ইতিহাসে নেই। লক্ষ প্রাণের বিনিময়ে গড়া এই মুক্তির সংগ্রামকে আমরা ব্যর্থ হতে দেব না। বাংলার জয় হবেই।

জয় বাংলা

কলেজস্টেশানঃ আমাদের কর্মসূচী

গত নির্বাচনে অর্জিত গণতন্ত্রের অধিকার আদায়ের জন্য মার্চ মাসের প্রথম ভাগে শেখ মুজিবুর রহমান প্রদেশব্যাপী এক অসহযোগ আন্দোলন শুরু করেন। এই আন্দোলনকে বানচাল করে দেবার জন্য পাঞ্জাবী সৈন্যরা নির্বিচারে গণহত্যা আরম্ভ করে। এই ঘটনার প্রথম থেকেই আমরা কলেজস্টেশানের বাঙ্গালী ছাত্ররা ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে বাংলাদেশের জন্য কাজ শুরু করি। প্রথমতঃ একটি সামরিক পরিষদ গঠন করা হয়। তারপর আজ (চৌদ্দই মে) মুক্ত নির্বাচনের মাধ্যমে আমাদের তিনজন সদস্য সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রামী ছাত্র সংস্থার

সভাপতি, সাধারণ সম্পাদক ও কোষাধ্যক্ষ নির্বাচিত হন। এছাড়াও অনেকে বিভিন্ন দায়িত্ব নিয়ে স্বেচ্ছায় কাজে এগিয়ে আসেন।

পঁচিশে মার্চের আগে পর্যন্ত অনেকবার মার্কিন সেনেটর, প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সন, উথান্ট এবং বৃহৎ শক্তিবর্গের সরকার ও আরও প্রভাবশালী ব্যক্তিদের কাছে পত্র ও তার বার্তা পাঠানো হয়- বাংলাদেশের রক্তপাত বন্ধ করা ও জনগণের নির্বাচিত নেতাদের হাতে শাসনভার হস্তান্তর করার দাবী জানিয়ে।

পঁচিশে মার্চের অপরিণামদর্শী ঘটনা আমাদেরকে সাময়িকভাবে স্তম্ভিত ও বিহ্বল করে। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশকে স্বাধীন ও সার্বভৌম রাষ্ট্র হিসাবে ঘোষণার পরে পরেই পুরোদমে আমাদের প্রচারকার্য শুরু হয়। মাত্র এক ঘন্টার নোটিশে আমরা সকল সদস্য একটা জরুরী সভায় মিলিত হয়ে আমাদের ভবিষ্যৎ কর্মপন্থা নির্ধারণ করি। দুর্গত মানবতার সেবায় ব্যয় করার জন্য মাথাপিছু কমপক্ষে একশত ডলার চাঁদা দেওয়ার প্রস্তাব সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে এ সভায় নেওয়া হয়। এ ছাড়া নিউইয়র্কে ব্যয় বহনের জন্য মাসিক চাঁদার পরিমাণ নির্ধারণ করা হয়। প্রথম কিস্তিতে তিন হাজার ডলার তুলে নিউইয়র্কে কেন্দ্রীয় সংস্থাকে পাঠিয়ে দেওয়া হয়। বিশেষ উল্লেখযোগ্য এই যে অনেক ব্যাঙ্কে ধারের খাতার অংক বাড়িয়ে চাঁদা দিয়েছেন, অনেকে নির্ধারিত নিম্নমানের অনেক বেশী দিয়েছেন, এবং সকলেই যে-কোন মুহূর্তে বাংলাদেশের জন্য সাধ্যমত সাহায্য করার অঙ্গীকার করেছেন।

ছাত্র হিসাবে টাকার অভাব থাকলেও, আমাদের কর্মপ্রেরণার অভাব নেই। কলেজস্টেশান থেকে এ পর্যন্ত বহুমুখী প্রচারকার্য চালিয়েছি তার মধ্যে নিম্ন লিখিতগুলি উল্লেখযোগ্যঃ

-পঁচিশে মার্চের পরে একশো সেনেটর, জাতিসংঘ প্রধান এবং বৃহৎশক্তির রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানগণের নিকট কয়েক দফা আবেদনপত্র ও তার বার্তা পাঠানো হয়। এখনও বিশেষ বিশেষ প্রয়োজনে তাঁদের নিকট পত্র ও তার বার্তা পাঠানো হচ্ছে।

-বাংলাদেশে স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে ও দুর্গত মানবতার সাহায্যের দাবী জানিয়ে বিভিন্ন শহরের মার্কিন নাগরিকাদের স্বাক্ষরসহ ১১ জন প্রভাবশালী সেনেটরের কাছে ১৫০০ আবেদন পত্র পাঠানো হয়েছে।

-টেক্সাস এ এন্ড ইউনিভার্সিটিতে ছাত্র ও শিক্ষকদের মাঝে বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামের সঠিক চিত্র তুলে ধরা হয়। এ ব্যাপারে বাংলাদেশ প্রত্যাগত অনেক শিক্ষক আমাদের বিশেষ সাহায্য করেন। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রেসিডেন্টের সাথে দল বেঁধে দেখা করে এখানকার বাংলাদেশের দুর্গত ছাত্রদের জন্য আর্থিক সাহায্যের আশ্বাস পাওয়া গেছে।

-পাকিস্তানে প্রাক্তন মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত ইউজিন লক ও প্রাক্তন বৃটিশ প্রধানমন্ত্রী ও বর্তমান বিরোধীদলের নেতা হ্যারল্ড উইলসনের সাথে যথাক্রমে ডালাস ও অষ্টিনে দেখা করে আমাদের উদ্বেগ প্রকাশ করি এবং বাংলাদেশকে সাহায্য করার আবদেন জানাই।

-স্থানীয় বেতার, টিভি এবং দৈনিকে বাংলাদেশের উপর সাক্ষাৎকারে অংশগ্রহণ করেছি। এছাড়া হিউস্টনে বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংস্থার আয়োজনে ওখানকার টিভি ও বেতারে একই রকম আলোচনা সভায় যোগ দিয়েছি।

-হারভার্ডের তিনজন বিশ্ববিখ্যাত অর্থনীতিবিদের "Conflict in East Pakistan : Background and Prospect" নামক নিরপেক্ষ রিপোর্ট খানির পাঁচশো কপি মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের বিভিন্ন স্থানে এবং বিশ্বব্যাপী প্রচারের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়েছে।

-এখানে ছাত্র-সেনেটে বাংলাদেশের গণ-আন্দোলন দমনে পাকিস্তান সরকারের মার্কিন অস্ত্রশস্ত্র ব্যবহারকে নিন্দা করা হয়েছে।

বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকাঃ

সংগঠন ও সংগ্রামের ইতিহাস

আমাদের কেন্দ্রীয় সংস্থা গড়ে ওঠার পিছনে রয়েছে বহুদিনের অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রম ও চেষ্টা। ১৯৪৭ সালে প্রবাসী সিলেটী ব্যবসায়ীরা নিউইয়র্কে পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকা নামে বাঙ্গালীদের একটি সাংস্কৃতিক সংগঠন গড়ে তোলেন। পরে এর নামকরণ হয় ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকা। সদস্যসংখ্যা বাড়ার সাথে সাথে এই সংস্থার মাধ্যমে বাংলাদেশের জন্য অনেক উল্লেখ্যযোগ্য কাজ করা হয়। গত প্রলয়ঙ্কারী ঝড়ের পর এ সংস্থার সদস্যবর্গ পাক সরকারের উদাসীনতার বিরুদ্ধে বিক্ষোভ, বাংলাদেশে রিলিফের জন্য চাঁদা সংগ্রহ ও বাংলা ছবি দেখানোম জাতিসংঘের সম্মুখে বাংলাদেশকে আলাদা করার দাবি, একুশে ফেব্রুয়ারী উদযাপন, এছাড়া আরও বহুমুখী প্রচারকার্যে প্রশংসনীয় উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করেন। সম্প্রতি কেন্দ্রীয় সংস্থার নাম বদলিয়ে বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকা করা হয়েছে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের সাথে এর সরাসরি যোগাযোগও স্থাপিত হয়েছে।

শীঘ্রই কেন্দ্রীয় সংস্থার কর্মকর্তা নির্বাচিত হবে। এ ব্যাপারে সকল সদস্য সংস্থা ও মেম্বারদেরকে পূর্বভাবে কেন্দ্রের সাথে যোগাযোগ করতে বলা হয়েছে। কেন্দ্রের সাধারণ সম্পাদক ফয়জুর রহমান বাংলাদেশ লীগকে আরও জোরদার করে গড়ে তোলার জন্য মার্কিন ও কেনাডাবাসী সকল বাঙ্গালীর সাহায্য ও সহযোগিতা কামনা করেছেন।

কেন্দ্রীয় সংস্থার ঠিকানাঃ
ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকা, ইন্ক,
২৬৬৭ ব্রডওয়ে, নিউইয়র্ক, নিউইয়র্ক
১০০২৫
ফোনঃ (২১২) ৮৬৬-৭৪৭৪

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যোগাযোগর আবেদন

নিউইয়র্ক মূল কেন্দ্রকে সব রকমের সাহায্য ও সরাসরি যোগাযোগের জন্য সমস্ত আমেরিকা ও কেনাডাকে কতগুলি উপকেন্দ্রে ভাগ করা হয়েছে। আমেরিকার দক্ষিণ অঞ্চলের ৯টি স্টেটের ভার আমরা কলেজস্টেশান, টেক্সাস-এ গ্রহণ করি। আমাদের এই আঞ্চলিক কেন্দ্রের নাম হবে- উপকেন্দ্রঃ দক্ষিণাঞ্চল। ওয সমস্ত স্টেটে আমরা সদস্য শাখাগুলির সাথে একসঙ্গে কাজ করতে চাই সেগুলো হলঃ টেক্সাস, নিউমেক্সিকো, লুজিয়ানা, ওকলাহোমা, আলাবামা আরকানসা, মিসিসিপি, ফ্লোরিডা ও জর্জিয়া। এ সমস্ত স্টেটে বাঙ্গালী ছাত্র ও চাকরীজীবি যারা আছেন তারা সবাই শীঘ্রই আমাদের সাথে যোগাযোগ করুন। আপনার এলাকায় আপনি এক হলেও দেশের এই দুর্দিনে আপনার সাহায্য আমাদের একান্ত প্রয়োজন।

আপনাদের নিজ নিজ এলাকায় বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার শাখা গঠন করুন এবং শীঘ্রই আমাদের উপকেন্দ্রে আপনাদের সংগ্রামী পরিষদ ও সদস্যদের ঠিকানা ও আপনাদের কার্যকলাপের বিবরণ পাঠান। আপনাদের খবর 'বাংলাদেশ পত্রে' ছাপা হবে।

আমরা যদি কোনভাবে আপনাদের সাহায্য করতে পারি, তবে জানাতে দ্বিধা করবেন না। আমরা আরও ফলপ্রসূভাবে কাজ করতে চাই। প্রচার কার্যে এবং নিউইয়র্কের সাথে প্রয়োজনীয় যোগাযোগে আমরা আপনাদেরকে সাহায্য করব। তবে চাঁদা পাঠানো ও যে কোন জরুরী কাজের জন্য আপনারা মূলকেন্দ্রের সাথে সরাসরি যোগাযোগ করতে পারেন।

একটি প্রস্তাব

আমাদের এই আঞ্চলিক কেন্দ্রে আরও সুষ্ঠুভাবে কার্য সমাধার জন্য সকল সদস্য শাখাকে নিয়ে শীঘ্রই একটা আনুষ্ঠানিক আঞ্চলিক সংস্থা গঠনের প্রস্তাব এসেছে। এর মাধ্যমে আমাদের বর্তমান কর্মপ্রচেষ্টা আরও জোরদার

করা যায়। প্রচারকার্য, অর্থ সংগ্রহ, নিজেদের মধ্যে সমঝোতা ও সহযোগিতার একটা নিয়মতান্ত্রিক ভিত্তি গঠন করাই আনুষ্ঠানিক সংগঠনের মূল লক্ষ্য হবে। পনরই মে এক সাধারণ সভায় আমরা এই প্রস্তাব বিবেচনা করব। এ ব্যাপারে আপনাদের মতামত জানাবেন।

ভবিষ্যৎ কর্মসূচী

শীঘ্রই আমরা কলেজস্টেশান ও নিকটবর্তী শহরগুলোতে স্থানীয় মহলের কর্মকর্তাদের সাহায্যে চাঁদা সংগ্রহ অভিযান শুরু করব।

বাংলাদেশের উপর টেক্সাস ও এন্ড এম ইউনিভার্সিটিতে আলোচনা সভা ও সেমিনারের আয়োজন করা হচ্ছে।

পত্রপত্রিকা ও বিদেশী খবরের কাগজে বাংলাদেশের উপর রচনা ও সংবাদ ছাপাবার আরও জোরদার চেষ্টা চালানো হবে।

এখানে অনেকেরই স্কলারশিপ বা দেশ থেকে টাকা আসা বন্ধ হয়ে গেছে। তাদের জন্য চাকরী বা অন্য কোন অর্থ সাহায্য জোগাড় করার চেষ্টা করা হবে।

এছাড়াও আমাদের নিয়মিত প্রচারকার্য আরও সুষ্ঠুভাবে চালানো হবে।

শ্রীঘই 'বাংলাদেশ পত্রে' বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রাম, ঐতিহ্য ও ইতিহাসের উপর একটি সাহিত্য সংখ্যা বেরুবে। প্রবন্ধ ও যে কোন সাহিত্যমূলক রচনা সম্পাদকের ঠিকানায় পাঠাবার জন্য আমাদের পাঠক ও শুভাকাঙ্খীদের অনুরোধ করা হচ্ছে।

সম্পাদক, 'বাংলাদেশ পত্র'
বক্স ২৩৭০।

কলেজস্টেশান, টেক্সাস ৭৭৮৪০
সর্বপ্রকার যোগাযোগের জন্যঃ
বাংলাদেশ, বক্স ২৩৭০
কলেজস্টেশান, টেক্সাস ৭৭৮৪০। ফোন (৭১৩) ৮৪৬-২১৩২

বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকা, কলেজস্টেশান শাখা কর্তৃক মুদ্রিত প্রকাশিত ও প্রচারিত। সর্বপ্রকার যোগাযোগের জন্যঃ বাংলাদেশ, বক্স ২৩৭০, কলেজস্টেশান, টেক্সাস ৭৭৮৪০। ফোন (৭১৩) ৮৪৬-২১৩২।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আমেরিকায় বাংলাদেশের দুটো মিশন খোলা সম্পর্কে জনাব রেহমান সোবহান ও বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর পরামর্শ সম্পর্কে অবহিত করে লেখা চিঠি	ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	২৯ মে, ১৯৭১

THE EAST PAKISTAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.
2667 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10025.

May 29, 1971

Dear Friend,

I like to take this opportunity to inform you about our recent discussion with Mr. Rehman Sobhan, Economic Adviser to the Bangladesh Govt, and also with Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury. representative of the Govt, of Bangladesh in United Kingdom and U.S.A. both of whom were here during later half of May.

Mr. Sobhan at a meeting with our Executive Committee suggested the following:-

1. To open Bangladesh Mission in U. S. A., preferably two missions, one in Washington and the other in New York. These two missions by a conservative estimate will cost approximately $ 5,000'00 a month, which will be met by voluntary donations.
2. To have a Supervising or a National Co-ordinating Committee to make policy decisions on behalf of the League.
3. The mission will work as a liaison among different Chapters, Committees and the Govt, of Bangladesh. Other activities of the Mission will be in the sphere of lobbying in U.S. Senate, House of Representatives, World Bank, International Monetary Fund,

U.N. Members etc. and propaganda.

Mr. Justice Chowdhury communicated his personal opinion that 2 Missions in U.S.A., if funds permit, will serve our cause better. According to him main work of the missions will be to stop aid to Pakistan from all possible source.

Mr. Justice Chowdhury has left for Europe, where he has some appointment to keep. We have requested him to be back in New York as early as possible. We trust he will be back here in good time for our rally on June 12, where he will speak. We expect to have detailed discussion with him on his return.

Your views regarding above will be considered at our Annual General Meeting to be held on June 26th, when we expect to take a decision on the subject.

Joy Bangla.

Mr. Enayatur Rahim
President.

Yours faithfully.
Sd/-
(Kazi S. Ahmed)
President.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইস্ট পাকিস্তান লীগ অব আমেরিকার বার্ষিক সাধারণ সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	সংস্থার দলিলপত্র	২৯ মে, ১৯৭১

THE EAST PAKISTAN LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.

2667 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10025.

May 29. 1971

Dear Friend,

The Annual General Meeting, referred in my earlier letter, will be held on Saturday June 26, 1971, at 10 A. M. at THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH OF NEW YORK, Central Park West at 76th Street, New York.

The programme for the meeting will be as under:-

1. Persona] acquaintance.

2. Welcome address by the President.

3. Annual report by Secretary.

4. Annual report by Treasurer.

5. A brief description on the activities of the past and the guide line that League followed during the last several months.

6. Reports and suggestions by Chapters' Representatives.

-RECESS-

7. Presidential Annual Report.

8. AGENDA:-

a) Formation of a National Co-ordination Committee or Regional Committee etc.

b) Bangladesh Mission in New York and Washington. A briefing will be given on the item by Mr. A. H. Mahmood Ali

9. ELECTION:

i) Report by the nominating committee.

ii) Appointment of an election body to conduct the election.

10. Miscellaneous.

It is important that at least one representative from each Chapter attends the Convention. This will facilitate making a nationwide Co-ordination committee to work in

systematic and effective manner. The Chapter representative- should discuss the issues with their respective members before attending the meeting suggestions from the Chapters and also from individual source will be welcome.

I look forward to seeing you at the convention.

Those arriving on Friday night should contact Mr. Kazi S. Ahmed at 866-7474, 865-3474 Mr. Fayzur Rahman 294-5851 for accommodation.

Joy Bangla.

Sincerely yours.
Sd/.
Fayzur Rahman)
Secy. E. P. L. A.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মিড ওয়েস্ট বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশনের কলাম্বাসে অনুষ্ঠিত সভায় গৃহীত সিদ্ধান্তসমূহ	মিঃ মুহিতকে মিয়ামি বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় থেকে মিঃ জে কে ভট্টাচার্যের চিঠি	২৯ মে, ১৯৭১

MIAMI UNIVERSITY
Department of Microbiology

325 W. High St. 7
5/29/71
Oxford, Ohio 45056
Telephone: 513. 529-5422

Dear Mr. Muhit,

Please refer to the resolution 3. We would like to explore the possibility (consultation with lawyer etc.) to "pool the resources" in Washington D.C. in name of Bangladesh Government. Also we need an estimate (approximate) for the Washington office.

Personal greetings.

Sincerely,
J. K. Bhattacharjee.

RESOLUTION OF THE BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION
OF THE MIDWEST INC.

Held at Columbus Ohio, May 29, 1971

1. Positive action to help the cause of Bangladesh must be taken immediately.
2. Bangladesh association of Midwest Inc. win support a representative (spokes's man) in Washington, D. C. The association urges Mr. Mahmood Ali to assume the responsibility of this position without further delay.
3. This organisation will seek ways and means (on discussion with proper person) to channel the resources to Washington, D. C.
4. A meeting of the Midwestern states for the purpose of better coordination and organisation be held immediately. Date and place of this meeting should be decided by the state-representatives.
5. Members of the Bangladesh association of Midwest Inc. will participate in the rally to be held in New York on June 12, 1971.

Why Bangladesh Association of Midwest Inc.

To assist with the enormous relief needs and help to support the cause of Bangladesh in as many different ways as possible, we have organized Bangladesh association of Midwest Inc. (tax exempt). This association will organize at the local level, raise funds.

give publicity and support necessary projects. This association will work in corporation with and will complement the activities of other organizations or individual dedicated to the same cause. A representative of this organization will coordinate the activity with similar representative of other organization.

PLEASE NOTE:

1. Senate resolution 21 (by Case & Mondale) to stop military aid to the military junta of Pakistan…..
2. Senate resolution 99 (by. Harris) to stop all aid…
3. Mrs. Rohde is leaving for Africa to meet her husband. Dr. Jon E. Rohde ...
4. Senator Saxbe has received additional information regarding the terrible situation in Bangladesh from Dr. Rohde….
5. Senator Saxbe sponsored a luncheon attended by the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on this very problem

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আমেরিকায় প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের জন্য স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সঙ্গে সংশ্লিষ্ট বিভিন্ন সংবাদের প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	১ জুন, ১৯৭১

Please read and circulate among other Bengalis.

June 1, 1971

CIRCULAR NO. 3

I. World Bank-IMF Mission

The struggle against the Pakistani invaders has reached a critical stage now. Pakistan is nearly bankrupt and will not be in a position to wage war Bangladesh unless she gets aid by July. The Aid-to-Pakistan Consortium is to meet in Paris on June 21. A fact- finding mission from the World Bank and IMF is right now in occupied Bangladesh. This mission will stay in occupied Bangladesh from May 30 to June 10 and then move on to Islamabad before going to Paris. This missions' findings will be very important to us because if they report conditions are normal then aid will flow to Pakistan. Of course we know the situation h not normal but that the mission sees will depend on the members perceptiveness and extent to which the Pakistan army allows them freedom of movement. The Bank-IMF mission has 13 members and is led by Mr. P. Cargill, head of the South Asia Division in the World Bank. Individual members of the mission intend to visit Khulna, Chalna. Jessore, Sylhet, Mymensingh, Rajshahi, Comilla and Chittagong. They have been requested to visit some sub-divisional towns and thana centers also. From a number of reports from Bangladesh there is no doubt that the situation there is far from normal. We hope the mission will see and report the truth. Report of the true situation may halt aid to Pakistan and create conditions in Which she cannot prosecute an expensive war.

II. Food Relief

Rice prices have shot up alarmingly and many places report it is being sold at Rs. 80 per maund. In some places this has rightly led to the looting of the god owns of the hoarders. It is reported that people in the cyclone affected areas now near starvation. Using the plea of food aid the Pakistan military is going to obtain 30 ships and an unspecified number of trucks from US AID. It is said that these vessels and vehicles will be used only by international relief agencies. This does not satisfy us. After all the 50 speedboats given by US AID for cyclone relief arc all being used by the Pakistan Army. A photo in DAWN showed General Niazi of the Pakistan Army inspecting one of these "relief' boats before their attack on Gopalganj.

The Secretary, Food Dept. and Secretary, Relief Dept. in Dacca are serving the Pakistan Government. We cannot see how they will fairly distribute food aid to the

villages unless the Thana officers and union councilors pay allegiance to the Pakistan Army. Therefore food aid can be used to obtain their submission. In view of the recent attacks on Bhola, Hatiya and Sandwip by the Pak. Army we think food aid vessels and vehicles and the system of distribution will all be used against the interests of Bangladesh; unless the Pak. Army withdraws from our country.

III. News From Inside Bangladesh

From various channels of information we have been able to compile the following
bits of news of activities within Bangladesh:

(a) General Osmani, C-in-C Bangladesh Mukti Fouj, has announced that after re-training in guerilla warfare 10,000 freedom fighters have been sent to fight the invaders. More guerilla-trained Mukti Fouj will be put into action soon.

(b) In Jessore sector, freedom fighters ambushed some army gunboats in Padma River, 40 miles from Dacca, and damaged a road-bridge.

(c) In Comilla sector, they destroyed rail and road bridges, obstruct ted army movements by road and successfully attacked an army column proceeding to Feni killing 200 Pakistani troops.

(d) In Kasba sector, there was heavy fighting between the army and freedom fighters.

(e) Attempts by the army to recapture the vital Teliapara road junction in Sylhet District were foiled after heavy fighting.

(f) A railway bridge was blown up in Dinajpur District and a large section of railway track was made unserviceable.

(g) In Chittagong sector, a railway bridge and a road bridge between Laksham and Feni was demolished. The Elliotganj bridge has also been blown up.

(h) In Rangpur sector, a column of Pakistan troops was ambushed near Kalughat and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, was seized by the resistance forces.

(i) A railway bridge was blown up in Kushtia sector by the Mukti Fouj.

(j) An army depot near Barisal was reported raided by the resistance forces.

(k) Near Khulna. the water channel clearance operation by the Pakistani Army was thwarted by freedom fighters when they sank the barges again.

(1) Railway and steamer services throughout Bangladesh were paralyzed by the activities of freedom fighters and refusal of employees to work despite appeals and threats by the army.

(m) Hatiya, Bhola and Sandwip were invaded by the Pakistan Army after May 12. They devastated many villages and withdrew from, Hatiya and Sandwip due to the heavy rains. However, they are entrenched in Bhola. Their presence in the cyclone-affected area makes food relief a mockery.

(n) Chittagong North and South Sadar sub-divisions are being devastated by the invaders.. Hundreds of thousands are fleeing and dying by the roadside. A graphic description can be read in the London Times of May 18 (Hazelhurst's report).

(o) Six time-bombs exploded in various buildings (UBL, State Bank, Secretariat etc.) in Dacca. With these bombs were notes warning' against collaboration. It is reported that two prominent collaborators have been killed in Sylhet and another collaborator, an ex-minister, is next on the list.

(p) Reports coming in on May 25 indicate that the following percentage of pre-invasion population remains in the towns:

Mymensingh 10%, Chandpur 20%, Comilla 30%.

(q) Dhamrai has been looted. Temples and statues are being destroyed. It is feared that Dacca and Veranda Museums will be looted or destroyed. Already a vast amount of loot is being transferred from Bangladesh to the Punjab. Now they want to destroy our cultural artifacts. Various chapters may ask University bodies to request UNESCO to insure that museums, temples, mosques, churches etc. are not destroyed. UNESCO observers should be requested.

(r) There have been several instances of the Pak. Army requesting! factory workers to return to work and then shooting them. Definite evidence of such massacres has been obtained from Gopalganj Sugar Mill, Rajshahi; Khulna Newsprint Mill and. Bata. Shoe Factory, Tongi.

(s) All Thana Development Centers are empty and no work is going on at Thana or village level.

IV. Compromise Formulas

It has come as a shock to Pakistanis that they have not been able to crush Bangladesh in three days, as they had originally planned. Paced with a debacle they are now beginning to blame each other and even praising Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's efforts to keep Pakistan together. The Pakistan Student Association of America was taken over by a pre-Jamaat group last year. They were aided in this by the Pakistan Ambassador to USA. The PSAA, so long anti-Bengali, has come out with a long denunciation of Yahya and Tikka and asks for transfer of power to Mujib (see The Pakistan Student, April 1971). It considers Pakistan can remain one on the basis of brotherhood. It is a tragedy that the Pakistanis are exploiting the name of Islam while killing and torturing the Muslims of Bangladesh. Could they not have shown their brotherhood before killing 700.000 persons and rending 5 million persons utterly destitute? Living together with these treacherous butchers is now an impossibility for any Bengali.

Various other formulas were floated by M.M. Ahmed and other Pakistanis, during his visit to Washington D. C. All these formulas suggest that Bangladesh can remain with Pakistan and that despite Sheikh Mujib's trial and punishment the Awami Leaguers will cooperate with the army. These absurd notions were effectively destroyed by Rahman

Sobhan, who was fortunately in Washington at the same time. Mr. Sobhan appeared four times on T. V. and held a well-attended Press Conference. "His interview on Channel 26 has been widely praised and will be shown to Universities on request. Arrangements are being made to send coppices abroad. Mr. Sobhan also met a dozen Senators and Congressmen. He was given a luncheon by Senator Saxbe which was attended by Republican and Democrat Senators. Mr. Sobhan met high officials of the World Bank. IMF. US AID. and the State Department. He also visited Canada (Ottowa and Montreal) and met M. P.S. and held a Press Conference.

V. Justicc Abu Sayeed Chowdhury

Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury. Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, visited New York for a brief stay. It is visit could not be widely publicized as it was not certain till the last moment. He had to return to London on urgent business on behalf of Bangladesh Government. He has been able to collect over £150,000 and Bengalis in England are donating freely into the fund set up by him.

VI. Rally On June 12 In New York

The Bangladesh League of America has arranged to demonstrate in front of the Pakistan Consulate, New York and the U. N. building on June 12th. The speakers at the Rally will be:

Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury
Jay Prakash Narayan
Iqbal Ahmed
Ruth Gage Colby.

Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury hopes to be back in America by June 12 and to slay several weeks, visiting Universities in USA and Canada. Mr. Rehmaii Sobhan is also expected back in USA after the Paris Consortium on June 21.

Let us re-double our efforts for Bangladesh and make the month of June the turning point in our fight for freedom.

Joy Bangla !

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ওয়েস্ট কোস্টে বসবাসকারী বাঙালীদের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে সহযোগিতা ও তৎপরতার ওপর প্রতিবেদন	'ওয়েস্ট কোস্ট নিউজ বুলেটিন' -আমেরিকান লীগ অব বাংলাদেশ	১ জুন, ১৯৭১

AMERICAN LEAGUE OF BANGLADESH

West Coast News Bulletin

NO. I June 1, 1971

Dear Patriots.

GREETINGS! !

After eight weeks lapse since the start of the liberation war in Bangladesh it became necessary to find ways for co-coordinating and channeling the spontaneous patriotic responses shown by all the Bengalis residing in the West Coast of the United States. In order to arrive at some specific lines of approach for effective co-ordination and communication, a meeting was held on May 22. 1971 at San Francisco among the representatives of Los Angeles, Berkeley, Stanford and San Francisco Bengalis residents.

Since many of our compatriots are scattered over a wide area, we must set up an effective co-coordinating system to utilize the efforts and enthusiasm of all these scattered individuals in a well knit organized way. This will eliminate unnecessary expenses like long distance phone calls etc. and unwanted expenditure of human energy. This news bulletin is the first step to set up the effective unified organisation.

In the meeting of May 22, the following decisions were arrived at by all the representatives of Berkeley, Los Angeles, Stanford and San Francisco.

1. The main co-coordinating body will be stationed at Los Angeles and will communicate with the other units of the West Coast at Berkeley. San Francisco. Stanford, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Denver (Colorado) and Tucson (Arizona). It will also look forward to setting up co-ordination with more units in Hawaii, Dallas and Pittsburg (Kansas).

2. Active communication with New York, Washington, Chicago and Michigan bodies will be maintained by the main co-coordinating body, and it will also convey the instructions received from the Bangladesh government to all other units of the West Coast.

3. All units will exchange information of interests amongst themselves and will pass on the news to all local members.

4. A remittance of 5% of the total collections will be made by all the West Coast units to the Los Angeles body in order to cover the overhead expenses of publicity and other coordinating expenses.

5. Generally each unit will keep up the publicity campaign to expose the brutalities and the atrocities of the Pakistan Army committed in our land, and promote our legitimate claims of Bangladesh to complete independence amongst the American public in general and the representative Americans in particular.

6. Statement of all collections of funds will be submitted to Los Angeles.

7. A master list of all residents and sympathizers will be prepared and the coordinators of each unit will send names and addresses of all such persons to the coordinators in Los Angeles.

8. Dr. Jyoti Dasgupta of Berkeley, a professor of Political Science, will advise anyone interested on political information and writing up of political letters.

Names and addresses of the coordinators of some of the West Coast units are given below. The other units are requested to send the names and addresses of their coordinators to Los Angeles.

Los Angeles :
1. Mr. Abul H. Saaduddin 505, Gayley Avenue, 401 Los Angeles, Calif, 90024, Tel : (213)478-3166

2. Mr. Chandan Das
1621 Glendon Avenue 7,
Los Angeles, Calif, 90024
Tel: (213) 475 -2946

Berkeley :
1. Mr. Jamal Munshi
1215. Kains Berkeley, Calif,
Tel: (415) 526-7417

2. Dr. Jyoti Das Gupta
Tel: (415) 524-8533

San Francisco:
1. Miss Amina Panni
770 Lake Marced Blvd.
San Francisco, Calif, 91432
Tel: (415) 469-3179

2.Mr. A.B.M. Faruque
Tel: (415) 469-3179

Standord :
1. Dr. Rafiqur Rahman
610 Circle Drive, Apt. 1
Palo Alto
Calif. 94303
Tel: (415) 325-5796

Santa Barbara
1. Miss Pramita Ghosh
6520 Cervantis Road. 22 Goleta,
Calif 93017
Tel : {805)968-1372

San Diego:
1.Mr. Ranadhir Mitra 3903-A
Miramer Street
La Jolla
Calif., 92037

Denver (Colorado)

I. Dr. Mr. Sher Ali
6401 West Colfax
Denver, Colo, 80214
Tel: (303) 237-7375

Tucson (Arizona)

1. Dr. M. Shafiqullah
1736 E. Broadway
Tucson, Arizona 85719
Tel: (602) 624-5458

RESISTANCE NEWS

(Excerpts from Bangladesh Newsletter May 17,1971 published from Chicago)

The Pakistan government through its embassy is trying to convince Bengalis of this country with a flood of propaganda materials that conditions have returned to normal in Bangladesh, and that the entire independence movement was engineered by a "handful" of India-inspired "miscreants". All of this is pure nonsense. You will be better of throwing away this rubbish in the wastepaper basket if you can't stop it from coming to you.

The main reason why the newspapers in this country do not carry any resistance news these days is that the Pakistan army has successfully sealed off the only motorable road between Calcutta and the western sector of Bangladesh. It was from this region that foreign newsmen based in Calcutta used to gather news during the first two weeks of the war. However, most of the 1300-mile border between India and Bangladesh is wide open. Indian newsmen and our own men are constantly crossing the border with news about resistance activities all over Bangladesh.

A Bangladesh representative who has just arrived in this country writes: "Sylhet (district) where forests in the Tea Garden areas provide natural cover is still under control of the Bengal regiment. That a force is still holding out in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. That all over Bangladesh armed Bengalis have withdrawn into rural areas and are harassing army units through guerilla action. This may be expected to increase in frequency and intensity as the resistance acquires more skill at this type of warfare, gets additional supplies and weaponry, of which sizeable quantities have already been captured from' the Pakistan army and when the monsoons make the logistical problems of the army more insecure. The capability for waging a prolonged war is there because the political motivation of the people has been guaranteed by the indiscriminate character of the war waged by the army. By destroying villages within the range of their artillery and declaring these areas as 'free fire zones' they have made the Pakistan army an object of hatred and a direct threat to the security of 75 million Bengalis who will be willing to resist or aid any resistance to this alien forces."

Another Bengali who left this country about a month ago writes from Agartala: "Every day hundreds of young men are being trained for guerilla action. It's unbelievable how fast they learn. I am happy that I came. Otherwise I would have never known this dedication of the Bengalis, their love for their country and their willingness to die for its freedom and honor."

NEWS OF INTEREST

BERKELEY: A conceit of Ustad Ali Akbar Khan (the renowned Sarodist), Mr. John Handy (American jazz) and Mr. Zakir Hussain (labia) was held on May 28, 197 I to raise funds for relief of Bangladesh refugees in India. Nearly three thousand dollars were collected from sale of tickets and about five hundred dollars were collected on the spot as donation.

SAN FRANCISCO: A demonstration is being organized on June 2, 1971.

LOS ANGELES : All members have committed to contribute $ 10.00 every month to the organisation and we hope, members of other units will do the same. Donations are flowing in and more are expected. Plans are being arranged to hold a demonstration on June 11. 1971.

TUCSON (Arizona): Publicity campaign going on in Arizona State University campus and donations are flowing in.

DENVER (Colorado): Local chapter formed and funds are being collected.

Attached to this newsletter is an enclosure describing the present state of politics in Bangladesh. It also includes an assessment of the people with whome the Pakistani military regime is hobnobbing to form a puppet government in Bangladesh.

AN APPEAL

The minimum donation per month was fixed at $ 10.00 per month for the members in Los Angeles. This should not limit the donations of those who are employed and are in a position to contribute higher amount. When millions of people back home are undergoing great hardships at this critical juncture of our history, we should be able to do away with some of our comforts and luxuries. Those who are employed and can afford to forego some of their luxuries are requested to donate as much as they can to the best of their ability, preferably at a fixed percentage of their net monthly income. Dr. Rafiqur Rahman of Stanford has suggested that 5% of the net monthly income may be made as contribution and may be handed over to the local head-office.

Published by American league of Bangladesh.
President Mr. S. M. S. Doha
416 Sinclair Avenue, Glendale, Calif. 91206.

WHO ARE GENERAL YAHYA'S "REPRESENTATIVE ELEMENTS"?

After having banned the Awami League, which secured 167 out of 169 National. Assembly and 298 out of 310 Provincial Assembly seats in East Bengal, General Yahya has said that he plans to allow "democratic process" after talks with "rational" and "representative" elements in East Pakistan.

A great amount of search and coercion has produced only two Awami League MNAs who have declared their support for the army. But Yahya's statement was issued before that development and referred to the politicians who have formed a "Citizens Committee" and assured full support to the martial law government. Let us see who these representative elements are.

Nurul Amin: Mr. Amin was appointed (not elected) as the leader of. East Pakistan Muslim League by the central government against the provincial ML. But soon after becoming the Chief Minister of East Bengal, he and his entire cabinet were defeated in the 1954 elections. Only 9 out of 309 seats went to his Muslim League Party. Because of his opposition to the Ayub regime, Mr. Amin regained some respect and was able to win a seat in Mymensingh during the last elections. But each of his 80 other party candidates for NA in East Pakistan was defeated. Mr. Amin. therefore, does not represent more than one constituency and is certainly not considered a leader by the Bengali people.

Fazlul Quader Cbowdury: Known for his rough dealings. Mr. Chowdhury gained special notreity as a henchman of Ayub Khan. In fact, he, Mr. Sabur Khan, and Mr. Monem Khan were the chief instruments of Ayub regime's alienation from the people of East Pakistan. In the- last elections, he opposed the demand for regional autonomy and was defeated by a plurality of 25,000 votes in Chittagong. He did not even have the grace to accept his defeat and called December 7 as a "teen-agers' day in East Pakistan". (Dawn. Dec. 14, 1970)

Khan A Sabur: Like Mr. Chowdhury. Mr. Sabur collaborated with Ayub regime and became one of the three most hated men in East Bengal. In spite of his attempts to win elections by fraudulent methods, Mr. Sabur found the sailing rough during the last elections and "withdraw" from the contest. Actually he came last in Khulna-6 with 6.288 votes against a winning total of 84,054.

Maulvi Fareed Ahmed: Maulvi Fareed, who was considerably popular in East Pakistan during the Ayub era, lost the confidence of the people when he began to oppose regional autonomy. In the last elections, he was defeated in his home constituency of Chittagong, receiving only 30% of the vote.

Malimud Ali: Once a "darling" of the left, Mr. Ali lost the support of his constituency in Sylhet after his attack on Maulana Bhashani and his collaboration with West Pakistani landlords, such as Nawabzada Nasrullah, of PDP. In the last elections, he came a poor fourth with 15,628 votes against the winner's 53,749 votes.

Khawaja Khairuddin: The leader of Council Muslim League in East Pakistan, Mr. Khairuddin was defeated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in Dacca during the last NA elections, polling only 40,000 votes against Mujib's 164,000.

Gluilam Azam: Jamaat.e-Islami's Prof. Azam was rejected by Dacca voters during the last elections when he received 35,527 votes against Zahiruddin's 116,2()4 votes.

There are a number of other individuals who have been projected by the military government as "representatives" of East Pakistan but whose contact with the masses is even worse that of the above mentioned.

Can we regard these elements are representative of East Pakistan? Can a political arrangement agreed upon by these individuals work? Have not we learnt from the history that the politics of creating Quislings, Vichys, Diems. Thieus, Kys, and Lon Nols does not work? Don't we realize that this is an exercise in self-deception?

Let us not try to deceive ourselves. Let us not become pawns in this creul game. Let us begin to see the reason.

No matter what reservations we have about the Awami League and its program, we cannot be blind to the fact that no settlement can be imposed on the Bengali people against their wishes. The salvation of the people of both East Bengal, as well as West Pakistan lies in honoring the people's right to self-determination. Only then bloodshed and hatred can subside.

Let us be free people by refusing to enslave others.

Issued by WEST PAKISTANIS IN SOLIDARITY WITH BENGAL

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিউইয়র্কে বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার সাধারণ সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

Dear Friend,

Enclosed please find copies of letters we received from the President of the East Pakistan League of America. If you are interested to attend the Annual General Meeting to be held in New York on June 26, 1971, please get in touch with Mr. Mohbub Ali (Tel 765 4469 after 6.00 P.M.) who has kindly taken the responsibility of organizing a car- pool.

June 6, 1971

ENAYETUR RAHIM
President,
Bangladesh League of America
Washington D. C. Chapter

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার গ্রেটার ওয়াশিংটন ডি-সি শাখার সাধারণ সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার সম্পাদকের চিঠি	৬ জুন, ১৯৭১

NOTICE

A general meeting of the Bangladesh League of America, Greater Washington D. C. Chapter will be held on Friday, June 18. 1971. at 8.00 P. M. at 1722, 19th St. N. W. to discuss our participation to the National Convention of the League, to be held in New York on June 26, 1971.

We request your presence.

Sd/- June 6, 1971
Secretary,
Bangladesh League of America
Greater Washington D. C. Chapter.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামের সমর্থনে আয়োজিত সমাবেশের বিজ্ঞপ্তিসহ মার্কিন জনগণের প্রতি সাহায্যের আবেদন	'সেভ ইস্ট বেঙ্গল কমিটি'র প্রচারপত্র	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

MASSACRE - GENOCIDE - BLOODBATH - TERROR

AND NOW STARVATION
ALL PART OF A GAME'

THE TRAGEDY OF EAST PAKISTAN
(BANGLADESH)

As a result of devastation and dislocations caused by war, floods, cyclones, in addition to the persistent food shortages between 10 & 30 million of East Pakistan's 75 million inhabitants face starvation within the next few months. Contrary to bland assurances which continue to emanate from West Pakistani spokesmen, **the situation is unquestionably desperate and will require a large-scale international relief effort, if a tragedy of major proportion is to be averted.**

The months required to return the system to normal would probably exceed the time during which the food reserves could sustain the population. The factors that determine mass famine are irreversible after a certain point. When the first stories and photographs of starving families are published, it will be too late to protect thousands of others. **International action, immediate and strong, is perhaps the only defence the people of East Bengal now have.**

On May 12, President Yahya Khan of Pakistan refused U.N. Secretary-General's offer of aid for East Pakistan.

After having unleashed one of the most brutal bloodbaths in all history, he is now planning to starve out the resistance.

In November it was a cyclone that took a toll of lives. That was nature. In March Bangladesh was hit by another disaster, systematically eliminating the country of its young men, intelligent and millions of innocent victims. This time the perpetrator is YAHYA KHAN.

BANGLADESH NEEDS OUR HELP RALLY: Saturday. June 12.

Meet at noon at Columbus Circle March to Pakistan Consulate on 2E/65 St, then on Madison Ave, 42 St to UN Plaza at 1st Avenue, and 47 Street.

SPEAKERS : Congressmen and other leading citizens.

BANGLADESH NEEDS YOUR HELP MEETING: Thursday, June 10 at 8 P. M., Community Church, 40E/35 St.

Speaker-Jay Prakash Narayan

Subject-Moral and Human Aspects of Struggle in Bangladesh.

Write to your Congressman. Senators and the President to help Bangladesh. Ask suspension of military and economic assistance to Pakistan until the terrorized and starved people of Bangladesh get relief and freedom.

Your donation will help East Pakistan. It is tax deductible. Please make check payable to East Pakistan League of America. With your name and address, mail the check to: Save East Bengal Committee 3J, 50 Kenilworth Place. Brooklyn. New York. N. Y. 11210.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
নিউইয়র্কের সমাবেশসহ মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতার ওপর প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার মুখপাত্র (নিউইয়র্ক) 'বাংলাদেশ' ভল্যুম-১	১৬ জুন, ১৯৭০

Bangladesh

Donate generously to:
Bangladesh Relief Fund
2667 Broadway
New York. N.Y. 10025
And/Or to your local
Chapter.

ORGAN OF BANGLADESH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

Vol. 1, No. 3 New York: June 16, 1971.

RALLY IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK : June 12. 1971. Under the joint sponsorship of Bangladesh League of America, Bangladesh Friendship Association and Joint Committee of Indian Organization. a mass rally in support for the cause of Bangladesh was held in New York on June 12, 1971. An estimated 1,000 people from different walks of life and from different regions of the country attended the rally. The speakers in the rally were Mr. Joyprakash Narayan, Dr. Iqbal Ahmad, Mr. William Ryan, Dr. Plastrik, Mrs. Anne Taylor. Dr. Alamgir and Mr. A. Pulley. The meeting was chaired by octogenarian freedom fighter Mr. P.C. Mukherjee.

Joyprakash Narayan, the Sarvoday leader from India Pointed out in his address that the people of East Bengal did not want to severe their lies from the Union of Pakistan until the time when it was virtually forced upon them by the military Government of Pakistan. Mr. Narayan maintained that the independence of Bangladesh is inevitable since it is the life and death question of each and every Bengali in that region. He appealed to the leaders of the world in general and the free world in particular to exercise their good offices in bringing lasting peace in the area immediately, in accordance with the wishes of the people. He attributed greater responsibilities to the Big Powers for restoring lasting peace in Bangladesh and he warned the leaders of the Big Powers that they would be held responsible for the miseries of Bengalis, if they fail to rise up to the needs and aspirations of teeming millions of Bengalis.

Dr. Iqbal Ahmed, a scholar from West Pakistan deeply condemned the acts of brutalities unleashed by the military Government of Yahya Khan. He termed the military Govt. of Pakistan as an extreme fascist Government. Dr. Ahmed extended his full support to the right of self-determination of the Bengalis.

Mr. William Ryan, US Congressman while addressing the rally urged the United States Government to withhold all types of aids from the Government of Pakistan till the rights of Bengalis are restored. He assured his all out supports to the realization of the rights of self-determination of Bengalis. Dr. Plastrik, Professor of the New York University also called for suspension of US aids to the Government of Pakistan till lasting peace is restored in East Bengal. He cautioned that the resumption of any US aid to the Government of Pakistan prior to the restoration of the rights of self-determination of the Bengalis, will make USA as a party to the suppression of the inalienable fundamental rights of the 75 million Bengalis.

Mrs. Anne Taylor, the free-lance journalist, who earlier went on hunger strike in Washington for the cause of Bangladesh, apprised the audience with her eye-witness accounts of acts of Brutalities committed by the West Pakistani armies against the unarmed civilians in East Bengal and finally, she appealed to the right thinking people in the USA to help realize the rights of self determination of the Bengalis. Earlier, Dr. Alamgir, from Bangladesh league of America made a fervent appeal to the people of the USA to exert influence upon their Government to stop any aid to the government of Pakistan till the independence of Bangladesh is fully guaranteed and the last soldier from West Pakistan in removed from the soil of Bangladesh.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Chairman: K.M. Alamgir. Members: Gulshan Ara Basu, Ashraful Islam, Moazzam Hossain, Rafiqul Huda Chowdhury

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EDITORIAL

Our country was born on 26th in night of March is passing through much pain and agony, For all practical purpose, Pakistan as one country is dead. Bangladesh has come to reality out of much sacrifice and struggle for complete control of the territory has just started. This is the beginning of a long drawn against the foreign troops of Yahay's fascist military regime of West Pakistan.

Yahya's agent Tikka Khan will try to create quislings and will pick up few traitors from Bangladesh. Some of them may come out with statement under duress and gunpoint. We have no way of knowing the truth as there is complete blackout of any news. Foreign correspondents may now be allowed to enter and visit selected places under military supervision.

Awami League got a clear mandate for six points programme by majority population of former Pakistan. Fascist military government declaring this party illegal, its leader's traitors, started bombing cities and villages, burned houses and student dorms, moved down people under tanks. They have already killed more than million by this time and forced more than 4 million to flee their home and to take shelter in neighbouring India. According to the fascist military ruler, entire population of Bangladesh are 'miscreants

and infiltrators'. Civilized world is not only shocked but have lost words to express condemnation of such in paralleled barbarism.

Our task is tremendous at this moment. We have to realize once for all that we cannot stay as a colony of West Pakistan any more. Therefore, we have to continue our fight until! we win. We have to inform American people by organizing seminars, teaching, fund collection drive, demonstrations, rally etc. to mobilize public opinion so that US Government stops military and economic aid to the West Pakistani based Yahya Government. We have to urge American people to send telegrams, letters and memoranda to their leaders and representatives to move in positive direction- in favor of our people and the cause of Bangladesh. We have to watch the false propaganda of Pakistan Embassy and Islamabad and counter with truth. Bangladesh liberation army is more organized today. Number of volunteers are increasing daily in thousands, training centers arc coming up more in numbers and these are better equipped today. Commander- in-Chief of Bangladesh army General Osmani has predicted, The Country will be cleared of the occupation forces within 14 to 18 months'.

Surely victory is ours!

One of our freedom fighters who was known to all Bengalis Mr. Dewan Mahbub Ali suddenly expired while attending a political conference in Budapest this month (Inna Lillah . . .). We extend our heartfelt condolence to his family. Nation has lost a gallant fighter and an esteemed political leader whose replacement is hard to come in long time.

MOULANA BHASANI AND MUZAFFAR AHMED EXPRESSED SOLIDARITY

Moulana Bhasani and Professor Muzaffar Ahmed, the leaders of the National Awami Party expressed their unequivocal support to the Sovereign Government of Democratic People's Republic of Bangladesh. Both the leaders appealed to the Democratic Nations of the world to recognize Bangladesh Government and to render all material and moral support to the cause of the people of Bangladesh.

TALE OF PERSECUTION FROM AN EYE-WITNESS VOICE

An American who recently travelled from Dacca to Jessore via Barisal and Khulna narrated his accounts of army brutalities Barisal, in the following recorded voice, ' wherever 1 went, the mark of army brutalities is distinctly clear. In Barisal town, an estimated 15 to 20 people are being killed every day on the grounds of being Hindu and on the suspect of being a member of Awami League, Student and youth any one can listen the death cry just sharp at 1 O'clock in the afternoon ... amnesty is usually declared to call people to be killed .... villages after villages are burned out and the process is still continuing ... despite army brutalities the liberation forces are successfully completing their missions ... Government claim of normalcy is just a mockery……..'

REFUGEES ARE NOT RETURNING

According to latest figures now available, there are some 5.5 million refugees from East Bengal now in India. The Government of Pakistan in an attempt to impress upon the Fact-Finding Mission from the World Bank now visiting Bangladesh, granted amnesty to the refugees and asked them to return to their home. But till now, according to Chairman. Interagency Committee on Pakistan Refugee Relief, 'there have been on reports that any refugee have returned'. The trick of Yahya Khan could not prevail upon the people.

BANGLADESH LEAGUE OF AMERICA (NEW YORK)

-A GLIMPSE OF ACTIVITIES

The East Pakistan League of America, now known as Bangladesh League of America was founded in 1947 as Pakistan League of America. Then Amended to East Pakistan League of America on December 12, 1970. Since its inception, it undertook various activities to further the cause of Bengalis both home and abroad. Here, a brief description of the activities of the League, centering around major Bengali national events arc presented :

CYCLONE : The League arranged a film show. SHUTARANG to raise funds for the Cyclone victims of East Bengal. It has held a demonstration in New York in protest of apathy of the Central Government towards flood victims of East Bengal. The League dispatched letters, telegrams to the Government of the USA, US Ambassador in Islamabad and the US Consul in Dacca, protesting diversion of ships carrying food grains for the cyclone victims of East Bengal to Karachi. In addition to these, the League submitted a memorandum before the Human Rights Commission of the UN, pointing out colonial treatments of East Bengal by West Pakistani and urged for right of self determination for the people of East Bengal.

GENERAL ELECTIONS : Devastating cyclone was followed by General Election in Pakistan. The League in its telegram to Sheikh Mujibur Rahamn, dated March 6, 1971 hailed his landslide victory and pledged its unequivocal support for the Six-points programme of the Awami League. The League also sent a telegram to Yahya Khan, demanding self-determination of East Bengal.

GENERAL ELECTIONS : Devastating cyclone was followed by General Election in Pakistan. The League in its telegram to Sheikh Mujibur Rahamn, dated March 6, 1971 hailed his landslide victory and pledged its unequivocal support for the Six-points programme of the Awami League. The League also sent a telegram to Yahya Khan, demanding self-determination of East Bengal.

PROCLAMATION OF PEOPLE S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Following ruthless army crackdown of the self determination movement in East Bengal. Sk. Mujibur proclaimed Democratic People's Republic of Bangladesh on March 26. 1971. The League left no stone unturned to rise up to the call of a Nation. The League immediately launched all out campaign to seek support for the recognition of independent Bangladesh and stopping genocide let loose by the armies of Yahya Khan. Letters and telegrams were sent to Presidents of USA, USSR and France and Prime Ministers of UK and India, bringing to their attention the facts of the present crisis and urging upon them to recognize the independence of Bangladesh and use their good offices to the genocide in East Bengal.

Letters and memoranda were sent to the US Government and the members of the US Congress, requesting suspension of all types of US aids to the Government of Pakistan with immediate effect and to help sop the genocide. The representatives of the League personally met almost all the Ambassadors of the Member States of the United Nations and requested them to condemn the atrocities to the West Pakistani troops in East Bengal and sought support for the realization of the right of self-determination of the people of Bangladesh of its Government.

Telegrams were also sent to Mr. U Thant, Secretary General of the UN, requesting him to intervene in the crisis, in compliance with the article 99 of the UN Charter; he was also requested to send an UN observer and sponsor an UN supervised relief operation in Bangladesh. Several attempts were made in vain to have a personal interview with Mr. Thant.

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES: A Relief Committee of Bangladesh was formed with Mr. Nurul Amin Chowdhury as Chairman in a meeting on March 30. The Action Committee, formed earlier, was enlarged in a meeting on April 4, 1971. On April 25, an Election Determination Committee was formed in view of the next general election of the League with Mr, Shahadat Hussain as Chairman.

CHAPTER NEWS

-Greater Washington D. C. Chapter of Bangladesh League of America is in lull swing of their activities to further the cause of Bangladesh. The Chapter has launched a vigorous lobbying campaign in the US Congress everyday as a routine, a group of League members alternatively contact the Senators and Congressmen with relevant literature to prove our cause for Bangladesh. The response to this efforts is highly fruitful and effective. The League in collaboration with the local chapter of Bangladesh Friendship Association and American University arranged a seminar for Joyprakash Narayan, the Sarvoday leader from India. It may also be mentioned that the League has waged an impressive fund raising drive. In a general meeting of the League, it was agreed that each member of the League would contribute at least 5 % of one's salary each month to the League Account. The response to this commitment is highly favorable.

-Dr. Badruddoza of Mason City, Iowa organized a TV Programme in the local channel where he explained the events led to the declaration of independence by the people of Bangladesh. He also arranged sending more than 40 telegrams by his local American friends to American Senators and Congressmen.

-A panel discussion on Bangladesh was held in the International House, Columbia University, in the last week of April, 1971. Mr. & Mrs. Baman Basu, Dr. Rashiduzzaman and others participated in the discussion. After the discussion it was resolved that a fund would be raised from the members of the International House to help the - War victims in Bangladesh.

-Dr. Zillur Rahman Alhar, Dr. Habibur Rahman, Dr. Yunus, Dr. Ismail and others from Nashville, Tennesee, arranged a TV programme in their local channel where they gave vivid accounts of the army led blood baths in Bangladesh.

CHAPTERS OF BANGLADESH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

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    Recently changed to Bangladesh Defense League.
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মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	বাংলাদেশ ডিফেন্স লীগের মুখপাত্র 'বাংলাদেশ নিউজ লেটার' নং ৪	১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

Editorial

BANGLADESH COUNTS ON YOU

Three months have passed since the brutal army operation began in Bangladesh. During this time hundreds of thousands of defenseless Bengalis have sacrificed their lives at the altar of freedom and justice. A conservative estimate puts the number of those killed by the Pakistan Army close to half a million. Six million, people have been forced to leave their homes for the safety and protection 011 the other side of the border. A hundred thousand more continue to pour into India everyday with tales of army brutalities, rape, torture, arson and killing. Thousands fall, dead on the way from fatigue and exhaustion. And several more thousands have died from cholera and other diseases and continue to die every day in the over-crowded camps in India. An exodus of this magnitude is probably unprecedented in human history. Within its own limitations, the government and the people of India have done a super-human job in taking care of these helpless millions of refugees. We owe a deep sense of gratitude to them for coming to our aid at the time of our greatest need.

Within Bangladesh Bengalis are sacrificing their lives to ensure that we can live as a free and proud people for all times to come. The tales of their courage and determination are being documented everyday in the press.

But what are we doing for our motherland at the time of her greatest need? We, who are living in the comfort and luxury of Western life, for removed from the scene of death, disease and destruction, may ask ourselves: Have we given our utmost for the sake of our country? Individually and collectively, we must put every bit of pressure on the officials of this country to stop all aid to Pakistan, and take all possible measures to create a strong public opinion in this country against any aid to Pakistan.

Secondly, Bangladesh is badly in need of foreign currency. A dollar goes a long way to help our cause. Let us pledge that from every paycheck we will keep only an amount to cover bare necessities and the rest will go to help Bangladesh. Can we afford to do otherwise?

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COORDINATION BODY FOR WEST COAST BANGLADESH GROUPS

With the beginning of liberation war in Bangladesh it became necessary to find way for coordinating and channeling the spontaneous responses of all the Bengalis. In order to arrive at some specific lines of approach for effective coordination and communication, a meeting was held on May 22, 1971 at San Francisco attended by the representative of Los Angeles. Berkeley, Stanford, and San Francisco Bengali residents the following decisions

were taken in the meeting:

1. The main co-coordinating body will be stationed at Los Angeles find will communicate with the other units of the West Coast at Berkeley. San Francisco, Stanford, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Denver (Colorado) and Tuscon (Arizona). It will also look forward to setting up co-ordination with more units in Hawaii, Dallas and Pittsburg (Kansas).

2. Active communication with New York, Washington, Chicago and Michigan bodies will be maintained by the main co-coordinating body, and it will also convey the instructions received from the Bangladesh government to all other units of the West Coast.

3. All units will exchange information of interest amongst themselves and will pass on the news to all local members.

4. A remittance of 5% of the total collections will be made by all the West Coast units to the Los Angeles body in order to cover the overhead expenses of publicity and other co-coordinating expenses.

5. Generally each unit will keep up the publicity campaign to expose he brutalities and the atrocities of the Pakistan army committed in our find, and promote our legitimate claims of Bangladesh to complete independence amongst the American public in general and the representative Americans in particular.

6. Statement of all collections of funds will be submitted to Los Angeles.

7. A master list of all residents and sympathisers will be prepared and the co-coordinators of each unit will send names and addresses of all such persons to the co-coordinators in Los Angeles.

PUBLIC MEETING

A public meeting will be held on Thursday, June 24 at 8:00 P.M. at Friends Meeting House, Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Pa. The purpose of the meeting is to establish an organization, the FRIENDS of EAST BENGAL in order to 1) inform the American public of the events in East Bengal, 2) to Support relief work and 3) to appeal for an embargo on further aid to West Pakistan until it ends its reign of terror in East Bengal. The meeting is being organized by Prof. Charles Kahn (Univ. of Penn), Rev. Richard L. Keach (Central Baptist Church, Wayne and others. All are requested to attend.

BANGLADESH RALLY IN NEW YORK

A large rally in support of the Bangladesh was held in New York on June 12, 1971. The rally was attended by about 2000 persons representing Bangladesh communities and friends of Bangladesh from various places of the United States and Canada. It was a reflection of the tremendous concern of Bangladesh citizens living abroad for the cause of the struggling millions in Bangladesh.

Raising various slogans the participants expressed their determination to make any sacrifice necessary for the success of the Bangladesh Liberation war. They also appealed to the American people to come out in support of the legitimate demand for the freedom of the 75 million people of the Bangladesh.

The rally was organized by the Bangladesh League of America in cooperation with the American Friends of Bangladesh and the Joint committee of the India Associations. It was addressed among others by Mr. Iqbal Ahmed (a West Pakistani Scholar) and Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan (Indian Sarvoday Leader).

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NEWS IN BRIEF:

A symposium on Bangladesh will be held at the University of Windsor, Canada, on July 7, 1971 at 7:00 P.M. The topic for the symposium is THE CASE FOR BANGLADESH. Speakers will include Prof. Ron Inden, Department of History, University of Chicago, Prof. Ralph Nicholas, Department of Anthropology, Michigan State University, Prof. Peter Bertocci; Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Oakland University. Michigan, Azizul Huq Khondker, BDL director from Detroit. The place of the meeting is The Room, Assumption College, 400 Huron Line, Windsor, Canada. Everybody is cordially invited to attend.

The next meeting of the Board of Directors of the Bangladesh Defense League will be held in Madison, Wisconsin, on July 3; 1971 (Saturday) at 1:30 P. M. All members of BDL and sympathizers are Welcome to attend this meeting. If you decide to come, please Contact BDL, 408 Virginia Terrace, Madison, Wisconsin (Phone: 608 - 233-0253),

The Bangladesh Information Center has been set up in Washington headed by Mr. Abdur Razzaque Khan. This office will coordinate all lobbying activities in Washington" D C. please contact Mr. Khan (703931-2997) if you need any guidance for lobbying.

MARCH AND RALLY IN SAN FRANCISCO

The American League of Bangladesh, Stanford Chapter, in conjunction with several other organizations' and other League Chapters in the San ,Francisco Bay Area held a march and rally on Wednesday, June 2, to support the struggle of the people of Bangladesh.

The activity started with a rally in front of the U. S. Federal Building in San Francisco. While several, speakers discussed the tragedy of Bangladesh, a black coffin symbolizing this tragedy was placed on the steps of the Federal Building. People with black arm bands and carrying posters condemning the genocide and the U. S. role in this tragedy stood around the coffin in silent protest. The speakers included Professor Kleindorfer of the University of California at Berkeley, Mrs. Judith Carnoy of the Pacific Studies Center, Palo Alto, Mr. Mark Schneider of the Socialist Workers' Party and Dr. Rafiqur Rahman of the American League for Bangladesh. The speakers also pointed out that the United States government still maintains extensive military and economic

involvement with West Pakistan and has refused to take a stand against the political repression and blatant massacre of the East Bengalis.

At the end of the rally a large group of protestors, with black armbands, marched to the Pakistani Consulate, a distance of about two and one-half miles. A majority of the participants in the march were Americans. Leaflets describing the purpose of this march were distributed among the pedestrians, shop owners, and residents of the area along the route of the march. During the march, three persons dressed in the native costume of the Bengali peasants carried the coffin on their shoulders. They also wore simulated "bloody bandages" on their foreheads to dramatize the plight of the Bengali victims of the Pakistani massacre. Slogans such as "Joy Bangla" and "Victory to Bangladesh" were frequently shouted during the march.

On reaching the Pakistani Consulate, the protestors held a short rally in front of the consulate building, where Dr. Raftqur Rahman read a protest note.

BANGLADESH LEAGUE CONVENTION

National convention of the Bangladesh League of America will be held in New York- on Jute 26,1971. Representatives from all Bangladesh organizations have been requested to attend this meeting.

For Bangladesh literatures, buttons and bumper stickers please write to Bangladesh Defense League, Chicago.

Issued by

BANGLADESH DEFENSE LEAGUE

5245 S. Kenwood, Chicago, III. 60615.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে বাংলাদেশ সমর্থক ডঃ ও মিসেস গ্রীনোর প্রতি বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশনের সভাপতির ধন্যবাদ পত্র	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশনের চিঠিপত্র	১৪ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

Dr. & Mrs. W. B. Greenough, III July 14, 1971.

1203 Poplar Mill Road,
Baltimore, Maryland 21210.
Dear Dr.Greenough,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter to Mr. Shahryar Ahmed sent late last month. Although we, the Bangladesh Association at the University of Oregon, have not been able to write to the I members of the Senate Committee and the House of Representatives, our other units, in particular, the American League of Bangladesh in Los Angeles have written to that effect. However, we Bengali students in this campus have written letters to:

(a) Eighty Professors in the States of Oregon and Washington.
(b) An the members of the State Senate.
(c) All the members of the House of Representatives.
(d) Important Organizations throughout the State of Oregon.

(e) Many important people of the State of Oregon: Judges, lawyers, businessmen, notary citizens etc.

We have confined our activities mainly to the States of Oregon and Washington. Right now we are busy preparing a list of sympathizers of the Bangladesh cause. We are also in constant touch with other units throughout the States.

We are in contact with Mrs. Rachael Jordan and other community members to coordinate our efforts.

We would like to extend our gratitude to. you and Mrs. Greenough for your magnificent work in promoting the Bangladesh cause. We would' appreciate further suggestions and ideas from you.

Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,
(Shawkat Hasan)
President.
Bangladesh Association.

Bangladesh Association
C/o Foreign Student Organization
Room 313 EMU
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের ঘটনায় ইন্ডিয়ানার মিডওয়েস্টার্ন কম্যুনিটির উদ্বেগ ও তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	জনাব মুহিতকে ইন্ডিয়ানা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের পদার্থবিদ্যা বিভাগের এফ, বারী মালিকের চিঠি	২৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Department of Physics
Swain Hall West 117
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

July 26, 1971 Tel. No. 812-337-3709

Dear Muhith,

You are undoubtedly aware of the incredible things happening in East Pakistan. Literally minions have been driven away from homes and thousands of villages have been razed to the ground. There are over seven million refugees in India many of them have already died of chelora. Ten to thirty millions are facing starvation. Even this quiet mid-western community has become very concerned and a local committee which includes the chancellor, a number of deans and three or four departmental chairmen has launched a large scale drive to raise money from the community, the students and the faculty. Our appeal letter and the format of four newspaper advertisement are enclosed. Newspapers have donated space.

1 wonder if it would be possible to organize a similar committee and a fund raising drive in your community. It is essential to raise enormous amounts of money for food and clothing and to stop this famine of colossal magnitude. If you want to help please organize a. similar thing and feel free to use our appeal letter and solicit funds through the mail, newspapers and church organizations. The Bangladesh Association is a completely non-profit organization registered with the Internal Revenue Service of the U. S. government. It has direct contact with

(i) Oxfam, the British relief organization

(ii) the government of India

(iii)the provincial government of Bangladesh which is exploring the means of directly sending aids within East Pakistan. Its account is legally open for inspection.

If you can organize a fund raising campaign, this association would supply you with an appropriate receipt book. I personally know this organization very well.

Sincerely yours,
Sd/-
(F. Bary Malik.)

P. S. I shall have to come to Washington, definitely, on Aug. 22 and leave on Aug. 23. Could I stay with you. As of Aug. 10, my telephone (812) 332-5985. I shall be here till Aug. 16. 1971.

APPEAL FOR HELP

* **Washington Post:** "About 4 million persons in the area of East Pakistan...

... by a cyclone and tidal wave last November face starvation because the civil war has halted emergency food distribution, officials from the area said today. In Paris, where representatives of 11 nations involved in the relief operations were meeting, it was estimated that as many as 30 million to 60 million East Pakistan's 74 million inhabitants could starve." (May 1, 1971)

* Since then there are now 7 million refugees in India-more than the entire population of Indiana. Thousands have died of cholera and if it breaks out again tens of thousands more would die. U. S. Congressional Record indicates a distinct possibility of a famine which may cost 10 to 20 million lives.

* **Life** magazine captioned. ... "They are dying so fast that we can't keep count." (June 16, 1971)

* **Newsweek** reports…. "I have no doubt at all that there have been a hundred My Lais ……."(June 28, 1971)

***Congressman Gallagher**, Chairman, House Sub-committee on Asian Affairs, after visiting the area, commented on June 10, 1971, on the House floor: "Let me say that the situation is the worst I have seen abroad during my 12 years of service on the House Committee on Foreign AffairsI had felt the reports of genocide, brutality, and unparalleled human misery were overstated I can now report to my colleagues that, if anything, these reports were understated.'"

He concludes: "The nations of the world must make a great effort to avert other great tragedies from being piled on top of the flood and cyclone and barbarity which has already occurred in East Pakistan."

The Report of **the official delegates of the World Bank** described the town of Kushtia "like a World War II German town having undergone strategic bombing attacks 90 per cent of the houses, shops, banks, and other buildings were totally destroyed and the population was down from 40,000 to 4,000 In fact, the destruction of houses and buildings reminds one of Arnhem in 1944," (New York Times, July 13, 1971)

* **The International Committee on University Emergency Appeals**: "Having organized to defend the life of scholarship, we cannot remain silent when the very lives and minds of scholars are shattered in bloody massacre, and their distinctive culture threatened with obliteration." This is signed by over 100 international scholars of all shades of political opinion (e.g., Milton Friedman, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard Gardner. Edwin Reichhauser, ex-U. S. Ambassador to Japan) and seven Nobel Laureates (H. A. Bethe, W. Heisenberg, T. D. Lee, I. I. Rabi, C. Townes', H. C. Urey and E. P. Wigner).

*Official Bipartisan British Parliamentary Delegates said: "We saw children who had been shot up and we saw people dying of starvation on the side of the road." (The Times. London. July 2, 1971)

* Senator Kennedy noted before the House Committee: "The precarious situation which exists today will evolve into a nightmare of deaths of millions-unless immediate concerted efforts are made to -meet the needs of the people involved."

WHILE WE CANNOT HELP ALL OF TH£ 7 MILLION REFUGEES OR 10 TO 30 MILLION ESTIMATED TO PACE STARVATION, WE CAN TRY TO SAVE A FEW LIVES. WE APPEAL TO YOU TO DONATE GENEROUSLY.

Jorge Bolet	George Nakhnikian
Roger C. Buck	Roger Newton
Byrum Carter	Schuyler Otteson
James Counsilman	Austin Parker
Frank Franz	Jammalamadaka Rao
Dean Fraser	David Rogers
Julius Getman	Mary Scifres
	Philip Smith
Allen Grimshaw	Leo Solt
Herman Hudson	George Springer
Ralph Johnson	Jamws Swihart
Bary Mulik	Richard Young
Frank McCloskey	

YOUR CONTRIBUTION IN TAX EXEMPT

PLEASE MAKE OUT THE CHECK **TO BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION – MIDWEST**

INDICATE IF IT IS A ONE TIME DONATION OR A MONTHLY

PLEDGE AND MAIL TO :

Dr. Julius Getman
School of Law
Law Building
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের বিভিন্ন দিকের সংবাদসহ প্রকাশিত 'শিখা'	নিউইয়র্কের বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার মুখপাত্র 'শিখা' ভল্যুম-১, নং-৫	১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

SHIKHA

Vol. 1, No.5.

Organ of The Bangladesh League of America.

Editorial Board: Bamandas Basu-Chairman ; Manawar Ali-Member.

UNITED WE STAND.....

It has been quite a long time since Pakistan army's bloody campaign to stop first the autonomy movement and then the independence movement of the Bengalis in Bangladesh started oft March 25, which resulted in the massacre of the Bengali population in general and the intellectuals in particular and the exodus of about seven million- terror-stricken people. The conscientious people of the world have cried out in anguish and condemned the mediaeval barbarism of Pakistan Government. But the so called world powers, big or small, with a few exceptions, have maintained silence over this worst genocide of its kind since Hitler's time. The hue and cry raised by their people failed to reach them penetrating the formidable barrier of power politics. The exceptions are India, U.S.A. and China. India along with the monumental task of taking care of about seven million refugees has publicly supported the cause of the people of Bangladesh, while U.S. is sending military equipments to feed the bloodthirsty military junta of Pakistan despite tremendous pressure from within and outside the government to stop all military aid to Pakistan until a political accommodation is worked out for the Bengalis. China, who has been the most outspoken critic of the aggressors and their running dogs has been turned into a running dog herself by taking sides with the Pakistani aggressors. While this goes on. Bangladesh is bleeding and she is bleeding profusely.

The lesson is: we, the people of Bangladesh, have to fight and liberate our "golden Bengal'; with whatever means we have, without even the moral support of this world powers. That means, our Mukti Bahini and workers inside occupied Bangladesh are our only saviors.

What we need at this crucial point of our history making is a global unity-unity among all the political parties and fighting force. At the same time, we have to induce and instruct the populace inside Bangladesh and this, we think, should be given serious considerations because the most important factor in a guerilla warfare is the active support of the populace. Only when the entire population of Bangladesh take up arms will the castle of military junta collapse. The Awami League, undoubtedly, commands the overwhelming mass support in Bangladesh, but the National Awami Parties and

other, parties, who have pledged their support for the independence struggle, also are influential in some areas. It is imperative that all the parties, regardless of their differences in political and social ideologies, join hands and form a broad liberation front to cope with the 70,000 well-trained professional army. The longer we wait, the firmer will be the grip of the West Pakistani vampires on us, and harder will it be to throw them off.

ACTIVITIES IN AND AROUND AMERICA:

AL1-CHOUDHURY IN CANADA

"International news of the civil war, massacres, flights of refugees and cholera epidemics are misrepresentations, being circulated by powerful financial groups", said Mr. Hamidul Huq Choudhury and Mr. Mahmud Ali in a press conference while about 15 men and women paraded in protest with placards outside the National Press building. The protesters yelled chants like "Long Live Bangladesh", "Down with Traitors". "Ali- Choudhury Go Back Home".

Mr. Choudhury who did most of the talking at the sparsely attended press briefing, challenged the commonly cited figures-about 6,500,000-for the number of refugees who have fled to India. He denied there was a genocidal policy being conducted by the soldiers of Yahya Khan.

For the most part, Mr. Choudhury met direct questions with long polemics that ranged far from the point of the question. He was challenged several times by frustrated reporters to stick to the point.

To one reporter who was in Dacca on March 7 and 8 and who described it as quiet on those days, Mr. Choudhury said, "This is your version. You will have to read the papers."

Mr. Ali. a tough looking man who sat quietly most of the time, at one point leaned forward over the desk and speaking loudly and aggressively said, "If the country's integrity was at stake, it is the duty of the army to uphold it…… whenever necessary the army and the police will be used", (reported by Clair Balfour of the Globe and Mail. Tronto, July 22, 1971).

From Toronto Mr. Sarwar Alam Khan. President of Bangladesh Association of Canada, reports:

The so-called 'Pakistan Solidarity Committee' in Toronto organized a meeting to be addressed by traitor Mahmud Ali in the Ontario College of Education auditorium on July 18. 1971.

To protest this propaganda tactics of Yahya Khan, the Bangladesh Association of Canada (Toronto) arranged a peaceful demonstration in front of the auditorium. As only 'Pakistanis' were invited, we decided to boycott the meeting totally.

The unruly West Pakistanis jumped on the lawful demonstration and attacked us with physical violence without any provocation from our side. When imposed upon us we had

to retaliate, and they were forced to retreat. At this point, the police arrived and pushed them inside the auditorium. The meeting was reported to be a complete failure.

DEMONSTRATION BEFORE U. N.

About fifty Bengalis and American sympathizers staged a demonstration on July 24 before the United Nations. They were carrying signs showing "Free Mujib Immediately", "Try Yahya not Mujib" etc. The demonstration organised by Bangladesh League of America, New York was in protest against the President Yahya's recent statement indicating the trial of Sheikh Mujib on charges carrying death penalty.

Later Bangladesh League of America handed over a memorandum to Secretary General U Thant urging him to intervene with the authorities of Pakistan to halt the forthcoming juridical killing of Sheikh Mujib and to stop the genocide and try the perpetrators of the genocide by an International tribunal.

ISCO APPEALS TO WORLD POWERS

International Students Cultural Organisation (ISCO), New York, consisting of members from Germany, Poland, America, India, Iran, Sudan and many other countries, in an extraordinary meeting, demanded the immediate withdrawal of all the invading Pakistani troops from Bangladesh and called on its brethren organisations to support the cause of democracy and self determination of the people of Bangladesh.

According to the chairman, Mr. Sudhangshu B. Karmakar, the organisation has sent appeals to United Nations Ambassadors, heads and. influential political leaders of different countries including premier Chou-En-lai and President Nixon urging them to use their influence on Pakistani military junta to stop immediately the genocide and withdraw all the killers from Bangladesh.

In response the National Council of Israeli Students has reportedly pledged their full support for the people of Bangladesh.

PICKETS AGAINST SHIPMENTS OF ARMS

Members of Save East Bengal Committee, Friends for Bangladesh, Quakers and different Peace groups jointly picketed pier 36 on the East River in New York on July 23 against the shipment of arms to the West Pakistani government from the United States.

The Pakistani Lines ship Sutej, berthed at the pier, is reportedly carrying military equipments.

Similar demonstration was also staged at Baltimore city port against arms loading into the Pakistani freighter Padma on July 15. Seven Quakers were arrested on that day.

The freighter Padma finished loading and sailed from Baltimore on July 18. Two longshoremen said that they had seen cannons abroad the ship.

SUPPORT GALLAGHER BILL

U.S. citizens, born in East Bengal, living in and around New York city, have sent letters and telegrams to congressmen urging them to exert all their influence to stop all

aids to Pakistan and to support the bill passed by Asian and Pacific Affairs Standing Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Gallagher. In their letters they also urged the Congressmen to support the Saxbe-Church amendment #S-1657 when it comes to the floor.

BANGLADESH INFORMATION CENTRE

The Bangladesh Information Centre has been set up in Washington, D.C. The office will be a strictly non-partisan information centre and clearing house for all Bangladesh groups and sympathizers. Following volunteers are working in the office on a temporary basis now: M. Siddique, M. Yunus, F. Faisal, W. Greenough, D. Nalin (part-time), A. Taylor (full-time).

The Information Centre has published the first issue of its newsletter. For more information write to:

Bangladesh Information Centre
418 Seward Square, Apt. 4
Washington, D.C. 20003
or call: (202) 547-3194

ANNOUNCEMENT! ANNOUNCEMENT! !

The General Secretary of the Bangladesh League of America. Inc. in New York announces the general meeting to be held on Sunday, August 8, 1971, at the Gulistan Restaurant, 145 Bleecker Street, New York at 11.00 A. M. Apart from the general discussion about the activities of the League, the meeting will decide upon the amendments to the constitution brought forth on the election day. Prof. Stanley Plastrik of New York University will speak on this occasion. All members and interested persons are hereby invited to attend the meeting.

* * * * *

".....one can say with certainty that if a poll is taken today, the entire population of

Germany would vote for the exclusion of Pakistan from the civilized society".

-Die Zeit, West Germany.

Shikha (The Flame) is published from the Bangladesh League of Aincrica, Inc., 2667 Broadway, New York. N.Y. 10025.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শেখ মুজিবর রহমানের বিচার প্রসঙ্গে বিভিন্ন পত্রিকার সম্পাদকের কাছে যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের লিখিত চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকার দলিলপত্র	আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Copy of a letter sent to different newspapers from ALOB.

Editor:

We have every reason to believe that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bengali leader of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), who won an absolute majority in the first general election ever held in Pakistan last December, is dead, killed by the Pakistani Military before March 31, 1971 unless Pakistani Military Government can provide ample evidences of his being alive. The only photograph released by the Pakistan Government is a fake one. taken during one of the many earlier arrests of Sheikh Mujib and has been dug out of the voluminous file on his previous records.

The" Mock Trial" of Sheikh Mujib as announced by the Pakistani Government is a very calculated plan to fool the people of the world who are not very familiar with the political developments in Pakistan. The closed door "trial" by a Special Military Court to begin Wednesday, August 11, the expected findings of same military court as to his "crime" of "treason", the subsequent "sentence of death" and the final "execution" of the "traitor" will seem very convincing to most people of the world of the legitimacy and the actuality of these "happenings".

But consider the other scenario which the Pakistani Military Government is very well aware of:

A "Sheikh Mujibur Rahman" will be brought into a very small military court room deliberately chosen so that only a handful of "authorized" persons, can be seen in his usual dress but will be heavily guarded and surrounded by the military personnel for his own "safety" so that no Pakistani or Bengali "Jack Ruby" can kill him inside the court room will be more than convinced of "Sheikh Mujib's" actual presence in the court room for they will get a glimpse of a part of "Mujib's" body, but will never be able to see his face beyond the bodies of the guards shielding him all throughout the trial.

The trial behind the closed doors may continue only for less than a week. All "evidences" will be provided to the Military Judges (to be appointed by General Yahya Khan, the Pakistani President, who already pronounced his own judgment on Sheikh Mujib of his being a "traitor" on March 21, 1971) to prove the heinous "crime" of Sheikh Mujib. Finally, the Military Court, convinced of the "crime" will find him guilty of "treason" and will pass the sentence of death. A Military Review Panel will immediately endorse the sentence and the Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan, in this case President Yahya Khan himself, will confirm it since he has already declared Sheikh Mujib as a **traitor.**

The "execution" of "Sheikh Mujib" will be carried out on a Saturday and news reports on Sunday will fail to generate enough commotion and heat in the country as offices and business will be closed that day.

The subsequent short Military Press Release will read somewhat like this:

"Sheikh Mujibur Rahman", the so-called leader of the banned Awami League, who was earlier sentenced to death for treason by the Special Military Tribunal duly constituted by the Chief Martial Law Administrator, has been executed by a firing squad in the early hours of Saturday inside the Rawalpindi cantonment (Fort).

"His sentence of death was confirmed by President Yahya Khan, the Chief Martial Law Administrator yesterday."

"In compliance with the Islamic injunctions. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was buried immediately according to all Islamic rites in a grave inside the Rawalpindi Cantonment as the Boards of Management of all tlie public and private cemetarics in Rawalpindi refused to bury his body because they considered him as a traitor to Pakistan.

"In view of the extreme heat during the summer (110° Fahrenheit), it was not possible to delay the burial as the body would have badly decomposed in few hours.

"No family member of the deceased could be contacted in Dacca. East Pakistan as most of them had either left the city of perhaps had fled to India.

"The exorbitant expenditure of sending the body of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to East Pakistan by the Pakistan International Airlines did not make it possible for his burial in Dacca or his village in Faridpur.

"The Government of Pakistan regrets that the body of the deceased could not be delivered to his wife or any of his near relatives in Dacca."

Thus the Military Government of Yahya Khan will be able to "convince" the whole world of a legal "execution" which will never have taken place!

And perhaps the world will be convinced of the entire scenario for people outside Pakistan do not know that:

The same Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested many times and was previously jailed for a total of about 12 years.

The former Military strongman of Pakistan Field Marshall Ayub Khan also had Sheikh Mujib arrested on a charge of "treason" (the infamous Agartala Conspiracy Case of 1967) and a high powered Military Tribunal, appointed by President Ayub Khan had been trying Sheikh Mujib inside Dacca Cantonment in East Pakistan during 1968-69.

This particular Military "trial" created such a catastrophic violence in East Pakistan that the Pakistan Military had to kill hundreds of people with machine guns in Dacca during one night in February, 1969, when they violated the curfew (the CJ. S. Ambassador at that time was Mr. Benjamin Olehart, the Coca Cola President"; the U. S. State Department knows all the details, as it had known about Diem's overthrow in Vietnam).

Finally, President Ayub Khan had to withdraw and drop all the charges of "treason" against the same Sheikh Mujib and released him in February 1969. President Ayub even went so far as to invite him, (whom he considered as a "traitor" only a few days ago!) to take part in a Round Table Conference in Rawalpundi.

But the die was cast! The "trial for treason" of Sheikh Mujib led to the downfall of President (Field Marshall) Ayub Khan on March 1969.

Who can tell where the "trial for treason" of the same Sheikh Mujib in 1971 will lead President Yahya Khan or his beloved country to !

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকা কর্তৃক আয়োজিত সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠানের প্রচারপত্র	বাংলাদেশ লীগ অব আমেরিকা দলিলপত্র	২২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH LEAGUE OF AMERICA
PRESENTS

CULTURAL PROGRAM

IN AID OF OVER SEVEN MILLION REFUGEES
FROM BANGLADESH (EAST PAKISTAN) TO INDIA

DATE: 22nd AUGUST (SUNDAY)

PLACE! JEFFERSON HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM
2305, Pierce Street.

TIME: 03.15 P.M.

PLEASE SEND YOUR GENEROUS CONTRIBUTION
TO:

BANGLADESH LEAGUE OF AMERICA

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BANGLADESH INFORMATION CENTER

423 5th Street, S. E., Washington. D. C. 20003 * 202-547-3873

AMERICA S FRIENDS OF BANGLADESH

By Kaiser Zaman

The people of Bangladesh have experienced a number of shattering: disillusionments in the past nine months. Most Bengalis did not seriously think that the Pakistan army would really turn on its own people, as the Bengalis were until 25th March last year. But it did-and with a viciousness which has few parallels in history. Once the point of no return was reached, the Bengalis predicted that the Pakistani economy would not be able to survive the strain even in the short run. But it did-and its absorption capacity confounded many an astute economist. The Bengalis expected that at least some countries would recognise Bangladesh immediately. But none did-not even India, until recently. Surely, thought the Bengalis, the United States of America, the champion and protector of democracy, would not support the military dictatorship in its ruthless campaign to suppress democracy. But it did-and with such doggedness that it was deplored the world over. To me, the Insensitive U. S. attitude toward the liberation struggle of the Bengalis is the hardest disillusionment to accept, for it was so shortsighted and senseless. To the Bengali mind, and no doubt to the minds of many others, if there was even a clear cut case of right and wrong, this was it. A military dictatorship had brushed away the results of a free and fair democratic election and gone on a rampage of killing innocent men, women and children, raping, looting and senselessly destroying a country. Surely, a civilized democracy such as the United States would condemn it or. At the very least, stay neutral. Slowly and painfully it became clear that the Nixon administration would not only condemn the atrocities of such a regime but would go to any length to aid and abet it.

Hopefully for democracy in general and America in particular, not all Americans supported the President's policy. Men and women, well-known and obscure, spoke out against this morally and politically wrong attitude of their government. Senators and students, academicians and workers, doctors and clergy-people from every walk of life began a Herculean effort to bring about a change of this policy. Virtually the entire Press made it crystal clear that the policy was biased in favor of the oppressor against the oppressed. A lone American lady, herself a victim of Nazi atrocity once, went on a fast and vigil outside the White House. A group of private citizens successfully blockaded a giant Pakistani ship with small canoes from leading arms for Pakistan. Little Davids all challenged the mighty Goliath. They walked endless miles in the corridors of the Senate

lobbying for a ban on all military and economic aid to Pakistan until Yahya stopped his ruthless suppression of a defenseless people. A group from Philadelphia set up a mock sewer pipe refugee camp in Lafayette Park across the White House. Others from as far away as Chicago and Boston, came to live in these pipes and eat' the same diet of rice and lentils for eleven clays like the millions of refugees. Such and other expressions of public concern arc the redeeming feature of an otherwise dismal American response to the South Asia crisis.

In addition to the thirty-odd Friends of Bangladesh associations a number of other groups have also played an active role. Though the Administration policy has increasingly hardened, against Bangladesh, the efforts of these dedicated people have not gone in vain. The Congress has been overwhelmingly sympathetic. At least thirty Senators and Congressmen have made statements' critical of the Administration. The Media response has also been very positive. The heat was felt by the White House which has perhaps restrained it for taking a. more blatant, Pro-Pakistani stand. Who knows, had it not been for these efforts, Mr. Nixon could have conceivably found enough excuse to send the marines in to help Yahya Khan.

The unchallenged passage of the Saxbe-Church Amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill which unequivocally cuts off all military and economic aid to Pakistan is a true reflection of America's reaction to Yahya Khan's action. Here also, the indefatigable Bangladesh sympathizers have worked hard. Working behind the scenes was a little known but well- respected group, called the Bangladesh Information Center. It was set up primarily by a group of American doctors and other professional people and their wives who lived in Bangladesh and loved it. Their untiring efforts and limitless sacrifice is a source of inspiration. Oddly enough, this is perhaps the greatest contribution of the U. S. economic aid programme.

The American friends of Bangladesh realize that the liberation of Bangladesh is not the end but the beginning of a long and hard struggle. For all their efforts, they also realize that given the resent American mood of isolationism. Bangladesh is not a burning political issue in this years's presidential election. Consequently, Mr. Nixon is under no overwhelming pressure to change his policy. So, whatever pressure has been, crated must he sustained and increased through hard and relentless work. The second and no less important goal is to keep working hard to generate more and more public commitment and contribution to help Bangladesh reconstruct. America cannot disclaim its moral obligation. Wittingly or unwittingly. America is a party to the destruction in Bangladesh. After all. it was American guns that killed a million people and American tanks and fighters that laid waste the country.

The writer of this article is a refugee from Bangladesh in the United States.

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বাংলাদেশের সংগ্রামে সাহায্যের আবেদন	জর্জিয়াস্থ বাংলাদেশ ডিফেন্স লীগের প্রচারপত্র	ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves and under a just God cannot long retain it-Lincoln

BANGLADESH CAN BE SAVED

Dear Friend.

We are passing through a critical phase in history. The whole civilization is at stake in Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan). 75 million democratic people of Bangladesh are crying out for your moral support and help for their struggle against the barbaric Military aggression of West Pakistan. Close to a million people are already killed and over 8 million refugees have fled to India.

DONT JUST STAND THERE WHILE BANGLADESH BLEEDS

Remember, the struggle that is now going on in Bangladesh is no different from the struggle that the American people waged against their distant rulers about two centuries ago.

Civilization and humanity demand YOUR action: Condemn this mass genocide. Provide financial help to the victims.

Please send your contributions to:

C/o Bangladesh

Box 1263

Athens, Georgia 30601.

YOUR action may save the lives and freedom of 75 million people.

Bangladesh Defense League,

Athens, Georgia.

+ Enclosed is my contribution of $..... to Bangladesh.
+ Please send me detailed information on Bangladesh.
Please make your checks payable to "Bangladesh Fund".

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Rebellion in Bangladesh

May 7. 1971

By Judith Milgrom Carnoy

Member of Pacific Studies Center

With heavy fighting at an end and liberation forces in apparent disarray, news from East Pakistan has dropped from the front page. But Pakistan will never be the same. For the second time in a generation, a million Pakistanis have died violent deaths. Yet while the slaughter that followed partition from India in 1947 had a religious base, what today separates West Pakistan from East is primarily the control of the East Bengali economy by the Wrest Pakistani elite. (Before Pakistan achieved independence, East Pakistan was part of British Bengal East Bengal-now proclaimed Bangladesh-is East Pakistan. West Bengali is in India)

Largely unarmed, the Bengali people confront a 70,000-man West Pakistani army well-equipped with American, Russian, French and Chinese weapons. With moderate leaders dead, imprisoned, or in exile, their struggle shows signs of developing into a classical "people's war"-a guerrilla conflict on the Vietnamese model with the solid backing of the Bengali masses. As India already faces Maoist guerrillas in its own West Bengal state, and China is East Bengal s near neighbor, the outcome of the war has wide implications. As in Vietnam, its prosecution may spill across the region's formal boundaries.

Home of more than half of Pakistan's inhabitants, Bangladesh is one of the world's most densely populated regions-its seventy-five million live in an area the size of Louisiana. British terms of post-war independence for Pakistan united the East Bengalis across a thousand miles of Indian territory with peoples with whom they shared little more than religion not even language. Now, after a generation of simmering hostility between East and West, open war has left a million civilians dead in its first few weeks.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

Pakistan held its first one-man one-vote elections only last December, held as a concession by President General Yahya Khan to the worker and student movements that had toppled his predecessor, Ayub Khan. The elections brought overwhelming victories for nominally socialist candidates in both East and West. In the west the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) of landlord Zulfikar Ali Bhutto won handily, while control of the national assembly was won by East Bengal's moderate Awami League under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. (In Bengali "sheikh," means something similar to the English "squire".)

The elections were to choose a national assembly that would write a new constitution for Pakistan. And because a small West Pakistani' elite of 20 families has ruled the two regions since independence, Mujib's bourgeois Awami League rode to ballot-box power on a demand for Hast Bengal autonomy. Had General Yahya convened the national assembly as scheduled on March 25, League members would have voted East Bengal a semi-sovereign status, allowing it to resume trade with India (suspended after the 1965 war) and to handle its own monetary affairs. Autonomy for the West Pakistani states of Pathan and Baluchistan would probably have followed leaving to the central government control over national defense and foreign policy.

Though there was probably little or no reason to suspect that the West Pakistani elite would give up their richest province without a fight, Mujibur gave his personal sanction to the post-election civil disobedience and work stoppages that protested what he called "the suppression of the majority". His Awami League made no preparations for armed struggle while General Yahya hemmed and hawed about convening the national assembly, finally inviting Mujib to a meeting with West Pakistan winner Bhutto, whose bourgeois PPP was in no mood to accept Bengali autonomy. The meeting came to naught and on March 26 Yahya outlawed the Awami League and all political activity in Bengal. On March 27, Bangladesh clandestine radio declared, in the name of Mujibur, an independent Bangladesh (Bengali Nation), rallying his unarmed countrymen in East Bengal's streets.

Reportedly pressured by hawkish West Pakistani generals-almost all the officer corps and most of the soldiers are West Pakistani-Yahya ordered the 70,000 central government troops stationed in Bengal to crush the revolt. Fearful that a lengthy campaign would encourage outside intervention, probably from India, he is said to have given his regional commander, Tikka Khan, forty-eight hours to do the job. The Army's blitzkrieg began on March 25 late in the evening.

The Pakistani generals seem to have carefully selected certain groups of Bengalis for wholesale liquidation. Heading their lists were Awami league leaders, East Bengali professionals, and the university community. At the University of Dacca some five hundred students were murdered in a midnight raid by a tank battalion. "Outside the university buildings there was a fresh mass grave," reported the April 2 Times of London. "Inside blood streamed from every room."

Pakistani troops were no more gentle with the man in the street-or his wife and children. Mortars, tanks, and machine guns were used in the cities and larger towns. In the countryside, as refugees fled from their homes, the Pakistani air force used bombs, napalm, and strafing runs. Anyone wearing Bengali native dress seems to have been fair game.

The cities where probably hardest hit. 'There was a terrible massacre in the town," one escaped British engineer described the port city of Chittagong. "If the men with guns could not find anyone in the streets, they threw mortar bombs through the windows of houses."

In Dacca, troops sought out not only political leaders and students, but policemen and firemen as well. According to Sajahan Seraj, a student leader who escaped on foot to

Calcutta, troops raided all but one police station, lining policemen up against the wall and shooting them. Firemen were given similar treatment, apparently to clear the way for the army's March 26 firing of shops in Dacca's "Old town" area. As the residents of this predominantly Hindu quarter tried to escape the flames, reported Seraj, they were machine-gunned by the troops. Elsewhere in the city, the army used flame throwers to set fire to two large apartment complexes housing some 50,000 people, and as the residents spilled into the streets, Seraj said, "they were mowed down."

When he joined the streams of refugees attempting to escape the city, Pakistani troops fired on them from both sides, Seraj said, killing "thousand". East Bengal's cities are deserted now.

Elsewhere, the fighting was fierce, though the Bengali weapons were primitive. Arrayed against West Pakistan's 70,000 well-armed troops were some 9,000 members of the East Pakistan Rifles, a border patrol armed only well enough to discourage petty smugglers. They were joined by the remnants of the 3,000-man East Bengal Regiment, in which the declaration of independence by the Bangladesh radio had precipitated fire fights between East Bengali troops and their West Pakistani officers. But the masses of people who responded to the call for a liberated Bengal by filling the streets, blanketing the airfields, and surrounding the garrisons, carried only sharpened sticks and bows and arrows. Reports from Calcutta-in the neighboring West Bengal state of India-have said that hundreds of East Bengalis had fanned out along the Indian border begging for arms.

Despite their poor preparations the Bengalis fought hard. In the city of Jessore, reported the Indian press agency (PTI), Pakistan regulars machine-gunned 1,500 Bengalis-many clad in sarongs and undershirts"-as they charged with spars, clubs, axes, and daggers in an attempt to capture the airport. Describing operations in the Kushtia district north of Jessore, an Awami League leader told the *Times of London* that, when a 300-man detachment of Pakistani troops were rounding up local political leaders, they were surrounded by 30,000 Bengalis armed with sticks and stones. The Pakistanis used their cannons and mortars on the crowd, but when they ran out of ammunition after twenty-eight hours, they were beaten to death.

Though they lack the planes, tanks, and trucks of the West Pakistanis-the East Bengal irregulars (estimated at 50,000 men) control the countryside, leaving the largely unpopulated cities and ports to the central government troops. And while their casualties have been extremely high, they have killed 3,000 West Pakistani troops (PTI) and taken an unknown number of prisoners heavy casualties for an army facing an unarmed people. In the lull, Yahya has reinforced his troops in East Bengal with 10,000 additional men and an undisclosed number of fighter planes.

As most observers expected, the Pakistani Army has won the war's first stage, but the Bengalis are counting on monsoon rains and guerrilla tactics to turn the advantage to their side. East Bengal's countryside is highly favorable for guerrilla warfare. The Bengalis' home territory, the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta's confusing network of thousands of rivers and streams is treacherous and foreign to the soldiers from the dry plains and mountains of the West. "West are just writing for the monsoon," a Bengali officer told the *New York*

Times April 14. "They are so frightened of water you can't imagine. And we are masters of water. They won't be able to move their artillery and tanks, and their planes won't be able to fly. Nature will be our second army."

But fighting has curtailed the sowing of the major rice crop which must be carried out according to meteorological schedule if millions of Bengalis are not to face famine some months hence. The monsoon will give the Bengalis a military advantage, but it will take its toll through starvation.

Leadership in a Bengali guerrilla war will most likely come from a Vietnam-like coalition of nationalist anti-imperialist forces developed at the local level. Most of the top Awami League leadership is either dead or in exile in Calcutta. The cadres of Bangladesh's small Maoist party-the East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), or EPCP-ML-foresaw the blitzkrieg and went underground well before it hit, sabotaging bridges, power stations, and telephone lines on their way. The EPCP-ML are playing an important part in a people's war rallying the peasants for training in guerrilla warfare.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM

Nationalist anti-imperialism is not new to the Bengalis. Their struggles against imperial powers have been long and bloody. Before its mid-eighteenth century conquest by the British, Bengal's industrial development was what a British commission in 1918 described as "not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations." Its cottage textile industry exported large quantities of fine cotton and silk cloth throughout the East and to Europe. More than self-sufficient agriculturally, Bengal exported rice, sugar, and butter. As part of the Mogul Empire-the civilization of the Taj Mahal-Bengal was Europe's equal, perhaps its superior, in everything but arms. Entering Dacca at the head of a victorious army in 1757, Lord Robert Clive exclaimed that "this city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London."

But within a generation, the ruling British East India Company had devastated the country and impoverished the people. With nothing but woolens to trade-Cor which the Bengalis had no use-the company's agents turned to extortion. By 1762 Clive's puppet royal Nawab was complaining of the Company's agents that they "forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the peasants and merchants for a fourth of their value and by. ways of violence and oppression oblige them to pay five rupees for goods that are only worth one rupee."

In the space of a few years the Company allowed Bengal's extensive irrigation system to fall into ruin and raised taxes so precipitously that farmers were forced to give up seed and livestock. The resulting famine in the early I770's brought death by starvation to fully a third of the Bengali nation. But British capital increased by gigantic amounts from its plunder of Bengal, fueling the first stages of the industrial revolution in England.

That dealt the death blow to Bengali textiles. After first using tariffs and outright prohibition to remove Bengali cloth from British and European markets, the British introduced machine-made goods into the Indian market. Within a few years Bengal's cottage textile industry was dead its practioners pushed into subsistence agriculture.

By 1850, once-thriving Dacca had shrunk from Clive's "London" of 150,000 people to a village of 20,000. And India was absorbing a quarter of Britain's textile output, providing for the employment of an eighth of the English working class.

With the skills and craftsmanship of Bengal's famous textile industry only a vague memory, modern Bengalis have been completely dependent on an agrarian export economy. More than four fifths of the land is given over to subsistence rice farming. The average family works some three and a half acres, usually in widely separated (thus inefficiently farmed) plots. The land bears two rice crops a year, but farming is risky-the monsoon climate floods the land each summer and parches it each winter. During the last few years East Pakistan has had to import about ten percent of its food grains-mostly from the U.S.

Though tea and betel nuts are grown in East Bengal, most of the cropland not given over to rice is used to grow jute, (he farmers' cash crop. These fields yield forty percent of the world's jute, which is used for making rope, burlap, and gunny. Except for the civil service and small commerce-mainly in Dacca-jute is the only East Bengal industry. The West Pakistani elite, which has monopolized the international aid funds granted for the government's first and second five-year plans, and has siphoned off the international exchange generated by East Bengal's jute export, is partially responsible for the lack of industry in the East. Since independence, West Pakistani capitalists have replaced Calcutta's' rich Hindus as owners of the jute processing mills and export firms. If East Bengal could free itself of West Pakistani imperialism, it would have a favorable balance of trade. Its jute, just prior to the current crisis, was earning *half of Pakistan's total income from commodity exports*-some $ 50 million a year.

Beyond their common Islamic religion, the Bengalis have little in common with West Pakistan's Punjabis and Pathans. Even the language of West and East differ; the West's Urdu has a Persian base and Arabic script, the East's Bengali a Sanskrit base and script. While the British destroyed Bengali culture, they trained the Punjabis for military, administrative, and entrepreneurial roles in colonial India. Tall and light-skinned, many Punjabis consider themselves superior to the small, dark-skinned Bengalis, and the Easterners feel and resent it.

Many Bengalis believe-with reason-that they have traded colonial subjugation by the British for subjugation by West Pakistanis, especially the Punjabis. Not surprisingly, Bengal has been a hotbed of rebellion against first British, then Pakistani imperialism. The British partitioning of Bengal in 1905 brought strong nationalist protests, though British policy markers persisted in their divide and rule policy by having Hindu and Moslem Bengalis select separate members for the viceroy's advisory councils. At independence, many East Bengalis opposed the creation of a Moslem Pakistan, preferring to be reunited with their West Bengali brethren. Since partition East Bengali dissatisfaction with the central government has played a major role in precipitating most government crises.

BENGAL'S POLITICS

But Bengali politics have traditionally been dominated by the upper petty bourgeois-

the professionals, large shopkeepers, and commercial interests that in the absence of an aristocracy or capitalist class form the upper crust of Bengali society. This group provides the leadership for the Awami League. Although its propaganda for national autonomy won it considerable electoral support in the major cities and towns of East Bengal, many Bengalis criticized the Sheikh's moderate approach long before the Army began its blitzkrieg.

Bengal's small shopkeepers seem to articulate their demands through the smaller National Awami Party (NAP), which also has significant peasant support in northern Bengal and some influence in the trade unions. As its name suggest, the NAP is a national party, with a following in West Pakistan among peasants and students in the Punjab and workers and students in Karachi, Arguing that the military would not voluntarily relinquish its power; the NAP boycotted the December election.

The NAP is split between pro-Moscow and pro-Peking elements, whose differences have generally boiled down to whether to follow the "peaceful road" to socialism, or take up the gun. The Moscow wing of the party is led by the grand old man of Bengali nationalism, eighty six year old Maulana Bhashani. Once thought to be' pro-Peking, the Times of India reports that Bhashani now maintains that the stigma that he was pro- Peking must be forgotten"- perhaps because he recently visited India's Assam state, trying to raise arms from Mrs. Gandhi's anti-China government.

Nonetheless, Bhashani remains militant leader of some 55,000 well organized peasants under the NAP banner. And while the NAP lacks a concrete socialist program, it does express the essential radicalism of the Bengali peasantry.

Since the beginning of the civil war, the younger members of the NAP have gone underground, joining the cadres of the East Pakistan Communist Party-Marxist-Leninist. Mohammed Toaha, a veteran organizer in the Jessore area, leads the Maoist EPCP-ML. An educated man in his early forties, Toaha was Bhashani's right-hand man and secretary of the NAP until 1968.

No one outside the EPCP-ML knows with certainty its numerical strength thought it is estimated to be small. But the Maoists are believed to be extremely well organized; they constitute the only known underground in Pakistan.

While Yahya Khan holds Mujib prisoner in West Pakistan, Awami League officials based in Calcutta have formed a "provisional government of Bangladesh" and sent their agents through India and England begging diplomatic recognition, guns, and supplies to "begin a war of liberation".

FOREIGN POWERS

Most diplomatic response to the massacres has been verbose. Great Britain and the Soviet Union have both denounced West Pakistani genocide in Bangladesh and called for a "peaceful solution" to Pakistan's "internal" problems. The U. S. government first declared itself "concerned" with the situation, though it, too, called it an "internal" affair. Then in mid-April, in a sudden switch which seemed to parallel the Indian position.

American ambassador in New Delhi Kenneth Keating deplored the bloodshed, and slated that the "Hast Pakistan problem was the concern of the world community and not merely Pakistan's internal affairs."

In Pakistan, as in much of Asia, the U. S. for the past quarter century has filled the breach left empty when the colonial powers withdrew. U. S. economic aid to Pakistan has passed the billion dollar mark, maintaining the successive military regimes of what John Foster Dulles called a "bastion of freedom". For the current year, the U. S. has committed some $ 175 million in aid. most of it going as usual to the West. The U. S. has also been a major supplier to the Pakistani military and since 1950 has trained over 4,000 Pakistani officers-a majority of the largely West Pakistani officer corps. As in other American neo- colonies. live U.S. has since 1961 actively trained Pakistani police.

Aid in laying out Pakistan's heavily imbalanced development programs and five year plans has come primarily from an alliance between America's great "philanthropies" and its great universities-particularly from the programs of the Harvard Development Advisory Service and the Stanford Research Institute, both funded by the Ford Foundation. And while American social scientists experimented with West Pakistan's development. East Bengal has relied on the U. S. for food subsidies-mostly wheat from the PL480 ("Food for Peace") programs. Since the outbreak of the civil was the U. S. has cut off all PL480 shipments, ostensibly because they could not be distributed.

The PL480 cutback aggravates an already serious food shortage in Bengal. Last fall's highly destructive cyclone wiped out villages, flooded rice fields with salt water, and destroyed an estimated five percent of the year's crop. And because the recent fighting broke out at the beginning of sowing for the summer crop, the rebellious peasants will be hard pressed to feed themselves later in the year.

If the West Pakistani military continues to hold the major East Bengal ports and cities, whether the U. S. resumes shipments of food grains will become a decision of some political importance. If all that stands between the people and U. S. surplus food being distributed by the West Pakistanis are "small bands of communist terrorists." it will be easy for the Pakistani military to justify their attack on the people's militia and easy for the U. S. to justify supplying the Pakistanis with arms, helicopters, and perhaps' "advisors".

But in the long run, U. S. interests would probably not be hurl by an independent Bangladesh, at least not one in the hands of the pro-Weslern Awami League. Some members of elite decision-making circles in the U. S. have begun to rally a "a Bangladesh Lobby' around just that idea. Among them is Professor Edward Mason of Harvard, the chief architect of the Ford-Harvard development program in Pakistan and a long-time advisor to the State Department and the World Bank. Mason has written and circulated among academic and government circles a post-massacre report recommending that the U. S. discontinue aid to West Pakistan because otherwise "we will drive East Pakistan into the arms of another power—the U. S. S. R. Of China."

Pakistan's long-time enemy, India, has been openly sympathetic to the liberation of

Bangladesh, though like the U. S., India would be most comfortable with a bourgeois. Western-oriented Bengali Nation under Awami League leadership. India has opened its borders to a million East Bengali refugees, supplying them with medical care, shelter, and some food. It has also harbored Bangladesh liberation fighters, and Pakistani regulars have already fired on Indian border villages—the passage to safely for thousands of Bengali refugees.

The government of India's West Bengal state-where the electoral power of the pro- Moscow communists is strong-has expressed support for, East Bengali liberation. but it has little power to implement that support.

Like East Bengal, West Bengal is thoroughly exploited by non-Bengalis. Wages there are less than a third of those in the rest of the country, and the great bulk of capital and entrepreneurship is not local. West Bengalis fee] that non-Bengalis come to Calcutta only to make money, which they export from the state.

Nor do West Bengalis hold effective political control of West Bengal state. Communist leader E. M. S. Namboodripad explained on April 23 that while West Bengal was not directly under military rule (as was East Bengal), it was actually the Army that was running the administration of the state. Since the West Bengali "Naxalites"-the blood brothers of East Bengal's EPCP-ML-began their own Maoist struggle more than a year ago, several thousand Indian federal troops have been stationed in West Bengal to "curb disorders". Born of a melding of student and peasant movements in 1968, the Naxalites have gained wide support among the unemployed and underemployed in Calcutta as well as among the peasantry in the surrounding countryside. Sabotage is increasing in the city, and land lords have left some areas of the countryside for the cities after a wave of Naxalite attacks.

The Indian government is, in fact, in a quandary. While Prime Minister Indira Gandhi would like nothing more than a divided Pakistan, she fears above all that the East Bengal movement is becoming Maoist, under EPCP-ML leadership, and that its liberation movement will spread into India. Indian arms, she undoubtedly feels, would probably fall into the hands of Maoist guerrilla forces rather than those of the Awami League and, given time, they might return home in the hands of the Naxalites who threaten her government. While the 'peaceful road' communists in West Bengal wring their hands and say there is nothing they can do to help East Bengal liberation, Naxalite cadres have been crossing the border actively helping their eastern brothers. They say this is both to advance the struggle in the East and to "get experience" for their struggle in the West.

Mrs. Gandhi faces an equally difficult problem in Assam, the mountainous Indian state that lies between East Bengal and Burma, and shares a long boundary with China. Many Bengalis have escaped to Assam, where Indian troops have for some years been fighting rebellious and Naga and Mizo tribesmen armed with Chinese AK47 rifles and the thoughts of Chairman Mao. As the struggle in East Pakistan develops into a bonafide people's war. such armament will undoubtedly move down mountain trails into East Bengal.

Issued ten days after the Pakistani military began its attacks, China's carefully-worded statement on the civil war did not denounce' Pakistani genocide. On the country,

China appeared to back the central government of Yahya Khan. But the primary thrust of China's pronouncements thus far has been to declare the war an "internal matter" and to warm India to keep hands off. In a letter to Yahya Khan, Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-Iai has pledged that China would come to Pakistan's aid if India were to invade. Saying that Yahya Khan's efforts would "regain normalcy" in Pakistan. Chou asserted, "Pakistan unity... is essential to its survival and prosperity."

China's anti-Indian alliance with Pakistan's military regime came soon after the 1962 Sino-Indian War, and since then China has given economic and military aid to Pakistan. Radio Pakistan has recently announced, according to UPI (New Delhi, May 2) that China had made an offer of increased aid "over and above" the long-term $ 210-million aid commitment made during Yahya's visit to Peking in November 1970. Pakistani leftists complain that the alliance has been a hindrance to the NAP, which has softened its opposition to the government because of it.

China's purpose seems to be to keep the struggle in East Bengali a civil war and so far as is diplomatically possible-to deny India (and behind her the Soviet Union and the US.) the pleasure of supporting a bourgeois East Bengal under Awami League leadership. In his letter to Yahya Khan. Chou, remonstrated that "it is necessary to distinguish the great mass of the people from a clique who only think of sabotaging the Union of Pakistan," a statement that seems to refer directly to Sheikh Mujibur and the Awami League leadership. Mujibur himself has been quoted as warning that "I alone can save East Pakistan from Communism." Sometimes called the "Chiang Kai-shek of Bangladesh". Mujib is accused by Bengali leftists of being an "American agent" -a term metaphorically if not factually true.

China will most likely come to the support of Bangladesh when local-not national-leadership has been able to forge a Vietnam-style coalition liberation front. The possibility of China's publically supporting Pakistan against Indian intervention, while privately supplying guns to the Bengalis, cannot be ruled out.

As reports of heavy fighting receded from the news in late April, CBS reported that the West Bengali Naxalites had addressed a message to China explaining that Hast Bengal's liberation movement had become a true people's war, and was not in the hands of the Awami League.

Meanwhile, what it will mean to support united Pakistan in the next few months is somewhat unclear. The army's East Bengal blitzkrieg has cost Pakistan some $ 200 million in delayed and destroyed exports, and the central government has reported a thirty-five percent drop in Pakistan's gold reserves-down to $ 82 million. With the outflow of foreign exchange averaging about $ 20 million a month, Pakistan will have to cut its imports sharply, starving the West's factories of raw materials and forcing up already high unemployment.

Reports filtering out of the West (all Pakistan is under press censorship) say that food is short and that tenant farmers in some provincial areas of West Pakistan are refusing to pay their rents. Worker student unrest is reported in West Pakistan's industrial centers, with some strikers being fired on by government troops. In the East, Awami League

leaders have urged Bengali farmers to plow under their jute and plant rice to feed the "liberation fighters", and the jute industry is in massive disarray, some processing mills having been destroyed in the fighting. Pakistan has a $ 3 million debt to the World Bank coming due in June, with no country as yet rushing to bail out Yahya's foundering government. But in its efforts to stop Communism in East Bengal, the U. S. may put its bets on the central government. By further mortgaging the Pakistan economy, the U.S. could open Pakistan to greater penetration by American private capital.

All in all, it seems unlikely that the Army can bold out through the monsoon season in East Bengal without causing tremendous unrest in West Pakistan. To satisfy the demands of the more rational elements among the West Pakistani elite, Yahya Khan will probably abdicate in favor of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, leader, of the West Pakistani People's Party and the winner in West Pakistan in the December elections.

Bhutto was foreign minister of Pakistan during the parliament of Ayub khan, resigning in 1966 in protest of the agreement ending the Indo-Pak war. A large landholder who talks of socialism-nationalizing banks, insurance and basic industry-Bhutto promises in the same breath an atmosphere "conducive" to private ownership in industry. Disliked by the East Bengalis. Bhutto is not totally popular in West Pakistan, either. *The Times of India* reports that demonstrations against Bhutto have been staged recently by workers and students in a number of Punjabi towns.

But whoever rules Pakistan in the next few months on years, East Bengal Bangladesh-is now in the first stages of people's war, with no outside support, no arms, no military training-just some seventy-five million people united behind independence. As leadership passes from the Awami League to more radical forces, China will probably offer concrete support. But whether or not this happens Bangladesh will probably wit its independence. As one NAP leader told T.J.S. George of the Far Eastern Economic Review, "We don't worry whether China openly support us or not, whether Russia tries to mediate, or America tries to replace Yahya Khan; we have to wage our own battle, and we are sure to win."

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MY GOLDEN BENGAL
by Rabindranath Tagore

0 my golden Bengal, I love thee!

Always your sky and your wind play music in my heart.
0 mother, the fragrance of spring in your mango forests
makes me wild with joy.

And in your rich autumn fields I have seen your smile, so sweet.
What beauty and shade, what affection and tenderness have you spread-
In the shadows of your trees, in the banks of your rivers.
0 mother, your words sound heavenly in my ears;
And when your face is sad, my eyes fill with tears.

My childhood has passed in your playroom;
And blessed am I. covered with your dust and earth.
0 mother, at the end o f day when you light your lamps,
1 leave my play and run back to you.
All my life I have spent
In your pastures and ferry-ghats,
In your village roads full of shade and' the songs of birds.
In your courtyards laden with rice. "
0 mother, your peasants and farmers are my brothers, my own.

Here I am, my mother, my head at your feet,
Lei the dust from your feet be the gem on my forehead.
0 mother, my meager fortunes, I lay before your feet;
And jewels from others I shall never buy
For they soon become a noose round your neck.

কানাডায় প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডা (টরেনটো) এর কর্মতৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	এ্যাসোসিয়েশনের প্রচারপত্র	----- ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION OF CANADA (TORONTO)

ITS PRESENT OBJECTIVES

In addition to normal functions required of an ethnic group in Canada, the Association should also undertake a spccial responsibility that has fallen on its shoulders due to the continued occupation and colonial exploitation in Bangladesh by the Pakistani Army. The following points are of interest:

1. Since Bangladesh is not yet recognized by Canada as a Sovereign and independent state and there is no Bengali diplomatic mission here, the Association must discharge at least such responsibilities as would have been required of a mission representing a country under foreign occupation, and a country that has been waging an armed struggle to liberate herself.
2. Since socio-economic institutions serving Bengali interests are non-existent in Canada, the Bengali people must try to the needs of such institutions through Bangladesh Association and take active part in the resistance movement.

In concrete terms, the duties of the Association include:

(i) dissemination of information on Bangladesh,

(ii) publicity and propaganda at both public and Government levels for the cause of Bangladesh,

(iii) persuading agencies and institutions not to help the occupation forces of Pakistan, and

(iv) raising funds for the resistance movement of Bangladesh.

Postal Box 6247, Station 'A'. Toronto I. Ontario, Canada.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডা প্রকাশিত মুখপাত্র 'বাংলাদেশ' -এর দুটি খবর	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডার দলিলপত্র	৩১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

A Symposium On Bangladesh:-Bangladesh Association of Canada (Toronto) has arranged a symposium on Bangladesh. Our guest speaker will be Mr. Andrew Brewin, M. P., a member of Canadian Parliamentary delegation, who recently returned from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. He went there as a guest of Indian and Pakistan Governments on a fact finding mission.

The gathering will also be addressed by other eye-witnesses from Canada. There will be a session of documentary slide and film show, if time permits. You are cordially invited to come. *Time: 7-30* p. m. Place: Medical Science Building Auditorium (King's College Circle, University of Toronto main campus), Date: August 5, 1971.

BENGALI FILM SHOW

A Bengali film, 'DUI KANYA' by Satyajit Ray (with English subtitles) will be screened at the ODEON (Danforth and Pape, near Pape subway) on Thursday, August 26. 1971. There will be four shows. The show has been organized in collaboration with the ICA, in aid of the Bangladesh refugees in India. We need volunteers to sell tickets.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কুইবেক-এর তৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	এসোসিয়েশন প্রকাশিত মুখপাত্র 'স্ফুলিঙ্গ'	১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

NEWS FROM CANADA AND U. S.A.

Shahjahan Kabir, President of the Bangladesh Association of B. C. reports from Vancouver!

The B. C. Association of Bangladesh strongly protests the continuing shipment of economic and military aid to the Federal state of Pakistan. Such aid in the hands Of the Yahya Khan regime, is going directly to the mass slaughter of our people-the Bangladesh-of the so-called Hast Pakistan.

This is part of a letter which was presented to the U. S. Consulate in Vancouver. July 22, protesting U.S. military aid to the Yahya Khan regime in Pakistan.

What can people in Vancouver do to support the Bangladesh struggle for self determination? Two actions are planned which we urge you to support:

Teach In: Vancouver City College (Langara); July 29 at 2.30 p.m.

Rally: U.S. Consulate, Friday, July 30, 6 p. m.

Bangladesh Association of Canada, Toronto and Bangladesh Association of Canada, Ottawa, held two militant demonstrations against the two boot-leakers of Yahya, Hamidul Huq Chaudhury and Mahmud Ali, on July 18 and July 22. These two collaborators of Yahya and agents of Imperialism recently toured Canada to speak for their masters. The demonstrators handed out pamphlets stating the background of these dejected politicians.

Matiur Rahman from Bangladesh Association of Toronto reports:

Bangladesh Association, University of Toronto, has arranged a Symposium-"Crisis in Bengal". Place: University of Toronto, Main Campus. Time: 7-30 p. m. Date: Thursday, August 5, 1971.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডার সাধারণ সম্পাদকের চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডার দলিল	১৬ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION OF CANADA

P. O. Box-6247, Stn.-A
TORONTO 1.
ONTARIO, CANADA

TELEPHONE:
(416) 363-2834
August 16, 1971.

Dear Mr.

You know that the secret show trial of our leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, has already started on the phoney charges of high treason. We feel that we must do whatever possible on our part to create a public opinion all around the world against this unjust trial. Here in Toronto, an independent group of Canadians is now trying to send a public petition to the proper international authorities. We feel, we as Bengalis should co-operate with them. As such we are enclosing a copy of the said petition. Please make necessary copies and try to collect as many signatures as possible. If you have already made such attempt, please send the list or a copy to us so that a comprehensive petition could be prepared.

Please treat this very urgent. Perhaps we will be able to submit the petition before our leader is sentenced to death, if of course, he is still alive. In any event such petition will be of use to mould the world opinion.

Yours sincerely,
M. M. Rahman
General Secretary.

PAKISTAN JUSTICE RESOLUTION

The undersigned protest the action of the Government of Pakistan in conducting a secret military trial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The apparent denial of all traditional judicial procedures and safeguards can only totally discredit the verdict. If the trial should end in the execution of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the inevitable result will be further bloodshed in a country which has already suffered so cruelly.

We urge you to use your good offices to persuade the Government of Pakistan to abandon this unwise and unjust procedure as a step towards restoring tranquility and justice in East Pakistan.

Signature	Address
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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডার মুখপাত্র 'বাংলাদেশ'- এর সম্পাদকীয় এবং সমিতির কর্মতৎপরতা সংক্রান্ত আরও তথ্য	সমিতির দলিলপত্র	২৫ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH, August 25, 1971

EDITORIAL

Since the Bangladesh struggle, long simmering in dormancy, erupted into intense activity last March, our minds have been challenged in trying to grasp the magnitude of the cataclysm, and our souls touched by the sufferings and the spirit of the Bengali people.

The world has been shocked by the genocide that has driven million Bengalis to

seek shelter in India. These dispossessed millions prefer to face disease and malnutrition in a foreign land rather than the murderous guns of their erstwhile countrymen. Numbed by the terrible experience that they have survived, they face an uncertain future. It would be suicidal for them to return to Pakistan under the present conditions. And the likelihood of a "political settlement" is nil. They have one hope-one thing can give them a better future-that hope is victory, Victory for the liberation forces, Victory for the Bengali people.

Inside Bangladesh, the army of Yahya Khan continues its reign of terror. Oppressed never before, no one dares to speak. But in the minds of the people there is a single thought-when the chance comes, to wrest the gun from the hands of the oppressor, and to obtain freedom. The Pakistan government knows this. That is why they are conducting an intense campaign of propagnada aimed at demoralizing the people. They identify the popular forces as "miscreants" alleging that they are part of some sinister Indian plot against Pakistan. They attempt to use religion as a divisive force, making it a crime to be a Hindu. They set up "peace committees" of collaborators. All with one aim the subjugation of the people.

What can give hope to these millions who daily live in the midst of oppression, whose lives and property are never secure, and who face imminent famine along with their present afflictions? For them the "unity and integrity" of the "Islamic" Republic of Pakistan means the perpetration of their role as exploited colonials. Their hope too is for victory. Victory for the liberation forces! Victory for the Bengali people!

As Bengalis who are living abroad, you have the chance to contribute to that needed victory. You can speak out against the oppressor, and tell the true facts about events in Bangladesh to influential people and concerned citizens of the world. You can try to enlist their support for relief and recognition. You have no valid excuse for silence. Your silence will not ensure the safety of your relatives at home. No one is safe there. So speak up for Bangladesh.

Another way you can contribute to victory for the people is by your financial support. Perhaps you can only give a little, but even a small amount will add up alongside other contributions to give a solid boost to the effort. Give something every month. Your continued financial support is needed. People are dying, but the only sacrifice required of you is a financial one. Don't hesitate to be generous.

Bangladesh means freedom from economic exploitation. It means democracy in the truest sense of the word-rule of the people. It means a secular state in which there will be equality for all. Many obstacles must be overcome to make this a reality. Your dedicated support can help to make this dream come true. Don't let down your suffering compatriots. Throw yourself into the struggle. Make the ultimate victory of Bangladesh your victory.

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SEMINAR ON BANGLADESH

A seminar on the "Crisis in Bangladesh" was arranged by the Bangladesh Association of Canada (Toronto) on Aug. 5, 1971. Mr. Andrew Brewin, M. P., a member of the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation which visited India, Pakistan and Bangladesh last month, was the main speaker. Others on the panel, who had also recently returned from India, were Mr. Frederic Nossal of the Toronto Telegram, Mr. Leslie Smith of OXFAM, and Mr. Paul Ignitieff of UNICHF. Mr. Stanley Burke was the chairman.

All the speakers gave horrifying accounts of the plight of the 7 million refugees in India. While Mr. Smith and Mr. Ignitieff had to confine themselves only to the refugee problem, Mr. Brewin and Mr. Nossal also touched on the political and other aspects. Mr. Brewin said that in his opinion the only solution to the Bangladesh crisis was an independent Bangladesh. Mr. Smith documented his speech with pictures of the refugee camps.

A group of West Pakistanis and two Bengali quislings belonging to the socalled "Pakistan Solidarity Committee" staged a unruly demonstration and tried their best to disrupt the proceedings with a shameful display of infantile behavior. But when they found that the audience was hostile to their hooliganism, they soon left the meeting. After they left one Canadian was heard to remark. "Now I know where the trouble lies." Another said, "I do not see how there can be any meaningful coexistence if this is their (Demonstrator's) attitude towards fellow countrymen."

The seminar proved very successful and was attended by over 500 people,

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BANGLADESH AMBASSADOR VISITS TORONTO

Mr. M. R. Siddiqui, the newly appointed Bangladesh ambassador to the US and Canada was in Toronto to attend the international conference on South Asia. On Aug. 22. he met with the members of the Bangladesh Association of Canada (Toronto) and addressed them.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কুইবেক-এর মার্কিন বিরোধী বিক্ষোভ মিছিল	মুখপত্র ‘স্ফুলিঙ্গ’	১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

o o o o o o o o

The Members and Sympathizers of Bangladesh Association of Vancouver Attack U. S. oil Bengali Issue.

The members and the sympathizers of the Bangladesh Association of B. C. held a militant demonstration in front of the U. S. consulate ort Friday the 30th July. After a rally they passed a resolution condemning the "U. S. complicity" in the war in Bangladesh which has killed about one million Bengalis and driven more than ten million Bengalis to cholera infected refugee camps across the border in India.

Three Bengali Sailors Seek Political Asylum in Canada.

Three Bengali sailors deserted a Pakistani ship, Sutlej, on 17th Aug. In a press conference in Montreal they said they did not feel safe to go back to Pakistan. They also did not like to collaborate with the ship which is carrying arms from U. S. A. for the West Pakistani military. At Present they are staying with the Bangladesh Association of Quebec.

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব বৃটিশ কলম্বিয়া কর্মকর্তার প্রতিবেদন	সমিতির দলিলপত্র	২৭ সেপ্টেম্ব, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

905-550 West 12th Avenue,

জয় বাংলা Vancouver 9, B. C., Canada

Telephone: (604)876-8453

September 27,1911.

It is about six months since the 75 million people of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) have become involved not only in a struggle for asserting their fundamental rights, but also in a grim fight for survival.

After decades of resentful subjugation by the minority in the West, the East Pakistanis demanded regional autonomy. In the country's first general election in December 1970, the Awami League won an absolute majority in the new National Assembly. The result was genocide of the East Pakistanis by the West Pakistan army simply when a well conducted peaceful election produced a result which the army could not stand Awami League did not want secession of East Pakistan. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has not in any certain sense declared Bengali independence. He was not seeking essentially for more than the program of regional autonomy he legally fought and won the election on.

By resorting to pre-planned slaughter of unarmed civilians, extermination of selected 'Bengali intellectuals and decapitation of Hindus to crush the autonomy movement once and for all Yahya Khan and the West Pakistani ruling clique proved that the two wings of Pakistan were separated by more than a geographical gap of one thousand miles and compelled the East Pakistanis to declare the independent state of Bangladesh.

The world's response to the Bengali people's cry of help has so far been sadly disappointing. Each additional day this war is prolonged means further sufferings arid added loss in terms of life and property.

Regrettably the United States inspite of her expressed neutrality in the conflict continues to supply arms to the same West Pakistani Generals who launched the blood bath and President Nixon recently expressed strong opposition to any move to cut off aid to Pakistan. Undoubtedly flow of American arms will be responsible for slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis, while the economic aid is being used by the Pakistan Government to support a big occupying army in the Hast. This is obviously hot a neutral stand in the conflict. The U. S. role is completely contradictory to her assumed role as a "protector of the free world and democracy round the world", and is partly responsible for pouring millions of hungry, sick and angry refugees to India, jeopardizing stability and peace of the sub-continent.

We in the name of people of Bangladesh and in the name of humanity appeal to your conscience to exert all your influence to put pressure on your Government to desist from extending any economic and/or military assistance to President Yahya Khan's military junta, since such assistance could only increase their intransigence and prolong this war of genocide. We also appeal to you and to the American people as a whole to respect our right of self-determination.

Yours truly,

(Dr. A. M. Khan)

General Secretary,

Bangladesh Association of British

Columbia.

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বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব বৃটিশ কলম্বিয়া কর্মকর্তার কাছে লিখিত মার্কিন সিনেটরদের চিঠি	মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সিনেট	৪-৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510,

October 4, 1971

Dr. A. M. Khan
General Secretary,
Bangladesh Association of British Columbia
905-550 West 12th Avenue
Vancouver 9, B.C., Canada

Dear Dr. Khan:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the situation in East Pakistan.

I share your concern about the continuing conflict in East Pakistan. I have decided that we must take positive steps to bring about an end to these hostilities and thus promote a political solution. To achieve this objective, I have joined in cosponsoring S. Con. Res. 21 and amendment 159 to the Foreign Assistance Act. I am enclosing a copy of a recent news release which explains more fully my views on this matter.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
Sd/-
Glenn Beall. Jr.

2.

Dr. A. M. Khan
Bangladesh Association of British Columbia
905-550 West 12th Avenue
Vancouver 9, B.C., Canada

October 6, 1971

Dear Dr. Khan:

I fully share your horror and dismay at the recent bloody events in Pakistan, and I intend to support legislation to curtail arms aid to the Karachi government.

Here again we have an example of the shocking misuse to which United States arms aid is all too often put by its recipients. Weapons which we provide for the ostensible

purpose of helping a friendly regime defend itself against possible Communist aggression turns out to be used to crush internal disaffection, or as in the case of the India-Pakistan border war of a few years ago, is used for settling old scores with hostile neighbors.

Our entire arms aid program is badly in need of reconsideration, and I intend to playa leading role in that effort.

Thank you for expressing your deep concern to me.

Sincerely,
Sd/
Vance Nartke
United States Senator

3.
Doctor A. M. Khan, General Secretary
Bangladesh Association of British Columbia
905-550 West 12th Avenue
Vancouver 9, British Columbia Canada
October 7, 1971

Dear Doctor Khan:

Thank you for your correspondence concerning the disastrous situation in Pakistan.

Certainly all Americans are deeply disturbed by the results of the fighting in East Pakistan. It is clear that the destruction of life and property has been extensive. The United States government has frequently reiterated that it is prepared to assist in any international humanitarian effort to alleviate the suffering caused by recent events.

Contrary to many recent reports, the U. S. Department of State asserts that we are currently operating no large scale program of military assistance to Pakistan. A limited amount of supplies has been sent; however, the States Department has told me that no further equipment will be sent pending review of the current situation.

1 appreciated the opportunity of learning your views on this most grave situation. You may be assured that I shall follow future developments in this matter closely, bearing in mind the thoughts which you have expressed.

Sincerely Yours,

Sd/-

Joen G. Tower

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব কানাডার মুখপাত্র 'বাংলাদেশ'-এর সম্পাদকীয়, এসোসিয়েশনের কর্মতৎপরতা ও প্রাসঙ্গিক তথ্যাদি	মুখপত্র 'বাংলাদেশ'	১৫, ৩১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH October 15. 1971

EDITORIAL

The formation of the five party Consultative Committee has been warmly welcomed by the freedom-loving people of Bangladesh, and it has given a new dimension to the struggle for liberation. It has consolidated unity and confidence among the democratic forces, and led to meaningful coordination between the freedom fighters. The cooperation between the people's parties' has further strengthened the bond of unity and brotherhood between the peasants, workers, students and intellectuals in Bangladesh. It is no wonder that the consolidation of this unity has become a particular eye-sore to the forces of Imperialism and Reaction, who ate now trying their utmost to create an and dissension in our ranks, by propagating mischievous and misleading propaganda. They are trying to create an impression that the formation of the Consultative Committee has been imposed on the Bangladesh Government by foreign pressure. They have suddenly become very sympathetic (1) and say that the only solution to the present crisis is full regional autonomy for 'East Pakistan'. Rumours have been circulating that Bangladesh is going to be independent very soon.

The history of Bengal has been a history of constant struggle against Imperialism. The Bengali masses have never bowed down their heads to any foreign master and never will. We do not believe in holding the umbrella over our heads when it rains in Moscow, Washington, or Peking and hence our present struggle for national liberation. So the question of anybody imposing any conditions on us cannot be true. Unity has been forged among the democratic forces as it was the ardent desire of the people of Bangladesh, and not because it serves the interest of some foreign power. On the other hand the formation of the broad-based Consultative Committee has own us respect and support in the anti- Imperialist camp.

Those people who are predicting that Bangladesh will be independent very soon are, deliberately or foolishly, harming the cause of the liberation struggle and playing directly into the hands of Imperialism and Reaction.

While we certainly want Bangladesh to be free as soon as possible, and are sure that ultimate victory is ours, we also feel that false hopes that do not materialize repeatedly tend to frustrate and demoralize the people. It surely is a very cruel joke on the poor, destitute people in the refugee camps in India and the homeless people inside Bangladesh.

The elements that are trying to create division and confusion amongst the Bangalis, have been saying since the beginning of our war of liberation that unless a compromise

war reached immediately the leadership would pass into the hands of the communists. Their campaign has gained momentum since the formation of the Consultative Committee, whose pronouncement that "nothing short of total independence is acceptable to the people of Bangladesh" has ruined their plans. They have become very 'sympathetic' all of a sudden and have been saying that the only solution to the present crisis "is full regional autonomy for East Pakistan". Huge amounts of money are being spent by some agencies and governments to propagate this view. One such view in wide circulation is that unless a political solution is accepted within the framework of Pakistan, "nobody" could give the guarantee for Sheikh Mujib's life. But such blackmail will not work, because our beloved leader will not barter his life for compromise with murderers and rapists.

The militant masses of Bangladesh will never accept any compromise. They have given blood in immeasurable quantities and will fight to the last man, but they will not accept anything short of total independence. We should give a fitting reply to the mischief-mongers and the dark forces of Imperialism and Reaction by consolidating the unity among the masses and implementing the programme of the Consultative Committee.

The military junta of Pakistan is backed by powerful allies abroad. So we should be prepared for a long and protracted war. During the course of this struggle we will be faced with many trials and tribulations, but we must never for a moment stray from our objective. We must not let the blood of the martyrs go in vain.

L O C A L N E WS

Professor Muzaffar in Toronto

Professor Muzaffar Ahmed, President of the Bangladesh National Awami Party and a member of the Consultative Committee, who came to New York as a member of the Bangladesh delegation ;to the U. N., paid a visit to Toronto on his way back to Bangladesh. He also addressed the Bangladesh citizens residing in Toronto on October 7.

He gave a report on the progress made by the Bangladesh delegation to the U.N., and also reported the overall progress made in the diplomatic field. He also gave a picture of the latest situation at the front. He emphasized on the need for unity at this moment of our national crisis. He said that though the people of Bangladesh were eager to see an early end to this war imposed on them, they were ready for a long and protracted war and were willing to lay down their lives to the last man to free their motherland.

South Asia Crisis Committee

Recently a South Asia Crisis Committee has been formed in Toronto with Mr. Stanley Burke, a former CBC broadcaster, as its Director. The aim of the group is to educate the Canadian people of the imminent famine in Bangladesh. Mr. Burke hopes to expand the activities of his committee on a national basis. At present various campus groups are actively working to educate the people. "People must wake up". Mr. Burke said, "when millions of people are waiting to die".

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A symposium on Bangladesh will be held at McMastcr University, Hamilton, on Oct. 20 at 7 P. M. Speakers include1 Mr. S. A. Sultan and Mr. Mafiz Chowdhury, members of the Bangladesh delegation to the U. N.

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BANGLADESH, October 31, 1971

EDITORIAL

Recently newspapers have been reporting heavy shelling across the borders of occupied Bangladesh and India. In West Pakistan villages along India are being evacuated, and cars and buses in the main cities carry "Crush India" strickers. At night complete blackout is observed in the border areas. Siren is no more sounding for telling the city people time of "Iftar" or "Sehri". Both India and Pakistan have strongly reinforced their positions along the border. 'War seems imminent'.

It is time to think calmly about why such a condition has been created and what this war will mean-if it at all happen-for Bangladesh. Leaders in the West Privately requesting Mrs. Gandhi to talk to Yahya Khan to normalize the border tension. But she has 'rightly' pointed out that the root of the trouble is Pakistan Army's brutality in Bangladesh; and India is an unfortunate victim of Pakistan's internal problem. Nino million refugees have already fled to India creating an unbearable pressure on her already strained economy. According to Mrs. Gandhi, to restore normalcy, Yahya should stop the reign of terror in Bangladesh and talk directly to the elected representatives of East Bengal.

Some people in India and outside feel that the only way India can extricate herself from the mess, which is not of her making is to forcibly occupy Bangladesh and install a Bengali 'government' there. They contend that it win be far less costly than feeding and sheltering the millions refugees indefinitely. While we sympathize with India's genuine problems, and are grateful and obliged for all her help, we feel that such a war will be detrimental to both our cause and India's. It will damage her wonderful image abroad. On our part, we are fighting a war against colonial rule for our national liberation. It is not aimed against any particular West Pakistani but against all exploiters.

Mrs. Gandhi realizes the futility of such a step and has ignored all such suggestions, providing once again that India is a peace-loving nation. If India had really wanted a war, she would not have waited so long.

Then why all the sabre-rattling and war-preparations in the border areas? It its quite evident that the Army Generals in Pakistan (whatever great fools they may be) have realized that it is impossible to suppress Bangladesh by force. They are being badly mauled by the Mukti Bahini, and Pakistan's economy is on the verge of collapse. Moreover the people of West Pakistan have being to realize the implications of the military misadventure in Bangladesh. So, the Pakistani military build-up on the border is meant to serve two purposes.

Firstly, ii is intended to divert the attention of the people in West Pakistan and abroad. Pakistan's integrity and unity has always been based on 'hate India' or on 'crush India' campaign. So, by creating a war hysteria. Yahya hopes to gain some sort of unity among the people of whatever Pakistan he rules.

Secondly, this escalation is meant to frighten the world community into intervening, thus internationalizing the issue and diverting the world attention from the real issue-75 million people's desire and right of self-determination.-and to hide his own atrocities, brutalities and reign of terror in Bangladesh. It is advantageous for Pakistan to attack India: in the hope that a quick cease-fire would be stationed on either side of the border with India. This will enable him to maintain control over Bangladesh and stop the activities of the Mukti Bahini to some extent. Thus, it is quite clear that Pakistan has everything to gain from such a war. It is the duty of all peace-loving and democratic people to help prevent this war, and let the Bengalis win their own independence. The Bangladesh Mukti Bahini are sure to win since Truth and Justice are on their side.

L O C A L N E W S

SYMPOSIUM ON BANGLADESH

Hamilton, October 6: A symposium on Bangladesh was jointly organized by the Carribian Student Organisation and Bangladesh Association at McMaster University, Hamilton on October 6. Mr. S A Sultan and Mr. S. Ahmed, member of the Bangladesh delegation to the United Nations, spoke on the occasion and answered the questions from the floor. Large number of student and teacher of the University participated in the discussion. The meeting proved to be a success.

On the following day both the speakers gave a talk to the Political since Association at McMaster University, and in the evening addressed the members of the Bangladesh Association of Canada, Toronto at its office in Toronto. Both of them spoke about the need for unity at this moment of our national crisis.

JOIN US ON November 5

The Bangladesh Association of Canada, Toronto; will join the Anti-war Rally, organise by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, on Saturday, November 6 at 2 pm, to protest -against the blasting of an atom bomb at Amchitka. Alaska.

The Bangladesh Association will join the rally with their own banners, placards and slogans primarily to propagate our solidarity with all oppressed people of the world. We want to let the people of Canada know that we do not want war, war has been forced on us. Come and join us in the peace rally at 2 pm at Queens Park.

BANGLADESH STAMPS

A complete set of, Bangladesh stamps are now available with us. If you want a set of stamps, call: Mr. Khan at 363-2834. The proceeds will go to liberation struggle.

Edited and circulated by the Publicity Secretary. on behalf of the Bangladesh Association of Canada. Toronto.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটিশ কলম্বিয়া বিশ্বাবদ্যালয় ডীনের কাছে বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশনের কর্মকর্তার পত্র	বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব বৃটিশ কলম্বিয়ার দলিল	১৫ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Mr. Philip H. White,
Dean: Comm. & Bus. Admin..
University of B. C.

November 15, 1971.

Dear Sir,

Perhaps you are aware of the fact that for the last eight months the people of Bangladesh (East Pakistan) are struggling for restoring their fundamental rights to live as a free citizen and even for their mere survival. As a result of army atrocities perpetuated on the defenseless civilians of Bangladesh, millions have fled to India and 10-30 million people are facing starvation. To help those unfortunate people, we have decided to make a campaign on campus to raise funds. The funds will be utilized for the benefit of hundreds of University. College and School teachers who are penniless, and at present staying in West Bengal and other states of India.

The money will be sent directly to the victims by us and by the "Medical Association of Bangladesh" based in London, U. K.

The door-to-door campaigns win last for a week starting from November 15.

It will be highly appreciated if you please allow us for the fund raising campaign, which will be beneficial for hundreds of unfortunate and needy people of East Bengal.

Thanking you.

Yours truly,
(Dr. A. M. Khan)
General Secretary,
Bangladesh Association of
British Columbia.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভ্যাঙ্কুভাবে প্রবাসী বাঙালী ও ফ্রেজার গ্রুপ প্রকাশিত 'বায়াস' পত্রিকার একটি আবেদন	'বায়াস' খন্ড-২ সংখ্যা-৪	------- ১৯৭১

WHAT YOU CAN DO

1. On the most basic level you can continue to inform yourself and others about the true nature of this struggle. You can demand that your local media report fairly and in depth its real causes. It is easy for the media to report only about the results of this struggle, i. e. refugee camps, brutal massacres, cholera epidemics, while ignoring the fact that these things were caused by a **deliberate** program of genocide by the West Pakistan government. Rarely mentioned is the fact that this government is supported directly and indirectly by both Canada and the U. S. Write to your newspapers and condemn the current western attempts to compromise with West Pakistan.

2. It is important that through your own awareness you exert pressure on those individuals and organizations which may have some effect on the outcome of this struggle or on people's understanding of it. To this end we urge you to write to your own government demanding that it **immediately** cease **all aid and military supplies to West Pakistan**, and moreover, that **it recognize the provisional government of Bangladesh.**

3. We can assist the struggle in Bangladesh by contributing to the growth of the guerilla movement there. It is fighting for the people and for the future. There are Bangladesh Associations an over North America. Donations and correspondence can be sent to the B. C. branch (#1). Otherwise contact this association nearest to you:

1. Bangladesh Association of British Columbia,
   Acadia Towers, # 1401
   2725 Melfa Road, Vancouver, B. C.

2. Bangladesh Association of Canada
   3520 Lorne Ave., Suite 5, Montreal, Quebec.

3. Bangladesh Association of Canada
   117 Carlton St., Toronto, 200, Ontario.

4. Bangladesh Association of Saskatchewan
   1220 Jubilee Ave. Regina, Sask.

5. Bangladesh League of America Inc.,
   5245 So. Kenwood, Chicago, III 60615, U. S. A.

6. Bangladesh Association of North America
   759 E. 18th St.,
   Brooklyn, New York. N. Y., U. S. A.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন অব বৃটিশ কলম্বিয়ার একটি আবেদন	এসোসিয়েশন-এর দলিল	নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
905-550 West 12th Avenue,
জয় বাংলা Vancouver 9, B. C. Canada
Telephone: (604) 876-8453

MASSACRE ** GENOCIDE ** BLOODBATH ** TERROR AND NOW STARVATION: ALL PART OF A GAME'

THE TRAGEDY OF BANGLADESH (EAST PAKISTAN)

As a result of devastation and dislocations caused by war, floods, and cyclones: between 10 and 30 million of East Bengal's 75 million inhabitants face starvation within the next few months. Contrary to bland assurances which continue to emanate from West Pakistani spokesman the situation is unquestionably desperate and will require a large scale international relief effort, if a tragedy of major proportion is to be averted. The months required to return the system to normal would probably exceed the time during which the food reserves could sustain the population. The factors that determine mass famine are irreversible after a certain point. International action, immediate and strong, is perhaps the only defense the people of East Bengal now have.

Since last March, the 75 million people of Bangladesh have become involved in a struggle for asserting their fundamental rights' and in a grim fight for survival.

After having unleashed one of the most brutal bloodbaths on his own people in all history President Yahya Khan is now planning to starve out the resistance.

In November, 1910, it was a cyclone that took a toll of lives. That was nature. In March, 1971, Bangladesh was hit by another disaster, systematically eliminating the region of, its young men, intelligentsia and millions of innocent victims. This time perpetrator is Yahya Khan.

We, on behalf of 75 million terrorized people of Bangladesh, appeal to you to put pressure on your Government by asking for suspension of military and or economic aid to Pakistan and to pursue the military government of General Yahya Khan to desist from further slaughter of civilians.

Please support and help by contributing to our 'Bangladesh Week' -a fund raising campaign (NOVEMBER 15-19).

॥ ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতা ॥

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পঁচিশে মার্চের হত্যাযজ্ঞে ইন্দোনেশিয়ার সরকার ও জনগণের প্রাথমিক প্রতিক্রিয়া এবং প্রচার অভিযান সম্পর্কে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে লিখিত চিঠি	প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের সংগঠন 'আমরা'	১৪ মে, ১৯৭১

DJAKARTA. 14-5-71

1. AP reported on the carnage in Jessore, Khulna, and Chittagong. Indonesian Observer a leading daily, earned the reports. It stated brutality committed by both sides-Bengalis on Biharis and military on Bengalis indiscriminately.
2. Reports about Dacca were also published in press here. Army action was shown as horrifying. People here reluctant to believe the blame of killing on Awami League before 25th March. They sensed enough evidence of atrocities from the report done by army.
3. Direct approach may appreciably mould the attitude of this Government.
4. Pakistan has intensified the propaganda. We are trying hard to counter it in our own way by our limited means. Pakistan propaganda rarely finds place in the press.
5. Observers here give credence to a rumour that Bengalis are gradually called back from missions abroad. They will be herded in camp to face trial/death later on. If possible, an appeal to various Govt's to give protection and necessary help to Bengalis may be made through press or radio. Bengal is should also be cautioned not to return to concentration camps in Islamabad.
6. Three ships went to Chittagong with Japanese rice for East Pakistan. They were directed to unload the rice at Karachi. The ship-owners refused and came to Djakarta and unloaded the rice.
7. Vice President's speech heard over radio from Calcutta was encouraging. More encouraging is his warning to the traitors. Pakistan is trying to use Traitor's version of the situation in Bengal.
8. Our activities are spied and hampered by M. A. Aziz of IPECC. In collaboration with Punjabis, he and his wife are very active to mobilize opinion against our cause. He even propagates that Mujib, Bhashani, Tajuddin and their associates are all communists. Communists are hateful in this country.
9. Aziz arranged a Fateha Khani in the house of a Punjabi named Khalique Fakhruddin and prayed that Bengali should not be misled by Awami League.
10. Mr. H. R. Choudhury in Pak. mission Delhi was counselor here. He was virtually thrown out. His Path an enemy is still trying to implicate him in the present crisis.
11. A copy of AP's report is enclosed for information. Djakarta papers also carried it in full.

12. It is very happy to know the publication of "Joy Bangla". We shall made use of it here. Please send a copy regularly at the following address. We shall try to circulate copies to important personalities here ----------

*

DJAKARTA-INDONESIA

1. These clippings from leading dailies of Djakarta for information and knowledge of the Members of Bangladesh Cabinet. Further consignment will follow. Happenings carried by all Indonesian papers also.
   (a) Editorial "The Complex Problem of East Pakistan" by the Djakarta Times on April 15.
   (b) Article "Is Islam Dead?" by Djakarta Times on April 15.
   (c) Editorial "Massacre in East Pakistan" by Djakarta Times on April 6.
   (d) Editorial "Bangladesh" by Djakarta limes on April 20.
   (c) Editorial "Sympathy with East Pakistan's Plight" by Indonesian Observer (Nationalist Paper).
2. Inspiring speeches. Press conferences and meetings will boost up morale of fighters and people. Sorry, we hear very little from leaders.
3. Organise & equip youths for offensive fighting.
4. Make arrangements for collection of funds from Bengalis and sympathizers living or serving' abroad. There will definitely be satisfactory response. Announce through Press where to deposit contributions.
5. Contact by letter/cable/representative all Heads of States. Give them background details accusing the aggressors. Do not please miss Indonesia though it is not sympathetic.
6. Extensive propaganda necessary. We are doing our way.
7. Arrange supply of arms and ammunitions from any source.
8. Appeal daily to all World Organizations by letter, or through Press for help and ask them to come and see magnitude of suffering.
9. Leaders should make alternative frequent visits to fighters and' give them assurance of victory. This is must.
10. Declare Nurul Amin, Hamidul Hoq, Sabur and others as traitors. They will face trial and get their due for betrayal.
11. Unity must be preserved at all cost and sacrifice, without considerations of party affiliations.

To

Mr. Hussain Ali
Bangladesh Mission,
9, Circus A venue,
Calcutta-17.

*

1. Will send press clippings. Already sent by air mail releases etc.
2. To boost up morale of fighters and people, statements are issued and press conferences are held.
3. To organise and equip youths for offensive fighting, necessary steps taken.
4. An appeal has already been issued to persons and organizations abroad for funds and materials-A/C No. in foreign banks are in formed as and when opened.
5. All Heads of States including Indonesia have been approached formally.
6. Collaborators in and outside Bangladesh are being warned occasionally.
7. Efforts are made for arms and ammunitions.

*

1. Publicity campaign needs to be geared up. Silence of leaders causes alarm & disappointment.
2. There are reports of disunity among the parties. Unity should be maintained at any-cost.
3. Indonesian presses do not now give much coverage. Local Pakistanis (Punjabis) have purchased most of them at huge money. Govt. attitude is not helpful to Bangladesh. Some lies are being circulated in the name of Ulamas by Radio Pakistan. Indonesia does not seem to help Pakistan materially. After the inquiry report on hijacking was published, Pakistan Ambassador was ridiculed by Foreign Minister. It is known secretly.
4. Public opinion here is that Pakistan unity is broken forever. The war is to continue a few weeks more for Bengali survival.
5. Direct approach to this Govt. may ease the herded attitude of non-interference. Please consider to do it soon, if possible.
6. Some prominent foreign journals are carrying encouraging articles by their correspondents. Some of them even traced the history and gave details of economic disparities which finally resulted to the present event. People are convinced and have sympathy.

7. Traitors are everywhere. One is here. M. A. Aziz, Dy. Secy. General. IPECC, Though a Bengali, is a nuisance. He is spying against Bengalies and trying to victimize the lovers & sympathizers. He is a non-believer in our cause. Please note it for future action.

8. It will be glad to know the arrangement for collection of money. We are ready to contribute our share.

Mr. Hussain Ali,
Bangladesh Mission,
9 Circus Avenue,
Calcutta-17.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আন্তর্জাতিক স্বেচ্ছাসেবক বিগ্রেডের প্রাক্তন প্রধান কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে যুদ্ধ করার ইচ্ছা প্রকাশ	ব্যক্তিগত চিটিপত্র	১৫ মে, ১৯৭১

Piasangan Lama 111/39,
Djatinegara,
Djakarta-INDONESIA
May 15, 1971.

Dear Mr. Hossain Ali,

I was born in the district of Noakhali and joined the British Indian Army during World War II. In 1945 I came over to Indonesia with the Indian Army. I was commanding International Volunteers' Brigade in the freedom struggle of INDONESIA. I have since then settled in INDONESIA and is now a pensioner.

As you would appreciate in struggling for Indonesian independence, we have expertise in guerilla warfare and I have still a following of about 2000 personnel.

I was yet under the impression that the regrettable killings would end and a peaceful solution of the problem would come in one or the other form in final settlement. But it appears that West Pakistan would not stop killings in spite of international opinion.

It is my intention that I could actively participate to liberate my kith and kins left behind in Bengal who are now suffering miserably and killed indiscriminately with my 2000 men. I can seek permission from the Government of the Republic of INDONESIA to organize a volunteer corps but in view of her own economic position she would not be able to finance it. My offer stands firm for an active participation in your struggle if the possibilities of meeting the expenditure on personnel and material could be found.

Kindly accept my esteem and wishes for Bangladesh Government and its people and let me know if I could be of any use or service to my motherland. With all sympathies and support.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
Ex-Major Abdul Matin
Ex. Chief Commander,
International Volunteers
Brigade.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের সংগঠন 'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে প্রেরিত ইন্দোনেশীয় প্রচার মাধ্যমের প্রতিক্রিয়ার সংক্ষিপ্ত বিবরণী	'আমরা'	২১ মে, ১৯৭১

Djakarta, 21/5/71.

AP's report of May II was published in daily "Indonesian observer" on 15. The following were the highlights of report:—

(a) Deaths more than 400,000 since the start of civil war on March 25.

(b) Rail and road links cut off at many places.

(c) 55 Jute mills are working with 15% labor force.

(d) Millions are facing starvation.

(e) Prediction made that Yahya would not last the year.

(f) Shops were looted by army.

(g) A colony for marketing of 60 products of West Pakistan is lost, remarked by a key businessmen of West Pakistan.

(h) Economic difficulties are being faced seriously in West Pakistan.

2. A list of the political and social elites are given below. They may be, supplied with materials leading to present crisis. They will help our cause. They may influence change policy.

3. A copy of "Joy Bangla" as requested earlier may be send at our address regularly. We hope to make good use of it. If possible, some more copies may be sent for distribution to politically important personalities.

4. Important papers again started publishing reports prominently. The govt. is though silent but seem to be convinced of the brutality Govt. do not fully believe Pakistan propaganda. It is sure this Govt. will not help Pakistan materially, it is unheedful to may requests.

5. Mrs. M: A. Aziz, wife of M. A. Aziz of 1PECC is engaged in censoring of the letters written in Bengali. A few letters reportedly not delivered.

6. In a gathering of local Pakistanis (mostly Punjabis) at a dinner given by Mr. Rang Elahi (a Punjabi) to celebrate his success and nomination in S. O. Examination, Mr. Aziz recalled the failure of attempts for achievement of autonomy in 1954 by the leaders-Fazlul Hoque, Suhrawardy and Bhashani. On Mr. Suhrawardy's imprisonment he said "there was something". "Bhasani is always a destructive element". There is complete peace in East Pakistan. A few of the guests digested the remarks with bad taste.

7. 'Far Eastern Economic Review' in its issue No. 19 published a story "words after warfare". The story was mixed with pleasure and disappointment. It said Nurul Amin

refused to accept power in this circumstance. Yahya feels confident to win at least KM) AL. elected members. They would be given assurance of autonomy provided they denounce Sheikh Mujib and join assembly as independents. Observers doubted the success of the move. It further said the army virtually controlled the province. The liberation army are inactive.

8. Antara, official news agency, quoting Reuter from Washington published on 19-5-71 that M. M. Ahmed could not do much to secure Economic aid from U. S. USA did not make any commitment until the situation is reviewed. Pakistan accepted, despite Yahya's earlier refusal to U Thant, the relief aid for Bengal. This was presumably due to pressure.

9. Local language dailies still continue to publish encouraging reports of regrouping reorganizing and training of liberation army. They give photos in some cases.

10. Indonesian Govt, may consider recognition to Bangladesh and possible help if an approach is made directly. This was opined by Adam Malik in a reception.

11. Prominent journalist & owners of papers were invited to a lavish dinner by Pakistan Ambassador. They were urged to be conservative about E. P. situation. This attempt proved failure. B M. Dia, former Information Minister, attended the dinner but his paper Indonesia. Observer next day published prominently the report of AP on E. P. situation.

12. One local language paper reported about serious rift in the Peoples Party. Some prominent members opposing Bhutto have been arrested as a result. Economic difficulties and possible inflation are current thinking in business circles, the report added.

13. AP's report is enclosed. Such report may cause serious damage to the safety of Bengalis in Hast Pakistan. Such reports may be countered.

"Amara"
Djalan Pemandangan 11/10.
Gn. Sahari. Antjol Depan A1P
Djakarta-Ulara.

INDONESIAN OBSERVER MAY 19.

Singapore, May 17 (AP).

For 23 years a common faith is the Moslem religion linked the disparate halves of Pakistan. Now the nation's leaders know it needs stronger cement if it is to stay united.

A brutal Civil War that began sweeping East Pakistan March 26 has killed perhaps 500000 persons, with may tortured and slaughtered simply because they spoke the wrong language and traced roots to the wrong place.

Non-Bengalis won't easily forget how husbands, mothers and children were killed by Bengalis espousing and independent East Bengal. Bengalis will long recall army terror and destruction.

The economy of the eastern wing of Pakistan lies shattered. Reconstruction must come from the West, 1,000 miles across India but six hours away by jet because India refuses over flights.

East Pakistan's economic infra-structure depended heavily on a 12 per cent minority of Hindu Bengalis who stayed on when India and Pakistan were formed from British India.

There are also millions Biharis, Moslem migrants who came to Pakistan at partition from several parts of India, mostly Bihar. And there were key West Pakistani businessmen and managers.

The Hindus suffered many dead in army reprisals. Thousands have fled to India or
remote parts of the province. Dacca's once picturesque Hindu sections elsewhere were razed.

Biharis and West Pakistanis were massacred by Bengalis across East Pakistan, and may survivors left in panic.

Significantly, much of the killing took no heed of religious lines. Eyewitnesses say Moslem Biharis were slaughtered in Mosques by Moslem Bengalis, despite the teachings of the prophet Mohammed.

As moslem Punjabi and Pathan soldiers moved to settle the score, they took no time to determine a man's faith.

The founder of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, advocated the theory that Pakistan would stand as a nation, despite its geography and wide ethnic differences because of its faith in Islam.

Portraits of Jinnah still gave down from every official wall in West, and East Pakistan, but dispassionate leaders now find that his idea needs reinforcing. The problem is that no one knows how.

"For 23 years the West has enriched itself at our expense" thundered Major M. A. Osman of the Bengali Liberation Forces when Bangladesh or Bengal State was in its brief heyday.

Foreign economists add that 60-70 per cent of the foreign aid went to West Pakistan while the East provided 65 per cent and more of the country's foreign exchange.

Tariffs and policies tended to favor the West, which depend heavily on the Eastern inhabitants-two-thirds of the total population to consume its industrial and agricultural products.

Some Westerners want to gradually easy away from the East and cut all ties. This is considered unlikely, though, with a military government apparently determined to enforce a single Pakistan at any cost.

The cost, so far immense in economic and human terms, is likely to remain crushing. Bengalis now pin Pakistani flags to their clothing and fly them from their homes, but that is for safety.

"Look what the Army did" whispered a Bengali student to a reporter in one town. His eyes showed a fierce bitterness. Then, as an officer approached, he smiled brightly and offered a patriotic remark.

His reaction was common all over the sullen, defeated province. Bengalis must eventually return to work to feed their families. They lost badly and there seems little serious prospect of armed resistance.

But it will take more than impassive compliance to rebuild Pakistan even at its prewar level it was badly hurt by economic woes and natural disasters.

The question of tolerance is touchy. Military rulers have used their censorship net to black out in West Pakistan any reports of atrocities by Bengalis living their.

Eventually the facts will slip across to the other side.

One immediate threat is the crippled food crop and the disrupted relief program. Some foreign observers fear these may cause a calamitous famine this summer.

Another fear is that buyers of jute will switch to other fibers from more stable parts of the world. East Pakistan grows 80 per cent of the world's jute but exporters are concerned that the halted supply would not be missed.

That would stagger the East's economy and make it less attractive to the West.

"It's still far too early to tell what happens next", said one foreigner close to both economy and politics. "But one thing is certain. Things will never be the same again between the West and the East".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তান দূতাবাসের বাঙালী কর্মচারীর কলকাতা গমন সংক্রান্ত চিঠি ও তার উত্তর	বাংলাদেশ সরকার	২৬ মে এবং ১ জুন, ১৯৭১

A summary of the letter of Mr. SanauIlah of IPEC Djakarta.

1. Mr. SanauIlah is a senior Bengali Stenographer of the M/o Finance, on deputation to IPEC in Djakarta since 1967. His curriculum vitae is also enc.
2. He thinks that because he is a Bengali and sympathetic to our cause, he has been transferred to W. Pakistan even though persons who joined the IPEC later than he did, are still continuing.
3. He applied for leave but it was rejected (March 25th). He is being threatened with dire consequences if he does not join HQrs. immediately. Veiled threats have been given to him that he would be handed over to the Martial Law authorities to return.
4. He is paying his own rents, etc. and is not getting pay for the last 2~ months.
5. He approached some prominent people, including ex-Ministers, for political asylum, but the prospect of getting asylum is not very bright because of political considerations on the part of Indonesian Govt. However, he has been told that he may stay on in D'Jakarta. He wanted to know if the Pakistan Government insisted on his expulsion from the country what the Indonesian Government's attitude would be? He was told that this can be dealt with at a later stage as the situation develops. In sum, he has failed to obtain a categorical assurance in this respect. Nevertheless, he is staying on in D'Jakarta.
6. In the earlier portion of his finely'-written 5-page letter, he has given a detailed account of the injustices being committed by the' West Pakistan Ambassador and
   other Westies on the Bengali members of staff. He has also given an account of the conflicting loyalties of the Bengalies in D'Jakarta to the cause of Bangladesh.
   According to him there are 9 Bengali officials there out of 22. and his own version is that barring one or two Bengalis almost all of them are reluctant to identify themselves openly with our cause.
7. He wishes to know what he is expected to do now and how the Government of Bangladesh could help him. He fears that other Bangalies may face the same difficulty he is presently experiencing, in the very near future.
8. He concludes his letter by emphasizing on the justice of our cause and exhorting all of us to have faith in God.

S d/-
PA to HOM
26.5.71

তারিখঃ ১লা জুন, ১৯৭১

জনাব সানাউল্লাহ সাহেব,

আপনার ১৩ই মে তারিখের জনাব হোসেন আলী সাহেবের কাছে লিখিত পত্র পেলাম। ওখানে আপনার কাজের জন্য তিনি সন্তোষ প্রকাশ করেছেন। আপনার এখানে আসার বিষয়ে সকল দিক বিবেচনা করে জানানো হচ্ছে যে, একজন স্টেনোগ্রাফারের পক্ষে এখানে কর্মের ব্যবস্থা করা হয়ত খুব কঠিন হবে না। বাংলাদেশ সরকার আপনার কর্মব্যবস্থা করে দিতে পারবেন বলে আশা করা যায়। তবে প্রশ্ন হলো বাসস্থানের। বাসস্থানের সমস্যা একটা আন্তর্জাতিক সমস্যা এবং কলকাতা তার কোন ব্যতিক্রম নয়। তদুপরি বাংলাদেশ থেকে লোক চলে আসায় সমস্যা আরও তীব্রভাবে দেখা দিয়েছে। আপনাকে নিজ চেষ্টায় বাসস্থানের সন্ধান করে নিতে হতে পারে। এ সমস্ত বিবেচনা করে যদি আপনি এখানে চলে আসা মনস্থ করেন, তখন আমাদেরকে জনাবেন। যতদিন ওখানে থেকে বাংলাদেশের জন্য কাজ করতে পারেন তার চেষ্টা করবেন এবং যদি নিতান্তই আপনাকে এখানে আসতে হয় তাহলে টি-এ ও ডি-এ নিয়ে নেবেন। একথা জানিয়েছেন মিঃ হোসেন আলী সাহেব।

পৃথকভাবে আপনাকে আমাদের রিলিজ, পুস্তিকা ইত্যাদি পাঠানো হলো।

শুভেচ্ছান্তে-
(এম, মকসুদ আলী)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের তৎপরতার উপর ভিত্তি করে "আমরা " গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক প্রেরিত একটি প্রতিবেদন	"আমরা"	১৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

Djakarta
13-6-71.

1. U Thaw's opinion of refugee problem and his appeal for help appeared in the press widely. Radio & TV here included in the programme. Plight of refugees was shown in the TV. This was down to the much annoyance of Pakistanis and against attempts of Pakistani mission.
2. Refugee problem has shadowed reports of fighting of the liberation army. Still the reports of killing of 300 Pakistan army appeared. The news given by Aniara correspondent quoted to have been received from Bangladesh headquarters somewhere in East Pakistan.
3. 1PECC future seems bleak. In the last meeting Pakistan's eagerness survived it. Pakistan committed to bear all expenses of running the Sectt. With Mr. SanauIlah transferred from 1st March and another Rang Elahi moving shortly to assume the post S.O. there appears no probability of their substitutes. SanauIlah got the letter. He will decide in due course. IPECC lost its significance and purpose. A. Aziz is a common guest in any meeting & Milad organized by Punjabis.
4. Reports of British intention to give to Pakistan aids and loans for development programme appeared in Antara. Djakarta and Straits Times, Singapore. These aids and loans were committed before the war.
5. Two Information Assistants in the Ministry of Information, Islamabad have been dismissed. This has struck other Bengalis with fear. There are credible rumours of other dismissals from other Ministries. Bengalis do not get air passage unless a certificate of honesty and loyalty is produced from tile employer to the PIA. In some cases leave is granted without T. A. still in many cases leave is refused. This is to keep them entrapped and prevent their entry into Bangladesh.
6. Armed Forces HQs of Pakistan are reported alert for any possible attack from India. They are apprehending some such a thing and directed their propaganda on this line.
7. Photographs of captured enemy personnel may be sent press here.
8. To relieve foreign exchange burden, payment of 20% of pay in Pakistan has been effected from June by government.
9. It is reported their was demonstration before Indonesian and British Embassies in Delhi demanding support for Bangladesh cause.

10. Radio Pakistan has allotted more time for news and propaganda in Indonesian language. This has cut the afternoon monitoring time.
11. Maulana Maudoodi has reportedly written to all heads of Muslim States. He stressed that majority teachers and professors in East Pakistan were Hindus and the students were taught books written by Hindus and were influenced by Hindu ideas & policies. In essence, the Muslims there were only by name and not in spirit.
12. Mr. Swaran Singh's visit to Moscow, Germany and Paris got wide publicity in local and foreign language papers. His interviews and dialogues with press and leaders, as reported here, were encouraging:
13. A rumour spread in Delhi about Kosygin's visit to Islamabad and Delhi for talks on repatriation of High Commission's staff published here.
14. For fear of losing their own political interest in the coming general election, sympathizing leaders are not seriously critical of Govt's apathy on events in Bangladesh.
15. Letters of thanks and gratitude to editors & others as requested earlier will help publicity of our cause. They already did invaluable service. They may also be given materials for publications regularly.
16. This govt. is non-interventionist in Bangladesh affairs but it still has not put any restriction on press. This is a partial recognition facts which we stand for.
17. We are handicapped of materials and guidelines. We requested earlier too.
18. Registered letters arc not delivered at private addresses here. Please send communications by ordinary post.
19. A news item appeared in Antara said, among others, that 2000 deserters of E.P.R., and Police surrendered at the call of Tikka Khan. 5000 refugees also returned to East Pakistan. The reports were made by Antara correspondent from Calcutta.
20. Times, London carried a news item disclosing that liberation army recruits are being trained in 50 Indian camps.
21. Reports of deep resentment between locals and refugees in West Bengal appeared. A situation of near riot was however averted by officials.
22. Reports of Mr. Sharp and Ismat Kittani's talks with Pakistan govt. appeared. They said the talks were fruitful. Pakistan is cooperative and distribution of relief goods in East Pakistan will be through local administration under supervision of U.N. agency. U.N. cannot provide a great force for distribution.-

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পরিস্থিতি সম্পর্কে ইন্দোনেশীয় পত্রিকার মূল্যায়ন	'আমরা'	২০-২৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

BRIEF FOR FOREIGN MINISTER

Mr. Abdullah Alamudi, correspondent of the Daily Pedoman of Indonesia will come to meet the F. M. on June 13, 1971 at 10-30 A. M. He is visiting India as the guest of the Govt. of India. He will be accompanied by the representatives of the Govt, of India. Before coming over here, he has already toured the European countries for about six weeks. The Daily Pedoman is reportedly a newspaper with a socialist and nationalist bias.

(A)*Indonesian Government's point of view on Bangladesh:*

Indonesian Government's attitude on the whole is not very helpful. Foreign Minister Adam Malik described the situation to be "internal affairs" of Pakistan. It is, however, felt that a direct approach to the Government may case the hardened attitude of non- interference and the issue of recognition may also be considered. At present, the Govt. seems to be convinced of the Pakistan Army's brutality and Pakistan's propaganda is not fully believed. Indonesia is not providing any material help to Pakistan.

(B) *Public and Press attitude:*

A section of the Indonesian press gave good publicity to the Bangladesh movement. The Dacca atrocities of the Pak. army and activities of the liberation forces were covered by the local newspapers. Pakistan is reportedly spending huge amount of money to buy some of the newspapers.

The people in general feel that the unity of Pakistan is broken for ever. They are also reluctant to believe Pakistan propaganda putting the whole blame on the Awami League. Mr. Achmed Sjaicho, Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament and Chairman of the International Islamic Organisation and Dr. Mohammad Natcir, former Prime Minister and leader of Masjumi Party (banned) have appealed to Pakistan to act wisely' and seek a just solution.

(C) *Any Special angles likely to come up during meeting:*

Mr. Alamudi's discussions with the Head of Calcutta Mission on June 12, 1971 show that the former is not interested in giving stress on any particular issue or angle. He may, however, be eager to know why the Awami League had to take such a step to declare independence.

Brief report

Djakarta 23/4/71

1. Swaran Singh's visit found a good coverage in the press here. His and the two other Indian Minister's visits have been described as successful in a way.

2. Resolution moved by 120 British Parliamentarians pressing to cut and stop aid to Pakistan has been widely published. Every newspaper carried the news prominently. Reports of relief aid were published in detail.
3. Mr. Hussain Ali's account of fighting & loss and injuries inflicted to Pakistan army appeared in the press. Ordinary people were in gossip on the subject.
4. This country is quite convinced of, grave situation in Bangladesh. Non-intervention policy will continue for some time more at least till the coming election is over. The press here is giving all out' support to Bangladesh.
5. Accounts of atrocities in Bangladesh by Assistant Editor of Morning News published in Sunday Times. London was partially carried by press here. It was a well-written story, of facts. The people here were stunned with horror and believed the report mostly. It brought to Govt. silent condemnation of the people.
6. There was some hint in some papers that Pakistan is planning to send Bhutto abroad. The intention is to counter the conviction given by Swaran Singh. Bhutto will not be received well here. He is known as Subandrio of Pakistan.
7. There was mild attempts through press to further defame Awami League for Bangladesh situation. These have been checked by bitter attack of sympathizers.
8. In an earlier report list of newspapers and editors were given. It was requested to send them letters of thanks. It is not yet known if any action is taken so far.
9. No reply has so far been received on a number of request made earlier. It is feared the reports are intercepted somewhere or the letters to our address are blocked by enemy agents here. Our doubts and fear will be removed if the receipt of the reports are confirmed immediately. Otherwise we will be forced to stop writing any more.
10. Mr. J. P. Narayan's visit to this capital is not apparently successful. But it created
favorable impression. Local language paper gave wide coverage of his interview and disclosure of factual position.
11. ANT ARA quoted reports from Paris about postponement of aid to Pakistan meeting. The news was carried by prominent papers.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সরকার কর্তৃক ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় অবস্থানরত বেসরকারী বাঙালীদের কর্তব্য সম্পর্কে লিখিত চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ সরকার	২৪ জনু, ১৯৭১

গনপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
৯ সার্কাস এ্যাভিনিউ
কলিকাতা-১৭

MISSION OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH
9 Circus Avenue,
Calcutta-17

Dear Mr. Abdul Matin,

We have been very pleased to receive your letter addressed to Mr. Iiussain Ali. Head of the Bangladesh Mission dated May 15, 1971. Please accept our thanks for your support and feeling for Bangladesh.

2. As you have settled in Indonesia, it would be a great help to the cause of Bangladesh if you could set up a Committee or Association in Djakarta to mobilize pubic opinion and to raise funds in Indonesia in favor of Bangladesh. The Bangladesh nationals in different parts of the world have organized such assistance committees to further the cause of Bangladesh. We very much need to get the support of the fraternal people of Indonesia to help us drive away the invading Pakistan troops from Bangladesh. We sincerely hope that you and your contacts can very well help us in this regard.

3. As regards your proposal to send volunteers, we are giving active consideration to the matter and would inform you as soon as a decision is reached.

4. Please keep us regularly posted about your activities there in support of Bangladesh. Given your assistance and full-fledged support, we are sure that the sacred land of Bangladesh will be free of the occupation army of Pakistan within short time.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
(Anwarul Karim Chowdhury)
for HEAD OF THE MISSION.

Ex-Major Abdul Matin.

Pisangan Lama III/39,
Djatinegara, Djakarta,
INDONESIA.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘‘আমরা’’ গোষ্ঠীর প্রচার তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে একটি প্রতিবেদন	‘‘আমরা’’	২৪ জুন, ১৯৭১

The report of our contact in Djakarta is seen and the contents are noted. The action to be taken by the publicity Division is:

(i) To send copies of "JOY BANGLA" weekly to our contacts.

(ii) To prepare a list of news papers and their addresses which have supported our cause. Actions on all these two points are being taken. Important information’s and other publicity materials will be also supplied to aforesaid news papers.

Letters of thanks are to be sent to these newspapers identified with our cause in Djakarta. Television and Radio are also responding well and deserve thanks.

The address of our contact at Djakarta:-

"Amara"
DJL. Pemandangan 11/10
Gn. Sahari Antjol
Depan A. I. P.
DJAKAR T A-UTARA.

A. P. A.

Mr. Salauddin.

Sd/-
External Publicity Division.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ আন্দোলনের অংগ্রহণকারী কর্মীর কাছে লিখিত বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রশংসাপত্র	বাংলাদেশ সরকার	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

তারিখঃ ২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

জনাব সানাউল্লাহ সাহেব,

আপনার ১৫-৬-৭১ তারিখের পত্র পেলাম। আপনি যে উৎসাহ নিয়ে বাংলাদেশের জন্য ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় কাজ করে যাচ্ছেন তা সত্যিই প্রশংসনীয়। আশা করি সম্ভাব্য সবকিছু আমাদের মুক্তির জন্য ভবিষ্যতেও এভাবে কাজ করে যাবেন।

গতকাল মতিন সাহেবের কাছে পত্র দেওয়া হলো। তার কপি আপনার কাছেও পাঠানো হয়েছে।

এর সঙ্গে কিছু পুস্তিকা ও আমাদের রিলিজ পাঠালাম।

শুভেচ্ছান্তে-
(এম, মকসুদ আলী)
প্রেস এ্যাটাচি।

আলহাজ এ,বি,এম, সানাউল্লাহ
জাকার্তা
ইন্দোনেশিয়া।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘আমরা’ গোষ্ঠীর সাথে প্রচার ব্যবস্থা জোরদার করা সম্পর্কে লিখিত বাংলাদেশ সরকারের চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ সরকার	১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

No. Inf. 10/10/71.

Dated the 1st July, 1971.

My dear "Amora",

We sent you a copy of "Joy Bangla" as and when it was published. We now understand that those have not reached you. However, we are sending herewith the following: -

1."Joy Bangla" weekly-June 9, June IS, June 25 issues.

2.'The People" weekly-June 1, issue.

Future issues of both the weeklies will be sent to you regularly.

2. We have already issued letters of thanks to the editors of "The Djakarta Times"
and 'The Indonesian Observer" for publishing editorials and articles supporting the cause of Bangladesh. Would you kindly let us know the names and addresses of other dailies, weeklies etc. who are supporting our cause?

3. Kindly acknowledge receipt of the weeklies.

With best wishes.

Your sincerely,
(M. Maqsood Ali)
Press Attache.

To
"Amora"
Djalan Pemandangan II//6,
Gunung Schad Antjol,
Dappaan A. I. P.,
Djakarta- Utara
Indonesia.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারের মধ্যে বিনিময়কৃত প্রচার ও বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে লিখিত কয়েকটি চিঠি	'আমরা' ও বাংলাদেশ সরকার	২৮ জুলাই থেকে ৭ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Dear Mr. Maqsood Ali, Djakarta, July 28. 1971

1. A draft D.O. is enclosed here. This is to be issued from your side to the two gentlemen mentioned at the foot of it. About the No.l gentlemen, our earlier reports had spoken to you. About the second man a report will follow in due course. However, before we form our view of these men definitely, we intend to give them another chance to change their mood, we shall observe their reactions further after they receive the proposed D.O. from you. Please inform us of the action taken by you.

2. In an earlier letter to you, I wanted to know about a few friends. I shall be glad if you could ask them to write a few words.

3. May I know that the reports and clippings and reaching to you regularly? 1 am afraid, these are not missed or intercepted. No materials have so far been received from you as indicated in your letter of 1st July. A few things have been collected from other sources and these are being suitably used.

With regards,
Yours Sincerely,
আমরা
(Amora)

Mr. Maqsood Ali,
Press Attache,
Bangladesh Mission
Calcutta.

*

Dear fellow countryman,

It is hardly necessary to narrate to you the history of Bangladesh struggle. The Bengalis sacrificed tremendously and suffered heavily for united Pakistan. But the greedy rulers were not satisfied with our sacrifice and sufferings for 23 years. Their motives and actions were clearly to reduce us to slavery.

2. The Bengalis have now risen determinedly to resist and vacate any sort of aggression-armed, political or economical. Seventy-five million people of Bangladesh will not rest, till a single West Pakistani occupation soldier is in their soil. This determination of the people is leading them to successes and glory. The world has recognized the facts and countries are gradually moulding and shaping their policies.

Enemies are struck with terror and losing grounds every day. Victory of Bangladesh is very near.

3. It is needless to say that Bangladesh is now a reality. Friends, sympathizers and especially the Bengalis wherever they are should be in doubt regarding this.

The Govt. of Bangladesh acknowledges the services being rendered by our people
abroad. They have already declared its policy that individual services and sacrifices at this hour of need for Bangladesh will be properly rewarded. The Govt. have also the knowledge and evidence of the activities of lackeys and collaborators of Pakistan and they will be dealt with appropriately in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/--------

1. Mr. M. A. Aziz,
   Dy. Secy. General of IPECC.
   House Go. 53 Djl. Tandjung (Menteng) Djakarta.

2. Mr. Zainul Abedin,
   Press Counsellor of Pakistan.
   51 Djl. Tandjung (Menteng)
   Djakarta.

*

Djl. Pemandangan 11/10
Gunung Sahari. Antjol depan AIP
Djakarta-Utara, Djakarta.
July 21, 1971.

Dear Mr. Maqsood Ali,

Thank you very much for your letter of July 1. It gave us quite a lot of happiness. It removed our doubts and fears on many accounts. We hope to hear from you regularly at least acknowledgement of what is being dispatched.

I heard of you from many people here. You are still cordially remembered by your
friends and admirers. You left behind and undying impression in their minds.

With you there, I know, there are a few friends of mine. They are: M/S. Bashar Bhuiyan, A. Bashar (Patwari) and Sirajul Haque. The first one is my same villager. I shall love to hear from them at my above address. Please remember me to them with my regards.

We are well and passing through odds and obstacles. Efforts to recovery are continuing.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,
আমরা
(Amora)

Mr. Maqsood Ali,
Press Attache.

*

No. Inf. 10/1/71. August 7. 1971.

My dear' Amora',

Please refer to your letter of July 21 and 28,1971.

As suggested by you we have already issued letters to both the persons under the signature of the Foreign Secretary of the Government of Bangladesh.

We are receiving reports and clippings from you. We are also sending you regularly copies of 'Joy Bangla', The Peoples' and the weekly bulletin 'Bangladesh'. Kindly let us know whether you are receiving them regularly.

As regards your friends here, there are two Bashars in this Mission. But neither of them seem to know you. Mr. Sirajul Haq, Stenographer, has left this Mission long ago.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
(M. Maqsood Ali)
Press Attache.

To:
"Amora",
Djl. Pemeandangan 11/10,
Gunung Sahari,
Antjol Depan A.I.P.,
Djakarta- Utara, INDONESIA.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইন্দোনেশিয়ার জনমত সম্পর্কে 'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক প্রেরিত প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	১লা আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Djakarta. 1-8-71.

1. Mr. Svvaran Singh's proposed visit to this capital between 11-13 August for bilateral talks was published here. This was disclosed by Foreign Minister Adam Malik.
2. Report of Indian refusal to accept U. N. observers was published. The report said Indian point of view was that the issue was between Bangladesh and Pakistan. U. N. observers cannot be stationed in Indian territory.
3. Yahya Khan's plan to visit Dacca during August was published here. B. B. C. correspondent was not invited at Yahya's television interview in Karachi recently.
4. A report published in ANTARA said India would not permit Iranian and Kuwaiti delegates to visit refugee camps with Tungku Abdul Rahman of Malaysia. The tone of the report indicated that Iran and Kuwait were supporters.
5. Two lists-one of newspapers and the other of Muslim intellectuals are appended herewith. These are exhaustive lists. Important among them in both the lists have been marked with stars. They may be supplied with materials. Please let us also know if this is being done.
6. A few local language papers editorially supported strongly the cause of Bangladesh struggle. The editorials were full of disclosures of army atrocities, and suggested measures to be taken by the government.
7. A draft letter was sent earlier for issue from them. Please issue that urgently. Mr. M. A. Aziz is still very active to discourage people about Bengali resistance.
8. Yasser Arafat (Palestine Guerrilla Leader) accused that a Pakistani General commanded the Jordanian army in the recent fight against guerrillas. The accusation was published here in the papers.
9. Pakistan regretted Yasser Arafat's accusation and said it was merely helping the Muslim countries against Israel.
10. A report about sending of U. N. relief workers to East Pakistan was published. U Thant categorically denied, the report added, that the workers have been assigned the work of observation.
11. Report of Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed's defection from London has been published.
12. Suspension of U. S. aid to Pakistan and Greece has been published in Antara and other papers. But an escape clause in the suspension bill may allow President Nixon to resume aid to Greece. But in the case of Pakistan suspension is final.

To : Mr. Maqsood Ali,
Press Attache,
Bangladesh Mission,
9 Circus Avenue, Calcutta-17 , India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পত্রপত্রিকার মাধ্যমে প্রচার অভিযান চালানো সংক্রান্ত 'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে প্রেরিত প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	৯ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Al-Haj A. B..M. Sonaullah
31, Djl. Sultan Agung,
Gunlur. DJAKARTA.
Dated-August 9, 1971.

My dear Maqsood Ali Saheb,

Kindly refer to your letter No. Inf. 10/10/71 of July 1. 1971, forwarding copies of weeklies "Joy Bangla" and "The People". Since then no further copies were received. 1 shall be grateful if you kindly arrange to send me live copies each of the above papers and other publications including "Bangladesh" Bulletin issued by you.

In addition kindly arrange to mail directly copies of 'The People", "Bangladesh" bulletin, and the like or any other material of interest to the addresses as per list attached.

It would be of great help to our cause if you could kindly arrange to issue letters or thanks and appreciation to Bahasa Indonesia dailies like "Merdeka"; "KAMI"-students'daily; "Sinar Harapan"; "Pedoman"; "KOMPAS"; "Berita Buana" (old name Berita Yudha); and "Abadi" in particular and others in general, as also to ANTARA News Agency; Drs. Sumadi, Director of Television Republik Indonesia (TVRI); Senajan. Djakarta; and Mr. Abdul Hamid. Director of Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), Djl. Merdeka Barat. Djakarta; for the news coverage. It will perhaps be more appropriate if the expression is made on behalf of the people and the Government, if possible with a copy to me.

Kindly send all communications to the assumed name of "Amora" at the same address, except in case of personal contact, as it happened recently, at the above address.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/---------

Mr. M. Maqsood Ali,
Press Attache,
Mission of the People's
Republic of Bangladesh,
9, Circus Avenue,
Calcutta-17.

IDONESIA

Mailing List for 'The People", "Bangladesh" bulletin and any other material of Bangladesh in English.

1. K.H. Dr. Id ham Chalid, Djl. K.S. Mangunsarkora No. 51, Menteng, Djakarta	Minister of Slate for Peoples Welfare. Vice-President, N. U.
2. Hadji Adam Malik Djl, Diponegora No. 29, Djakarta	Foreign Minister
3. Hadji Achmad Sjaichu Komp. BDN, Djl, Let. Dgnn, S. Parman, Silipi, Djakarta.	Chairman, House of Rep N, U.
4. Mr. M. H. Isnani Djl. Imam Bondjol No. 28 Menteng, Djakarta.	Vice-Chairman, House of Rep. Chairman, National Party.
5. Lt. Gen. H. Alamsijah Djl. Proklamasi No. 36 Djakarta.	State Secretary. Adviser to President.
6. Mr. Wilopo S. H. Djl. Sriwidjaja No. 20, Blk. K-l 1 Kcbajoran Baru. Djakarta.	Chairman. Supreme Advisory Council; former Prime Miniser.
7. Dr. Mohd. Natsir. 46. Djl, HOS Tjokroaminoto Djakarta.	Former Prime Minister, Religious Scholar.
8. Hadji Anwar Tjokroaminoto Djl. Singamangaradja No, 29 Kcbajoran Baru, Djakarta.	Vice-Chairman. Sup. Adv. Council, Chairman, PSII
9. Hadji Imron Rosjadi S. H. Djl. TcukuUmar No. 30/Pav. Djakarta.	Chairman. Commission II of the Parliament dealing with the Dep. of Defence & Security and Dep. of Foreign Affairs. Secretary General, AAIO.
10. Mr. Fahmi Idris, (Student Leader), Secretary-General. Gerakan Mahasiswa Djakarta University of Indonesia, Economic Faculty, Djl. Salemba No. 4, Djakarta.	

NEWS PAPERS

11. Hadji Machbud Djunaedi
    Editor, Duta Masjarakat,
    Djl, Mentcng Raya No. 24, Djakarta.

12. Mr. Nono Anwar Makarim
    Editor, KAMI (Students' daily)
    Djl. Kramat VIII/2, Djakarta.

13. Mr. 13. M. Diah (former Inf. Minister)
    Editor, MERDEKA,
    Djl. Petodjo Selatan 11, Djakarta.

14. Brig. Djen Hadji Sugandhi,
    Editor, Pelopar Baru (Daily owned by Sekber Golkar)
    Djl. Asemka 29-30, Djakarta.

15. Mr. J . C. T. Simorangkir S. H.
    Editor, Sinar Harapan, (Christian party Paper)
    Djl, Pintu Besar Selatan No. 93
    Djakarta.

16. Mr. Mochtar Lubis,
    Editor, Indonesian Raya,
    Djl. Merkeda Utara 11, Djakarta.

17. Mr. Fahmi Mu'thi
    Djakarta Times,
    Fjl. Hajam Wuruk No. 8 Djakarta.

18. Mrs. Herawati Diah
    Editor, Indonesia Observer,
    Djl. Petodjo Selatan 11, Djakarta.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে আন্দোলনের অগ্রগতি ও সমস্যা সম্পর্কে লিখিত 'আমরা' গোষ্ঠীর চিঠি	'আমরা'	১১ আগস্ট,১৯৭১

Djakarta, 11th August, 1971

Dear Mr. Maqsood Ali,

We already let you know the various odds and difficulties in our way. Our enthusiastic people as well as sympathizers kept the minds of millions here stirred up and a shape of favorable opinion was beginning to form. But enemies of our cause have lately gained a little success at huge cost to suppress from publishing the information of events in Bangladesh. Large-scale defection from missions has again convinced the society of journalists and readers that Bangladesh movement still survives the heavy repression and naked lies of Pakistan. The widely circulated English daily THE DJAKARTA TIMES in its "Billy's column'' critically remarked as follows (cutting also enclosed):-

> "Seven Pakistani diplomats in Washington and two in London resigned their posts and pledged allegiance to the 'Bangladesh' Government. I thought the 'Bangladesh' was already put down entirely. That was the Pakistani Information Service here said, you know!"

In the changed situation of this field, we have thought out to change our strategy. In this connection, we propose to make our approach to a large selected influential elites. But our approach, you know, cannot yet for obvious reasons be open. However, a few important names are sent to you herewith. We suggest that they may be supplied regularly with a copy of THE PEOPLE. The bills on this account should be sent to us for arranging immediate payment. We have started supplying materials to others. This we hope to counter the lies spread by enemies. We also hope your co-operation will be coming immediately.

May we hope that the actions suggested in earlier letters are being take by you? We do not yet know if the remittance to Mr. Hossain Ali has been received. Will you kindly let us know?

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Amora)

Mr. M. Maqsood Ali,
Press Attache,
Bangladesh Mission
9 Circus Avenue,
Calcutta-17,
India.

No. Inf. 10/1/71. August 21, 1971

My dear A mora.

Please refer to your report of August I, and your letter of August 11, 1971.

In our letter of August 7, 1971 we intimated you that letters to both the persons under the signature of the Foreign Secretary, Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh have been issued. You might have received our letter by now. In fact our Foreign Ministry have written to all the Bengali Diplomats serving abroad including those of the organisations you belong.

We have also received lists of addresses of newspapers and Muslim intellectual in
Indonesia. We are at present supplying you 20 copies of our weekly bulletin Bangladesh and a copy of "The People" regularly. We feel that instead of sending copies of this bulletin and the copies of 'The People" from here direct to the addresses given by you we should supply you copies in bulk to you for distribution from there. We do not know whether there will be any difficulty in distributing these copies. We can, however, place at your disposal an amount to meet the publicity expenses. Would you kindly let us know to whom and where we should send the money, in case the distribution of our materials can be undertaken by you?

We have received a sum of US $ 50 from one Mr. Machmud and this is the only contribution so far received by this Mission from Indonesia.

Yours sincerely.
Sd/-
(M. Maqsood Ali)
Mr. "Amora,
Djl. Pemandangan 11/10,
Gn. Sehari Antjal,
Depan A. 1. P..
Djakarta-Utara
INDONESIA.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পক্ষে ইন্দোনেশীয় জনগণের তৎপরতা সম্পর্কে লিখিত প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	১৬ আগস্ট,১৯৭১

Djakarta-16-8-71.

1. Almost all newspapers, radio and TV covered the news of Indo-Soviet treaty. Comments were not much different basically. There was near unanimity on one point that the treaty had been hastened (the negotiations first started in 1969) by the threat of war by Pakistan and Chinese support to Pakistan.
2. Refusal to Kennedy to visit Pakistan, U. S. Slate Department's regret and concern over the refusal were published here in local and foreign language papers.
3. Kennedy's visit of Agartala. Megalaya and other refugee areas and the welcome accorded lo him with shouts of "Joy Bangla", "Long live Sheikh Mujib" were carried by papers here. His comments were also published.
4. News o/bomb blast in Dacca Intercontinental injuring some 15 people convinced the people that Bangladesh guerrillas were alive and intensifying their activities.
5. Sheikh Mujib's trial was published with his photo. The news was carried by all papers. *Djakarta 'Time's* editorial was bold, factual and upright (cutting enclosed).
6. U. S. State Department's concern over Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's trial and Rogers discussions with U Thant about situation in Bangladesh were published here.
7. A list of addresses was sent last week. It contained 10 names. Please send them copy of "The People" regularly. We are arranging remittance of the cost on this account.
8. Thanks for the letter *of* 7th August *from Mr. Maqsood* Ali. We do not receive newspapers and other materials regularly. Reply to one letter in which advice was sought in case of emergency may please be expedited.
9. There is yet no sign or amendment in the behavior of the two gentlemen. A report will, however, follow after they are studied and observed carefully for sometime more.
10. Mrs. Gandhi's Independence Day speech and her reference to Bangladesh struggle was earned by all papers.
11. Mrs. Gandhi's appeal to 24 heads of Slates for release and safety of" Sheikh Mujib was published here.
12. Pakistan circulated a number of copies of 'White Paper* to Government Deptt., newspaper circles and high dignitaries. Newspaper circles did not seem very enthusiastic about its contents. Some of the newspapers carried it very briefly.
13. Ex-Information Minister of Pakistan, Slier AIL is currently on a tour to this capital probably to counter Swaran Singh and to report to his Govt, on the trend of public & Government minds. He was seen roaming in official and diplomatic circles.

14. Swaran Singh's visit seem to have softened to some extent the hard attitude of this capital. In the joint communiqué it has expressed concern about the Bangladesh situation and refugee problem. Extract is enclosed.
15. Newspaper comments on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's trial were almost unanimous that this sort of secretarial would deprive him of justice. Newspapers also carried comments on the trial published in other counties.
16. Observers who visited Bangladesh recently were of the opinion that the guerrilla activities were intensified and occupied forces already lost courage and morality.

(AMORA)

To
Mr. M. Maqsood Ali,
Press Attache.
Bangladesh Mission,
9 Circus Avenue. Calcutta-17,
INDIA.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক সাংকেতিক নাম ব্যবহার এবং আন্দোলনের বিভিন্ন সমস্যা সম্পর্কে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে লিখিত চিঠি	'আমরা'	১৯ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

SECRET

Djakarta-August 19. J 971.

Dear Hossain Ali Sahib,

Before your historic declaration of allegiance to Bangladesh Govt. we were in deep sea of puzzles as to how we could be useful to the cause of our country. Your action showed the way to many others and opened channel to establish contact and seek advice to organise efforts abroad. Since establishing of contact, we have been sending to you regularly reports on trends and developments in the capital. Inspite of heavy burden of works and terrific pressure on your mission, we are happy that our specific inquests on important matters are being attended to.

We have a number of problems and limitations which we would take up with you separately. This letter is to inform you briefly that our effort have been meeting with partial success despite serious odds and obstacles especially hard altitude of the policy makers. We are however continuing our efforts.

You have seen from our reports and clippings the trend of press here and we may add that millions of the people are quite convinced about our cause and sympathetic to our sufferings.

Bengali settlers are few and far between in this country. In Djakarta there are only
two and they too are financially handicapped and socially backward. We considered your advice. It is not possible to encourage them to do something openly. There are moreover chances of authority's interference and risk of our exposure. If situation favors the association in question will be duly taken up. We may however inform you that in the beginning of our contact with your office, we formed AMORA group with the following three members to do whatever possible with limited resources and against many handicaps :

Name	Code- Name	Distribution of work
1. A. F. Md. Shamsuzzaman	KAMAL	Coordination & research
2. A. B. M. Sanaullah	SUFI	Organisation & public relation
3. Siddique Ahmed	RUMI	Press & Publication

For reasons of security, we send this letter through the courtesy of Indian Embassy here. Our address which is already in your office (AMORA Djl. Pemandangan II/10. Gunung Sahari. Antjol Depan A.I P., DJakarta-Utata) can be utilised for posting of normal mail to us. In exceptionally important matters, if you think it advisable, the following address may kindly be used for the top cover :- Group Captain N. Sinha Ray, Indian Embassy. Djakarta, C/o Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi. In the inside cover *just Amara* may be addressed. If there are any other safe and secure means of communications, you may please advise us.

We may often need to exchange information with our organizations in other countries. We shall be grateful if you could supply us their address with names of concerned persons at an early date.' Our address may also be circulated to them. For reasons of security however kindly use our code names in future.

This letter is being issued under the code signature of our authorized member. Important letters will be issued under this signature. If any important letter does not bear this signature, such letter may be ignored.

With our deep personal regards,

Joy Bangla
Yours sincerely.
AMORA

Mr Hossain Ali
Head of The Bangladesh Mission
Calcutta.

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* This information has since been received.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা' গোষ্ঠীর তৎপরতা এবং অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে লিখিত চিঠি	'আমরা'	৩১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

Djakarta-August 31. 1971.

Dear Hossain Ali Sahib.

We addressed you a letter last week indicating code names of members and the work each has been doing since the beginning. The receipt of the letter may please be acknowledged.

The people here appear sympathetic but the policymakers are firm in their attitude. We are regularly supplying to our sympathizers and other elites whatever materials we get or produce ourselves to encourage the readers and their circles of influence about our cause. At the beginning, in a quite hurry and in the absence of requisite materials, a paper entitled "PAKISTAN-ITS BIRTH AND DEATH" was produced by KAMAL. It depicted briefly the background history which led Bangladesh to present movement and struggle for freedom. The paper was circulated to a number of politicians, leaders, press and dignitaries, and. you can be assured, it created effects in some circles. A copy is being sent to you separately for your perusal. Please advise us any modifications or omission in case of recirculation.

As you are aware, our resources are limited out of which we sent you already a token donation of US $ 50/-. We spent a considerable amount on cables, letters to places and individuals of eminence as well as heads of muslim states. Local cost of operation is also substantial. For all these, KAMAL being mainly taxed, the following others contribute their mite: -

1. RUMI

2. ROIIANI (Mr. A. H. Sarkar)

3. SAPRI (Mr. Ruhul Amin)

In a letter we requested Mr. Maqsood Ali to send regularly a copy of "The People" to 10 listed persons considered important in society, politics, press etc. outside Government. We promised to bear the cost of the papers and accordingly we have remitted an amount of $ 25/-. Further subscription will be remitted in due course. We shall be grateful to know if the action has been taken.

As our work is becoming more and more difficult every day, we feel that besides the People, copies of all other publications being produced by our government should be mailed to the 10 persons mentioned above regularly. We are prepared to bear the postage cost of these free publications.

We also requested you to send us addresses of Bangladesh missions/associations/ organizations in other countries. This we need to exchange information and advice. We shall be grateful for an early action.

With our kindest regards.

Joy Bangla,

Yours sincerely.

(Amora)

Mr. Hossain Ali.
Head of Bangladesh Mission.
9 Circus Avenue, Calcutta-I7,
India.

Amora
Djakarta

DONATIONS

(as on 31st Oct. 71)

Name		US $	Indon.Rp
1.KAMAL	---	50/-	52,000/-
2.SUFI	---	---	---
3.RUMI	---	35/-	---
4.SAPRI	---	20/-	---
5.RUHAN1	---	20/-	---
6.ANSAR (incurred his own expenses and help to HAMID)			10,000/-
		Total: 125	62,000/-
			Or. US S 160/-

EXPENSES

(as on 31-10-71)

1. Remittance to Bangladesh Mission (Mr. Hossain Ali)	50/-	---
2. Remittance to Bangladesh Mission for papers etc. (Mr. Maqsood Ali)	25/-	---
3. Purchase of one typewriter (old)		12000/-

4.	Cost of postage etc. for letters to U. N. and world leaders.	20.000/-
5.	Conveyance charges to SUFI & IIAMID.	10.000/-
6.	Financial help to HAMID (local agent)	3,100/-
7.	Conveyance incurred by ANSAR and help given to HAMID.	10,000/-
8.	Local cost of operations (postage etc.)	26.900/-
	Total: 75/	-82.000/-
	Balance (+) 50/ (—)	20,000/-
	= dollar balance adjusted against Rp. deficits.	(+) 20.000/-
	Net balance carried forward:	

For information to: -
1. Mr. M. Hossain Ali,
2. Mr. M. Maqsood Ali.
3. Kazi Anwarul Islam.

(RUMI)
for AMORA

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক প্রচারিত একটি প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	৫ সেপ্টেম্বর,১৯৭১

Djakarta, 5th Sept,

REPORT

(No. 2)

1. President Yahya Khan has declared general amnesty for all. This included rebellious politicians, civil and military service personnel and all other persons alleged to have been involved since March I to September 5. Defected diplomats, according to declaration, may resume their duties to their respective missions.
2. Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan is reported to have been released from detention under general amnesty; Some of the newspaper here have welcomed the declaration lukewarmly as a move of Yahya to transfer to civilian government.
3. The declaration has not clearly mentioned about Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other top Awami League leaders still under arrest or underground. The declaration, as it is reported, will apply to all.
4. Dr. Malik's appointment as governor in replacement of Tikka khan was hailed by ruling political circle here. Press and other circles doubted the intention of Yahya as to how much power he would give to the governor and how far success the new governor would attain while the virtual power will be exercised by military from behind the curtain. Some papers described the appointment as a first step towards ultimate surrender.
5. According to some source, the trial of SheikhMujibur Rahaman is postponed for three months. This was interpreted by diplomatic circle in two ways. First, an attempt again for a solution with united Pakistan due to bad world opinion and possible serious repercussions. Second, Yahya and his advisers are no more hopeful of controlling Bangladesh. The trial would produce nothing but a serious reaction in Bangladesh and the world.
6. Pakistani contradictions in many instances were noticeable in interested circles. One such contradiction recently was on the number of refugees.
7. Our collection of materials through various sources are being distributed to interested sympathetic quarters. Last week, we distributed the following:-

   (i) " A Plot Against Yahya Khan'', SUNDAY TIMES, London, Aug.1.

   (ii) " Acts of Repression in Bangladesh", as reproduced in THE PEOPLE (By Regg Prentice).

(iii) "While Paper Adds little to Bengal Story", THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN. Aug. 6.

(iv) "Time is running out in Bengal". THE ECONOMIST, London, July 31.

(v) "Bengal: The murder of a people", NEWSWEEK, New York, August 2.

(vi) "Good Soldier Yahya Khan", TIME MAGAZINE, New York. August 2.

(vii) Editorial"...." THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, London, August 2,

8. We could not yet know if the action to dispatch copy of "The People" direct from there has been taken. We suggested 10 names and a remittance also was made to the Press Attaché.

9. Press Foundation of Asia expressed concern about the denial of press freedom in Pakistan. In. its meeting here it expressed grave concern on the murder of press worker in East Pakistan and imprisonment of pressmen in West Pakistan.

10. *Indonesian Observer's* editorial of August 30 and Sept. 3 show a marked departure from its earlier stand on Bangladesh question. Copies of the two editorials are enclosed.

(Amora)

The Press Attache.
Bangladesh Mission.
9 Circus Avenue, Calcutta-17,
India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রচার মাধ্যমে বাংলাদেশের পক্ষে মতামত গড়ে তোলার সাফল্যের সংবাদ জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে লিখিত চিঠি	'আমরা'	৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Djakarta. 7th Sent. 1971.

Dear Maqsood Sahib,

You will recall, we sent you a list of 10 names. We requested you to send copy of 'The People" to each of the listed persons. As per our commitment to bear the expenses, we have already remitted to you an amount of US S 25/-. We shall be glad to know if you have already taken action.

We further requested you to arrange despatch to the above persons copy of bulletins or other useful materials which are published by our mission and distributed free of cost. We assured you to bear the cost of postages for such despatches.

A copy of the editorial in Indonesian Observer dated August 30 is enclosed. You will observe the change of attitude from its earlier stand. This is due to lack of our intensive drive which we are hindered for obvious reasons to do openly and aggressively. Another reasons is the continuous pumping of false ideas by activists of our opposition. However, there is yet nothing to discourage us and our efforts are continuing to cultivate a favourable or at least a just opinion about our cause. It will be quite possible, we believe, to mould the attitude easily to our side if the materials are supplied to them from you direct. We shall be grateful to know if you have already taken action.

Despatches of information materials and newspapers to us are not regular. Sometimes, we get these as late a time at which the usefulness and interest are diminished. We quite appreciate the pressure and burden you are handling daily; we shall be highly grateful if you could kindly supply us regularly useful materials and papers to intensify our drive in this difficult field.

With regards.

Yours sincerely.

(Amora) আমরা

Mr. Maqsood Ali,
Press Attache,
Bangladesh Mission,
9, Circus Avenue,
Calcutta-I 7.

INDONESIAN OBSERVER

Monday, August 30, 1971.

EDITORIAL

THE TRAGEDY IN EAST PAKISTAN

The main reason why events in East Pakistan continue to get a wide press coverage everywhere is simply because in that part of the world a tragedy of unprecedented proportion is unfolding as a result of the endless flow of refugees across the frontier into India. Senator Edward Kennedy, after an extensive tour of the refugee camps in India's West Bengal in his capacity as Chairman of the US Senate Judiciary Sub-Committee on Refugees, confirmed that the 5 month old conflict between East Pakistan and West Pakistan had driven over 7.50 million Bengalies to take refugee in India. And, as if losing properties or next of kin is not enough, some of these refugees have died or arc dying of disease and famine in their new temporary homes. Yet death seems much more preferable. On his visit to some of the refugee centers inside India, Kennedy said he saw "a scene which only can be described as the most appalling tide of human misery in modern times".

Though Kennedy's description of the suffering the Pakistani refugees have to endure needs no further testimony his call that the Nixon Government breaks off diplomatic relations with Yahya Khan regime in Rawalpindi can only be considered rash. Condemning the atrocities of Yahya's troops in East Pakistan is one thing but boycotting a nation, its government and people, is surely quite a different matter. This is definitely not the way in which one seeks to correct the mistakes of the other. What the Yahya government is accused of is the militaristic way with which it attempts to solve a political problem, one which since the period of Ayub Khan has plagued not East Pakistan alone but the entire republic as a whole. Yahya Khan is worse than his predecessor only because in this case he threw the full weight of his army against the unarmed millions of Bengalies, driving them into India and inviting bloody clashes from a meaningless few. The imprisonment of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and taking him to a military tribunal for the sins of his secessionist minded followers after his arrest is another move which is unjustifiable and rightly deserves to be deplored.

But while it is wrong for Yahya to crush the opposition by force or by such pretense in legality as the court martial of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the reasons for an aims of the so-called "Bangladesh" are likewise un-acceptable. It is significant that none of the major powers has shown any inclination to support the break-away movement. India's official position on the matter, despite the enormous strain of the refugee crisis, is commendable. No doubt there are some people who support the birth of a "Bangladesh" nation. The secessionists have friends in probably all the continents. Last week, for instance, the Editors received an anonymous letter, postmarked Djakarta, containing several copies of "Bangladesh" propaganda. It proves that there are supporters of "Bangladesh" in Indonesia too. This paper, however, is definitely not one of them.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইন্দোনেশিয়ায় জনগণের মতামতের উপর প্রকাশিত একটি প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	১৫ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Djakarta.

September 15, 1971.

REPORT

(No.4)

1. President "Yahya's proposed visit to Iran was first published here on *10/9/71.* The purpose, as reported was to attend '2,500th, anniversary of Iranian monarchy.
2. Arrest of 4 members of OMEGA relief operation team was published here. It was also reported that they were not treated honorably.
3. Formation of an eight-member committee of different political parties to advise coordinate Bangladesh work was carried in the papers here.
4. Bangladesh Foreign Minister's television interview was published in the press. He said "There is always room for negotiations, but Independence of Bangladesh could not be bartered away for the sake of negotiated settlement." Political settlement with the military regime of Islamabad must be preceded by the withdrawal of the Pakistan army from Bangladesh.
5. Bangladesh Foreign Secretary's announcement that sending of a team to D.N. Assembly session was being considered was published here. It was subsequently reported that Foreign Minister would head the delegation and Mr. Ahul Fateh and Mr. Mahbub-ul Alam would be members among others.
6. It is reported in the press here that India has been willing to normalize relations with China. But Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's letter to Chou-en-Lai is still unreplied.
7. The White Paper circulated by Pakistan could not evoke appreciation rather it created disgust in some circle because of the falsehood.
8. Bhutto's meeting with Yahya Khan, as reported in the press here, was failure to gel any result. It is also reported that Bhutto has been threatening of grave consequences if the power is not transferred to civilian government. He even said that the happenings in East Pakistan would be repeated in West Pakistan.
9. It is known from a reliable source that NAP (W. Pak) Chief Wali Khan would support Bhutto in case the latter would launch an agitation to secure civilian government. Wali Khan was contacted in Kabul by Mrs. Bhutto during her visit last month.

10. Passports of all East Pakistanis in the mission have been taken away.

11. "Bangladesh" News bulletin No.7 has been circulated to interested quarters. It is now yet known if arrangement for dispatch of newspaper to the addressees (already supplied) has been made so far.

(AMORA)

12. Important clippings are attached.

The Press Attache,
Bangladesh mission,
9 Circus Avenue,
Calcutta-17.

P. S:-13. A delegation headed by Mr. Abu Hanifa and including Dr. Natsir is reaching Bombay Saturday. The delegation will visit refugee camps. The members of the delegation represent political parties, high personalities, and social elites. We supplied them materials regularly.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক প্রচারিত দু'টি প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	২৫ সেপ্টেম্বর,১৯৭১

Djakarta. 25-9-1971.

The enclosures are two papers produced by us for action as below:

1. Letter to the editor, *Indonesian Observer* on 15-9-71 commenting on editorial of 30th August.
2. Circulated on 21-9-71 as an opinion of an independent observer about settlement of Bangladesh problem.

(Amora)

Mr. Maqsood Ali,
9 Circus Avenue,
Calcuna-17. India.

Editor, INDONESIAN OBSERVER 15-9-71.

Dear Editor,

I foster a deep regard for the journalists as a whole. 1 have a deeper regards for journalists of our country. It is the journalists who bring to us news of the world. It is the journalists who raise their voice unitedly against any oppression anywhere in the world. It is the journalists after all whose opinion and advices are valued to shape the policy of a nation and course the destiny of its people. Journalists. I believe, do not belong to any class of rulers. They stand for the cause of humanity; they voice the grievances of human being against any atrocity on human lives.

I have been reading with horror through your paper and others news of human turmoil &. suffering in Pakistan. Both Indonesia and Pakistan are bound in many ties-religion, geography, culture, economy etc. My personal love for Pakistan is for the fact of my long slay in and still occasional visits to Pakistan for my professional requirement. I saw both the pans of the country and observed myself the cause of bitterness and hatred between peoples of the two parts.

I seek your permission to express my opinion to you.

Development of economic imbalance between the two parts is, I suppose, the root cause of the present crisis. A glaring disparity and neglect are visible to observe and visitor.

The seat of the central government being located in West Pakistan, control of administration and military was frabed by West Pakistanis, to the neglect of their eastern partners. In the field of business, many West Pakistanis were found established in East

Pakistan by official help and patronize. East Pakistanis were put to uncomfortable comer in industry, economy, education, and service.

There were several democratic attempts by East Pakistan to realize its demand. They got nothing but promises from West Pakistani rulers. Oftentimes, advocates of provincial demands were hatefully called 'separatists', provincialists, regionalists or communists. The popular veteran leaders of East Pakistan. Fazlul Haque (The Tiger of Bengal), Suhrawardy. Bhashani were called unpatriots and enemy agents. The present leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is charged with treason.

Democracy was not allowed to grow in Pakistan by a well conspiracy for fear of losing hold on administration and economy by West Pakistan. The first Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan was killed by this conspiracy. Subsequently, dissolution of Ministries, assembly and imposition of Martial Law by Ayub Khan were also results of the conspiracy to murder democracy and hold grip tightly over the weaker regions. In the present instance, in the name of Islam and unity and to the utter disregard of people's wishes and aspirations voiced through democracy, rulers of Pakistan took army action. According to many reports, impartial observers and eye witnesses about a million killed, more than seven million drove out and 20 million were displaced of homes and villages. The tragedy is unprecedented and unforgettable.

There are several other points relevant in this context. Pakistan's own follies and lies have been naked by its own contradictions and policies. Hijacking of Indian plane was announced to have been done by Kashmiri freedom fighters who were also congratulated by Ali Bhutto. Later on Pakistani court made out the story as Indian conspiracy to stop over-flight between the two parts. The government tone was changed to accuse India and termed it as planned step to disintegrate Pakistan. Sheikh Mujib was declared future Prime Minister by President Yahya Khan and he himself later on declared Mujib a traitor six-points was the basis of Awami Leagues fight for election. Nothing was said against it before by Yahya Khan. He now declares it as a move for separation. East Pakistan situation was brought under control on 27th March. Still, after 5 months there are miscreants to fight against by Pakistan army. Victims of army action were mere few miscreants and the fleeing away people were Indian infiltrators. Strangely, if admitted the outflow of refugees and invited them back. International humanitarian organizations with relief goods were prevented from entering into East Pakistan. The plea was that there was no need. I afterwards started crying at the United Nations for help. Everything was peaceful in East Pakistan but the latest officials reports said rail, road and other means of communications miserably disrupted by rebellions.

In your editorial on 30th Aug. you have not approved American Senator Kennedy's call to Nixon administration to boycott Pakistan and sever diplomatic relations. You suggested instead to deplore and condemn the action. Pakistan does not seem to be sensively responsive to diploration. Accumulation of condemnation in the Pakistan's credit has been already very great. It does not seem to care to digest shamelessly more of such stock.

You have said in the same editorial that the secessionists have friends in continents and other countries. It is by them that the news was spread and exaggerated. The basic thing was, I suppose, the response of human being at the human suffering. I am inclined to make friends with the human being and sympathies with their suffering. Inhumanity must be stopped and inhuman forces must be boycotted.

Without being influenced by any agent or propaganda, I may suggest for safety of human lives and preservation of world peace that the U.N., if it is worthy of its name, should investigate from the people of the troubled area about their demands, aspirations and wishes. It is not possible to thrust upon a people of 75 million a decision which they may not be willing to accept. Religion or anything for that matter cannot satisfy the materialistic needs and mental urges of a nation. I am personally in favor of a united Pakistan. I have many reasons to support my contention. But if the unity is a heavy tax on peace for other people, I hate advocacy of such unity.

I do not disclose my name for fear of impairing the relations of our two people. Please excuse me for this.

Yours.
A. B. C.

The Editor,
Indonesian Observer,
Djakarta.

Circulated **on 21-9-71**

-Independent observer

SETTLEMENT OF BANGLADESH PROBLEM

Peace-loving people are lately alarmed at the prolong instability in Pakistan. If the newspaper reports are to be of any credence, the situation is reported to be going from bad to worse. It is likely the situation may embrace other regions of the neighborhood to set the whole area on fire. Right minded thinkers and philosophers have genuinely warned the world leaders and policymakers to handle the situation with care and voiced their fear of danger to the world peace.

Presently, there is a talk of political settlement of the situation in various capitals. There is also planning on the part of some to mediate and some even offered their services. This is, though a belated realization, a good move.

A thorough judgment of what has already happened in East Pakistan and the rood causes of the great tragedy must be pie-requisite for the mediators.

There is not yet significant move by the combatant parties towards a settlement. Both sides are sticking to their own views-Pakistan loudly proclaims that it has established normalcy and Bengali guerrillas proudly claim they have liberated most of the rural areas.

Study of the following points and consideration of their merits may be useful for a meaningful solution of the problem, if a lasting peace and happiness for the human society is really desired.

What are the causes of the trouble:

All the reports and opinions are unanimous that disparity between the two parts of Pakistan in industry, service, education and economy since the creation of the country has been glaring. This disparity was created by the Central government which had been dominated by West Pakistan. Time and again, the rulers accepted this fact publicly and promised to correct the mistakes. Nothing was really done.

In the last general election, all the political parties fought it. Awami League fought the election on its six-point formula which it adopted in 1966. The six-points formula aimed at removing disparity and past injustices to the province by curbing the dominance of the central government. The formula convinced the people. The party won 167 seats of the 313-member assembly. The election was conducted under Martial Law regulation and everybody acclaimed it was peaceful and fair election.

The People's Party headed by Bhutto won 81 seats securing second majority position in the assembly. The assembly was to convene on 3rd March to frame the country's third constitution (the first and second were nullified).

The principle of democracy is the rule of the majority. Bhutto, leader of the second majority party, threatened to launch agitation if his party was not given share in the

power. The convening of the assembly was postponed and Awami League in protest launched non-cooperation in East Pakistan. It was reportedly peaceful and successful. President Yahya went to East Pakistan to negotiate with Mujib. Subsequent events showed the negotiation was a smoke screen and a plea to buy time for the army to move and take position in East Pakistan.

The army action killed nearly a million, pushed out India more than 8 million and rendered 25 million homeless. Damage to property and crops may be estimated at some billions. Humiliation, violation, misery and suffering are unforgettable and unpardonable. This erupted resistance from Bengalis and declared independence of Bangladesh. The escaped leaders announced the formation of a Bangladesh Government at a simple ceremony in a border village of East Pakistan. Bangladesh government appealed to the world to exercise influence over military rulers of West Pakistan to slop genocide. Reaction of the world has not been much encouraging and Muslim countries particularly has been dead-silent. Bengali guerrillas blew up bridges, cut roads, intercepted river vessels, destroyed power houses, ambushed and harassed the army. The army has been facing increasing difficulties. The military government is undergoing unbearable financial burdens.

Most of the civilian government servants in East Pakistan already deserted. Majority of the Bengali diplomats already defected and pledged their allegiance to Bangladesh Government. Bengalis everywhere are watched with suspicion and hatred. They all are in a way leveled as disloyal or traitors. Their passports in missions are taken away and their petty claims are suspended. Their movements and associations arc restricted. Their past records are reinvestigated.

All the Bengalis are in revolt in some way or the other against West Pakistan. They voted for six-points, they demanded their claims and they stood for their rights. So they all are Awami League followers. International relief supplies are not being given to them rather these are being distributed to army personnel and a few army collaborators. This way is to being the Bengalis to submission. They are dying of starvation.

Reinforcement of military, police, civil and other employees from West Pakistan is a routine policy of the government. All these confirmed deeply the Bengali doubt of the dishonesty, brutality, and barbarity of West Pakistan partners.

Solution of the problem:

The problem is a political one. Solution must be found in political method. It clearly lies between Bangladesh and Islamabad governments to find out a peaceful solution. It is better both sides should sit together under the Chairmanship of U.N. and come to terms on the basis of 'live and let live'. Lovers of peace may impress the disputants to negotiate with each other if they genuinely aspire for peace.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা' গোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক প্রেরিত বিভিন্ন ইন্দোনেশিয় প্রচার মাধ্যমে প্রচারের জন্য লিখিত বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কিত একটি প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	১৬ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

Excellency,

Enclosed please find a copy of the comprehensive paper which was prepared by 'KAMAL' in April 1971 for local circulation, for information and comments, if any.

It may also kindly be noted that the article entitled MS ISLAM DEAD' which was
published in the DJAKARTA TIMES of April 15, 1971, was also written and contributed by KAMAL.

Reply / advice on important matters may please be sent to the following address:

MR. KAMAL GUPTA
C/O Group Captain N. Sinha Ray
INDIAN EMBASSY, Djakarta. Indonesia
Through The Ministry of External Affairs
Govt. of India, New Delhi.

With kindest regards.
JOY BANGLA.

Yours sincerely.
KAMAL
For আমরা

H.E. MR. HOSSAIN ALI
High Commissioner for Bangladesh in India
CALCUTT A.

PAKISTAN-ITS BIRTH AND DEATH

I. Introduction.

Pakistan was carved out of British India on 14th August, 1947. Pakistan consists of two parts-East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The two pans are separated by 1600 kilometers of Indian territory. Means of communications between the two pans are by air which takes about 3 hours' time and by sea which takes about one week's time. East Pakistan has a population of about 75 million and West Pakistan about 55 million. The two parts are different in geography, race, language, culture, customs and habits. East Pakistan falls in South-East Asia while West Pakistan in the Middle East. Only common factor between the two peoples of the two regions is religion, which is Islam. About 90% of the people of East Pakistan are muslims-almost all Sunni. The rest are Hindus. Budhist

and Christians. West Pakistanis are mostly muslims, but they are divided into Shia, Sunni and Ahmadia (Qadiani) sects. Incidentally the present President of Pakistan Gen. Yahya Khan is a Shia.

II. Pakistan Movement.

Pakistan movement in British India was launched by the Muslim League which was founded in Dacca (capital of East Pakistan) in 1906 by the Bengali leaders. The Pakistan Resolution was moved in the Muslim League conference held in Lahore in 1940 by the great Bengali leader A. K. Fazlul Haque. The Lahore Resolution envisaged that Pakistan would consist of a number of independent sovereign states in the regions having muslim majority population. The Bengalis of East Pakistan who were the pioneers of muslim independence movement however did not demand an independent East Pakistan when independence was achieved. They made this sacrifice because of their brethren of West Pakistan. Later history, however, proved that their contribution and sacrifices before and after the creation of Pakistan went unrecognized.

III. Status of East Bengalis in Pakistan

Though a majority. East Bengalis right from the beginning were not given their due share in administration, services and economic development. The Punjabis who dominated the defense and civil services emerged as neo-rulers of the country and masters of Bengalis. They not only neglected the Bengalis but branded them as unpatriotic, enemies of state, agents of India etc. A. K. Fazlul Haque who was Chief Minister of undivided Bengal and who moved the Pakistan Resolution at Lahore was ousted from Muslim League by Mohd. Ali Jinnah. He was subjected to a lot of harassment and his patriotism used to be doubted by the Punjabi rulers of Pakistan. Khawaja Nazimuddin of Dacca who became Governor General after Mr. Jinnah's death and then accepted the post of Prime Minister after Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's assassination was dismissed from Prime Ministership by the Punjabi Governor-General Ghulam Muhammad. Mohammad Ali of Bogra (East Pakistan) who attended the historical Bandung Conference was also dismissed from Prime Ministership.

Another great Bengali leader Hussain Shahid Suhrawardy who later became Prime Minister of Pakistan faced a lot of trouble from the West Pakistani rulers *after Pakistan was created. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani who is not only a great political leader but a renowned religious leader with large following among the muslims in East Pakistan used to be branded indiscriminately by the West Pakistani rulers as communist and enemy of state. Maulana Bhashani and Shahid Suhrawardy were the two founders of present Awami League. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the present Chief of Awami League got his political training from both Suhrawardy and Maulana Bhashani. As a powerful student leader, he made significant contribution during the independence movement. He comes of a middle class family of East Pakistan and believes in Islamic justice and socialism. He is considered to be a moderate. After the creation of Pakistan he has always fought for East Pakistan's political and economic rights. Because of his stand against colonialization and exploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistani bureaucrats and industrialists that he got the bad name of enemy of state and agent of India and suffered

imprisonment for many years. The United Front fronted by A. K. Fazlul Haque. Maulana Bhashani and Suhrawardy won 1954 election and formed government in East Pakistan. The United Front demanded provincial autonomy. For this reason the United Front government was dismissed by the Central government after a short time in an arbitrary fashion. When the Bengali students demanded in 1948 that Bengali, the language of 56% of the population of the country, should also be a state language' along with Urdu, Mr. Jinnah branded them as communists, fifth columnists and enemies of state and declared that only Urdu would be the slate language of Pakistan. Bengali was accepted as a state language in 1956 after many student leaders and supporters of language movement were killed by the Punjabi troops.

IV. Economic disparity between East and West Pakistan.

There has been an widening gap between the income of the average West Pakistanis and East Pakistanis. In 1959-60. the per capita income in West Pakistan was 32% higher than in the East. Over the next ten years, the annual rate of growth of income of West Pakistan was 6.2% while it was only 4.2% in East Pakistan. As a result, by 1969-70 the per capita income of West Pakistan was 61 % higher than in the East. Thus in 10 years the income gap doubled in percentage terms. It increased even more in absolute terms. The reasons for this disparity are: (i) Pakistan's resources, plus foreign aid. are directed unduly to development of West Pakistan to the utter neglect of East Pakistan.

(ii) East Pakistan's foreign trade earnings are diverted to finance imports for West Pakistan, (iii) Economic policy favours West Pakistan at the expense of East Pakistan. Specifically, tariffs, imports controls and industrial licensing compel East Pakistan to purchase commodities from West Pakistan at much higher prices than the world market prices.

With about 56% of the population. East Pakistan's share of total development expenditure has increased from a low point of 20% during the period 1950/51-1954/55 to a peak of 36% (in papers only) during the Third Five Year Plan period 1965/66-1969/70 The share of East Pakistan in private investment has been particularly low during the entire period and has amounted only to a little over 25% in recent years.

Over the last two decades. East Pakistan's share of total export earnings has been as high as 70% and has declined to the range of 50-55% in recent year, while its share of import expenditure has normally been around 30%. There by showing significant surpluses on foreign exchange account. By contrast. West Pakistan's foreign trade has shown a substantial and chronic deficit that has absorbed virtually all foreign exchange made available through foreign aid. West Pakistan has got a protected market for its goods and commodities in East Pakistan. In recent years, about 50% of all West Pakistan's exports have been sold to East Pakistan

An analysis of foreign trade coupled with reasonable assumption that East Pakistan's fair share of foreign aid would have been a proportion, equal to its proportion of Pakistan's population, indicates that a sizeable net transfer of resources has taken place from East Pakistan to West Pakistan. Based on official data and given allowance for the

under valuation of foreign exchange in terms of Pakistan's domestic currency, the total transfer from East Pakistan to West Pakistan Over the period 1948/49-1969/70 was Rs. 31 billion (about US $ 6 million).

Pakistan's economic policies have been harmful to East Pakistan. The economic exploitation of East Pakistan has been facilitated by West Pakistani dominance of the Central government. The military regime in Pakistan has existed since 1958, and decision making authority rests with a well-entrenched civil service and their military bosses. All senior military members of the administration have been West Pakistani and of the Senior members of the administration in the Central Civil Services, 87% were West Pakistani in 1960 and the proportion has not changed much since. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and the Central Finance Minister and the Finance Secretary, key individuals in resource allocation, have always been West Pakistanis. Pakistan has about 50 diplomatic missions abroad, of which only five are headed by Bengalis. The seat of the Central Government is in West Pakistan. This has encouraged the concentration of industry and entrepreneurial class in West Pakistan.

In all fields-agriculture, industry, transport and communications system, power supply, education facilities, health services, social welfare, employment, training and insurance-disparity between the two wings has been glaring. Big projects involving huge amount of money in respect of West Pakistan planned, financed and implemented with utmost speed. But in the case of East Pakistan even small development scheme involving small amount of money requires much time for planning and approval, and many years for implementation. Flood and cyclone is a regular feature in East Pakistan and claims many lives every year and causes heavy damage to property and crops. But until now no concrete flood control projects had been undertaken by the Central Government. Of the revenue budget about 60% expenditure is allocated to defense Invisible expenditure on defense is considerable. But almost all the defense expenditure go to West Pakistan.

V. Demand for Autonomy for East Pakistan.

The history of economic exploitation and political domination of East Pakistan by West Pakistan led naturally to increasing demands for provincial autonomy, spearheaded by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League. Awami League's six-point programme for autonomy sought to transfer control over foreign trade, foreign aid allocation and taxation powers to the provinces so that no province could be dominated through disproportionate control of the Central government's power over resource allocation. The famous six- points of Awami League are as follows:

(i) Establishment of a federation on the basis of the Lahore Resolution and the Parliamentary, framework of Government with supremacy of Legislature directly elected on the basis of adult franchise.

(ii) Federal Government shall deal with only two subjects, that is defense and foreign affairs, and all other residuary subjects should rest in the federating states.

(iii)There should be either two separate but freely convertible currencies for the two wings or one currency for the whole country provided that effective

constitutional provisions were made to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. There should be separate banking reserves and a separate fiscal and monetary policy for East Pakistan.

(iv) Denial to the Central Government of the right of taxation; vesting of tax provisions in the hands of the federating states with the Central Government receiving a fixed share.

(v) Foreign trade: Five steps shall be taken: -

(a) There shall be two separate accounts, for foreign exchange earnings.

(b) Earnings of East Pakistan shall be under the control of East Pakistan, and the same for West Pakistan.

(c) Foreign exchange requirements of the federal government shall be met by the two wings either equally or in a ration to be fixed.

(d) Indigenous products shall move free of duty within the two wings.

(e) The Constitution shall empower the unit governments to establish trade and commercial relations with, set up trade missions in, and enter into agreements with foreign countries.

(vi) Set up a militia or para-military force by East Pakistan.

The six-points clearly sought to end economic exploitation of one province by another province and did not constitute a secessionist move as has been purposely misinterpreted and publicised by the West Pakistani vested interests. Awami League was not a leftist. anti-Islamic or provincial organisation. It wanted to establish people's rules and rights in all provinces. Its manifesto clearly laid down that no law repugnant to Quran and Sunnah could be enacted. Awami League had following in West Pakistan as well, particularly in Sind and Baluchistan where the common people are subjected to economic exploitation and deprived of their fundamental rights. It may be mentioned that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Pakistan People’s Party is a leftist organisation and based in West Pakistan only.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was arrested just two months after the announcement of the six-point programme. The false Agartala conspiracy case was started in January 1968 purporting to show that a number of East Pakistani officers in Civil and military establishments had entered into a conspiracy to bring about the freedom of East Pakistan. As an after-thought Sheikh Mujib, who was already in jail, was also implicated in the trial.

Anti-Ayub mass agitations broke out at the end of 1968 and its real leadership in East Pakistan was provided by the Students' Joint Action Committee in which all the groups of students were represented. The eleven-point demand of the students incorporated the salient features of the six-point programme. The Anti-Ayub agitations forced the government to withdraw the Agartala conspiracy case and in the beginning of 1969

Mujib was released. Eventually he was invited by President Ayub Khan to joint the Round Table Conference in Rawalpindi. At the conference Mujib pointed out that the national question was the key question in Pakistan but it had been sought to be by-passed by those in power ever since the inception of the new State. He said that East Pakistan had a separate entity given by unalterable facts of geography, economics, language and culture. These facts had to be recognized in the organisation of state and government. He pressed for the recognition of the six-points.

Ayub khan's governments collapsed within a few days. There was a second military take-over. Ayub Khan was replaced by Yahya Khan on March 25, 1969. The aims of the new regime were annunciated in three declarations issued by Yahya Khan in 1969 and 1970 and through the Legal Framework Order (LFO) passed on March 30. 1970. Yahya avoided any direct commitment on the question of autonomy for East Pakistan. All he would say was that he wanted to grant the maximum autonomy to the provinces, subject to the limits set by the needs of an efficient working of the Central Government.

VI. People's verdict and position of Awami League.

Under the Legal Framework Order, elections would be held and the National Assembly of Pakistan would have to draw up a Constitution within 120 days from the date of its first meeting. Election to the National Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures were held in December 1910 under the strict supervision of the military regime. The Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won 167 out of 169 seats allotted to East Pakistan in the National Assembly and thus secured an absolute majority in a House of 313. In the elections to the Provincial Legislature also, Awami League recorded thumping victory.

In January 1971, Yahya Khan came to Dacca for talks with Mujib and other Awami League leaders. At the end of his visit, on January 14, Yahya referred to Mujib as the future Prime Minister of Pakistan and said that power was going to be transferred to him soon. But he refused at the time of fix a date for the session of the National Assembly. After considerable delay, the Assembly was convened to meet at Dacca on March 3. 1971. Zulfikar Ali Bbutto, whose Peoples Party had won 83 seats in the National Assembly, threatened to boycott the Assembly unless the Awami League modified its six-point programme. Bhutto wanted a strong centre with wide powers especially in the field of taxation and foreign trade. Mujib declared that the people of East Bengal had given a clear verdict in favor of the six-point programme envisaging full provincial autonomy and this verdict had to be respected. The country's Constitution had to be based on the six-points.

Preparations for the Assembly session want on in spite of Bhutto's threat, and the Awami League's Constitution Committee sat to review the draft Constitution prepared by the party on the basis of six-point programme. Bhutto continued to press for the postponement of the session and threatened that there would be mass agitation all over West Pakistan if the Assembly met and that any member from West wing joining session would be severely dealt with. Suddenly on March 1, Yahya Khan postponed the session indefinitely. He said that the attitude of the leaders of the two wings was regrettable and

that Pakistan faced a grave crisis. The President's Council of Ministers was dismissed. The Governors of West Pakistan Provinces were appointed as Martial Law Administrators for their respective areas. The Governor of East Pakistan was replaced by a new Martial Law Administrator.

At a news conference, Mujib condemned this postponement as a conspiracy. He regretted that the President had postponed the session without even caring to consult the majority party. He called for general strike throughout the country. Spontaneous protest demonstrations broke out in Dacca. As the demonstrators cried for retaliation, Mujib counseled patience and said, "we will launch a peaceful constitutional movement". But violence erupted in Dacca as the Pakistani security forces fired on the people. Curfew was imposed in Dacca and to other towns and Martial Law Administration issued a decree clamping press censorship in East Pakistan. On March 3, Mujib announced start of non-violent non-cooperation movement which would continue "until the fundamental democratic rights of the people of East Pakistan were secured". On the same day. Yahya Khan invited the leaders of the two wings to a conference in Dacca on March 10, 1971 to thrash out their differences over the formulation of the Constitution. As hundreds of angry demonstrators as well as innocent people were being killed and injured by the troops. Mujib declined to attend the conference. He said, "we do not want to sit it with the perpetrators of mass murder." He asked that the troops be sent back to the barracks. This request was not heeded, and may more demonstrators were killed in the next few days. While the military government reinforced troops in East Pakistan by planes and ships carrying more soldiers and equipment. Yahya Khan called the National Assembly session to meet on March 25. He however warned that the armed forces would maintain the 'complete and absolute' integrity of Pakistan.

Sheikh Mujib declared that his party would consider the question of attending the session only if Yahya Khan immediately (i) lifted the martial law, (ii)withdraw troops, (iii) restored civilian rule, and (iv)ordered an enquiry into the recent killing in East Pakistan. All the East Pakistanis strongly supported these four conditions of Mujib. Even the West Pakistani leaders with the exception of Bhutto and Abdul Qayum Khan, considered the four conditions as just and reasonable and advised the President to accept them. Among the West Pakistani leaders supporting Mujib's four points were Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, Chief of Council Muslim League; Maulana Mufti Mahmud. leader of the Jamiatul-Ulemai-Islam; Khan Abdul Wali Khan, Chief of National Awami Party; Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan of Council Muslim League; Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani of Jamiatul-Ulema-i-Pakistan; Prof. Abdul Ghafoor of Jamaat-l-Islami, Mr. Jamal Mohammed Koreja of Convention Muslim League; Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari; Independent M. N. A.; Sardar Maula Bux Soomro, Independent M. N. A. ; Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan, Chief of Tehrik-i-Istiqlal party, Nawab Akbar Khan Bugati, Political leader of Baluchistan; Begum Tahira Masood of Bahawalpur United Front; Mr. Mahmud Ahmed Mintoo, President of Rawalpindi Council Muslim League; Mr. Mahmudul Huq Usmani, Secretary General of National Awami Party (Wali Group) and so on. All the political parties in West Pakistan, except Bhutto's Peoples Party and Abdul Qayum Khan's All Pakistan Muslim League, held Bhutto responsible for creating the

political crisis. The above leaders of West Pakistan as well as the Karachi Bar Association and the citizens of Karachi in different statements and meetings warned that Bhutto should not be allowed to disintegrate the country and suggested that powers should be transferred to the majority party, namely Sheikh Mujib's Awami League, to save the situation and the country.

The whole of East Bengal stood like one man behind Sheikh Mujib and his Awami League. Spontaneous support also came from Bengali leaders of other political parties, such as, Mr. Nurul Amin, Chief of Pakistan Democratic Party; Prof. Ghulam Azam, Chief of East Pakistan Jamaat-i-Islami. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Chief of NAP (Bhashani Group); Mr. Ataur Rahman Khan, Chief of Pakistan National League; Mr. A. S. M. Sulaiman, Chief of Krishak Sramik Party; Mr. Shamsul Huda, President of East Pakistan Convention Muslim League; Mr. A. N. M. Yousuf, General Secretary of East Pakistan Convention Muslim League and so on.

The whole of East Pakistan responded to Sheikh Mujib's call for non-cooperation. Even the Chief Justice and all the judges of the Dacca High Court responded to this call. On March 15, Sheikh Mujib issued a set of 35 directives to the East Pakistanis for smooth administration of the province and maintenance of perfect law and order. Within hours of this declaration. Yahya Khan flew to Dacca and on March 16 talks between the two started. At a later stage Bhutto and other West Pakistani leaders joined the talks.

VII. Conspiracy and betrayal of the ruling Junta and proclamation of independent Bangladesh.

Talks between Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujib and other advisers continued for about ten days. At no stage was there any indication of breakdown of talks. On the contrary, it was indicated that an agreement had been reached on four points. These were: lifting of martial law and transfer of power to a civilian government by a Presidential Proclamation. transfer of power in the Provinces to the majority parties; Yahya Khan to remain as President and in control of the Central Government and separate sittings of the National Assembly members from East and West Pakistan preparatory to a joint session of the House to finalize the Constitution. Once this agreement in principle had been reached between Mujib and Yahya, there was only the question of defining the powers of East Pakistan vis-a-vis the Centre during the interim phase.

But suddenly on the night of March 25-26, Yahya dashed out of Dacca under cover of darkness. Simultaneously the Pakistan army went into action to re-assert its authority throughout the eastern wing. Back in West Pakistan, Yahya broadcast a message to the nation banning the Awami League and charging Mujib with treason. And on March 26, Sheikh Mujib proclaimed the independence of Bangladesh as a Sovereign Peoples Republic. Formation of a provisional government of Bangladesh was announced two days later and on. April 17, the People's Republic of Bangladesh was formally proclaimed.

This proves beyond doubt that Yahya Khan and his team never had the slightest intention of solving Pakistan's political crisis peacefully. They were only interested in

bidding lime to permute the reinforcement of troops with modem arms. The remarkable success of the civil disobedience movement left the Pakistan government in no doubt that the days of colonial exploitation of the East wing were gone forever. The West Pakistani rulers and capitatists were interested only in exploitation of East Pakistan. They did not therefore care for a peaceful political solution of the problem. Rather they decided to crush the movement for autonomy by ruthlessly killing all the Bengalis connected with the movement-Awami League leaders, students, teachers and all intellectuals. This barbarous and foolish action of the West Pakistan army dominated by Punjabi soldiers sounded the death-knell of Pakistan and forced the creation of an independent state in East Pakistan, popularly and officially called 'Bangladesh*.

VIII. Massacre in Bangladesh.

The well-trained professional troops of West Pakistan armed with most modem weapons and supported by air force and navy unleashed a massive attack against the entire people of Bangladesh on the night of March 25. The army action was well-planned and started simultaneously in all important cities and towns. Not only political leaders and intellectuals, but also innocent unarmed civilians including children and women were killed in brutal and cold-blooded way. Exact figures of death and devastation which is still going on will never be known. Yahya Khan's regime imposed complete censorship on news and communication and expelled the thirty-five foreign correspondents from Dacca on 26th March. The conspiracy of Yahya- Tikka Khan regime was to cow down the Bengalis by completing a selective genocide within 72 hours, without allowing the outside world to know what happened in East Pakistan.

They were partially successful in concealing their heinous crime and in creating a confusion about the East Pakistan situation in the outside world. But gradually, the brutalities and atrocities committed by the West Pakistan troops spread over the world through the eye-witness accounts of foreign correspondents, evacuated foreign correspondents who were taken, to East Pakistan in May by army authorities on a conducted tour saw signs of large scale devastation and death during army action. According to their estimates, death toll might be between half a million to one million. They found the cities deserted and half-dead, economic activities shattered and communications disrupted. The people were stunned and frightened. Reports leaking out from East Pakistan indicate that the process of terrorization and victimization is still going on. Jungle Jaws prevail there. The West Pakistan troops and their supporters non- Bengali population have license to shot anybody, to loot any property, to rape any woman and to burn any house. The fact that about six million East Bengalis have fled from their houses to India and that even now the flow of refugees is continuing at a rate of about 50,000 to 100,000 every day proves clearly that there is no law. no security, no normalcy in East Pakistan and that there must be terrible shortage of food, medicines and other necessities of life in that devastated territory.

IX. Eye-witness accounts of army atrocities.

The thirty-five foreign correspondents who were in Dacca on the night of March 25 saw glimpses of army action. Some of them reported after their expulsion from Dacca

how the army took the sleeping people by surprise. The army used tanks, mortars, rocket launchers, bazookas and other automatic modern weapons to kill the civilians and destroy their houses and properties. Some foreign correspondents also slipped into East Pakistan through Indian border to see for themselves the ruthlessness of army action and the determination of the Bengali freedom fighters to liberate their homeland from the West Pakistani army occupation. Among the foreign correspondents whose eye-witness accounts were published in different papers and periodicals are Arnold Zeiltein (AP), Michel Laurent (AP), Dennis Neeld (AP), Mort Rosenblum (AP), Sydney Schambaerg (New York Times). T. J. S. George (Far Eastern Economic Review), Nayan Chanda (Far Eastern Economic Review), Dan Coggins (Time), Tony Clifton (Newsweek). Loren Jenkins (Newsweek), Milan J. Kubic (Newsweek). Simon Drik (Daily Telegraph).

John Rhode, an American Aid worker, was in Dacca during the disturbance and witnessed the destruction caused by the Pakistani troops there. In a letter released by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the U. S. A. Rhode described how student dormitories of the Dacca University had been shelled by army tanks and all the residents slaughtered. He spoke of "the planned killing of much of the intellectual community including a majority of the professors at Dacca University". In his opinion "the law of the jungle prevails in East Pakistan, where the mass killing of unarmed civilians, the systematic elimination of the intelligentia" was in progress. Simon Drik, a correspondent of Daily Telegraph, was an eye-witness of the Dacca carnage. He said that on the morning of March 26 the army went about for eleven hours systematically destroying the entire old city of Dacca. People were burnt inside their homes. As people fled out of the city, troops followed them. Drik narrated how people asleep in a bazar had been shot dead and in the morning were still lying there with the rugs on them as if they were still sleeping. "There is no doubt that the word massacre applies to the situation", said a foreign diplomat in Dacca. Another Western official said, "It is a veritable bloodbath. The troops have been utterly merciless". A British woman evacuated from Dacca said in Singapore on April 2, "the road from my house to Dacca airport was a mass grave. The roadside lanes were filled with corpses, mostly of women and children." She claimed that the reports of 300,000 dead were no exaggeration. Neil O'Toole, an American who was in Chittagong, said that the fighting reduced East Pakistan's largest port to a ghost town. A Danish student who was in Chittagong till April 4 told harrowing tales of atrocities committed by the troops on unarmed civilians and their destroying and burning of bazars, buildings, houses and factories. A jute mill manager from Chittagong related that all his employees had been battered to death. An engineer from Peterborough who was in Chittagong said that the army men were rounding up people and shooting them down. The same horrible things happened in other cities like Jessore, Khulna. Rajshahi. Rangpur, Dinaajpur, Sylhet, Comilla, Mymensingh etc. Teachers, students and intelligentsia were butchered, unarmed civilians gunned down, women molested, houses burned, banks looted and factories destroyed by the savage West Pakistani troops.

Two British parliamentarians, two United Nations representatives, one American Congressman and many other independent observers visited the East Bengal border areas and the refugee camps and had clear ideas of the brutalities committed on civilian population by the Pakistan army. The Bengali refugees in India whose number has

xceeded six million mark gave vivid description of the army's savagery. Many of the refugees bore bullet marks on their bodies.

X. Violation of human rights

By its repressive and oppressive measures on the people of East Pakistan. Yahya Khan's government has blatantly violated the most precious principles of international law. It has violated, inter alia, the Preamble and Articles 1,55 and 56 of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention of Civil and Political Rights 1956, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966. Article 23 (g) of the Hague Regulations, 1907, Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, 1949, the Doctrine of Immunity of Non-Combatants from Beligerent Attacks and the Genocide Convention 1948.

XI.World-wide condemnation of army atrocities.

The brutality and atrocity of West Pakistani troops in East Pakistan has been condemned throughout the world. The world press has criticized in strong terms the savage action of Yahya Khan's government and Published many eye-witness accounts and authentic stories of unprecedented brutality of the Punjabi-Pathan troops. Most of the important papers and periodicals in most countries-particularly in Britain, U. S. A., Indonesia, India, Japan, Australia-have advocated that the carnage must be stopped and a peaceful political solution to the problem acceptable to the East Bengalis should be arrived at. Political thinkers, scholars, students and enlightened public of many countries have condemned army crackdown sympathized for the sufferings of the Bengalis and urged the world body and world powers to forces Yahya Khan to stop the bloodbath and take hands off East Pakistan. The social and charitable organizations of the world have expressed their sympathy and their willingness to send relief for the sufferers.

President Nikolai Podgorny of Soviet Union in a massage to President Yahya Khan called for an end to bloodshed in East Pakistan and recourse to methods of a peaceful political settlement. The Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Ghandhi denounced the selective genocide and decimation of Bengali population by the West Pakistani troops and expressed her sympathy for the oppressed people of East Bengal. She also called the world body and the big powers to intervene in the greatest human tragedy and take measures for a peaceful political solution of the problem of late, the United Nations Secretary General U Thant said, what happened in East Pakistan in late March and April was "a very terrible blot in the page of human history". He also said these happenings in which thousands died at the hands of West Pakistan troops "constitute one of the most tragic episodes in recent history", while many countries expressed concern at the happenings in East Pakistan, unfortunately most governments adopted an indifferent attitude on the plea that it was an internal affair of the government of President Yahya Khan. This indifference and apathy particularly on the part of the Muslim countries has been shocking to East Pakistanis and has emboldened the military government to continue repression and persecution. However, most governments are aware of the terrible facts and the governments of the aid giving countries are giving indirect pressure to Yahya Khan's government to bring a peaceful political settlement to the problem.

XII. Bengali refugees vis-a-vis India's role.

About six million East Pakistanis have crossed over to India-a number which is larger than the population of many countries such as Albania, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Finland. Guinea, Ireland. Israel, Jordan, Laos, Labanon, Luxemburg, Mauritania. Mauritius, New Zealand Norway, Panama" Paraguay, Senegal, Siena. Leone, Singapore. Somalia, Uruguay or Zambia. The influx is continuing and everyday about fifty thousand people are leaving their houses for shelter in India's eastern provinces. As there cannot be smoke without fire, there cannot be heavy influx of Bengali refugees in India unless the conditions in East Pakistan are abnormal and insecure. The sufferings of these uprooted people are tremendous. Thousands have died of cholera. Exhaustion, starvation and other diseases are likely to claim many more lives. The problem is gigantic, Yahya Khan's government has accused India of interference, aggression and infiltration. But the fact remains that many of these people would perhaps been killed by the army if they had not fled away. The problem has become too big for India and extremely expensive. The life and condition in the Indian provinces of West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya and Tripura have become abnormal due to heavy influx of Bengali refugees. The situation is explosive. The United Nations has recognized the fact and appealed to member nations for massive aid. Britain, U.S.A., Japan, Australia, Canada, West Germany, Soviet Union, France, Netherlands have responded to this appeal and are sending relief. More countries are expected to follow suit. An impartial study of the situation would prove that the gigantic humanitarian task India has undertaken at tremendous cost is laudable. India has sympathized with the suffering of East Pakistanis and supported their demand for human and political rights, but has not waged any war or aggression against Pakistan. As Mrs. Indira Gandhi said, "what we are doing is to raise our voice in the capitals of the world and in the United Nations over the brutal massacre across our borders. India has no desire to influence in the internal affairs of another country. But it cannot remain silent over the oppression and wanton killing across the border." Despite Pakistan's provocation through diplomatic lapses and border clashes, India has show great restraint. She has not taken any direct action against the Pakistan government s atrocity and brutality, but has been approaching world powers to intervene and creation conditions in East Pakistan so as to enable the refugees to return to their homes.

XIII. The Position of Bangladesh.

The independent Republic of Bangladesh as proclaimed by the Awami League leaders has not so far been recognized by any country. There is however no doubt that the provisional government of Bangladesh commands support, confidence and allegiance of 98 percent of 75 million people of East Pakistan. The last election provided this and the recent barbarous attacks on the people of Bangladesh by the West Pakistan troops has helped to establish this. The question of recognizing Bangladesh within the framework of Pakistan or as an Independent State should be given immediate consideration by the free world. Its provisional government must be consulted in any efforts to solve the problem of East Pakistan. It may be mentioned that Bangladesh (East Pakistan) has a population of 75 million which is larger than the combined population of (a) Australia (12.3 million). New Zealand (2.8 million), Philippines (37.2 million), Malaysia (10.6 million) and

Singapore (2.0 million) or of (b) North Vietnam (21.3 million), South Vietnam (19.9 million), North Korea (13.3 million), Laos (2.9 million) and Cambodia (6.7 million) or of (c) Iran (27.9 million), Iraq (8.8 million), Israel (2.8 million), Jordan (2.7 million) Syria (8.9 million), Algeria (13.4 million), Lybia (1.9 million and Lebanon (2.6 million) or (d) the combined population of Austria (7.4 million), Hungary (10.3 million), Finland (4.7 million), Belgium (8.7 million), Netherlands (12.9 million), Denmark (4.9 million), Sweden (7.9 million) , Switzerland (6.2 million) and Luxembourg (0.4 million), Bangladesh will be the eighth largest State in the world and the second largest among the muslim countries. The aspirations of the people of this big country to have autonomy or independence cannot be neglected. A peaceful and permanent solution to the present boiling problem can be achieved only through negotiations with the provisional government of Bangladesh. If this fact is not recognized, the fight for freedom will continue indefinitely, thus aggravating and prolonging the sufferings of the people. The people in East Pakistan are already in terrible condition. Besides mass murders, the economic life of the country has been shattered through arson, shelling and large scale bombing. East Pakistan is deficit in food and depends heavily on imports. Last cyclone which affected only a few million people in a limited area necessitated massive foreign aid. Five million refugees in India have become a difficult international problem. What about the seventy million people inside East Pakistan? The military government has kept all information about Bangladesh secret and suppressed. It can however be imagined that vast majority of the people must be facing starvation, disease and death. While international help in massive scale is required to save them, such help must be administered through U. N. agencies so as to ensure that such help reaches the needy people and is not misused by troops. It may be added that much of the relief supplies meant for cyclone victims has either been misused or has not yet been distributed.

As an independent state Bangladesh can be a self-sufficient agricultural country. It can live in peace, co-operation, and good relations with the neighboring countries. Because of its strategic position, it can contribute a lot in the maintenance of peace in South East Asia. Bengalis are good muslims but not communal minded. They can live in harmony with the people of other communities. The Bangladesh Government has declared that it will have friendly relations with all the countries of the world. If Bangladesh is not recognized the people's fighting for the right of self-determination will adopt extreme measures and may ultimately go over to the communist camp. This will be a severe blow to the free world, particularly to the muslim countries.

XIV. The attitude of Yahya Khan's Government to East Pakistan tragedy.

The regime which is solely responsible for the unprecedented tragedy in East Pakistan cannot have any sympathy or worry for the people of Bangladesh. The Yahya- Tikka Khan administration wanted to cow-down the Bengalis and crush their autonomy movement by killing a large number of people within 72 hours before the outside world could have any ideas of their brutality. They have got control of cities and towns and are holding them at the point of guns, but the rural areas particularly the border areas are far

from their control. They have miserably failed in forcing cooperation of the local people. The reports from various sources and the lies and contradictions that the military authorities are giving out prove that no law, order, security, peace or normalcy prevails in East Pakistan. Within a couple of days of army crackdown, the military authorities claimed that everything was normal in East Pakistan. On the one hand they still claim normalcy, on the other they speak of large scale killings and destruction by miscreants and Indian infiltrators. When the outside world came to know of unprecedented death and destruction, they started blaming the Bengalis, the undefined miscreants and the Indian infiltrators for the tragedy. Yahya Khan first said that there were no East Pakistani refugees in India, now he has opened reception camps to gat the refugees back. Yahya Khan initially refused international help for East Pakistan, now he has asked for massive help from the United Nations. He however insists that all help should be administered by his government. His design may be to utilise the help for the troops and starve the Bengalis to death.

President Yahya Khan announced after the election that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was a great respected leader and future Prime Minister of the country, but on 26th March he _ branded him as traitor and arrested him and put him in a prison in West Pakistan. Yahya regime has been trying to divert the issue by creating diplomatic crisis and border trouble with India. It puts all blame on India. The hijackers of Indian plane were welcomed by Bhutto and West Pakistan people and government as freedom fighters. Then a mock trial was held and the hijacking was found to be an Indian conspiracy. The Military regime has kept the West Pakistani people ignorant of the real situation in East Pakistan. It is also trying to arouse provincial feeling and hatred among West Pakistanis. They are publicizing false reports that number of non-Bengalis were killed by Bengali insurgents. The action of the government is uncivilised and its attitude unsympathetic. This government does not however represent the people. It is an alien, enemy government to the East Bengalis. Even in West Pakistan, there is dissatisfaction and restlessness. Bhutto has been pleading for transfer of power to his party on the ground that bureaucracy cannot solve national problems. He and his party appear to have lost confidence in the present regime. All other West Pakistani political parties except Qayum Khan's Muslim League had earlier advocated that powers should be transferred to the elected representatives of the people. This shows that the military junta is not based on popular support and confidence. No wonder that such an oligarchy which rules merely with the help bf weapons will act in such savage and criminal way. The regime has not only ignored the opinion of the people of the country but also of outside world. Its special relation with China and the massive military and economic aid it is getting from China has emboldened it to ignore any power, even the United Nations. The opening of all weather road between China and West Pakistan has further cemented relations between the two countries. China has now a vested interest in West Pakistan and has taken a vow to support the military regime in all eventualities.

XV. The outlook.

Political thinkers and independent observers believe that old Pakistan is dead and can never be revived or reunited. The main issue should not be to keep Pakistan intact but to

end human tragedy and enable 75 million people of East Pakistan to live in their homeland in peace and security and free from 4anger of savagery and atrocity of outside troops. Immediate efforts must be made by the United Nations, the big powers and the Muslim countries to compel Yahya Khan's government to end repression and arrive at a peaceful political solution acceptable to the East Pakistani people. In order to make such efforts successful, the following conditions should be kept in view:

(a) Sheikh Mujibur Rahman should be released immediately without any conditions.

(b) Negotiations for future status of East Pakistan should be made with Sheikh Mujib and the provisional government formed by his Awami League.

(c) The Martial Law should be withdrawn and the troops sent back to West Pakistan from East Pakistan.

(d) The Awami League government should be recognized as de-jure government of East Pakistan.

(e) All facilities should be provided to enable the refugees to come back home. The refugees should be given full compensation for all the losses they have suffered at the hands of the Pakistan government.

(f) In case the provisional government of Bangladesh is no longer satisfied with the six-points, settlement should be made at its terms.

(g) If the government of Yahya Khan does not accept the above terms, the problem should be raised in the Security Council. Before that, however, the aid giving countries and the friendly countries should put pressure on the military regime of Yahya Khan to come to terms immediately.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা গোষ্ঠীর সদস্যদের সাংকেতিক নাম ব্যবহার সংক্রান্ত চিঠি	'আমরা'	৪ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Djakarta, Nov. 4. 1971

Dear Mr. Maqsood Ali,

Please find herewith enclosed 14 songs and parody composed by Shila Islam for broadcast from Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendra. Also enclosed two poems by her for publication in Joy Bangla or any other Bengali periodical. I will appreciate if you kindly do the needful for their broadcast / publication.

Shila Islam is the code name of Mrs. Roushon Ara Zaman, M. A. in Bengali from Karachi University (1960), Asstt. Editor, Bengali Academy, for two years, Professor of Bengali, PECHS college, Karachi, for two years. She has been a regular writer of Bengali poems, songs, short stories, and is quite known in the field. For reasons of security and safety, her real name should not be disclosed or published.

I also enclose a list of code names of concerned persons here. We will use these code names and we request you to note them and use them in all future correspondences. It may be added here that bio-data of the Bengalis here have been sent by Rumi. Receipt of all these may kindly be acknowledged.

Kindly use the following addresses when writing to me or Amora: -

1) MR. KAMAL; C/O MRS. BADROEN, DJL. KAMPAR-4 (TJIDENO BAR AT), DJAKARTA, INDONESIA.

2) MR. KAMAL GUPTA C/O GROUP CAPTAIN N. SINHA RAY, INDIAN EMBASSY, DJAKARTA. THROUGH BAG SECTION, MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, NEW DELHI.

Looking forward for an early reply.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
KAMAL

MR. M. MAQSOOD ALI
BANGLADESH MISSION
9, CIRCUS A VENUE, CALCUTTA-17

S.No.	Name		Code Name
1.	Mr. Zainul Abedin	—	ZAFAR
2.	Mr. A. F. Md. Shamsuzzaman	—	KAMAL
3.	Mr. M. A. Aziz	—	ARAB
4.	Mr. M. Faruque Mohd.	—	BADAR
5.	Mr. A. B. M. Sanaullah	—	SUFI
6.	Mr. Siddiq Ahmed	—	RUMI
7.	Mr. Ruhul Amin	—	SAFRI
8.	Mr. Halim Sarkar	—	RUHANI
9.	Mr. Mahmud Hossain	—	ANSAR
10.	Mr. M. A. Matin	—	HAMID

The above code names may please be noted.

** KAMAL may be addressed KAMAL GUPTA when addressing letters to him care of Indian Embassy.

আমরা

(Amora)
Djakarta.

1. H.E. Mr. M. Hossain Ali,
2. Mr. M. Maqsood Ali.
3. Mr. Sayidur Rahman.
4. Kazi Narul Islam.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সরকার কর্তৃক 'আমরা' গোষ্ঠীর সদস্যদের প্রচারকার্য সম্পর্কে লিখিত চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ সরকার	১৮ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

-1-

ভারতস্থ গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী
বাংলাদেশ হাই কমিশন
৯ সার্কাস ত্র্যভিনিউ
কলিকাতা

HIGH COMMISSION FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN INDIA
9 CIRCUS AVENUE
CALCUTTA-17

No. B-5/50/71. November 18, 1971.

Dear Mr. Rumi,

Thank you very much for your letter dated November 1, 1971.

We have noted for compliance your instructions for mailing letters and publicity materials. There has been certain delay on our part in the past to send replies. We shall try to ensure a regular correspondence in future.

Kindly let us know if you receive newspapers and other printed publications. We are happy that the local press is showing interest in our cause. Do kindly send us newspaper clippings so that we can get the views therein published in our publications.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
(Sayidur Rahman)
for High Commissioner.

Mr. Kamal
C/O.Mrs. Badroen
DJL,Kampon 4,
Tjideng Barat (dekat Djl. Musi)
Djakarta, Indonesia.

-2-

No. B-5/50/71. Dated: November 18, 1971.

Dear Mr. Rumi,

Thank you very much for your special report and the clipping from the Djakarta times of an article by Aziz Beg a West Pakistani correspondent.

2. We are grateful for your report on the sinister adventure by Aziz Beg. The West Pakistani propaganda machinery has launched a offensive in countries abroad dishing out falsehood and lies to undermine the cause of the people of Bangladesh. The offensive has been intensified particularly in Muslim countries.

3. In two separate letters that we are sending we have made reviews on the Bangladesh struggle for freedom. You will come across facts and arguments that should adequately meet the challenge of the West Pakistani propaganda offensive abroad. If you can manage it, kindly get the contents of the reviews reflected through editorials or comments or even as articles in the local newspapers.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(Sayidur Rahman),
for High Commissioner.

To
Tuan Kamal,
C/o Nj. Badroen,
Djl-Kampon 4,
Tjideng Barat,
{dekat Djl-Musi),
Djakarta, Indonesia

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
'আমরা' গোষ্ঠীর ভূমিকার উপর লিখিত প্রতিবেদন	'আমরা'	২২ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SECRET

'A MORA'
DJAKARTA
November 22, 1971

APPRECIATION OF BANGLADESH MOVEMENT IN INDONESIA

As the largest moslem state, Pakistan enjoyed a prestige in Indonesia. It also enjoyed a reputation for its rapid economic development (in West Pakistan) during the last decade. The affairs of Pakistan have always interested Indonesian people. The downfall of Ayub Khan, the assumption of power by Yahya Khan, the general election of 1970, the spectacular victory of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League and the happenings thereafter have been observed quite closely by the people of the different walks of life. The military rulers of Indonesia have been anxious to see that the military regime in Pakistan survived and continued to rule over a united Pakistan. The Moslem leaders with few exceptions have wanted that the integrity of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was maintained, while wishing that the present problem was solved amicably. Some Sumatran leaders who feel somewhat deprived and frustrated as their island gives more to than receiving from the Republic, appear to have a tacit support for the independence movement of the Bengalis. Intellectuals, politicians and press are in favor of restoration of democracy in Pakistan and transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people. The press, the Radio and the T. V. have been giving wide publicity about the tragedy in Bangladesh. As a result, Indonesian people-whether they arc intellectuals, politicians, officials, businessman or rickshaw pullers, domestic servants or just men in the street have come to know of the atrocity and brutality committed by Pakistan Army in East Pakistan and of the repressive policy being pursued by the military regime. The Inedonesians now look down upon the Pakistanis in general, hate the West Pakistanis and pity the East Pakistanis.

2. The Indonesian press has played a great role in projecting Bangladesh in Indonesia. Pakistan was featuring quite prominently in the press since November, 1970 when the cruel cyclone hit East Pakistan. The election, the victory of Awami League, the postponement of Assembly session, the non-cooperation movement, the treacherous talks, the army action, and atrocity, the proclamation of independence etc. got good coverage. The Radio and the TV also gave similar publicity. Most of the papers have written favorable editorials. They have question the wisdom of army action, criticized repression and showed sympathy for the people of Bangladesh. News, articles, letters, editorial comments on Bangladesh situation have been appearing quite regularly. Though

sympathetic the press has not supported openly the independent Bangladesh movement. This may be attributed to the Government's policy of non-interference and the popular feeling that it would be tragedy if the greatest Moslem state is split into two. The press has however pressed the view that the military regime should seek a political solution to the problem. A few papers like the "Indonesian Observer" and the DJAKARTA TIMES have warned the consequences of continuing the repressive policy in East Pakistan.

One trend in the press is to project India's point of view more permanently. Releases of the Pakistan information Service are generally not earned by the press. The Pakistan Embassy and the local Pakistani community have to spend substantial amounts in inducing the papers (only a few) to get publish their articles or letters. The Indonesian Observer refused to publish an Article by Aziz Beg who visited Djakarta about a month back. The press is not however anti-Pakistani, but its reaction is definitely unfavorable to the policy of the military regime and its attitude sympathetic to the oppressed people of Bangladesh.

3. By and large, the people of Indonesia are convinced that the Most Pakistani troops are guilty of committing genocide in East Pakistan. Having the experience of the great tragedy of 1965, they shudder at the news of any massacre. The people now know that East Pakistan has always been exploited by West Pakistan. But many of them are not aware of the peculiarities of this absurd state and the reasons for disparities between the two parts. The name of Islamic Republic also creates confusion. They often think that the problem between East and West Pakistan is similar to that as exists between Sumatra and Java. But if explained, they can understand the absurdity of Pakistan and the reality of independent Bangladesh. In private discussion, knowledge enable people appreciate and support independence movement of the Bengalis. But they are shy to say anything in public because of the military dominated government's policy to keep quite. However, two Moslem leaders, Dr. Roem and Dr. Abu Hanifah, who attended the Bangladesh conference in New Delhi showed courage to speak and write about the crisis and the disparities between the two wings of Pakistan. It however appears that the view-point of Dr. Roem is more acceptable to the Indonesian people than that or Dr. Abu Hanifah, as the former has taken care to hint at a solution within the framework of Pakistan.

4. The Indonesian government was initially very vocal in supporting Pakistan's stand that the East Pakistan crisis was Pakistan's internal affair. Adam Malik declared this a number of times. The Government reportedly put pressure on the press not to publish anything that might be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. The authorities took into custody some student leaders who demonstrated in front (If the Pakistan Embassy against the killing in East Pakistan. The Indonesian government is also believed to have put forward certain advices to the Pakistan Government as to how to tackle the East Pakistan problem. But the attitude of the government is gradually changing, through not in favor of Bangladesh, against the policy of the Generals in Pakistan. It shows indifference or coldness to unreasonable requests from the Pakistan Government/Embassy. Despite a lot of lobbying, the Pakistan Embassy failed to step Jai Prakash Narayan's visit to Djakarta, to stop Dr. Roem and Dr. Abu Hanifah to attend the Bangladesh conference in New Delhi to stop these scholars to speak or write about

Bangladesh and even to forcible ouster of SUFI from Indonesia. The Govt. does not pay much attention to the visitors from Pakistan. It does not interfere with the press in publishing news and views on Bangladesh crisis. Sometime back the Govt. T.V. showed our Foreign Minister Khandaker Mushtaq Ahmed replying to a question from an interviewer about independence through guerilla warfare. It appears that the government is gradually realizing the problem and the truth. It is not likely to allow open campaign in favor of Bangladesh as it still wished to see Pakistan undivided.

5. The foreign diplomats and the foreign correspondents based in Djakarta have no doubt about the reality of Bangladesh. They believe that the old Pakistan is dead and that it is a question of times when the independent Bangladesh will be recognized. They also think that Pakistan will wage war against India to internationalize the issue and save face over Bangladesh crisis. About a fortnight back some correspondents hurriedly left Djakarta for Bangladesh / Pakistan / India to report on the developments in the sub- continent.

6. The military rulers in Pakistan believe that Indonesia is still on their side. In order to get the continued support of this large Moslem country, they are doing everything possible. The Pakistan Embassy and the local West Pakistani community (which is quite large and resourceful) are spending large sums of money to induce the press to publicize their point of view. They have been occasionally successful in buying one or two papers or a few second-rate journalists and to get a few letters/articles published. They have often been partially successful in suppressing publication of news in favor of Bangladesh or against Pakistan. But by and large, their efforts have been ineffective. The press hardly carries any information supplied by the Pakistan Embassy. The Pakistan Ambassador sending journalists, scholars, officials and industrialists here to project their point of view. Aziz Beg, Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Amir Ali Fancy, Air Vice Marshal Yousuf recently visited Djakarta. They have not however been able to make their presence felt in any quarters. Though these people spoke publicly as their masters tutored them, they made no secret of their dismay and frustration in private discussions. Dr. Qureshi said the generals were not politicians and were unable to solve a political problem. He added, if there were a political government this situation would not have arisen. He also admitted that the L.F.O. and the White Paper were great blunders. Mrs. Yousuf, who accompanied her husband, remarked, they wanted peace to raise their children to be useful citizens of the state and not to be cannon fodder. Aziz Beg said war with India was inevitable as they were tired of the continued harassment. Amir Ali Fancy was critical of Bhutto and also of the Government. One journalist from Lahore, Khalid Hasan, who arrived without visa, was not allowed to come out of the airport and was forced to leave "by the next available plane. Mian Ziauddin, ex-Ambassador, accompanied by A. W. Shamsul Alam. Director, Foreign Office, in scheduled to arrive at Djakarta on 6th December, Mian Ziauddin is coming as Yahya's special envoy and bringing a letter from Yahya for President Sooharto. The Pakistan Government is also extending invitation to many officials and non-officials to visit Pakistan. Response from this side, is however, poor. With much effort they were successful in persuading Sri Sultan Hamengku Buaweno to visit West Pakistan on his way from Tehran to New Delhi. On their invitation three officials from Radio and TV left for West Pakistan in the third week of November. The

Pakistan Government and its agents here are however continuing efforts, ceaselessly and aggressively, in defeating the cause of Bangladesh and suppressing Bangladesh movements.

7. The news of the proclamation of independent Bangladesh by our leaders, following brutal army action on the peaceful democratic people of our land, ignited a few Bengali souls here who came forward spontaneously to serve the cause of the nation in the manner possible in the existing conditions and within the limited resources. A clandestine Bangladesh Committee called AMORA GROUP' was formed with 'KAMAL* as Chief/Co-coordinator and 'RUMP and 'SUFI', as member to organise operation and coordinate efforts. The first step taken was to apprise the local intellectuals of the real problem—the background of Pakistan, contribution of East Bengal, position of Bengalies, exploitation by West Pakistanis, demand for democracy; election of 1970 and happenings thereafter and the probable solution that would be acceptable to the Bengalis. A comprehensive paper entitled "PAKISTAN-ITS BIRTH AND DEATH" was produced by 'Kamal' for the purpose and distributed among the local leaders. (Copy of this paper has been furnished to our mission in Calcutta.) Simultaneously action was taken to publicize the crisis and the atrocities of West Pakistan army and to project Bangladesh. This was done by contributing a series of articles and letters to the press under different assumed names. An anonymous article titled 'IS ISLAM DEAD' was also contributed by Kamal. This article, published in the Djakarta Times of April 15, 1971, created a sensation. (It is gratifying that this article has got a place in the Bangladesh publications.) Among the other enlightening and thought-provoking articles contributed to the Djakarta Times are : The Role of the U. N. vis-a-vis Bangladesh (by Kamal) Pakistan and the World (by Rumi), Bangladesh Refugees (by Rumi) and -Bengali Revolutions (by Rumi). Besides, Kamal and Rumi contributed a number of letters to the press at different times to keep the issue alive. A number of telegrams were sent by Kamal to the World leaders urging them to stop killing, got release of Bangabandhu and help establish peoples' government in Bangladesh. . Arrangement was made to supply copies of world press news and views to the local press, to distribute Bangladesh newspapers and government publications among the leading papers and important personalities and to furnish copies of news, views and editorials appearing in the local press to the Bangladesh mission in Calcutta. This work is being done regularly by [4]Rumi\ The cost of operation is being met by a few members (contributors are Kamal, Rumi, Safri, Ruhani and Badar. Total amount so far contributed would be about US $ 430/-). Humble contribution was made to the Bangladesh funds. Certain amount has been remitted towards payment of subscription for the 'PEOPLE' for some local papers and important personalities. As a token of our love for our valiant freedom fighters, 90 pieces of warm clothing have been purchased and dispatched. The 'Group' has been trying to intensify its activities for more effective work, it needs encouragement, advice and guidance as well as regular supply publicity material. The Committee has no regular office. Most of the office and typing work is being handled by 'Rumi'. While time is not opportune conditions not favorable for open activity, the Committee could produce better results if it had suitable office, typing, cyclostyling and translation facilities. 'Sufi' was provided with a typewriter and entrusted with the responsibility of submitting periodical reports to our mission in Calcutta and of

contacting local leaders and intellectuals with the help of 'Hamid'. He has not been in touch with the 'Group' for the last few months. Presumably, he is busy with his personal problems. Though the group is missing the services of Sufi, it is fortunate in having active support of some enthusiastic members like Safri, Ruhani and Ansar. Its latest achievement is to enlist support of Badar. Though there is no room for complacency, the group is confident of making its humble contribution to the cause of the nation.

8. This report may be concluded with the following comments / suggestions:

(a) Though the attitude of the Indonesian Government towards Bangladesh is at present unfavorable and unfriendly, continued efforts should be made to convince them of our stand and win-over their support. This is necessary in view of the position of this country in the Moslem world particularly in South-East Asia and as the people in general are sympathetic to our cause. Bangladesh publicity material should be regularly supplied to officials and non-officials (list already supplied). Bangladesh leaders should occasionally address their counter- parts in Indonesia for support, sympathy and help. Though the Indonesian Govt. may not allow any Bangladesh representative to visit this country, our government should nevertheless constantly endeavor to send representatives here. Invitation may be extended to interested outstanding Indonesian leaders to visit liberated areas and refugee camps in India.

(b) The Important role played by the Indonesian press in highlighting army atrocities, sufferings of the people and the refugees and in projecting Bangladesh issue should be suitably recognized by our Govt. Appreciation letters may occasionally be sent to the papers concerned. Extracts from editorials, articles and letters as published in the local press should be reproduced in the Bangladesh Publications and copies thereof supplied to the press here. This will encourage them. Whether they accept or not, leading journalists may be extended invitation to visit liberated areas and refugee camps. The purpose is to maintain constant contact with them. The press should be supplied regularly Bangladesh papers and publications.

(c) The 'Amora Group' should be regularly supplied with sufficient number of copies of all publicity material as well as newspapers to arrange their local distribution on selective basis. The group depends very much on this supply as it is working secretly with insignificant resources against the organized efforts of the West Pakistanis. The group also needs advice, directive and some sort of
recognition to strengthen the team and intensify activities. More and more members are coming forward to assist the group. Efforts are being made to organise the secret group in a manner that its work does not suffer even if an individual member leaves the group or the station. It is felt that some sort of recognition will facilitate the task, even enable it to regain the services of Sufi who appears to have been working aimlessly and subjectively and making futile and duplicate efforts.

(d) Though open office or open campaign in Djakarta is not possible in the present circumstances, the group could produce better results if it had some sort of office and services of Interpreter-cum- Typist. Because of language problem it is experiencing difficulties in maintaining proper contacts with the local language dailies or fully using the materials that needs translation from English to Bahasa or from Bahasa to English. With its limited resources, the group is not in a position to employ the services of a Translator. Advice on this matter is solicited.

(e) The Bengalis here have not received any clear-cut instruction/directive as to what they should or should not do. What course to be taken in the event of transfer is not very clear. Government instructions/notifications on these matters may be supplied for the benefit of all concerned.

By Kamal.

Any comments on the report and on its usefulness will be appreciated.

(KAMAL)
Amora, Djakarta.
Nov. 22, 1971.

Circulation to:

1. Acting President, Bangladesh.
2. Foreign Minister, Bangladesh.
3. Foreign Secretary, Bangladesh.
4. High Commissioner, Bangladesh Mission, Calcutta.
5. Political Branch (Mr. Anwarul Karim Choudhury).
6. Information Branch (Mr. Maqsood Ali).

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সরকার কর্তৃক মুক্তিবাহিনীর সাফল্য প্রচার করার উদ্দেশ্যে 'আমরা' গোষ্ঠীকে প্রেরিত বিভিন্ন তথ্য	বাংলাদেশ সরকার	৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭০

ভারতস্থ
গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ হাই কমিশন
৯ সাকার্স এ্যাভিনিউ
কলিকাতা-১৭

HIGH COMMISSION FOR THE PEOPL'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH
IN INDIA
9,Circus Avenue, Calcutta-17

No. B-5/50/71. Dated 3-12-1971.

Dear Mr. Kamal,

1. We are grateful for your service to the cause of the people of Bangladesh.

2. Enclosed kindly find photocopies of reports of some recent happenings in Bangladesh. We hope you would kindly use them for publicity in support of the cause.

3.The items include :-

(a) War-like preparations by the West Pakistan Military Junta against India-a desperate bid to turn its conflict with the Bangladesh into so-called Indo-Pakistan dispute and to divert world attention from the Bangladesh issue.

(b) West Pakistan war of genocide on the people of Bangladesh continues unabated. Its propaganda about normalcy in Bangladesh is a monstrous devilry. A blanket of fear and misery covers the occupied areas. The exodus to India has become perennial because of the enemy Army's continued terror.

(c) Successes by the Bangladesh Mukti Bahini. The Bangladesh Mukti Bahini and the people are fighting the enemy troops heroically.

(d) Victims of West Pakistan Army atrocities facing starvation and health hazards.

4.We shall be grateful if you kindly try to mobilize more support for the Bangladesh struggle for independence and organise massive relief for the suffering people.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
(Sayidur Rahman)
for High Commissioner.

To
Mr. Tuan Kamal
C/o. Nj-Badroen, Dgl. Kampan 4
Tjideng Barat, (dekat Djl-Musi),
Djakarta, Indonesia.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিজয়োত্তরকালে বাংলাদেশ সরকার কর্তৃক 'আমরা' গোষ্ঠীকে লিখিত চিঠি	'আমরা'	১৮ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

ভারতস্থ
গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ হাই
কমিশন
৯ সাকার্স এ্যাভিনিউ
কলিকাতা-১৭

HIGH COMMISSION FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OK BANGLADESH IN INDIA
9, Circus Avenue, Calcutta-17

No. ***B-5/50/71*** December 18, 1971.

Dear Mr. Kamal.

The struggle of the people of Bangladesh for freedom from West Pakistani fascist rule has ended in a glorious conclusion. Bangladesh has won the war of independence. The West Pakistan occupation army, in the wake of a chain of reverses at the hands of the heroic freedom fighters, has surrendered en masse to the Bangladesh Mukti Bahini. That has happened in the afternoon of December 16, 1971. The entire Bangladesh now stands liberated from the West Pakistan colonial domination.

The war of genocide waged by the West Pakistan military Junta on the people of Bangladesh has been forced to an end. The long night of black terror has been lifted and our people had found their way to real freedom. It is not merely a great military victory but a triumph of high principles and noble ideals over barbarism and devilry, of democracy over colonialism. The West Pakistani fascists have had to accept an ignominious defeat since West Pakistan ruled the democratic Bangladesh in the colonial way for more than two decades and tried to perpetuate the colonial rule by the genocide on an innocent people irrespective of religion, age and sex.

The war over, Bangladesh Republic is confronted with the Himalayan task of repairing the devastating ravages in the country, of taking back ten million Bangladesh evacuees from India and of resettling the thirty million who were rendered homeless by the barbarians from West Pakistan. The tragedy of all, the million Bengalis who fell before the marauding troops of the fascist West Pakistan regime and a few lakhs more who could not survive the hazards of these eight months of refugee life cannot be brought back to life. Bangladesh has overpaid the price for freedom.

In the international sphere Bangladesh seeks formal recognition from all nations. The largest democracy India and the liberal Bhutan have accorded recognition to the new State. The immediate objectives in the domestic sphere are, besides restoration of law and order, repairing the ravages caused by the West Pakistani occupation army and of building the economy of the country.

All efforts have now to be directed to these objectives and we expect of our

compatriots, friends and supporters abroad to extend their continued support and help. In the joy of national freedom we cannot shut our eyes to the West Pakistan's diplomatic offensive at the U.N. and outside, with the backing of its patrons, to deprive Bangladesh of its independence. We have to continue in our efforts to rally international support in order to defeat the West Pakistan's diplomatic and political offensive and Big Power gunboat diplomacy.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
(Sayidur Rahman)
for High Commissioner.

Taun Kamal
C/O Nj Badroen,
Djl. Kampan 4
Djideng Barat
(dekat Djl Musi)
Djakarta.

॥ বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে অংশগ্রহণকারী বিভিন্ন সংগঠনের তৎপরতা ॥

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীন বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠার আহবান	পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি	২৯ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

শত্রুবাহিনীকে মোকাবেলায় প্রস্তুত হউন
গনস্বার্থে স্বাধীন বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠার
সংগ্রাম অব্যাহত রাখুন

ভাইসব,

বাংলাদেশের জনগণ আজ গণতন্ত্র ও নিজেদের অধিকার প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য এখানে একটা পৃথক স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম রাষ্ট্র কায়েম করিতে বদ্ধপরিকর হইয়াছেন এবং এই জন্য এক গৌরবময় সংগ্রাম চালাইতেছেন। এই সংগ্রামে জনগণ সশস্ত্র সেনাবাহিনীকে অসমসাহসিকতার সহিত মোকাবেলা করিতেছেন এবং নিজেদের আশা-আকাঙ্খা পূরণের জন্য বুকের রক্তঢালিতেও দ্বিধা করিতেছেন না। কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি পূর্ব বাংলার সংগ্রামী বীর জনগণকে আন্তরিক অভিনন্দন জানাইতেছে। পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্টরা দীর্ঘকাল হইতেই বাঙালীসহ পাকিস্তানের সকল ভাষাভাষী জাতির বিছিন্ন হইয়া পৃথক স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্র গঠনের অধিকার তথা আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণ অধিকার দাবী করিয়া আসিতেছে। পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণ আজ অনেক ঘটনার ঘাত-প্রতিঘাতের ভিতর দিয়া পূর্ব বাংলায় একটি পৃথক ও স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্র গঠনের দাবী উত্থাপন করিয়াছেন, আমরা উহাকে ন্যায্য মনে করি, তাই পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের বর্তমান সংগ্রামে আমরাও সর্বশক্তি লইয়া শরিক হইয়াছি।

জনগণের দুশমন কাহারা?

বাংলাদেশে পৃথক ও স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্র গঠনের এই সংগ্রামে জনগণের দুশমন হইল পাকিস্তানের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠী ও বর্তমান সামরিক সরকার। পাকিস্তানের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠী বিদেশী সাম্রাজ্যবাদ বিশেষতঃ মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, বড় বড় জোতদার-জায়গীরদার-মহাজন ও একচেটিয়া পুঁজির মালিক ২২টি পরিবারের কায়েমী স্বার্থ রক্ষার জন্য গত ২৩ বৎসর যাবৎ বাংলাদেশের শ্রমিক-কৃষক-মধ্যবিত্ত-ছাত্র প্রভৃতি জনগণকে শোষণ এবং নিপীড়ন করিয়াছে। সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সামন্তবাদ ও একচেটিয়া পুঁজির স্বার্থে শাসকগোষ্ঠী পূর্ব বাংলার সমগ্র জনগণকে জাতীয় অধিকার ও গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকার হইতে আগাগোড়া বঞ্চিত করিয়াছে। আজও উহাদের স্বার্থেই ইয়াহিয়া সরকার প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল গোষ্ঠীসমূহের নয়া নেতা ভুট্টোর সহিত ষড়যন্ত্রে লিপ্ত হইয়া জাতীয় পরিষদের অধিবেশনে নস্যাৎ করে ও গণতন্ত্র, জাতীয় অধিকার এবং শাসন ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তরের বিরুদ্ধে চক্রান্ত করে। এই প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠী পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের বর্তমান সংগ্রামকে দমনের জন্য ষড়যন্ত্রে লিপ্ত রহিয়াছে এবং সেনাবাহিনীকে জনগণের বিরুদ্ধে নিয়োগ করিয়াছে। সেনাবাহিনী পূর্ব বাংলায় ইতিমধ্যেই গণহত্যা ঘটাইয়াছে এবং রক্তের বন্যায় পূর্ব বাংলার জনতার সংগ্রামকে স্তব্ধ করিবার জন্য সেনাবাহিনী প্রস্তুত হইয়া রহিয়াছে।

তাই বাংলাদেশের জনগণের দুশমন হইল সাম্রাজ্যবাদ-সামন্তবাদ ও একচেটিয়া পুঁজির স্বার্থরক্ষাকারী সরকার ও উহাদের সেনাবাহিনী। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের পাঠান, বেলুচ, সিন্ধি, পাঞ্জাবী জাতিসমূহের মেহনতী জনতা পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের শত্রু নয়। বরং পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জনগণের গণতন্ত্র ও বিভিন্ন জাতিগোষ্ঠীর জাতীয় অধিকারকেও পাকিস্তানের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠী নস্যাৎ করিয়া রাখিয়াছে। পূর্ব বাংলার অবাঙালী উর্দু ভাষাভাষি মেহনতী জনগণকেও ঐ শাসকগোষ্ঠী শোষণ ও নিপীড়ন করিতেছে। তাই ঐ দুশমনের পরাজিত করিয়া বাংলাদেশের জনগণের দাবী কায়েম করার জন্য আজ এখানে গড়িয়া তুলিতে হইবে বাঙালী-অবাঙালী,

হিন্দু-মুলমান জনগণের দুর্ভেদ্য একতা। ঐ দুশমনের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রামে বাংলাদেশের জনগণকে বেলুচ-পাঠান-সিন্ধি-পাঞ্জাবী মেহনতী জনগণকে মিত্র বলিয়া মনে করিতে হইবে এবং পূর্ব বাংলার সংগ্রামে তাঁহাদের সাহায্য পাইতে সর্বদাই সচেষ্ট থাকিতে হইবে। এই সংগ্রামে এখানকার জনগণের সুদৃঢ় ঐক্য ও বেলুচ-পাঠান প্রভৃতির সমর্থন যত বেশী গড়িয়া উঠিবে গণ-দুশমনের পরাজয়ও ততই নিশ্চিত হইবে।

প্রকৃত মুক্তির লক্ষ্যে অবিচল থাকুন

ঐক্যবদ্ধ গণশক্তি ও জনতার সংগ্রামের জোরে গণদুশমনদেরও উহাদের সেনাবাহিনীকে পরাস্ত করিয়া এখানে জনগণের দাবী মতে 'স্বাধীন গণতান্ত্রিক বাংলা' রাষ্ট্র প্রতিষ্ঠার সংগ্রাম অগ্রসর করিয়া লইতে হইবে। কিন্তু স্বাধীন বাংলা যাহাতে সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের ডলারের শৃংখলে বাঁধা না পড়ে, স্বাধীন বাংলার কৃষক সমাজের উপর যাহাতে জোতদার-মহাজনদের শোষণ ও নিপীড়নে ধুঁকিয়া ধুঁকিয়া মরিতে না হয়, সেজন্য ও সংগ্রামকে দৃঢ়ভাবে আগাইয়া লওয়ার জন্য কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি শ্রমিক-কৃষক-ছাত্র-মধ্যবিত্ত জনতাকে তাহাদের সংগ্রাম আগাইয়া লওয়ার আহবান জানাইতেছে।

কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি বাংলাদেশে এমন একটি স্বাধীন গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য সংগ্রামের আহবান জানাইতেছে যেখানে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ-সামন্তবাদ উৎখাত করিয়া ও পুঁজিবাদী বিকাশের পথ পরিহার করিয়া জনগণের স্বার্থে জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লব সমাধা করা ও সমাজতন্ত্রের পথে অগ্রসর হইবার বিপ্লবী পথ উন্মুক্ত হইতে পারে।

বিভ্রান্ত হইবেন না

কতকগুলি তথাকথিত ''কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি'' জনগণকে বিভ্রান্ত করার জন্য ''ধর্মঘট অসহযোগ আন্দোলন প্রভৃতি প্রয়োজন নাই'', ''গ্রামে গ্রামে কৃষি বিপ্লব শুরু কর'', ''জোতদারদের গলা কাট'' প্রভৃতি আওয়াজ তুলিতেছে। কোন কোন নেতা "স্বাধীন বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠা হইয়া গিয়াছে'' বলিয়া ধ্বনি তুলিয়া আজিকার গণসংগ্রামের উদ্দীপনা, সংকল্প ও প্রস্তুতিতে ভাটা আনিয়া দিতে চাহিতেছেন। মার্কিনী এজেন্টরা এই সংগ্রাম অনুপ্রবেশ করিয়া সংগ্রামকে বিপথগামী করার প্রচেষ্টা করিতে পারে। শাসকগোষ্ঠী ও প্রতিক্রিয়াশীলদের উস্কানিতে সমাজবিরোধী দুষ্কৃতকারীরা দাঙ্গা-হাঙ্গামা, লুটতরাজ প্রভৃতি বাধাইয়া সংগ্রামকে বিনষ্ট করিতে তৎপর হইতে পারে। এই সকল বিষয়ে হুঁশিয়ার ও সজাগ থাকার জন্য আমরা জনগণের প্রতি আহবান জানাইতেছি।

দৃঢ়সংকল্প বজায় রাখুন

বাংলাদেশের জনগণ আজ অভূতপূর্ব দৃঢ়তা ও একতার সাথে অফিস-আদালতে হরতাল, খাজনা-ট্যাক্স বন্ধ প্রভৃতির যে সংগ্রাম চালাইতেছেন, সে সংগ্রাম ইতিমধ্যেই ইতিহাসে এক নূতন নজীর স্থাপন করিয়াছে। সামরিক সরকারের হুমকি, দমন-নীতি, অভাব-অনটন প্রভৃতির মধ্যেও সে সংগ্রাম শিথিল বা দমিত হইবে না এবং শত্রুর নিকট আমরা কখনও নতি স্বীকার করিব না- এই বজ্রদৃঢ় সংকল্প আজ বাংলার ঘরে ঘরে জাগিয়া উঠুক।

ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তরে বাধ্য করুন

নির্বাচিত গণপ্রতিনিধিদের হাতে ক্ষমতা হস্তান্তর, সামরিক শাসন প্রত্যাহার প্রভৃতি যে দাবীগুলি আওয়ামী লীগ প্রধান উত্থাপন করিয়াছেন, সেগুলি আদায় করিতে পারিলে 'স্বাধীন বাংলা' কায়েমের সংগ্রামে অগ্রগতির সুবিধা হইবে-ইহা উপলব্দি করিয়া ঐ দাবীগুলির পিছনে কোটি কোটি জনগণকে সমবেত করা এবং ঐ দাবীগুলি পূরণে ইয়াহিয়া সরকারকে বাধ্য করা, ইহা হইল এই মুহূর্তে জরুরী কর্তব্য।

সেনাবাহিনীর আক্রমণ প্রতিহত করুন

বস্তুতঃ হরতাল, লক্ষ লক্ষ জনতার সমাবেশ, মিছিল সরকারী অফিস-আদালত ও সামরিক বাহিনীর সহিত অসহযোগ প্রভৃতি শান্তিপূর্ণ পন্থায় বর্তমান পর্যায়ে জনগণের আকাঙ্খিত স্বতন্ত্র স্বাধীন বাংলা প্রতিষ্ঠার সংগ্রাম চালাইতে হইবে।

কিন্তু জনগণকে আজ সংগ্রাম করিতে হইতেছে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে সশস্ত্র সেনাবাহিনীর বিরুদ্ধে। তাই শান্তিপূর্ণ পন্থায় শেষ পর্যন্ত জনগণের সংগ্রাম বিজয়ী হইবে এইরূপ মনে করিবার কারণ নাই। প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠীর আজ্ঞাবাহী সেনাবাহিনী জনগণের উপর সশস্ত্র হামলা শুরু করিতে পারে। তাই আত্মসন্তুষ্টির কোন কারণ নাই। সংগ্রাম যে কোন সময়ে সুতীব্র রূপ ধারণ করিতে পারে। এই অবস্থায় স্বতঃস্ফূর্ততার উপর নির্ভর না করিয়া সুশৃংখলভাবে সংগ্রামের সর্বাত্মক প্রস্তুতি গ্রহণ করা দরকার। সেনাবাহিনীর আক্রমণ মোকাবেলা ও উহা প্রতিরোধ করার জন্য শহর-গ্রাম সর্বত্র জনগণকে সংগঠিতভাবে প্রস্তুত হইবার জন্য আমরা জনগণের প্রতি আহবান জানাইতেছি।

এই জন্য পাড়ায়, মহল্লায়, গ্রামে, কল-কারখানায় সর্বত্র দলমত নির্বিশেষে সমস্ত শক্তি নিয়া গড়িয়া তুলুন স্থানীয় সংগ্রাম কমিটি ও গণবাহিনী। সেনাবাহিনী আক্রমণ করিলে উহা প্রতিরোধের জন্য ব্যারিকেড গঠন করুন, যাহার যাহা আছে উহা দিয়াই শত্রুকে প্রতিহত করুন।

শ্রমিক-কৃষক ভাইয়েরা এগিয়ে আসুন

আজিকার সংগ্রাম জনগণের ন্যায্য সংগ্রাম। পশুশক্তির বিরুদ্ধে এই সংগ্রামে বিজয়ের বজ্র কঠিন শপথ ও সংকল্প নিয়া আগুয়ান হওয়ার জন্য পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি আজ নারী-পুরুষ জাতি-ধর্ম নির্বিশেষে বাংলাদেশের সমস্ত জনগণকে বিশেষতঃ শ্রমিক, শহরের গরীব বস্তিবাসী, কৃষক ও ছাত্র সমাজের প্রতি আহবান জানাইতেছে। সাহসের সহিত শত্রুর বিরুদ্ধে সঠিকভাবে সংগ্রাম চালাইতে পারিলে আমাদের জনগণের বিজয় সুনিশ্চিত।

ঢাকা
২৯-৩-৭১

কেন্দ্রীয় কমিটি
পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রতি আনুগত্য প্রকাশ করে অধ্যাপক মোজাফফর আহমদের বিবৃতি	ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টি	২০ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

Press Statement issued by Professor Muzaffar Ahmed, President of National Awami Party, Bangladesh, on April 20,1971

We felicitate in glowing terms the establishment of the sovereign government of People's Democratic Republic of Bangladesh with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as its titular head. We further congratulate the heroic struggle of the liberation army (Mukti Fouj) of Bangladesh in their determined endeavor and struggle to root out and repulse the Pakistani occupation army from the sacred soil of our mother land. *We declare in unequivocal terms that the government headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is the only legally constituted government of Bangladesh. And urge upon all the democratic and progressive nations of the world to recognize newly-born state and its government and to render all material help and moral support.* In this connection, we deem it our duty to gratefully acknowledge the sympathy received from all peace-loving and democratic people of the world and especially the support and co-operation given by the people and the governments of India and the Soviet Union.

In the name of humanity, tenets of civilization and conscience we fervently appeal to all democratic and progressive nations of the world and to the UNO to effectively move so as to immediately stop the genocide being perpetrated on the hundreds and thousands of innocent and unarmed men, women and children of Bangladesh.

The paramount need of the hour is the formation of a broad united front of the democratic parties and forces in order to conduct the liberation struggle and to carry it through. We urge upon the Awami League leadership and the Government of Bangladesh to take initiative in this matter.

We give a clarion call to all the sons and daughters of Bangladesh to carry forward the armed struggle with renewed vigour and determination till its victory. While paying respect and homage to the tens and thousands of martyrs of this struggle, we firmly declare that the blood of the martyrs cannot and shall not go in vain and the struggle of the people shall triumph. The barbarous policy of genocide pogrom and mass extermination of the military junta of Pakistan will be repulsed by the determined march of the 75-million of Bangladesh. The victory will be ours.

Long live the free people of the Democratic Republic of Bangladesh!

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে সাহায্যের জন্য বিশ্ব নেতৃবৃন্দের উদ্দেশ্যে মওলানা ভাসানীর আবেদন	প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	২১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

MAULANA ABDUL HAMID KHAN BHASANI'S
APPEAL TO WORLD LEADERS
Dated April 21,1971

I

SECRETARY-GENERAL U-THANT, UNITED NATIONS,
NEW YORK, U. S. A.

On behalf of the 75-million people of Bangladesh I appeal to you to use your good offices and raise your voice against the barbarities and brutalities being committed by the trigger happy soldiers of dictator General Yahya Khan on the innocent, unarmed and defenseless people of Bangladesh irrespective of their caste, creed and sect, including women, children and even new-born babies in their mothers' arms. I appeal to you to raise your voice against this brutal suppression of fundamental human freedom and birth right of the people of Bangladesh to decide their own destiny without any interference from West Pakistan. I appeal to you, Mr. Secretary-General, in the name of humanity to issue all immediate appeal to stop these brutal massacres of innocent people and to extend all possible help for the relief of the victims of dictator General Yahya Khan against military rule in Bangladesh. I would welcome sending your observers inside Bangladesh to see the nature and volume of looting, arson, mass killings and molestation of women by West Pakistani Army so that they can reveal the true picture of the sordid tale of Bangladesh to the people of the world through the United Nations.

II

PRESIDENT MAO TSE-TUNG, PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI,
PEKING, CHINA

Ideology of Socialism is to fight against oppression. I appeal to save seven and half crores of oppressed people of Bangladesh from the atrocities committed on them by the military junta of dictator General Yahya Khan. Yahya's military government, by the help of modern war weapons supplied by your government, are mercilessly and brutally slaying the innocent, unarmed, helpless peasants, laborers, students, intelligentsia, women and children of Bangladesh. If your Government do not protest this brutal atrocities committed on oppressed masses of Bangladesh by the military junta with the help of vested, interests of West. Pakistan, the world may think that you are not the friend of oppressed people.

No such example of oppression, which the military junta is inflicting upon the innocent masses of Bangladesh, will be found even in times of Chiang Kai-Shek's rule in your own land, Czar's rule in Russia and in times of British Imperialism in pro-independent India. The reports of atrocities and oppression, which are being given publicity by various Indian agencies, are in fact the smallest portion of the volume and nature of oppression and atrocities which are really happening in wretched land of Bangladesh at present. World will come to know the true picture and actual nature, and will know the truth of many complaints, if the journalists, intelligentsia, politicians of any country, even of the countries friendly to Yahya's government, made field survey.

You are well aware that there are tremendous people's support behind the independent Bangladesh Government than that of Sihanouk Government's of Cambodia. I, therefore, earnestly request you to please extend your support, recognition and all possible help to the Government of Independent People's Republic of Bangladesh..

I had to undergo 31 years of imprisonment to achieve independence of Indo-Pak sub- continent and to achieve people's rights in Pakistan. I am at present an old man of 89. At this stage of my life my humble residence has been gutted by the barbarous soldiers of Yahya Khan. My precious collection of books from different countries has also been burnt by them. I do not know what has happened to the fate of my family after my house was set on fire.

III

SECRETARY GENERAL BREZHNEV, PRESIDENT PODGORNY,

CHAIRMAN KOSYGIN, KREMLIN, MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.

On behalf of the 75 million people of Bangladesh may I convey to you our appreciation of the statement issued by the Presidium of Supreme Soviet through President Podgorny on the situation in East Bengal?

I should, however, like to point out that more positive action is urgently required to stop the barbarous massacre of hundreds of thousands of unarmed, helpless masses of Bangladesh by the brutal military dictator ship of General Yahya Khan. These massacres are being perpetrated by the West Pakistani army with modern weapons of war supplied by U. S. A. and China. People are being butchered by the trigger happy soldiers of West Pakistan irrespective of caste, creed and sect, including women, children and even new- born babies in their mothers' arms. They excel in their brutality anything that has happened in history before. I earnestly appeal to you to stop this bloody massacre and not supply any aid to the military dictatorship of Pakistan. Your country and your people, under the enlightened and wise leadership of Lenin, have stood for the rights of oppressed peoples to self determination, and have given moral, political and material support to national liberation movements in various parts of the world. I would, therefore, appeal to you to do the same for Bangladesh and give it immediate recognition and all possible help of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

The Soviet Union is part of Asia as well as Europe. The Leninist policy of peace is a great stabilizing factor for development throughout the world, particularly in the

developing countries. What is happening in Bangladesh today is the worst from of colonialism and imperialism. Looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women are the order of the day. We rely on the people of the U. S. S. R. to raise their voice against these barbarities and the suppression of human rights. I hope that your government will give immediate attention to this urgent problem and see that the 75 million people of Bangladesh are allowed the freedom to decide their own destiny without any interference from the military dictatorship of Yahya Khan.

I had to undergo 31 years of imprisonment to achieve independence of Indo-Pak sub- continent and to achieve people's rights in Pakistan. I am at present an old man of 89. At this stage of my life my humble residence has been gutted by the barbarous soldiers of Yahya Khan. My precious collection of book from different countries has also been burnt by them. I do not know what has happened to the fate of my family after my house was set on fire.

IV

PRESIDENT NIXON, WASHINGTON. D.C., U.S.A.

Under the direction of dictator General Yahya Khan, and with the help of modern war weapons supplied by yours and China Governments the barbarous soldiers of West Pakistan are brutally slaying lakhs of innocent, unarmed and helpless masses of Bangladesh irrespective of caste, creed and sect, including women, children and even new-bom. babies in their mothers' arms.

I fervently appeal to you to please stop fresh supply of arms and to do the needful to give an effective check in using those weapons previously supplied, so that Yahya's Government could not use these arms in killing the unarmed masses in Bangladesh.

Please extent your immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

I shall be highly obliged if you be kind enough to please make an arrangement so that the foreign correspondents of different news agencies are able to tour inside Bangladesh to see the nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings, and molestation of women in Bangladesh by West Pakistani army so that they can reveal the true picture of sordid tales of Bangladesh to the people of the world.

V

PRESIDENT POMPIDOU, PARIS, FRANCE

On behalf of the 75 million people of Bangladesh may I appeal to you to raise your voice against the barbarous atrocities being committed by West Pakistani soldiers under the direction of dictator General Yahya Khan and with the help of modern weapons of War supplied to him by your government and other governments? I appeal to you to raise your voice against the brutal suppression of human rights in Bangladesh. France has a great tradition of leaping the revolutionary movements of the world, and will. I hope, under your wise leadership, give a lead in recognizing the fundamental rights of the

people of Bangladesh to decide their destiny without any interference from the military regime of West Pakistan. France was great enough to recognize, the realities of the situation in Vietnam and Algeria, and, we hope, you can convince the dictator General Yahya Khan to learn from these examples. T would earnestly appeal to you to extend immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. I would further welcome visits by your Press correspondents to tour inside Bangladesh and see for themselves the nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women by trigger happy soldiers of West Pakistan on the innocent, unarmed and helpless people of Bangladesh.

VI

PRIME MINISTER EDWARD HEATH, LONDON. U.K.

I appeal to you on behalf of the 75 million people of Bangladesh to raise your voice in support of their birth right for freedom to decide their own destiny. I appeal to you to raise your voice against the brutal massacre of hundreds of thousands of innocent East Bengalis by the military dictator-ship of General Yahya Khan. I further appeal to you to stop any fresh supply of arms and to ensure that any arms supplied by U. K. are not used in killing unarmed, helpless masses in Bangladesh. 1 hope that your government will recognize the realities of the situation and extend immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. It was heart-rending to real accounts of atrocities by British correspondents in the British Newspapers. However, even these accounts fall far short of real nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women that is being perpetrated by the trigger happy soldiers of West Pakistan on the innocent and defenseless people of Bangladesh.

VII

PRESIDENT TITO, BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA

I appeal to you on behalf of the 75 million people of Bangladesh to raise your voice against the atrocities being committed by the West Pakistan soldiers under the direction of dictator General Yahya Khan on the unarmed and defenseless people of Bangladesh. I appeal to you to raise your voice against the brutal suppression of human rights in Bangladesh. Your powerful voice has always been raised whenever human rights and human dignity have been suppressed. I request you, Mr. President, to speak out against un-speakable atrocities which are now going on in Bangladesh and the complete denial of human freedom by the use of brutal force which is taking place there. I would earnestly appeal to you to extend immediate recognition and every possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. I would welcome visits by your press correspondents to Bangladesh to see for themselves the nature and volume of looting, arson,, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women being committed by the trigger happy soldiers or West Pakistan on the innocent, unarmed and helpless people of Bangladesh.

VIII

PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT, CAIRO, U.A.R.

Mr. President. I am addressing this appeal to you in your capacity as a great leader of the Muslim World to raise your voice in support of the 75 million peoples of Bangladesh whose fundamental rights and freedom are being brutally assaulted by the trigger happy soldiers of dictator General Yahya Khan. It is a travesty of Islam that is being perpetrated by the West Pakistani soldiers in Bangladesh today. Hundreds of West Pakistani soldiers, armed to the teeth with modern weapons of war by imperialist powers, are killing innocent, unarmed, defenseless people of Bangladesh in hundreds of thousands. The nature and volume of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of weapons has to be seen to be believed. May I appeal to you to raise your voice against these brutalities and the suppression of human rights, and extend immediate recognition and all possible help to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and for their right to decide their own destiny without any interference from the military dictatorship of West Pakistan?

IX

MR. ABDEL KHALEK HASSOUNA

Secretary General, Arab league, Cairo, U.A.R.

I appeal to you on behalf of the 75 million people of Bangladesh to bring before the Arab League the brutalities being committed by trigger happy soldiers of General Yahya Khan on the innocent, unarmed and defenseless people of Bangladesh. Women have been molested systematically and, even new-born babies in their mothers' arms have not been spared. All these unspeakable acts have been perpetrated by a Muslim army on an overwhelmingly Muslim population. The Arab League has raised its voice against oppression and injustice. Its silence on the horrible events in Bangladesh has caused disappointment and dismay. I would request you to bring the tragic events in Bangladesh, since the ruthless soldiers General Yahya Khan were late loose on the 25th March, before the Arab League so that the voice of its august members may help in stopping the carnage and the suppression of human rights which is going on in Bangladesh today. I would welcome visits by your representatives to tour inside Bangladesh and sec for themselves the extent of looting, arson, gangsterism, mass killings and molestation of women being committed by the soldiers of West Pakistan on the innocent, unarmed and helpless people of Bangladesh.

X

MR. DIALLO TELL I

Secretary General O. A. V., Addis Ababa, Ethiopia On behalf of the 75 million people of Bangladesh I appeal to the O. A. U. to raise its voice against the barbarities and brutalities being committed by the trigger happy soldiers of General Yahya Khan on the innocent, unarmed and defenseless people of Bangladesh. The mass killings of men, women and children, and molestation of women by the West Pakistani army in Bangladesh is recent history. A small military clique is trying by the use of brutal force to

suppress the rights of the people of Bangladesh and human dignity and freedom. The O.A.U. which has fought for elimination of colonialism, should take note of the naked assertion of colonialism taking place in Bangladesh today.

I appeal to you, Mr. Secretary-General, in the name of humanity to stop these brutal massacres of innocent people and to extend all possible help for the relief of the victims of dictator General Yahya Khan's military rule in Bangladesh.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সমমনা দলসমূহের উদ্দেশ্যে পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির আহবান	পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি	৩ মে, ১৯৭১

ON THE SITUATION IN BANGLADESH

Text of the Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangladesh), to Fraternal Communist and Worker's Parties, dated May 3, 1971

Dear Comrades,

The people of the world are today aware of the fact that since 25th March midnight an unparalleled genocide is being committed in East Pakistan (now named Bangladesh) by reactionary ruling military junta of Pakistan. In the course of the last five weeks, the Pakistan army has killed some hundreds of thousands of people, including prominent leaders and intellectuals; pillaged and ravaged the cities of Dacca, Chittagong and other towns; burnt down hundreds of villages and markets and destroyed educational institutions, including Dacca University hostels as well as other properties worth tens of millions of rupees throughout Bangladesh. Such wanton destruction of human lives and properties is still going on and about one million helpless and penniless people of Bangladesh have crossed the border and taken refuge in India. The military junta of Pakistan is actually waging a war of annihilation against the innocent and unarmed people of Bangladesh using the land army, air force and naval force. Modern history has rarely witnessed such wide scale brutalities and atrocities as are being perpetrated now in Bangladesh.

But in order to confuse the world public opinion, the reactionary ruling military junta of Pakistan, headed by General Yahya Khan, has raised the bogey that the people of Bangladesh led by the Awami League have launched a movement for secession of Bangladesh and disintegration of Pakistan "with the help of India" and that the steps taken by the army in Bangladesh are necessary to maintain the integrity and solidarity of the state of Pakistan.

But all these are colossal hoaxes. The reality is otherwise. The real fact is that the people of Bangladesh were always fighting for their just national and democratic rights, and the ruling military junta of Pakistan was trying to drown that popular struggle in blood. The following facts and specially the political background of today's happening will prove it beyond doubt.

Suppression of Nationalities

To explain the political, background of the genocide in Bangladesh it is first necessary to state the peculiar character of the state of Pakistan. Pakistan was carved out of the Indian sub-continent in 1947. Five nationalities (such as Bengalis. Sindhis, Punjabis, Pathans and Baluchis) and two regions (East and West Pakistan) widely separated by a distance of more than one thousand miles, and in between which lies

Indian territory, were lumped together under a single state (Pakistan) on the basis of Islamic religion. The conspiracy of the British imperialists had played a big role in the creation of this state with such a peculiar character.

From the very inception of this state, the ruling classes, the reactionary big bourgeoisie and feudalists, collaborating with imperialism, especially US imperialism, had in their own narrow class interests pursued a policy of suppression of all democratic and national rights of the various nationalities, such as of Bengalis in East Pakistan and Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis in the Western Wing.

As a result of the policy of the national suppression and discrimination pursued by
the ruling classes, the condition of the people of East Pakistan had become extremely miserable in all aspects. Democracy was ruthlessly suppressed and virtual dictatorship had reigned supreme. People had no democratic right, no civil liberty and no freedom of the Press. Arrests, imprisonment and persecution of the democrats and progressive elements were a daily phenomenon. Hundreds of patriotic workers, including many communists, were always in jails.

In the economic field, big business, all of whom non-Bengalis, controlled banking, insurance, big industries and the entire economy of East Pakistan. The big business, known as the "22 monopolist families", had an overall domination over the economic life of Pakistan as a whole and was given a free hand of exploiting the working class and the people of East Pakistan. In the rural side, feudal exploitation went on rampantly.

Further, as a natural consequence of the policy of the ruling class to appease the big business and to practice national discrimination, a big imbalance and disparity had cropped up between the economic condition in Hast and West Pakistan. Whereas the per capita income in the Eastern Wing was lower than that of the Western Wing, the prices of all commodities, including food, were higher in the Eastern Wing. We do not, however mean to say that the people of West Pakistan were favored. Rather, they were also heavily exploited and oppressed. But the fact was that East Pakistan was virtually turned into a market and hunting ground for the "22 monopolist families" who were based in West Pakistan. They were also transferring the profits they earned in East Pakistan to their head offices in West Pakistan. Such fight of capital from East Pakistan together with the neocolonial exploitation of the penetrating US capital (amounting to about Rs. 3,000 crones) and the exploitation of the monopolists and feudalist had shattered the entire economy of East Pakistan.. The over whelming majority of the people of East Pakistan lived in utter distress.

Another result of the policy of national discrimination practised by the ruling classes had been that the people of East Pakistan, though in a majority (56 per cent), had little share in the Central services including the army. They were deliberately and plan fully kept away from all important jobs at the Centre, which were filled from the upper classes of Punjab.

In short, the people of East Pakistan were deprived of all rights and mercilessly oppressed and exploited. Similar was the condition of the Pathans, Sindis and Baluchis.

The problem of nationalities had thus become a most serious and important problem in Pakistan.

Fight of the People for Democracy and Autonomy

In the above context, the democratic movement in East Pakistan, as well as in the whole of Pakistan, had begun on two fundamental demands democracy and autonomy for the nationalists.

This struggle of the people of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) had begun as far back as 1948 on the issue of language. The ruling classes had tried to foist Urdu the mother-tongue of only 6 per cent of the population, as the only State-language of Pakistan. The Bengalis of East Pakistan had risen against that attempted reactionary measure of the ruling classes and had demanded that Bengali, the mother tongue of the 56 per cent of the population, be made one of the Stale languages. It is to be noted here that it was in the same year of 1948 that the Pathans had also launched a movement for their autonomy.

However, the struggle of the people of Bangladesh on the language issue assumed a wide character in 1952 and gradually developed into a struggle for democracy and autonomy.

The reactionary ruling clique had always tried to suppress that movement by severe repressive measures, including shooting down of students and youth on the streets of Dacca (1952). They had also tried to dub that popular struggle as being "inspired by India" and confuse the people.

But the popular struggle went on unabated. All democratic parties and forces, including the Communist Party of East Pakistan which had been functioning underground since 1948, participated in that movement.

In the background of the above struggle by the. people of East Pakistan for autonomy and democracy, there was a provincial election in East Pakistan in 1954. In that election, all opposition parties had formed a United Front against the ruling party-Muslim League. A 21-point programme was chalked out by the United Front in which the demand for the fullest autonomy for East Pakistan was a most important one. The United Front had demanded that "East Pakistan be, recognized as a sovereign and autonomous region" in accordance with the principle of the Pakistan Resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League Council in 1940 at Lahore, that "the Central government should be vested only with three subjects such as defense, foreign affairs and currency" and that "all other subjects including the residuary powers should be in the hands of the elected government of East Pakistan". The United Front had thus clearly defined the demand for autonomy, and the people of East Pakistan had unequivocally supported and voted for it. In that election the United Front had scored a glorious victory securing 290 seats, including 4 Communist Party candidates, out of 300. The ruling Muslim League was. routed and got only 9 seats. The result of that election of 1954 had clearly demonstrated the tact that the people of East Pakistan stood solidly for autonomy as defined in the United Front programme.

But the reactionary ruling classes were not ready to accept this clear verdict of the people or to grant autonomy to East Pakistan. So the Central government conspired and had with the open and overt support, of the US imperialists dismissed the United Front Ministry only after 45 days or so of its taking office on the false and fabricated plea that the United Front Ministry, specially its leader late A. K. Fazlul Haq, was "in league with India and trying to undo Pakistan by seceding". The ruling classes had also launched a reign of terror in East Pakistan and thousands were thrown into jails. The Communist Party was form ally banned at that time. Significantly, it was only after a week or so of the dismissal of the United Front Ministry that Pakistan had joined the military pacts under imperialism.

But even after such shameless attack by the ruling classes against the people of East Pakistan, the movement for autonomy and democracy went on in various forms. The Sindhis; Pathans and Baluchis were also fighting for their national and democratic rights.

The ruling classes had, on the other hand, taken two political steps to counteract the growing popular movement for autonomy and democracy. The Central government had arbitrarily passed two acts. By one of these acts, it was laid down that East and West Pakistan would have "parity" in all matters, which meant that East Pakistan which had the majority of the population (i. e. 56 per cent) was made equal with the 44 per cent population of West Pakistan. By the second act, all the provinces in West Pakistan, such as Sindh, Punjab, North West Frontier Province as well as Baluchistan, were abolished and the whole of West Pakistan was constituted as "one unit" or one single province. These two acts were new measures of the reactionary ruling classes to intensify their policy of national suppression.

But as has been said earlier, the popular movement for autonomy and democracy could not be checked. It was going on both in East and West Pakistan. After the imposition of one unit in West Pakistan the suppression of the smaller nationalities-Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis assumed an acute form. They had complained that they had been made "virtual, slaves of the Punjab vested interests" who had, through the grace of the one unit, captured all the important posts in the administration of those regions and also occupied a dominant position in their economics. So, from that time, the demand for the liquidation of one unit had become the central slogan in the struggle by the Sindhis, Pathans and Baluchis -for democracy and autonomy.

Intervention by the Imperialists

One thing needs mentioning here. In 1966 a Constitution was framed for the country by the then Constituent Assembly which was elected in 1955 by indirect voting, on the basis of parity. That Constitution framed by the reactionary ruling classes was far from a democratic one and did not provide for autonomy of the various nationalities. The President was vested with many special powers. Its only redeeming features were that it had provided for parliamentary rule and accepted Bengali as a State language together with Urdu, solely because these were the most pressing and popular demands.

After the framing of that Constitution a popular demand had also risen that a general election be soon held on the basis of the new Constitution. This demand had become very powerful. There were also cliques and counter cliques within the ruling classes.

Under these circumstances, the then Central Ministry had declared that general election would be held in February-March, 1959.

This announcement of the general election together with the rising popular movement for autonomy and democracy had created a panic amongst the dominant section of the ruling coterie headed by the notorious lskandar Mirza, an ex-army officer, as well as in US imperialist circle. It was then at the connivance of the US imperialists and their open support that the ruling coterie had clamped down Martial Law in October 1958, to forestall the holding of the election as well as to suppress the democratic movement. Ayub Khan had then come to power with the overt support of the US imperialists. This was the second naked intervention by the US imperialists in the internal affairs of Pakistan to suppress democracy. The first was in 1954 when the United Front Ministry of East Pakistan, voted to power by the people, was arbitrarily dismissed. In fact, the US imperialists had always stood behind the reactionary classes of Pakistan in the latter's bid to suppress the movement for democracy and autonomy.

Renewed Popular Struggles

It was during the decade of the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan that the suppression of the democratic forces, trampling down of democracy and of the national rights of the Bengalis and other nationalities had assumed monstrous proportions. The Constitution framed by the ruling classes in 1956 was scrapped. Communists were severely persecuted any democrat raising the voice for democracy or autonomy was thrown into jail, all vestiges of democracy were wiped out and any movement by the students, workers, etc, for their rights was sought to be suppressed by leonine violence. Anti-Hindu communal riots were also provoked and organized to disrupt the people.

But the oppression and suppression during the Ayub regime did not go unchallenged. From 1961 onwards the people of East Pakistan as well as of Pathanland and Baluchistan had carried on many a glorious battle for their right of autonomy and democracy. The heroic struggles of the Pathans in 1961, the death-defying battles of the Baluchis in 1961- 62 and the glorious battles of the East Pakistan students and people in 1962, 1963 and 1964 may be cited in this connection.

In 1965, during the Indo-Pakistan war, the reactionary ruling classes could temporarily confuse the people by virulent anti-India propaganda. But immediately after the termination of the war. a vigorous movement on the six-point programme of the Awami League had taken place in East Pakistan (June 1966). The six-point programme of the Awami League was basically a programme for parliamentary democracy and full autonomy. Regarding autonomy the six-point programme had demanded that only subjects, namely defense and foreign affairs (excluding foreign trade) would vest with the Central government and all other subjects, including foreign trade; would be in the hands of the East Pakistan government. As regards currency, the six-point programme

had laid down two alternatives. Is said, either these would be two separate but easily convertible currencies for East and West Pakistan or there would be one currency for the whole of Pakistan under the Central government with the provision that there would be a separate State Bank for East Pakistan and some arrangements would be there to stop the fight of capital from East Pakistan to the Western Wing.

So, the six-point programme of Awami League had demanded wide autonomous powers for East Pakistan within the State of Pakistan and was not a secessionist move as was suggested by some interested quarters.

This six-point programme of the Awami League did get wide support from the people of East Pakistan and the movement launched by the Awami League on its basis (June 1966) was a powerful one which was also supported by the communists and the left-wing section of the National Awami Party (NAP) then led by Moulana Bhasani. The Ayub regime had suppressed that movement with violence.

But again there Was a huge popular upsurge against the Ayub regime throughout the whole of Pakistan in 1968-69. The Communist Party of East Pakistan had played an active role in that movement, especially in forging a united front of all democratic and opposition forces. In East Pakistan, that popular upsurge was based on the 11-point programme advanced by the Student Action Committee (composed of all progressive and democratic students' organizations) and supported by the Awami League and the National Awami Party led by Wali and Muzaffar. The 11-point programme contained demands for a neutral and independent foreign policy, scrapping of the military pacts, nationalization of banks, insurance and big industries, living wage for the workers, reduction of rents and taxes, educational reforms, full civil liberty, etc., besides the demands for full autonomy and democracy (i. e., the six-point programme of the Awami League).

In West Pakistan all the opposition forces including the anti- Ayub rightists were united on the basis of the demand for parliamentary democracy and adult franchise. The people of Pathanland, Baluchistan and Sindh joined the movement with the aspirations of parliamentary democracy and autonomy, especially the break-up of one unit.

It was due to that popular upsurge throughout Pakistan, the main demands of which were democracy and autonomy, that the dictatorial regime of Ayub Khan was toppled down.

Yahya Khan Conies to Power

But Ayub Khan, before he had to step down, handed to the C-in-C, General Yahya Khan and Martial Law was Pakistan for the second time on 25th March 1969.

But though the Martial Law was clamped and there was a military rule headed by Yahya Khan, it was due to the pressure of the huge popular upsurge that Yahya Khan had to concede to the following popular upsurge that Yahya Khan had to concede to the following popular demands direct election on universal and adult franchise, abolition of "parity" introduced in 1955 and representation in the National Assembly on the basis of population, framing of a new constitution by elected National Assembly, undoing of one

unit in West Pakistan and restoration of the former provinces, restoration of parliamentary democracy, etc_

But Yahya Khan had also promulgated a Legal Framework Order (LFO) in which it was stipulated that the new constitution to be framed by elected National Assembly would have to be authenticated by the President (i.e., Yahya Khan), and that it would have to be an "Islamic" one.

This LFO had proved that though the ruling military junta was compelled to concede to election, etc., under pressure mass upsurge, it was in no mood to allow introduction of full parliamentary democracy and grant full autonomy to the nationalities. Rather, by that order it curbed the sovereignty of the elected National Assembly, ensured the reactionary religious basis of Pakistan, and sought to curtail democracy and the autonomous rights of the various nationalities.

Our part had been through this conspiracy of the military junta and criticized the LFO. demanded its amendment and sovereignty of the elected National Assembly. The National Awami Party led by Wali and Muzaffar had also done so. But the LFO was not amended.

General Election and Awami League's Victory

However, the general election, the first of its kind in Pakistan during the last 23 years, was held in December 1970. In. that election, the Awami League swept the polls in East Pakistan securing 167 National Assembly seats out of 169 contested and 290 Provincial Assembly seats out of 300. By sweeping the polls in East Pakistan, the Awami League had also secured an absolute majority in the All-Pakistan National Assembly-167 seats out of the total 313.

During the election, the Awami League's main platform was its own six-point programme as well as the 11-point programme of the Students' Action Committee. But its main emphasis was on its six-point programme which was highly popular with the masses of the people in East Pakistan and the people had solidly voted for it.

After the victory of the Awami League in the election the reactionary forces raised a hue and cry that East Pakistan would secede. But the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had again and again declared categorically that he and his party did never want secession of East Pakistan but wanted the future constitution of the country be framed on the basis of the six-point programme of his party to end the exploitation and oppression over the Bengalis.

The people of East Pakistan also aspired that the newly elected National Assembly should soon sit in its session, that a democratic constitution based on the six-point programme be framed and that power be transferred to the victorious party-the Awami League. The downtrodden people of West Pakistan, especially of the smaller nationalities, also hoped that the oppressive days of the past would be over and democracy would be restored. In fact, everybody in Pakistan was eagerly waiting for a changeover to democracy.

Conspiracy of the Reactionaries

But the sweeping victory of the Awami League in the election had unnerved the ruling military junta and the right reactionary forces. And they began to conspire to nullify the verdict of the people and their hopes and aspirations. Z. A. Bhutto, the leader of the People's Party, acted as the political spearhead of that conspiracy. The People's Party had, through Bhutto's demagogy on socialism, etc. and his anti-India thunder, secured a majority of National Assembly seats (84 out of 144) from West Pakistan.

Bhutto's People's Party secured those 84 seats only from Punjab and Sind provinces, but failed to secure even a single from frontier (Pathanland) and Baluchistan. The National Awami Party (led by Wali and Muzaffar) got absolute majority in Baluchistan in the National and Provincial Assemblies. In Frontier Province it secured 3 seats in the National Assembly, and became the single largest party in the Provincial Assembly.

So Bhutto did not actually represent the whole of West Pakistan. But he. posed as such and to subvert the session of the National Assembly, he had raised a slogan that there should be no National Assembly session "prior to any agreement between the two major parties-the Awami League and People's Party-on the questions of the future constitution of Pakistan."

Bhutto and some People's Party leaders had also met the Awami League leaders at Dacca "to discuss constitutional issues" just to parade that they were trying for "an agreement". But actually Bhutto and his party were deadly against the six-point programme and the autonomy for the nationalities. They were trying to pressuring the Awami League to give up the six-point programme. But the Awami League had refused to go back on its commitment to the people. So the game of Bhutto failed.

The conspiracy of the reactionaries then went on in full swing. The Communist Party had foreseen the danger and had warned the people against it.

Meanwhile, Yahya Khan had summoned the first session of the National Assembly to be held at Dacca on 3rd March.

Immediately, Bhutto declared that he and his party would not attend the session of the National Assembly and if the National Assembly session was held on that dale "the whole of West Pakistan would be in flames".

It was on this threat of Bhutto, the leader of a- party which had only 84 seats in the National Assembly, that Yahya Khan had on 1st March issued a statement over the radio postponing the National Assembly session sine die. He had also convened a Round Table Conference of all the party leaders at Dacca on 10th March to discuss constitutional issues.

But, surprisingly enough, Yahya Khan had not thought it necessary to consult the Awami League-the party having an absolute majority in the National Assembly-before he had postponed the National Assembly -before he had postponed the National Assembly session and convened the RTC.

All these showed that Yahya Khan Was not acting ,either honestly or according to the principles of democracy, but according to a well-laid conspiratorial plan to continue the military rule.

New Upsurge of the People

The sudden postponement of the National Assembly session came as a rude shoke to all sections of the people. The convening of the RTC while postponing National Assembly session was nothing but an insult to the injury. So it was at once rejected by the Awami League, National Awami Party and other democratic forces. Even Nurul Amin, the leader of the Rightist Pakistan Democratic Party, refused to attend it.

On the other hand, no sooner the people heard about the postponement of the National Assembly session over the radio, they came out in thousands on the streets in all the cities and towns of East Pakistan spontaneously chanting "We Want Independent East Bengal !"

It may be noted here that continuous national oppression and suppression of democracy, together with the peculiar geographical position of East Pakistan, had already created a sentiment for "Independent East Bengal" in a section of the people, especially after their experience of the struggle for six-point and 11-point programmes (1966 and 1969). But still they hoped that their aspiration for democracy and autonomy might be realized and the unity of Pakistan might be maintained.

At last they had pinned their hopes on the election and hoped that if the Awami League came to power, they might see better days. But sow they saw that even the elected National Assembly session was being sabotaged and verdict of the people in the election was sought, to be nullified. So they thought that they had no chance of having democracy and autonomy by remaining within Pakistan. Consequently the slogan of an "Independent East Bengal" came out spontaneously which expressed their urge for self- determination.

This spontaneous upsurge had, turned into an organized and wide mass struggle when the Awami League had called for a peaceful general strike for five days from 2nd to 6th March as a protest against the postponement of the National Assembly session. The Communists, National Awami Party and other democratic forces supported the strike call. It was also made known that the Awami League Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman would announce the programme of action on 7th March at a mass rally.

The ruling military junta had, on the other hand, tried to suppress the spontaneous popular upsurge with machineguns and bullets. They had clamped down curfew in Dacca for 12 hours from evening of 2nd March. When the people defied the curfew and brought out peaceful processions, they were machine-gunned, resulting in innumerable deaths. Killings of innocent and unarmed people had thus begun on 2nd March. Besides such killings, the military junta was also trying to provoke Bengali versus non-Bengali riots and some such riots were actually connived at in Chittagong and Rangpur. It was due to

the intervention of the Awami League, National Awami Party, Communists and other democratic that the riots subsided and stopped. These parties and forces democratic had always tried to maintain absolute peace amongst the people.

The killings of unarmed people, etc., on 2nd March could not however demoralize the people. The general strike from 2nd March was a complete success. All section of the people as well as the police, Government officers, etc, had joined the strike. Besides from 2nd March onwards, spontaneous processions of thousands of people were taking place throughout the length and breadth of Bangladesh. The whole people of Bangladesh had demonstrated unprecedented unity against the military junta.

Threats by Yahya Khan

While the peaceful strike struggle was going on, Yahya Khan made a broadcast on 6th March. In that Yahya Khan against summoned the National Assembly session on 25th March. But he had, at the same lime, blamed the people and leaders of East Pakistan for the incident from 2nd March, while he fully exonerated Bhutto, who had precipitated the crisis. He had also threatened military action "for safeguarding the solidarity and integrity of Pakistan". Together with such threats, a reshuffle was made ill the military administration of East Pakistan and Lt.Gen. Tikka Khan, a man notorious for his ruthlessness, was sent to Dacca as Governor as well as the Chief of the military administration.

The above things showed that it was from the first week of March the military junta was making practical preparations for an armed onslaught against the people. Their talk of "transfer of power", etc, was merely to hoodwink the people.

Mujib's Four Demands and Non-Co-operation Movement

On 7th March, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman delivered his speech in Dacca Race Course Maidan, where about one million people had gathered to heat the Awami League Chief. The people expected that Sheikh Mujib would declare the independence of Bangladesh. But in his speech Sheikh Mujib had made three important announcements:

(i)He called upon the people to undauntedly carryon the struggle for ending the 23 years of oppression and exploitation.

(ii)He laid down four demands-such as (a) transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people; (b) lifting of Martial Law; (c) withdrawal of army to the barracks; and (d) inquiry into mass killings from 1st March.

He had also said that if these four demands were accepted, then he would – consider whether he and his party would attend the National Assembly session on 25th March.

(iii)He declared a peaceful non-co-operation movement against the government and the army from 8th March till the above demands were fulfilled.

Basides, the three above important announcements he had warned the people that the reactionaries were hatching a conspiracy and if the army attacked the people, the latter should resist with whatever means they had at their disposal.

Sheikh Mujib's speech was generally appreciated, The four demands which he had put forward were supported by all democratic forces and parties, including the Communist Party and the National Awami Party.

The Communist Party had also issued an open appeal in the form of a leaflet urging upon to rally round the above four demands and at the same time asking people to remain vigilant against all conspiracies of the reactionaries and to try to resist all attacks of the enemy, if they are made.

The non-co-operation movement launched by the Awami League from 8th March was also a complete success. The whole civil administration of Hast Pakistan, including the police department, had from that day acted according to the directives of the Awami League. In fact, the Awami League was then running the civil administration of East Pakistan. People also had absolute loyalty to the Awami League and they wished that it should formally take over power.

Treacherous Attack

While the non-violent non-cooperation movement was going on. it was announced by the Central government that Yahya Khan would soon go to Dacca to talk to Sheikh Mujib. Sheikh Mujib readily announced his readiness to meet and talk to Yahya Khan for a political settlement, if the latter came to Dacca.

Yahya Khan had come to Dacca on 14th March and Mujib-Yahya talks had begun from that date. After four or five days of talks, both Sheikh Mujib and Yahya Khan publicly stated that there had been "some progress" in the talks. Yahya Khan also publicly stated that he had "agreed in principle" to the demands placed by the Awami League Chief. Discussions were also being held between the advisers of Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on details. So the people had expected hat a political settlement would come about and crisis would be over.

But the expectations of the people were belied. Before the Mujib Yahya talks ended, the army under orders of the military junta suddenly and treacherously launched a ferocious armed attack against the people of Bangladesh from the midnight of 25th March.

Liberation Struggle Begins

Under these circumstances, the people of Bangladesh had no other alternative but to take up arm for their own defense of their democratic and national rights. The East Bengal Regiment, East Pakistan Rifles and the police joined the people, formed the Mukti Fouj and carried on the armed battle. The people had no other alternative but to defeat and drive away the marauding Pak army from Bangladesh and liberate their motherland if they were to establish democracy and their national rights. There was no second path left to the people.

It was thus that the struggle of the people of Bangladesh for democracy and autonomy had turned into an armed battle for the liberation of their motherland.

It was also under the above compelling circumstances that the Awami League leadership, who had got the unequivocal support of the people in the last general election, had to declare Bangladesh a sovereign republic, from a new government of this republic

and continue the struggle for liberation. The Communist Parly of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) has already supported this government as the only legally constituted government of Bangladesh.

Role of the Big Powers

Here a few words regarding the attitude of the different governments of the world towards our liberation struggle. Of the big powers, only the USSR has condemned the genocide in Bangladesh in unequivocal terms and has also said that the problems of Bangladesh cannot be solved by arms but should be solved politically. This stand of the USSR, as expressed through Comrade Podgorny's letter to Yahya Khan, as been highly hailed by the people of Bangladesh as well as by our party. The people of Bangladesh including the communists also heartily appreciate the moral and political support that the people and the Government of India as well as Communist Party of India are rendering to their liberation struggle.

But the people of Bangladesh also see with disgust that the British imperialists and Maoist leaders of the People's Republic of China are openly supporting the reactionary ruling .military junta of Pakistan, that these two governments are virtually condoning the genocide in Bangladesh .and that the US imperialists are playing a dubious role.

A Just Struggle

From the facts narrated above, the following things become clear and obvious :

(i) The present struggle of Bangladesh is the culmination of their struggle for democracy and autonomy which they were conducting since 1948 against the reactionary ruling classes which had ruthlessly suppressed democracy and national rights of the various nationalities.

(ii) The people of Bangladesh and their leaders had never wanted the secession of East Pakistan. But they had always tried to establish their democratic and national rights through democratic struggles and through the election held in 1970. Even after a sweeping victory in the election and securing an absolute majority in the National Assembly, the Awami League and its Chief Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had wanted nothing more than a constitution based on the six-point programme. Sheikh Mujib had also repeatedly tried to come to a political settlement with the ruling military junta.

(ii) But it was the ruling military junta, which had earlier held the election but had ultimately refused to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people, that launched a treacherous armed attack against the people. In fact, the military junta had no intention of transferring power. The Yahya Mujib talks, etc., were nothing but ruse by the junta to gain time for preparation of the armed attack.

It was only after this armed attack by the ruling military junta that the popular struggle for democracy and autonomy had turned into an armed battle for the liberation of our motherland.

(iv) This liberation battle is fundamentally a battle for the just right of self-determination of the 7S-million Bengalis waged against the reactionary ruling classes composed of the monopolists and feudalists who are backed and armed by the imperialists, especially the U. S. imperialists.

(v) In no case it is a struggle against the people of West Pakistan. Rather this liberation struggle of Bangladesh against the reactionary ruling classes which are also suppressing and oppressing the people of West Pakistan will help their struggle for democracy and autonomy.

(vi) The liberation struggle is being carried on by the Mukti Fouj (Liberation Army) and the people of Bangladesh. Therefore, the propaganda by the ruling military junta of Pakistan that it is an "India-inspired struggle", "by Indian armed intruders" and that "India is interfering in the internal affairs of Pakistan", etc, is nothing but a canard. Similarly, the propaganda by some pro-Peking groups that this liberation struggle is inspired by the imperialists is a dire falsehood.

Judging all the above facts, all democrats of the world should be fully convinced that the present struggle for the liberation of our mothers.

land is a just struggle against native and foreign reactionaries who ate enemies of humanity and peace. The defeat of these reactionaries in Bangladesh will strengthen the forces of democracy and peace in the South-East Asia region.

Appeal

The Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) therefore makes the following fervent appeal to all the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and to an the democratic forces of the world :-

*(a)*Support the liberation struggle of the people of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) in all possible ways, so that this liberation battle may be victorious and the native and foreign reactionaries may be routed and defeated.

*(b)*Raise powerful voices so that all the governments of the world especially the progressive democratic socialist governments, recognize the Bangladesh government and render it all possible help to repulse the aggression by the Pakistan army.

The Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) has always been a part and parcel of the world communist movement and a signatory to the documents issued by the World Communist Conference held at Moscow in 1969. The Communist Party of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) hopes to get the support of the world communist movement and of the fraternal parties in the liberation struggle of our motherland. It is a struggle against a ruthless and barbarous enemy armed to the teeth by the imperialists and having the support of the Maoists of China. Therefore our battle is undoubtedly a grim one. For the victory of this just liberation War of ours support and help of the progressive and communist forces of the world are absolutely necessary.

We are expectantly looking to this support and hope that it will be forthcoming.

With revolutionary greetings,

Bangladesh
3rd May. 1971.

ABDUS SALAM,
Secretary" Central Committee.
Communist Party of
East Pakistan (Bangladesh)..

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের প্রতি মওলানা ভাসানীর আবেদন	মওলানা ভাসানীর প্রচারপত্র	৫ মে, ১৯৭১

পূর্ব বাংলার সংগ্রামী জনতার প্রতি মওলানা ভাসানীর আবেদন-
দালাল, বিশ্বাসঘাতক ও মোনাফেক হইতে সাবধান হউন

গত ২৩ বৎসর যাবৎ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী শোষকদিগের নিমর্ম শোষণ ও শাসনে পূর্ববাংলা আজ কঙ্কালসার হইয়া পড়িয়াছে। দীর্ঘকাল নিরবছিন্ন এই ধরনের হৃদয়হীন শোষণ, অবিচার ও অন্যাচার কি করিয়া কি করিয়া সম্ভব হইল? স্থানীয় পুঁজিদার ও সাহায্যকারী সাঙ্গাৎ না থাকিলে বাহিরের ডাকাত আসিয়া অজানাভাবে এমন নিপুণভাবে সহিত লুন্ঠন করিতে পারে না। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী সামন্তবাদী প্রভু, পুঁজিপতি, স্বেচ্ছাচারী সামরিক দানব ও ষড়যন্ত্রকারী আমলাগণ পূর্ব পাকিস্তানে তাহাদের জঘন্য শোষণের উচ্ছিষ্টভোগী একশ্রেণীর বিশ্বাসঘাতক ও দালাল সৃষ্টি করিয়া পাকিস্তানের জনসংখ্যার একক সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ বাঙ্গালীদিগের সর্বপ্রকার ন্যায়সঙ্গত গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকার হইতে বঞ্চিত করিতে এবং তাহাদের উলঙ্গ শোষণ ও শাসন অব্যাহত রাখিতে সমর্থ হইয়াছে। মুসলিম লীগ, জামাতে ইসলামী, নেজামে ইসলাম প্রভৃতি দক্ষিণপন্থী দলগুলির পূর্ব পাকিস্তানী দালালেরা ধর্ম, সংহতি, ইসলাম বিপন্ন, কাশ্মীর গেল ইত্যাদির বাহানায় তাহাদের পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী প্রভুদিগের সহিত এক শ্লোগান তুলিয়া বাংলার বুকের উপর বসিয়া পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী শোষকদিগকে বাংলার বুকের রক্ত শুষিয়া লইতে সুযোগ করিয়া দিয়াছে এবং নিজেরাও কথাকিঞ্চিৎ উচ্ছিষ্ট পাইয়াছে। ১৯৫২, ১৯৫৪ ও ১৯৭০ সালে পূর্ববাংলার সংগ্রামী জনসাধারণ এই দালালদিগকে বার বার উচ্ছেদ করিয়া দিলেও সমূলে বিনাশ করিতে পারে নাই। অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে দালালেরা সুচতুর চাতুরি দ্বারা বার বার পূর্ব বাংলার জনসাধাণের সর্বনাশ সাধন করিতে সফল হইয়াছে। এই সকল দালালরা পূর্ববাংলার জনতার রুদ্ররোষে জনতার হাতে মার খাইয়া আত্মগোপন করিয়াছে বা ভেক পাল্টাইয়াছে। সুযোগ বুঝিয়া বর্ণচোরারা স্বরূপ ধারণ করিয়াছে। বর্তমান পূর্ব বাংলার টেক্কা-এহিয়ার নরপশু সৈনিকদিগের ছত্রচ্ছায়ায় এই দালালেরা স্বরূপে আত্মপ্রকাশ করিয়া বিভিন্ন টালবাহানায় পূর্ব বাংলাকে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের স্থায়ী শোষণদাসে পরিণত করিতে সুচতুর ষড়যন্ত্রে লিপ্ত হইয়াছে। অথচ আপনারা অবগত আছেন এই মির্জাফরেরা ১৯৭০ সালের নির্বাচনের পর গণ ও অসহযোগ আন্দোলনের উত্তাল তরঙ্গে নিজেদের চামড়া বাঁচাইবার জন্য পূর্ব বাংলার এই ঐতিহাসিক সংগ্রামের প্রতি জোর গলায় সমর্থন জানাইয়াছিল। এখন যখন টেক্কা-এহিয়ার অভিশপ্ত দানবদিগের হাত পূর্ব বাংলার নারী শিশু বৃদ্ধ অসহায় নিরাপরাধ মানুষের তাজা খুনে রঞ্জিত, যখন পাকিস্তানের নকল হিটলাররা ব্যাপক গণহত্যা বাদেও পূর্ব বাংলার মানুষের ঘর-বাড়ি-স্কুল-কলেজ জ্বালাইয়া দিতেছে, এমন কি মসজিদ-মন্দির কলুষিত করিতেছে, নারীদিগকে ধর্ষণ ও তৎপর খুর করিতেছে তখন এই সকল মুখচেনা দালালেরা ধর্ম, ইসলাম, সংহতি ও ভারত বিরোধী প্রচারণা দ্বারা সংগ্রামকে বানচাল করিয়া দিতেছে এবং পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী নরপিশাচদিগের তাবেদার বনিয়া তাহাদিগকে মদদ যোগাইয়া বাঙ্গালীদিগের স্থায়ী সর্বনাশ সাধন করিতেছে।

১৯৬৭ সালে আরব-ইহুদী যুদ্ধের পর ইহুদীরা দখলকৃত আরব এলাকা হইতে আরবী মুসলমানদিগকে জর্ডানে পাঠাইয়া দিয়াছে, জানে মারে নাই। ইহুদীদিগের নিকট মুসলমানদিগের জীবনের যেটুকু মূল্য আছে পাঞ্জাবী মুসলমানদের কাছে বাঙ্গালী মুসলমানদের জীবনের ততটুকু মূল্যও নাই। পূর্ব বাংলার সাম্প্রতিক ব্যাপক গণহত্যা তাহা প্রমাণ করিয়াছে।

পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের মুসলমান নামধারী এহিয়া-টেক্কার সৈনিকেরা ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ছাত্রীনিবাস রোকেয়া হলের অসংখ্য মুসলমান ছাত্রীদিগকে উলঙ্গ করিয়া তাহাদিগের সতীত্ব নাশ করিয়াছে এবং পরে গুলি করিয়া ও বেয়নেট দিয়া খোঁচাইয়া নির্মমভাবে হত্যা করিয়াছে। এইরূপ নারীধর্ষণ ও হত্যা পূর্ব বাংলার প্রায় প্রতিটি শহর বন্দর ও গ্রামে অনুষ্ঠিত হইয়াছে।

মুসলমান নামধারী এহিয়া-টেক্কার সৈনিকেরা মসজিদে নামাজরত মুসলিমদিগকে হত্যা করিয়াছে ও মসজিদ জ্বালাইয়া দিয়াছে।

মুসলমান নামধারী এহিয়া-টেক্কার সৈনিকেরা লাখ লাখ নিরাপরাধ মুসলমান শিশু, বৃদ্ধ ও যুবককে পাইকারীভাবে হত্যা করিতে সামান্যতম কুণ্ঠাও বোধ করে নাই।

প্রবল ঘূর্ণিবাত্যায় পূর্ব বাংলার লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষ যখন মারা গিয়াছে তখন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের কোন মানুষই কোন প্রকার সাহায্য কিম্বা দুর্গত এলাকা সফর তো দূরের কথা সমান্যতম সহানুভূতিও জানায় নাই। এহিয়া খানের মুসলমানী শাসনে ঘূর্ণিবাত্যায় নিহত ৩ লক্ষ মুসলমানের যথাবিহীত দাফন-কাফন ও কবর দেওয়ার কোন ব্যবস্থা হয় নাই।

এহিয়া-টেক্কার বর্বর সৈনিকেরা পূর্ব বাংলার যে লক্ষ লক্ষ মুসলমানদিগকে নির্বিচারে হত্যা করিতেছে তাহাদিগকে যথাবিহীত দাফ-কাফন-জানাজা ও কবর দিবার ব্যবস্থা করিতেছে না। এই সকল নরপশুরা যাহাদিগকে হত্যা করিতেছে তাহাদিগকে দিয়াই পূর্বে কবর খোঁড়াইয়া লইতেছে।

প্রতিটি মুসলমান জীবন শেষে কামনা করে তাহার মৃত্যুর পর যেন ধর্মীয় বিধানানুযায়ী তাহার সঠিক দাফন, কাফন, জানাজা ও কবর হয়। এহিয়া-টেক্কার বর্বর সৈনিকদিগের পৈশাচিক লীলায় লাখ লাখ মৃত মুসলমানের আত্মা সঠিকভাবে দাফন, কাফন, জানাজা ও কবর না পাইয়া আল্লার দরবারে ফরিয়াদ করিতেছে।

মুসলমান হইয়া পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী ঐ সকল মুসলমানরা পূর্ব বাংলার মুসলমান কৃষক শ্রমিক মজুর ব্যবসায়ী ও সাধারণ মানুষদিগের ধনসম্পদ, ধর্ম, সংহতি ও ইসলামের ছলনায় হরণ করিয়া লইয়া তাহাদিগকে হাড়ে মাংসে জরাজীর্ণ করিয়া ফেলিয়াছে। সোনার বাংলাকে চির দুর্ভিক্ষ-বন্যা-মহামারী দেশে পরিণত করিয়া ফেলিয়াছে।

মুসলমান হইয়া পূর্ব পাকিস্তান নামক দেশের এ অংশে তাহারা প্রয়োজনীয় কলকারখানা গড়ে নাই, কৃষির উন্নতি করে নাই, বন্যা নিয়ন্ত্রণের ব্যবস্থা করে নাই, পূর্ব বাংলার লক্ষ লক্ষ বেকার যুবকের কর্মসংস্থানের ব্যবস্থা করে নাই, চাকুরী ও ব্যবসাতে পূর্ব বাংলাকে দাবাইয়া রাখিয়াছে, মিলিটারীতে পূর্ব বালার লোক নেয় নাই প্রভৃতি বহুভাবে পূর্ব বাংলাকে ন্যায্য হিস্যা হইতে বঞ্চিত করিয়াছে।

অথচ পূর্ব বাংলার এই সকল বিশ্বাসঘাতক দালালেরা কোনদিনই তাহার সামান্যতম প্রতিবাদ করে নাই। বরং এই নির্মম শোষণ, অত্যাচার, অবিচার, ধ্বংস-লীলা, গণহত্যায় উহারা সক্রিয় অংশীদার হইয়াছে। আজ তাহারা সুযোগ বুঝিয়া আবার মাথাচাড়া দিয়া উঠিয়াছে। পূর্ব বাংলার ধ্বংসস্তুপের উপরে দাঁড়াইয়া আবার নতুন ষড়যন্ত্রে লিপ্ত হইয়া ২৩ বৎসরের সেই ঘূণেধরা ধসে পড়া শ্লোগান ধর্ম, সংহতি, ইসলাম ও ভারতীয় বিদ্বেষের নামে তাহাদের প্রভু পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী দাবনদিগকে নানাভাবে মদদ যোগাইতেছে। তাহারা পূর্ববাংলার সংগ্রামী জনসাধারণের মনোবল ভাঙ্গিয়া দিতে চেষ্টা করিতেছে। জনসাধারণের মধ্যে হিন্দু-মুসলমান সাম্প্রদায়িকতার বিষ ছড়াইতেছে। জনতার সুদৃঢ় একতায় ফাটল ধরাইতে চেষ্টা করিতেছে। মুক্তি সংগ্রামীদিগকে ধরাইয়া দিতেছে। পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সৈন্য ও অবাঙ্গালীদিগের সাথে হাত মিলাইয়া বাঙ্গালী হইয়া বাঙ্গালীদিগের বাড়িঘরে লুটপাট ও আগুন জ্বালাইবার সহযোগিতা করিতেছে।

গত মহাযুদ্ধের পর আমি ইউরোপ ভ্রমণে গিয়া পৃথিবীর কুখ্যাত অত্যাচারী ফ্যাসিষ্ট হিটলারের শক্তিমত্ততা ও তাহার অত্যাচারের বীভৎসতা দেখিয়া আঁৎকিয়া উঠিয়াছি এবং ভাবিয়াছি এই সমরদানব হিটলার এত ব্যাপক সৈন্য-সামন্ত অত্যাধুনিক অস্ত্রশস্ত্র লইয়া কি করিয়া পরাজিত হইল? পরে তদন্ত করিয়া দেখিয়াছি-হিটলারের চরম বর্বরোচিত অত্যাচারে কোনক্রমে না ঘাবড়াইয়া ইউরোপের প্রতিটি দেশের সাধারণ মানুষের প্রশংসনীয় অপরূপ মনোবলই হইতেছে হিটলার-মুসোলিনীর মত অত্যাচারীর বিরুদ্ধে ঐতিহাসিক বিজয়ের মূলমন্ত্র। পাকিস্তানের ক্ষুদ্রে হিটলার-মুসোলিনী, এহিয়া-টেক্কার অত্যাচার-অবিচার-গণহত্যা হইতে বাঁচিবার আমাদিগের সর্বপ্রথম অস্ত্র হইতেছে সুদৃঢ় মনোবল। অত্যাচারী কোনদিনই স্থায়ী জয়লাভ করিতে পারে না।

পৃথিবীর সর্বকালের ইতিহাসে এই শিক্ষাই দেয় যে সকল যুগের সকল বর্বর অত্যাচারীই ধ্বংস হইয়াছে আদর্শে বলীয়ান সুদৃঢ় মনোবলের অধিকারী জনগণের বিরোধিতায়। ফেরাউন, এজিদ, হালাকু খা, হিটলার-মুসোলিনির মত অত্যাচারীর পতনই আমাদের সম্মুখে জলন্ত প্রমাণ তুলিয়া ধরে যে পূর্ব বাংলার অগণিত জনতা অস্ত্র ধরার সাথে সাথে তাহাদের অটুট মনোবল টিকাইয়া রাখিতে পারিলেই জয় আমাদের অবশ্যম্ভাবী। দেশবাসী সর্বশ্রেণীর মানুষের কাছে আমার আবেদন- কোন অবস্থাতেই গাবড়াইবেন না, মনোবল হারাইবেন না। অটুট মনোবলই সব অস্ত্রের বড় অস্ত্র।

এমতাবস্থায় পূর্ব বাংলার কৃষক, শ্রমিক, কামার, কুমার, তাঁতী, জেলে, ছাত্র, জনতা, ব্যবসায়ী, বুদ্ধিজীবি ও চাকুরীজীবিদিগের নিকট আমার আকুল আবেদন-

(১) আপনারা বিশ্বাসঘাতক এই সকল দালালদিগের কোন প্রচারণাতেই কান দিয়া নিজেদের মনোবল ও একতা নষ্ট করিবেন না।

(২) পূর্ব বাংলার ৪ হাজার ইউনিয়নে সর্বদলীয় সংগ্রাম পরিষদ গড়িয়া তুলুন।

(৩) প্রত্যেক গ্রামে গ্রামে গেরিলা যুদ্ধের ট্রেনিং সেন্টার খুলুন। গেরিলা যুদ্ধের তালিম নিন।

(৪) মুক্তিফৌজদিগকে সর্বতোভাবে সাহায্য করুন।

(৫) জানমাল-ইজ্জত বাঁচাইবার জন্য যাহারা হিজরত করিতে বাধ্য হইতেছে দালালদের অত্যাচার হইতে তাহাদিগকে রক্ষা করুন।

(৬) চাউল ডাইল খড়ি নুন তৈল ইত্যাদি খাদ্যদ্রব্য অথবা রন্ধনকৃত খাদ্যদ্রব্য দিয়া মুক্তিফৌজদিগকে সাহায্য করুন।

(৭) সকল শ্রেণীর যুবকেরা মুক্তিফৌজে যোগ দিন।

(৮) দালাল ও শত্রুর প্রতি কড়া নজর রাখুন।

(৯) দালালদিগকে সামাজিক বয়কট করুন এবং তাহাদিগের জন্য যথোপযুক্ত শাস্তির ব্যবস্থা করুন ।

(১০) সমরদানব এহিয়া-টেক্কার নির্মম অত্যাচারে যে লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষ প্রাণ হারাইয়াছে অথচ জীবনের অন্তিম বাসনা অনুযায়ী কাফন-দাফন, জানাজা ও কবরের মাটি পায় নাই সে সকল হতভাগ্য মানুষের এবং গত ঘূর্ণিবাত্যায় যে লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষের জানাজা ও কবর হয় নাই গ্রামে গ্রামে ও শুক্রবারে মসজিদে মসজিদে জমায়েত হইয়া তাহাদিগের আত্মার মাগফেরাত কামনায় গায়েবানা জানাজার নামাজ আদায় করুন।

(১১) গ্রামে গ্রামে আবালবৃদ্ধবণিতা শপথ গ্রহণ করুন- যত রক্ত দিতে হয় দিব কিন্তু শোষিত, নির্যাতিত, অবহেলিত পূর্ব বাংলাকে মুক্ত করিয়া ছাড়ব।

(১২) দলমত ভুলিয়া গিয়া সর্বদলীয় ঐক্যমোর্চা গড়িয়া তুলুন।

প্রত্যেক দেশেই দেশের যুবকেরা দেশের মুক্তির জন্য জীবন-ধন-মান-রক্ত দিয়া অসীম ত্যাগ করিয়া থাকেন। পূর্ব বাংলার সেই সংগ্রামী যুবশক্তির কাছে ও দেশের সর্বশ্রেণীর জনসাধারণের কাছে আমার আবেদন-যে জনযুদ্ধ শুরু হইয়াছে তাহা শুধু বাঙ্গালী জাতীয়তাবাদের সংগ্রাম নহে। ইহা পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী কুটিল সামন্ত প্রভু, শোষক শিল্পপতি অত্যাচারী সমরদানব ও ষড়যন্ত্রকারী আমলাদিগের শোষণ শাসন অত্যাচার অবিচার হইতে নিপীড়িত নির্যাতিত শ্রমিক কৃষক জেলে তাঁতী প্রভৃতি শোষিত মানুষের মুক্তির সংগ্রামও বটে। অতএব, গত ২৩ বৎসরের শোষণ-শাসনের ফলে বাঙ্গালীদিগের সর্বশ্রেণীর মানুষের যে চরম দুর্দশা দেখা গিয়াছে এইবার ধ্বংস না করিয়া পশ্চিমা শাসকগোষ্ঠীর পৈশাচিক কবল হইতে মুক্তি না পাইলে বাঙ্গালীদিগের অস্তিত্ব চিরদিনের জন্য বিলুপ্ত হইয়া যাইবে। তাই প্রতিজ্ঞা করুন যত রক্ত যত জীবন যত কোরবানী করিতে হয় করিব, যুদ্ধ যত কঠিন যত দীর্ঘস্থায়ী হয় হউক। সবকিছুর বিনিময়ে শোষণমুক্ত সার্বভৌম স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ গড়িয়া তুলিব। এই মহান সংগ্রামে আল্লাহ আমাদিগের সহায় হইবেন।

* ছাত্রদিগের ও লেখাপড়া জানা জনসাধারণের নিকট আমার আবেদন- এই প্রচারপত্রটি কার্বনে লিখিয়া কিংবা সাইক্লোস্টাইলে কপি করিয়া ব্যাপকভাবে প্রচারের ব্যবস্থা করিবেন।

সিলেট

৫/৫৭১

মোঃ আবদুল হামিদ খান ভাসানী

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিশ্বের আন্তর্জাতিক যুব ও ছাত্র সংগঠনের প্রতি স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের সমর্থন চেয়ে বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়নের আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়ন	২০ মে, ১৯৭১

Telegram :YOUNGINDIA Telephone: 567352.

BANGLADESH STUDENTS' UNION
(EPSU)
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INDIA.

AN APPEAL BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF BANGLADESH STUDENTS' UNION.
(FORMERLY EAST PAKISTAN STUDENTS' UNION)

TO ALL THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL YOUTH AND STUDENTS ORGANISATIONS.

Dear comrades and friends.

We are sure that you know, we the people and students of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) are today fighting a difficult but determined battle for our national liberation. The soil is running red in the blood of our martyrs. The Pakistani army of Yahya Khan is destroying our country and murdering unarmed and innocent people. The genocide, they have perpetrated and the bombing, shelling, firing and the loot, arson, rape and other criminal acts they have committed, will have hardly any parallel in human history. Of the 75 million people in our country, they have already massacred about one million which includes women, old people and children. More than two million people were chased out of the country by letting loose on them a sort of brutal and inhuman repression and harassment, unheard of. Several millions of our people are made destitute due to the wanton destruction of cities, villages etc. Millions arc dying in our country today due to starvation. And the epidemic already started taking its toll and while it spread many more millions will fall victims to it.

On the very first day when the occupation army began its "Operation Genocide" over 20 thousand people, including many students and teachers, were killed in the city of Dacca, our capital city, alone. The capital city was raced to ground by bombing and shelling. Most of our cities in Bangladesh including the main port city of Chittagong, most of the University centers, including the university of Dacca, thousands of villages and many of the market places have been destroyed. This is how military dictatorship of Yahya Khan is taking revenge on our people whose only "crime" Was that they wanted to uphold the noble cause of democracy, national autonomy and social progress.

In spite of all the atrocities committed against the people they stand more united and are fighting with more determination, higher morale and confidence that they will win their just cause.

Since the very inception of Pakistan, our people were lighting for the primary democratic rights of our people and for a democratic constitution for our country. We wanted national autonomy for our region while remaining as an integral part of Pakistan. We also demanded the national autonomy for all the other nationalities in Pakistan, as well as their balanced economic growth. We wanted that there should be no regional imbalances in the economic growth of our country and also we stood for the full development of our national culture, education and language. Raising these demands we fought many battles; and in these the students were in the forefront.

As a result of this the ruling class, the military clique and the vested interests in Pakistan always were against the students movement.

In this fight, on many occasions, we got the massive verdict of the people in favor of our demands. After the historic students movement in 1952. the East Pakistan went to polls in 1954 and the people gave their verdict in favor of the democratic forces. The ruling class, composed of monopoly capitalists, landlords and backed by imperialism had scuttled the peoples' will in the most unashamed manner. Again a period of struggle followed. An election was forced on the ruling clique by the powerful people's movement in 1959. While the whole nation was preparing for it. the ruling circles in their desperate bid for power had staged a military coup and thus began the dark days of Ayub dictator- ship. The country had been dragged so deep into the camp of imperialist military blocks and financial interests and thus our unfortunate country had become a threat to peace in this part of the world.

A decade long struggle continued again against the military dictatorship and finally it was brought down by our united and powerful struggle in 1969. This was followed by the military rule of Yahya Khan. The democratic movement of the people forced the military dictatorship to conduct an election. Thus the elections took place in Pakistan in 1910. Though it was held under strange conditions imposed by the military regime, the people in this election had expressed their will in unequivocal terms.

They voted in favor of democracy and had given clear majority in the National Assembly for those who stood for the peoples cause. Out of the 300 seats in the National Assembly, the Awami League had won 167 seats. More than 90% of the people of East Pakistan had voted for the national autonomy. The verdict of the people was so clear and so massive that even Yahya Khan had to accept it. while he described Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as the future Prime Minister of Pakistan.

But, as it was characteristic of the ruling class in Pakistan, this time also, they had scuttled the will of our people in a most shameless manner, violating all norms of democracy.

The ruling .clique-the military dictatorship, isolated from the people and backed by reactionary capitalist and feudal interest internally, and supported by imperialist forces abroad, had refused to transfer the power to the duly elected majority party and forced a political crisis in our country.

We have adopted peaceful methods of negotiations with the ruling clique to settle the problem. People in their en masse took part in peaceful mass actions to express their whole hearted support to the elected parliament.

But the ruling class took the most dastardly attitude towards it had Bent the army to East Pakistan on the night of 25th March. 1971 and began its occupation.

This is the background in which we in Bangladesh were forced to adopt a different course of action. We were put in a position where we had the alternative only to light for our national independence and dignity or to perish.

Naturally we have had to chose the former path and thus began a new chapter in our history.

Bangladesh is now declared an Independent Republic. The government of Peoples
Republic of Bangladesh is headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed is the Prime Minister, which is the only legitimate government, duly elected and enjoying the confidence of our people.

In its desperate effort to wipe out and exterminate our people, and somehow to occupy the country, the ruling military clique of Pakistan is trying to discredit our movement by calling it a cessationist war and describe it as an effort against the interests of Islam and characterize it as an international affairs. We would like to make certain points clear here.

1. The democratically elected people's representatives who had every right to rule
Pakistan were refused to be acknowledged by a military dectator-ship, who have no mandate to rule but only the brutal strength of army at their disposal. We are fighting for democracy. It cannot be described as a war of cessation.

2. Bringing the name of Islam is an effort to confuse the world public opinion. The ruling military dictatorship of Pakistan is perpetrating genocide in Bangladesh where millions of Muslims are their victims. This is a fight for democracy and national dignity and it has nothing to do with the religion.

3. When brutal military force is indulged in mass massacre of innocents no one can take a passive attitude towards it saying that it is an internal problem of a particular country. By violating the norms of democracy and scuttling the will of people and by sending army to occupy Bangladesh, the military regime had actually struck the final blow to our national unity and now there is no more a Pakistan existing as it used to be. What is happening today is an occupation army is attacking a peaceful people and killing millions. It cannot be an internal matter of any nation.

It is a challenge to the conscience of the entire mankind. In this battle, it is very natural that the students any youth are playing a very significant role. They are in the battlefield as commandos, they are in the factories and fields producing materials for enabling their country to fight the enemy. The students movement of Bangladesh is holding high its banner of patriotism and are fighting for democracy and national autonomy.

In this struggle the Bangladesh Students' Union, formerly known as the East Pakistan Students' Union, with a membership of half a million and with the support of several hundreds of thousands of students, are in the forefront of the struggle. In the alter of this great battle, already hundreds of our student comrades have laid their lives.

We are fighting an enemy backed by the monopolists, feudal lords and are supported by World Imperialism, particularly by the US imperialists. The government of Pakistan is a member of imperialist military pacts like CENTO and SEATO.

But we are fighting with full confidence that we will win. In this context we need the unqualified support and solidarity of the students and youth from all over the world. It would inspire our comrades who are valiantly fighting in the front.

We appeal all national and international youth and students organizations to come forward.

—to demand the recognition of the Bangladesh Government headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and to render all political, moral and material support to the noble cause for which we are fighting today.

—to send us arms, money, medicine, food, clothing and all other materials to our fighting people.

—to mobilize popular public opinion in your country in favor of our freedom struggle.

We once more appeal you to send immediately your greetings and messages to our students who are now in the battlefield. We are sure that these messages would inspire them in a big way.

We are looking forward for receiving a reply from you at your earliest convenience.

With Revolutionary Greetings,

New Delhi.
10th May, 1971.

Sd-/
NURUL ISLAM
President.
Bangladesh Students' Union.

P. S.: Due to obvious reasons, we are now setting up an office in Delhi in whose address all the communications and assistance etc. are requested to be sent:

The President,
Bangladesh Students' Union,
(East Pakistan Students' Union)
C/o All India Students' Federation,
923, Faiz Road, Karol Bagh
NEW DELHI - 5, INDIA

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘের তত্ত্বাবধানে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার প্রশ্নে গণভোট অনুষ্ঠানের জন্য মওলানা ভাসানীর প্রস্তাব	এশিয়ান রেকর্ডার জুন ২৫-জুলাই ১, ১৯৭১	১৭ মে, ১৯৭১

Referendum Under U.N. Supervision-Maulana A. H. Bhashani's Proposal:

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, the National Awami Party leader, on May 17 urged Gen. Yahya Khan to order a referendum on the issue of an independent Bangladesh under United Nations' supervision.

He said that malicious propaganda might be carried on by the West Pakistani military junta and other interested quarters against India. But the fact was that independence was the united demand of peasants, workers, students, young men and women, intellectuals and all communities in Bangladesh. India was in no way connected with the demand and a malicious campaign was being conducted to suppress the actual happenings in Bangladesh.

He said that if Gen. Yahya Khan had any doubt about this, he could hold a referendum under the aegis of the world body. He would find that 91 per cent of the people would vote for independence.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মুজিবনগরে বাংলাদেশের বুদ্ধিজীবিদের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম পরিষদ গঠন	এশিয়ান রেকর্ডার জুন ২৫-জুলাই ১, ১৯৭১	১৯ মে, ১৯৭১

Bangladesh Liberation Council Formed By Intellectuals:

Noted intellectuals of Bangladesh who escaped the carnage of the Army, met in Mujibnagar on May 19 and formed a "Bangladesh Liberation Council" with Dr. A. R. Mullick, Vice-Chancellor of Chittagong University, as President.

The aims of the council include support to the efforts of the Bangladesh Government in the war of liberation, mobilization, and utilization of the displaced intellectuals and technicians and arrange for their temporary maintenance, and publicity for Bangladesh and the liberation war at national and international levels.

The Council would also produce feature and documentary films on the liberation war, send abroad intellectual squads to organize an "international conscience" troop for defense of human rights and democracy and organize entertainment and propaganda for refugees.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উদ্ভূত অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে মওলানা ভাসানীর প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টি	২২ মে, ১৯৭১

PRESS STATEMENT OF MAULANA ABDUL HA MID KHAN BHASANI, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL AWAMI PARTY, BANGLADESH, 22ND APRIL, 1971.

Lakhs of Bengalis suffered tortures in jails and in detention, and many of them were hanged for trying to free the country from the British imperialists. It is a tragedy that though they achieved freedom from the British rule, the West Pakistan rulers and exploiters hatched a conspiracy to crush the 7.5 crore Bengalis politically, economically, culturally and socially, though the Bengalis were in a majority in Pakistan. The historic Lahore resolution for the creation of Pakistan spoke of two independent and sovereign states in the East and the West. The struggle for making East Bengal a sovereign independent state has been going on since the creation of Pakistan, in accordance with this resolution. The West Pakistan rulers have tried to foil this struggle by oppression and by appointing some agents who worked in the interests of the West Pakistan feudal and capitalist overlords. But the people of East Bengal have struggled continuously for the last 23 years, and have given much blood to get independence for themselves. The armed struggle of 1971 is the culmination of this struggle.

In 1949, the then Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan tried to' foist a ridiculous constitution which was nipped in the bud by the people of East Bengal. They foiled the attempt of West Pakistan leaders to crush the mother tongue of Bengalis, the majority of the people of Pakistan. The historic Language Movement of 1952 is a shining example. In 1954, the people of East Bengal recorded a historic victory in the ballot boxes against the exploiters from West Pakistan. Then was imposed Iskander Mirza's rule and they inflicted inhuman atrocities on the people of East Bengal, after Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq's Ministry was dismissed by the Governor-General Ghulam Mohammad. Afterwards, the military dictator Ayub dissolved the Praliament and nullified the constitution and banned all political parties. He inflicted a reign of terror on all political parties. But the Bengalis were not daunted. They were not silenced. In 1962 the students started a movement against Ayub. With the help of some agents, Ayub tried to hoodwink the world and tried to crush the independence movement in East Bengal. The revolutionary Bengalis started a movement against the Ayub regime and protested against the Ayub regime's so called Agartala Conspiracy Case. When the students, peasants, workers and political parties launched mass movement in 1969-70, Ayub was compelled to retire after handing over power to another military dictator Yahya Khan. Gen. Yahya Khan was forced to promise that he would establish democracy, but be continued his conspiracy behind the curtain. The West Pakistani military rulers, capitalists and feudalists thought that in the name of Islam and integrity and by spending huge amount of money, they would be able to win over some traitors who would work as their agents for permanent exploitation. In 1970. however, the people of East Bengal voted for the Awami League en masse, and expressed

their determination to establish a sovereign Bengal on the basis of the Lahore Resolution. More than 99% of the representatives were elected in 1970 with boat as their symbol. The reason for this historic victory can be found in the dream of the Bengalis to have an independent and sovereign Bangladesh. Rulers of West Pakistan could not realize beforehand that the people of East Bengal would give such a tremendously united election verdict against the oppression and exploitation of West Pakistani vested interests. This election verdict made them unnerved and simultaneously infuriated them against the people of East Bengal.

So, totally ignoring the democratic rights of 7.5 crore Bengalis, Gen. Yahya Khan under cover the long negotiation, unleashed his army on the people on March 25. He himself fled away from Dacca at midnight. Under Tikka Khan's leadership, an orgy of violence and murder was let loose in Dacca from 10-30 p. m. on March 25. The Army started killing the students, young men, teachers, professors, intellectuals, traders and others with tanks, artillery, mortar, machinegun and other deadly weapons. They demolished schools, colleges, mosques, temples, hostels and industrial areas and burnt innumerable houses. From March 26, they started this killing in cities like Jessore. Rangpur, Pabna, Kushtia, Chuadanga, Bogra, Tangail, Mymensingh and many other places. They bombed and strafed thousands of innocent people. They burnt the villages on the roadside and committed mass murder. Women and children were not spared. Women were molested and there was wide scale looting of foodstuff and livestock's. Shops and banks were looted by the soldiers. Women were kidnapped from schools and colleges. Who knows what has happened to them?

Has anybody heard of such atrocities? Is there any parallel in history? The examples of Chiang-kai-shek in China and Czar in Russia and of British oppression in undivided India or, the zulum of Zalem Yazid at Karbala pale into insignificance before this latest example of inhuman atrocity. The Yahya regime and his supporters think that they will be able to crush the people of East Bengal permanently by such oppression, and they will be able to continue their exploitation by breaking the backbone of Bengalis. They thought of jelling the world that the people of Bengal did not want independence. They wanted to tell the world that Pakistan's enemy India has created this movement by helping a handful of miscreants of East Bengal. But the people of the world cannot be misled. They knew why foreign correspondents were expelled from East Bengal on March 26. Is it not because the Pakistani rulers were afraid that the foreign press would expose the barbaric atrocity and tell the world of the great struggle for independence of the people of Bengal?

The foreign correspondents endangered their lives to get news of the war during the last world war. There is not a single instance in the history of the world of a dictator like Yahya who expelled the correspondents from the country. The barbaric Government not only prevented correspondents, but they prevented the International Red Cross from going there to render help to the people of Bengal who have been oppressed inhumanly and rendered homeless. They did this to cover up their own misdeeds. They wanted to ensure that the world would not know that the people of Bengal were prepared to give

their lives for independence. There is no connection between this people's war and India. If a nation does not have its own urge, it cannot get independence with outside help.

The question is whether the people of the world and the nations of the world will support the struggle of the 7.5 crore people of Bengal for independence or support the abominable conspiracy of the dictatorial exploiting ruling clique which is indulging in mass murder.

Yahya, who is a Muslim himself, in the name of religion is mercilessly killing lakhs of Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Buddhists. His soldiers who say that they are Muslims are raping women, including Muslim women. Through Muslims themselves, they are destroying mosques. They kill Muslims who are offering prayers. What will the Muslim world do about this ? Will they support the un-Islamic anti-humanity abominable policy of Yahya ? Or will they support the cause of truth, justice and love as preached by Islam ? The 7.5 crore Bengalis like to know from the democratic world if it will support Yahya's dictatorship? Will they remain neutral and thereby support him under the pretext that the situation was Pakistan's internal affair? The freedom struggle of East Bengal cannot be Pakistan's internal affair. The West Pakistanis have ignored the Lahore Resolution which was unanimously accepted by 10 crores Muslims of undivided India by ignoring this basic resolution of Pakistan movement they have tried to convert East Bengal as their colony for the last 23 years. This is a just struggle of the heroic Bengali people for independence and for preventing exploitation and loss of independence. The demonic West Pakistanis are trying to enslave the Bengalis and establish their empire. Has the world opinion nothing to do in this mass killing ? Will the democratic world support the mass killing on some excuse or other ? The socialist world, including China, has always helped the exploited and oppressed people in their struggle for establishing their rights. What role will they play in the current killing in East Bengal when the 7.5 crore people are fighting the final battle for independence after being exploited for 23 years ? By supporting Yahya how can they convince the world opinion that they are friends of the oppressed people ?

East Bengal is a part of Asia. The people of this country look towards the Asian nations, particularly to the Afro-Asian nations. The people of East Bengal, in this moment of crisis puts a burning question to humanity whether their great and just struggle will be crushed forever?

I make a fervent appeal to all peace loving and democratic minded people and Government of the world to extend an early recognition to the newly formed independent Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh.

I appeal to all the people of East Bengal, I appeal to the peasants, workers, blacksmiths, pottery workers, boatmen, weavers, persons engaged in cottage industry, students, traders, intelligentsia and service holders and others to forge an unity like steel. Some opportunists of East Bengal who are exposed are trying to mislead you in the name

of religion and integrity by carrying on false propaganda. They are agents of the military junta, industrialists, feudalists and despotic bureaucrats of West Pakistan. These Mirzafars of East Bengal have stabbed the freedom movement in the back during the last 23 years by being the agents of the West Pakistani vested interests. Don't listen to these traitors. The vested interests will have their purpose served if they can split your unity and steely determination. You will then be slaves of the West Pakistan military rulers, capitalists and bureaucrats and feudalists forever and ever. At the present moment, unity, mental strength and burning patriotism are our most vital weapons. Our victory is certain. God hates the oppressors and traitors. We will definitely get the blessings of Allah in our great struggle and we will establish a free sovereign happy and prosperous Bangladesh in East Bengal.

May Allah be with us.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটির ঘোষণা	বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটির ঘোষণাপত্র	১ জুন, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটির ঘোষণা

[সম্প্রতি মজলুম জননেতা মওলানা ভাসানী ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামকে অগ্রসর করিয়া লওয়ার যে আহবান ও নির্দেশ দিয়াছেন তাহাকে অবলম্বন করিয়া বাংলাদেশের ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টি (মওলানা ভাসানীর নেতৃত্বে পরিচালিত) কমিউনিস্ট বিপ্লবীদের পূর্ব বাংলা সমন্বয় কমিটি পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি (দেবেন শিকদারের নেতৃত্বে), শ্রমিক-কৃষক কর্মীসংঘ, বাংলাদেশের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি (হাতিয়ার), পূর্ববাংলা কৃষক সমিতি, পূর্ববাংলা শ্রমিক ফেডারেশন, বাংলাদেশ শ্রমিক ফেডারেশন (পূর্ব পাকিস্তান শ্রমিক ফেডারেশন) এবং পূর্ব বাংলা বিপ্লবী ছাত্র ইউনিয়ন প্রভৃতি রাজনৈতিক ও গণসংগঠনের প্রতিনিধিরা এক সম্মেলনে মিলিত হইয়া "বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটি" গঠন করিয়াছেন এবং সর্বসম্মতভাবে নিম্নোক্ত ঘোষণা প্রণয়ন করিয়া বাংলাদেশের জনগণের নিকট উপস্থাপিত করিতেছেন।]

বর্তমান পরিস্থিতি

সারা বাংলাদেশ ও বাঙ্গালী জাতির জীবনে আজ এক চরম মুহূর্ত উপস্থাপিত। পাকিস্তানের ফ্যাসিস্ট জঙ্গীশাহীর হানাদার বাহিনী ট্যাঙ্ক, বোমারু বিমান, মেশিনগান, মর্টার, রকেট, গানবোট প্রভৃতি অত্যাধুনিক অস্ত্রে সুসজ্জিত হইয়া নিরস্ত্র, নিরীহ, শান্তিপ্রিয় বাংলাদেশের জনগণের উপর সম্পূর্ণ অপ্রস্তুত অবস্থায় শুরু করিয়াছে এমন এক বর্বর হামলা, সভ্য দুনিয়ার ইতিহাসে যাহার তুলনা খুঁজিয়া পাওয়া যায় না। হিন্দু, মুসলমান, বৌদ্ধ, খিস্টান, ধর্ম, বর্ণ, নারী, পুরুষ, শিশু, যুবক, বৃদ্ধ নির্বিশেষে সমগ্র সাড়ে সাত কোটি জনতাই এই হানাদার দস্যুদের বর্বর নির্যাতনের শিকারে পরিণত হইয়াছে। বাংলাদেশের এমন কোন শহর, গ্রাম বা অঞ্চল নাই যেখানে এই পরদেশ লুন্ঠনকারী দস্যুর দল নির্বিচারে গণহত্যা, অগ্নিসংযোগ, ধনসম্পত্তি বিনষ্ট, লুটতরাজ ও নারী নির্যাতন করে নাই। পাকিস্তানের ফ্যাসিস্ট জঙ্গীশাহীর এই হামলা অত্যন্ত আকস্মিক ও বর্বর। দীর্ঘ চবিবশ বছর গোটা বাঙালী জাতি রাজনৈতিক, অর্থনৈতিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক দিক হইতে চরমভাবে নিপীড়িত হইবার পর এইবারই সর্বপ্রথম জাতীয় মুক্তির আশার আলো দেখিতে শুরু করিয়াছিল। জাতীয় মুক্তি এই সুতীব্র আকাঙ্খা লইয়াই বাংলাদেশের শ্রমিক-কৃষক-ছাত্র-মধ্যবিত্ত বুদ্ধিজীবি তথা সমগ্র জনতা ইতিপূর্বে বারবার রক্তঝরা সংগ্রামের পথে অগ্রসর হইয়াছিল। এই জনতাই মুক্তির দুর্বার আকাঙ্খা লইয়া হাজার হাজার বীর সন্তানের রক্তের বিনিময়ে সৃষ্টি করিয়াছিল ১৯৬৮-৬৯ সালের গৌরবোজ্জ্বল সুমহান গণঅভ্যুত্থান। ১৯৭০ সালের নির্বাচনে বাংলার জনগণ আবার সেই জাতীয় মুক্তির কামনাকেই বুকে করিয়া একচেটিয়াভাবে আওয়ামী লীগকে ভোটদান করিয়াছিল। তাহারা আশা করিয়াছিল শান্তিপূর্ণ উপায়ে দীর্ঘ চবিবশ বছরের নিপীড়ন ও নির্যাতনের অবসান ঘটিবে। কিন্তু ঠিক সেই মুহূর্তে নিরস্ত্র অপ্রস্তুত জনতার উপর নামিয়া আসিল শাসকগোষ্ঠীর সশস্ত্র হামলা। তবে এই হামলা জনগণের আকাঙ্খা অবদমিত করিতে পারে নাই বরং শোষকগোষ্ঠীর বিরুদ্ধে ঘৃণাকে আরও বেশী করিয়া তীব্র করিয়া তুলিয়াছে। তাই অপ্রস্তুত অবস্থায় হইলেও জনগণ প্রতিরোধ সংগ্রাম শুরু করিয়াছে। যে যেভাবেই পারিয়াছে সশস্ত্র আক্রমণের পাল্টা আক্রমণ করিয়াছে। বেঙ্গল রেজিমেন্ট, ই পি আর, পুলিশ ও বাংলার অসংখ্য তরুণ হানাদারদের বিরুদ্ধে শুরু করিয়াছে সশস্ত্র অভিযান। বাংলাদেশের জনগণ আজ নির্মম অভিজ্ঞতার ভিতর দিয়া এই শিক্ষা লাভ করিয়াছে যে শান্তিপূর্ণ উপায়ে আপসের পথে বাংলার জনগণকে বাঁচিয়া থাকার তাগিদেই আজ হানাদার দস্যুদের বিরুদ্ধে সশস্ত্র লড়াই অব্যাহত রাখিতে হইবে।

জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গড়ার আহবান

বাংলাদেশের এই অবস্থার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে আমরা মনে করি বাংলার সমগ্র জনতাকে ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে লড়াইয়ের পথে অগ্রসর হইতে হইবে। প্রতিটি রাজনৈতিক দল ও গ্রুপ, গণ-সংগঠন ও শ্রেণী-সংগঠন এবং প্রতিটি নাগরিকের মহান কর্তব্য পরস্পরের মধ্যে সমঝোতা রক্ষা করিয়া ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে দেশমাতৃকার শৃংখল মোচনের সুমহান ব্রত লইয়া এই মুক্তিযুদ্ধে অংশগ্রহণ করা। কেননা এই যুদ্ধ সমগ্র জাতির যুদ্ধ, সমগ্র জনগণের যুদ্ধ। সমগ্র জনগণের অংশগ্রহণ ব্যতিরেকে আধুনিক অস্ত্রে-শস্ত্রে সুসজ্জিত হানাদার সামরিক বাহিনীর বিরুদ্ধে জয়লাভ করা সম্ভব নয়। এই বাস্তব উপলব্দির ভিত্তিতে মজলুম জননেতা মওলানা ভাসানী যে আহবান ও নির্দেশ দিয়াছেন তাহাকে অবলম্বন করিয়া ১লা জুন বাংলাদেশের কতিপয় রাজনৈতিক দল, গ্রুপ, ব্যক্তি, গণ-সংগঠন ও শ্রেণী-সংগঠন একত্রিত হইয়া ''বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটি'' গঠন করিয়াছে। এই সমন্বয় কমিটির আশু লক্ষ্য হইল সুনির্দিষ্ট কর্মসূচী ও কর্মপদ্ধতির ভিত্তিতে বাংলাদেশের সরকারের ও মুক্তিসংগ্রামরত সকল শক্তির সহিত সংযোগ ও সমন্বয় সাধন করিয়া জাতীয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে সাফল্যের পথে অগ্রসর করিয়া লওয়া। আমরা বিশ্বাস করি, বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে সফল করিয়া তুলিবার জন্য প্রয়োজন সকল দলমত ও ব্যক্তির সমবায়ে গঠিত একটি সুসংহত ও ঐক্যবদ্ধ জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্টের। তাই এই সমন্বয় কমিটির তরফ হইতে আমরা আওয়ামী লীগসহ স্বাধীনতাকামী অন্যান্য সকল রাজনৈতিক দল, গ্রুপ, গণ-সংগঠন, শ্রেণী-সংগঠন ও দেশপ্রেমিক ব্যক্তিবর্গের নিকট এইরূপ একটি জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠনের আহবান জানাইতেছি।

চূড়ান্ত লক্ষ্য

এই সমন্বয় কমিটির চূড়ান্ত লক্ষ্য হইল বাংলাদেশকে হানাদার দস্যুদের হাত হইতে মুক্তি করিয়া বাংলার বুকে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সামন্তবাদ ও একচেটিয়া পুঁজিবিরোধী একটি স্বাধীন, সুখী, সুন্দর গণতান্ত্রিক সমাজব্যবস্থা প্রতিষ্ঠা করা। ইহা হইবে এমনই একটি সমাজব্যবস্থা যেখানে যুগ যুগ ধরিয়া শোষিত কৃষক জোতদারী-মহাজনী শোষণের নাগপাশ হইতে সত্যিকারের মুক্তিলাভ করিবে, যেখানে জমির উপর তাহার মালিকানা প্রতিষ্ঠিত হইবে, যেখানে শ্রমিক পাইবে স্ত্রী-পুত্র-কন্যা-পরিবারসহ মানুষের মতো বাঁচিবার গ্যারান্টি, যেখানে বেকারত্বের অভিশাপ থাকিবে না, যেখানে ছাত্রের জন্য থাকিবে বিজ্ঞানভিত্তিক সার্বজনীন গণতান্ত্রিক শিক্ষাব্যবস্থা, যেখানে বুদ্ধিজীবীরজন্য থাকিবে সৃজনশীল প্রতিভা বিকাশের পরিপূর্ণ সুযোগ। প্রতিটি নাগরিকের জন্য থাকিবে পরিপূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক, সাংস্কৃতিক ও ধর্মীয় স্বাধীনতা। এই সমাজ নারীর স্বাধীনতা ও মর্যাদা প্রতিষ্ঠা করিবে। উন্নতমানের কৃষিব্যবস্থা ও শিল্পবিকাশের মাধ্যমে গড়িয়া তুলিবে আত্মনির্ভরশীল অর্থনীতি ও একটি সমৃদ্ধশালী দেশ। এক কথায় এই সমাজব্যবস্থায় সমগ্র জনগণের জন্য থাকিবে অন্ন, বস্ত্র, বাসস্থান, শিক্ষাও চিকিৎসা প্রভৃতির নূন্যতম গ্যারান্টি। এই বাংলা হইবে শ্রমিক, কৃষক, মেহনতি মানুষ, মধ্যবিত্ত, দেশপ্রেমিক ধনিক শ্রেণীর বাংলা-জনতার বাংলা।

আশু করণীয়

উপরোক্ত লক্ষ্য অর্জন করিবার জন্য পাকিস্তানী হানাদার বাহিনীকে প্রতিহত ও সম্পূর্ণরূপে উৎখাত করিবার কর্মসূচী হইতেছে সমন্বয় কমিটির আশু কর্তব্য। আমাদের এই কর্তব্য মহান ও কঠিন। যেহেতু হানাদারবাহিনী সামরিক দিক দিয়া শক্তিশালী, অন্যদিকে যেহেতু জনগণের হাতে অস্ত্র নাই, সেহেতু এই সমন্বয় কমিটি মনে করে যে গেরিলা যুদ্ধের কায়দায় ক্রমান্বয়ে শত্রুকে দুর্বল করিয়া এবং নিজেদের শক্তি সঞ্চয় করিয়া দীর্ঘ প্রক্রিয়ার ভিতর দিয়াই অগ্রসর হইতে হইবে। অন্যদিকে যেহেতু হানাদারবাহিনী বিদেশী বর্বর এবং সাড়ে সাত কোটি জনতার তুলনায় তাহাদের লোকবল অত্যন্ত নগণ্য, সেহেতু এই যুদ্ধে জনগণের জয় যে সুনিশ্চিত সে সম্পর্কেও এই সমন্বয় কমিটি দৃঢ়ভাবে বিশ্বাস করে। এই সমন্বয় কমিটি আরও মনে করে যে, সমগ্র জনগণের শক্তির পূর্ণ ব্যবহারের উপরই যুদ্ধের সাফল্য নির্ভর করে। কোন বিদেশী শক্তির উপর নির্ভর করিয়া নয়, নিজেদের শক্তিতে বলীয়ান হইয়াই এই মুক্তিযুদ্ধ চালাইয়া যাইতে হইবে। জনতার মধ্য হইতে সশস্ত্র গণফৌজ গড়িয়া তোলার লক্ষ্যকে সম্মুখে রাখিয়া আমাদের গেরিলা যুদ্ধের সূচনা করিতে হইবে। জনতার সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ কৃষকরাই হইবে গণফৌজের মূল শক্তি। বাংলাদেশের বিস্তীর্ণ গ্রামাঞ্চল হইবে সশস্ত্র গেরিলা যুদ্ধের ঘাঁটি। এই গেরিলা যুদ্ধ পরিচালিত হইবে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিফৌজের সহিত যোগাযোগ রক্ষা ও সমন্বয় সাধনের মাধ্যমে।

তাই জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামের এই পর্যায়ে সমন্বয় কমিটি জনগণের নিকট নিম্নলিখিত করণীয় কর্তব্য উপস্থিত করিতেছেঃ

১। বাংলাদেশের প্রতিটি গ্রামে জনতার বিভিন্ন অংশের প্রতিনিধি সমবায়ে সর্বদলীয় গণ-মুক্তি পরিষদ গঠন করিতে হইবে। এই গণমুক্তি পরিষদ গ্রামের রাজনৈতিক, অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক, প্রশাসনিক ও সর্ববিধ কর্তৃত্ব গ্রহণ করিবে, গ্রামরক্ষীবাহিনী গঠন ও পরিচালনা করিবে এবং গণ-আদালত গঠন করিয়া বিচার ব্যবস্থা পরিচালনা করিবে।

২। পাক-জঙ্গীশাহী সরকারকে দেয় খাজনা, ট্যাক্স, ঋণ ও সুদ পরিশোধে সম্পূর্ণরূপে বন্ধ রাখিতে হইবে।

৩। যাহারা অতিরিক্ত মুনাফার আশায় প্রয়োজনতিরিক্ত খাদ্যশস্য মজুদ রাখিবে গ্রাম গণ-মুক্তি পরিষদ তাহাদের সেই উদ্বৃত্ত খাদ্যশস্য বাজেয়াপ্ত করিয়া গরীব জনসাধারণের মধ্যে বিক্রয়ের ব্যবস্থা করিবে।

৪। গ্রাম গণ-মুক্তি পরিষদ গ্রামে গরীব-জনসাধারণের উপর নিপীড়নমূলক মহাজনী ব্যবস্থা বন্ধ করিবে।

৫। (ক) যাহারা পাকিস্তানের শাসকগোষ্ঠীর সহিত কোন প্রকার সহযোগিতা ও সাহায্য প্রদান করিবে অথবা চর হিসাবে কাজ করিবে, গ্রাম গণ-মুক্তি পরিষদ তাহাদের কঠোরতম শাস্তি প্রদান করিবে এবং তাহাদের সকল সম্পত্তি বাজেয়াপ্ত করিয়া গরীব ও ভূমিহীন কৃষকদের মধ্যে বিতরণ করিবে।

খ) যে সকল জোতদার জাতীয় মুক্তির সপক্ষে থাকিবে তাহাদের সহিত পারস্পরিক সহযোগিতার ভিত্তিতে এমন ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে যাহাতে গরীব কৃষক ও ক্ষেতমজুরদের উপর জোতদারের পূর্বতন শোষণ লাঘব হয়।

৬। বাংলাদেশের যে সকল নাগরিক বাস্তুহারা হইয়া দেশত্যাগ করিতে বাধ্য হইয়াছেন গ্রাম গণ-মুক্তি পরিষদ তাহাদের যাবতীয় সম্পত্তি তত্ত্বাবধান করিবে।

৭। যথোপযুক্ত বিলিবণ্টন, উৎপাদন বৃদ্ধি, কেনাবেচা, কুটিরশিল্পের বিকাশ সাধন প্রভৃতির মাধ্যমে গ্রাম এলাকায় আত্মনির্ভরশীল স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ অর্থনীতি গড়িয়া তুলিতে হইবে। এই ব্যবস্থার মূল ভিত্তি হইবে পারস্পরিক সাহায্য ও সহযোগিতা (mutual aid and mutual cooperation)।

৮। শিক্ষা ও সংস্কৃতি ক্ষেত্রে জাতীয় ভাবধারা সৃষ্টি করিতে হইবে। প্রচলিত শিক্ষা ও কলুষিত সাংস্কৃতিক রীতিনীতি সম্পূর্ণভাবে বর্জন করিতে হইবে।

৯। (ক) গ্রামে গ্রামে কৃষক-শ্রমিক-ছাত্র ও অন্যান্য জঙ্গী তরুণদের সমবায়ে ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র গেরিলাদের গঠন করিতে হইবে। এই গেরিলাদল সুযোগ ও সুবিধামত বিচ্ছিন্নভাবে অবস্থিত শত্রুকে খতম ও ক্ষতিসাধন করিবে এবং শত্রুর অস্ত্র কাড়িয়া লইয়া নিজেদের অস্ত্রবল বৃদ্ধি করিবে।

(খ) হানাদার বাহিনী বাংলাদেশের মাটিতে যাহাতে নির্বিঘ্নে চলাফেরা, অস্ত্র-শস্ত্র, রসদপত্র সংগ্রহ ও সরবরাহ করিতে না পারে এবং নির্বিবাদে শাসন ও শোষণ চালাইতে না পারে, তাহার জন্য সকল প্রকার যোগাযোগ ব্যবস্থা ও সরবরাহ লাইন ইত্যাদির ক্ষতিসাধন করিতে হইবে।

(গ) গেরিলাদলকে জনগণের আস্থা ও ভালবাসা অর্জনের জন্য

-জনগণকে শ্রদ্ধা করিতে হইবে।

-জনগণকে সাহায্য করিতে হইবে।

-জনগণকে রক্ষা করিতে হইবে।

(ঘ) গেরিলা দল সামরিক দায়িত্ব সম্পাদনের সাথে সাথে জনগণের মধ্যে জাতীয় মুক্তির সপক্ষে রাজনৈতিক প্রচার আন্দোলনও চালাইবে।

(ঙ) যে সকল ব্যীক্ত, হানাদার পাক-সরকার ও পাক বাহিনী অথবা তাহাদের এজেন্টদের সহিত স্বেচ্ছায় রাজনৈতিক, অর্থনৈতিক, সামরিক অথবা যে কোন প্রকার সাহায্য ও সহযোগিতা করিবে তাহারা জাতীয় শত্রু বলিয়া পরিগণিত হইবে। পূর্ণ তদন্ত করিয়া সমষ্টিগত ভিত্তিতে তাহাদের খতম অথবা যে কোন প্রকার শাস্তি প্রদান করা হইবে।

১০। যাহারা জনগণের মনোবল নষ্ট করিবার জন্য গোপনে বা প্রকাশ্যে কোন প্রকার প্রচারকার্য চালাইবে তাহাদের বিরুদ্ধে কঠোর ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে।

১১। যাহারা জনগণের দূরবস্থার সুযোগে ডাকাতি, গুন্ডামি ও অন্যান্য সমাজবিরোধী কার্যকলাপে লিপ্ত গণমুক্তি পরিষদের মাধ্যমে তাহাদের বিরুদ্ধে কঠোরতম শাস্তির ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করিতে হইবে।

১২। যাহারা মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে বিভক্ত ও বিপর্যস্ত করিবার জন্য কোন প্রকার সাম্প্রদায়িক ক্রিয়াকলাপ, উস্কানি অথবা প্রচারণা করিবে তাহাদের কঠোরতম শাস্তি ব্যবস্থা প্রদান করা হইবে।

১৩। শহরাঞ্চলে শত্রুকে বিপর্যস্ত ও ব্যস্ত রাখিবার জন্য ''আঘাত করো ও সরিয়া পড়ো'' নীতির ভিত্তিতে গেরিলা তৎপরতা চালাইতে হইবে।

১৪। সর্বস্তরের জনগণকে জঙ্গীশাহীর প্রশাসনিক ও সকল প্রকার ব্যবস্থার সহিত সম্পর্ক ছিন্ন করিয়া চলিতে হইবে।

১৫। বাংলাদেশের শ্রমিক শ্রেণীর প্রতি তাহাদের পূর্ব ঐতিহ্য অনুসরণ করিয়া শাসকগোষ্ঠী কর্তৃক নিয়ন্ত্রিত অর্থনীতির অচলাবস্থা অব্যাহত রাখিবার উদাত্ত আহবান সমন্বয় কমিটি জানাইতেছি।

এই সমন্বয় কমিটি ইহার অন্তর্ভূক্ত প্রতিটি সংগঠনের কর্মীদের প্রতি এই ঐতিহাসিক দায়িত্ব জনগণের সাথে থাকিয়া সুচারুরূপে সম্পন্ন করিবার নির্দেশ প্রদান করিতেছে। এই সমন্বয় কমিটির বহির্ভূত যাহারা অনুরূপভাবে বাংলার মুক্তি সংগ্রামে কাজ করিয়া যাইতেছে বা ভবিষ্যতে করিবে তাহাদের সহিত পরিপূর্ণ সহযোগিতার ভিত্তিতে উপরোক্ত দায়িত্ব পালন করিয়া যাইতে হইবে।

আমাদের ঘোষণা

এই পরিস্থিতিতে আজিকার এই জীবণ-মরণ সন্ধিক্ষণে আমাদের প্রিয় মাতৃভূমি ও জনগণের প্রতি গভীর দায়িত্ববোধের কথা স্মরণ রাখিয়া, ''বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটি'' বাংলাদেশের এবং পৃথিবীর স্বাধীনতাকামী মানুষের নিকট দৃঢ়তার সহিত নিম্নোক্ত ঘোষণা পেশ করিতেছিঃ-

* সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সামন্তবাদ ও একচেটিয়া বৃহৎ পুঁজিবাদীগোষ্ঠীর সেবাদাস পাকিস্তানের ফ্যাসিস্ট জঙ্গী শাসকচক্রের হানাদারবাহিনী গণহত্যা, লুটতরাজ, অগ্নিসংযোগ, নারী ধর্ষণ ও ব্যাপকভাবে নাগরিক বিতাড়নের মাধ্যমে বাঙ্গালী জাতিকে সম্পূর্ণ ধ্বংস করিবার যে সুপরিকল্পিত অভিয়ান চালাইতেছে তাহা প্রতিরোধ ও প্রতিহত করিয়া ''স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম গণপ্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ'' প্রতিষ্ঠা করার দৃঢ়সংকল্প ঘোষণা করিতেছে।

*এই সমন্বয় কমিটি বাংলাদেশে যে সশস্ত্র জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম চলিতেছে তাহাকে ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে সাফল্যের পথে অগ্রসর করিয়া লইয়া যাইবার জন্য বলিষ্ঠ শপথ গ্রহণ করিতেছে এবং যাহারা অসীম সাহসিকতার সহিত আত্মত্যাগের মধ্য দিয়া এই জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণ করিতেছেন তাঁহাদের সহিত একাত্মতা ঘোষণা করিতেছে ও তাঁহাদের প্রতি সংগ্রামী অভিনন্দন জ্ঞাপন করিতেছে।

* সমন্বয় কমিটির সকল প্রকার দেশী-বিদেশী আপসমূলক চক্রান্তকে প্রতিহত করার শপথ গ্রহণ করিতেছে এবং সুস্পষ্ট ঘোষণা করিতেছে যে, বাংলাদেশের মাটি হইতে হানাদারবাহিনী নির্মূল না হওয়া পর্যন্ত এই সংগ্রাম থামিবে না। প্রতি ইঞ্চি জমির জন্য এবং প্রকৃত জাতীয় মুক্তির জন্য বাংলাদেশের জনগণ রক্ত দিয়াছে, দিতেছে ও ভবিষ্যতেও দিবে।

* বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামে যাঁহারা শহীদ হইয়াছেন, যাঁহারা লাঞ্চিত ও নির্যাতিত হইয়াছেন, সর্বস্ব হারাইয়াছেন, এই সমন্বয় কমিটি তাহাদের প্রতি গভীর শ্রদ্ধা ও সমবেদনা প্রকাশ করিতেছে। যাহারা চরমভাবে নির্যাতিত হইয়া শেষ পর্যন্ত দেশত্যাগে বাধ্য হইয়াছেন, এই সংস্থা মুক্ত স্বাধীন পরিবেশে তাহাদের নিরাপদ পুনর্বাসনের জন্য সংগ্রামের সংকল্প ঘোষণা করিতেছে।

* বাংলাদেশের শ্রমিক, কৃষক, ছাত্র-যুবক, বেঙ্গল রেজিমেন্ট, ই পি, আর, পুলিশ, আনসার, মোজাহিদ এবং সকল স্বেচ্ছাসৈনিকেরা দেশপ্রেমে উদ্বুদ্ধ হইয়া স্বতঃপ্রবৃত্তভাবে যে জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রামে অংশগ্রহণ করিতেছেন এই সমন্বয় কমিটি তাহাদের প্রতি সংগ্রামী অভিনন্দন জ্ঞাপন করিতেছে।

* বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামের প্রতি এবং বাস্তুহারা শরনার্থীদের প্রতি ভারতীয় জনগণ বিশেষ করিয়া পশ্চিমবঙ্গ, ত্রিপুরা, আসাম ও মেঘালয়ের জনগণ ও যে সাহায্য ও সগযোগিতা করিয়াছেন তাহার জন্য এই সমন্বয় কমিটি তাহাদের প্রতি আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন করিতেছে।

* এই সমন্বয় কমিটি সিন্ধী, বালুচ, পাঠান, পাঞ্জাবী জনগণ বিশেষ করিয়া শ্রমিক, কৃষক, মেহনতী জনগণের নিকট পাকিস্তানী ফ্যাসিস্ট জঙ্গী শাসকচক্রের বাংলাদেশে গণহত্যার বিরুদ্ধে এবং বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের সপক্ষে তীব্র গণ-আন্দোলন গড়িয়া তুলিবার আহবান জানাইতেছে।

* এই সমন্বয় কমিটি বিশ্বের সকল স্বাধীনতাপ্রিয় জনগণ, গণতান্ত্রিক ও সমাজতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের নিকট বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামে সর্বতোভাবে সাহায্য করিবার আবেদন জানাইতেছে। অফুরন্ত জনবল আমাদের রহিয়াছে, অর্থ রসদ, ঔষদপত্র ও নৈতিক সমর্থন।

* এই সমন্বয় কমিটি বাংলাদেশ সরকার ও মুক্তিসংগ্রামরত সকল শক্তির সহিত সংযোগ ও সমন্বয় সাধন করিয়া জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে সাফল্যের পথে অগ্রসর করিয়া লইবার সিদ্ধান্ত ঘোষণা করিতেছে।

* এই সমন্বয় কমিটি বাংলাদেশের আওয়ামী লীগসহ সকল রাজনৈতিক দল, শ্রেণী-সংগঠন ও গণ-সংগঠন এবং ধর্ম, বর্ণ, ভাষা, সম্প্রদায় নির্বিশেষে সকল দেশপ্রেমিক জনগণকে ''জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট'' গঠন করিয়া গণ-যুদ্ধের মাধ্যমে পাকিস্তানের শাসকগোষ্ঠীকে ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে মোকাবিলা ও বাংলাদেশের মাটি হইতে উৎখাত করিবার জন্য উদাত্ত আহবান জানাইতেছে। এই সংস্থা দৃঢ়ভাবে বিশ্বাস করে যে, যেহেতু জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সমগ্র জনতার লড়াই, সেই জন্য সমগ্র জনতার আশা আকাঙ্খার পরিপূরক একটি সুসংহত ও ঐক্যবদ্ধ জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্টই তাহাকে নিশ্চিতভাবে চূড়ান্ত বিজয়ের পথে অগ্রসর করিয়া লইয়া যাইতে পারে।

বাংলার সংগ্রামী জনতা!

সারা বাংলাদেশ ব্যাপী মরণপণ যুদ্ধ চলিতেছে- স্বাধীনতার যুদ্ধ। লাঞ্ছিত জাতির অপমান মোচনের, পরাধীন দেশমাতৃকার শৃংখল মোচনের এই জীবন-মরণ লড়াইয়ে আমরা সকলেই শরীক হইয়াছি। বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন না হওয়া পর্যন্ত এই যুদ্ধের ক্ষান্তি নাই, শ্রান্তি নাই। যে দস্যুর দল আমাদের পিতা-মাতা, ভ্রাতা-ভগ্নী, পুত্র-কন্যাকে হত্যা করিয়াছে, মা-বোনের সম্ভ্রব বিনষ্ট করিয়াছে, আসুন, আমরা তীব্র প্রতিহিংসার জ্বালা ও ঘৃণা লইয়া সেই দস্যুর উপর সশস্ত্রভাবে ঝাঁপাইয়া পড়ি। তাহাকে খতম করি। রক্তের প্রতিশোধ গ্রহণ করি। আমাদের যুদ্ধ ন্যায়ের যুদ্ধ। তাই জয় আমাদের অবশ্যম্ভাবী। পাকিস্তানী হানাদার দস্যুর পরাজয় অনিবার্য। বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন হবেই।

-স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ জিন্দাবাদ।

-জনতার সশস্ত্র বিপ্লব জিন্দাবাদ।

১লা জুন

১৯৭১ সাল।

বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটি

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার রাজনৈতিক নিষ্পত্তির বিরোধিতা করে মওলানা ভাসানীর প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তি	দি ইন্ডিয়ান এক্সপ্রেস (নয়াদিল্লী)	২ জুন, ১৯৭১

FREEDOM ONLY WAY OUT: BHASHANI

Report of Maulana Abdul Humid Khan Bhashani, National Avvami Party Leader, talks with newsmen on current movement in Bangladesh on May 31, 1971.

Complete freedom from Bangladesh is only solution for saving the people from "inhuman exploitation of the Bengalees by West Pakistanis," Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, the National Awami party leader, declared here yesterday.

He deplored the attitude of those who talked of a "political settlement" of the Bangladesh problem and said that having been subjected to the world's worst savage repression and exploitation for the past 23 years, the people of Bangladesh were now waging a total war. There was, therefore, no chance of any political settlement now. Either total destruction or total victory was in store for them but the supreme sacrifices by 7.5 million people would not go in vain, he said.

The octogenarian NAP leader was talking to newsmen on the current liberation movement in Bangladesh.

Maulana Bhashani said it was a strange that those countries, which stood for the "oppressed" in the world had kept quiet at the unheard of oppression and wanton destruction of human lives in Bangladesh now.

He said he had sent telegrams to the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin, the Chinese Chairman, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, the US President, Mr. Nixon, and the British Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, asking them not to be misled by Pakistani propaganda but to send their emissaries to study the situation here.

The NAP leader said that all sections of the people of his country had protested against the imperialist designs in Vietnam and the French bombing on the Suez Canal. But it was an irony of fate that the same people for whom they had wept, now seemed to be swayed by the vile propaganda by Pakistan that the struggle in Bangladesh was a secessionist movement. They should know that it was a liberation war by 7.5 crores of people "reduced to mere skeleton through age-long exploitation, economically and politically," he said.

Maulana Bhashani said he had issued instructions to form all-party committees in the districts of Bangladesh to continue the liberation movement.

The Maulana said that except for a section of the Muslim League, all parties were now out to support the main issue-liberation of the people.

The Exploited

Replying to a question if lhe extremist elements would join such an all-party committee in view of their attitude towards other parties, particularly the Awami League, the NAP leader said: "I think national liberation is the main task before the people, whichever party they may belong".

Maulana Bhashani said that the fight in Bangladesh was between two sections of Muslims-the exploiters and the exploited.

In a talk with newsmen, the NAP leader denied that the current "revolution" in his
country had been imported from India or any other land. Whenever the Pakistani rulers could not solve any problem, they blamed India to save their skin. Had India abetted this revolution, it could have given recognition to the Provisional Government, of Sheikh Mujibur, Rahman, he said adding that on many occasions he himself had been described as "an agent of India".

The octogenarian leader said that the British had left the Indian sub-continent in time and it was high time that Yahya regime left Bangladesh. The more the delay the more would be the complications, he added.

Maulana Bhashani does not know where is wife and children are at present.

"I do not know whether they are dead or alive," he said, answering a question by a
correspondent about a Pakistani report of his "arrest" by the Yahya Khan Government.

He said that he had heard the report after his house at Kagmari in Mymensingh District had been destroyed. But he had no information about his wife and children. However, what hurt him most personally was the total destruction by Pakistani troops of his small library, which contained the "collection of a life time," he said.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মওলানা ভাসানীর সাংবাদিক সাক্ষাৎকারের বিবরণ	ন্যাশনাল হেরাল্ড (নয়াদিল্লী)	৩ জুন, ১৯৭১

BHASHANI : NO POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

Report of Maulana Bhashani's talk: with some local and foreign correspondents somewhere in a liberated area of Bangladesh on June 2, 1971.

The octogenarian National Awami Party leader. Maulana Bhashani. made it absolutely clear that they did not want any mediation for a political settlement of the Bangladesh issue. He, however, reiterated his earlier stand that a referendum could be held under the direct supervision of the United Nations to assertion the wishes of the Bangladesh people. The NAP leader was talking with some local and foreign correspondents somewhere in a liberated area of Bangladesh. He asked: 'How can there be a political settlement with the invaders who have killed lakhs of defenseless people and unleashed a reign of terror in Bangladesh?"

The Maulana said that their main aim was to liquidate the hordes of West Pakistan. "We will fight to the finish: either we achieve victory or die", he said.

Mr. Bhashani spoke in the same vein as the leaders of the Awami League had done a few days ago. During his talk with newsmen he called the Chinese bluff and said that he was never a Communist.

Deprecating the international inaction, he said it was strange that the world community behaved like a silent spectator when Bangladesh was being drenched with the blood of its people. There was not a single country left to whom he had not approached seeking recognition to the Bangladesh Government, he said. They had only expressed sympathy.

The NAP leader expressed his gratitude to the Indian Government for helping lakhs of refugees with food and shelter. He felt sorry that no other country, be it a socialist or imperialist, had taken any note of the pitiable plight of the people of Bangladesh.

In reply to a query he said that China's friendliness with the military junta of Islamabad was a strange politics. He ruled out the possibility of his ever-visiting China. For long popularly known as a<friend of China, the Maulana said that Peking would one day realize mistakes in supporting Islamabad.

The Maulana is against the formation of a liberation front or a National Government at this stage because, according to him, there might be a struggle for leadership "which will jeopardize our cause." He said he was in favor of an all-party action committee to mobilize the people for the long-drawn battle against Pakistan.

He emphatically said that Pakistan and Bangladesh "can never meet together, the breach is total and final", he prophesied.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মুক্তিযুদ্ধ ও রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতি ব্যাখা করে পূর্ববাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টি	পূর্ববাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টির প্রচারপত্র	৭ জুন, ১৯৭১

পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টির নেতৃত্বে বরিশাল ও অন্যান্য জেলায় জাতীয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধ চলছে, একে সমর্থন করুন ! জাতীয় শত্রুখতমের মাধ্যমে সমগ্র পূর্ব বাংলায় গেরিলা যুদ্ধ চালিয়ে যান ! জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠন করে নিজেদেরকে ঐক্যবদ্ধ করুন ! নিজেদের শক্তির উপর নির্ভর করে পূর্ব বাংলায় জাতীয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধ পরিচালনা করুন ।

পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টি কর্তৃক পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের উদ্দেশ্য প্রচারিত। (পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টি, পূর্ব বাংলা শ্রমিক আন্দোলন কর্তৃক ৩রা জুন, ১৯৭১ প্রতিষ্ঠিত।)

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পূর্ব বাংলার বীর জনগণ পাকিস্তানের ঔপনিবেশিক সামরিক ফ্যাসিস্টদের সুদীর্ঘ তেইশ বৎসরের ঔপনিবেশিক শোষণ ও লুণ্ঠনের পাহাড় উপরে ফেলার জন্য দেশের অফিস-আদালত-যোগাযোগ-ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্য বন্ধ করে দেয়। এভাবে তারা সমগ্র পূর্ব বাংলার পাকিস্তানী ঔপনিবেশিক শাসকগোষ্ঠীর লুণ্ঠন ও শোষণের যন্ত্রকে বিকল করে দেয়।

ঔপনিবেশিক সামরিক ফ্যাসিস্টরা জনগণের জাতীয় মুক্তির শান্তিপূর্ণ সংগ্রাম দমন করার জন্য বাংলার রাজধানী ঢাকার বুকে চরমতম ফ্যাসিবাদী বর্বরতা প্রদর্শন করে এবং অন্যান্য শহরে সৈন্য মোতায়েন করে হত্যা, লুট, অগ্নিসংযোগ ও গ্রেফতার চালায়।

যেখানেই অত্যাচার সেখানেই বিদ্রোহ-বিপ্লব। অহিংস-অসহযোগের ভুল পথ পরিত্যাগ করে জনসাধারণ ফ্যাসিবাদী বর্বর হামলার বিরুদ্ধে অস্ত্রহাতে বিদ্রোহী দেশপ্রেমিক বেঙ্গল রেজিমেন্ট, ইপিআর, পুলিশ, আনসার, সরকারী কর্মচারী, ছাত্র, শ্রমিক, কৃষক, বুদ্ধিজীবি অর্থাৎ পূর্ব বাংলার সমগ্র জনসাধারণ অস্ত্রহাতে রুখে দাঁড়ায় এবং অধিকাংশ জেলা দখল করে নেয়, সামরিক দস্যুদের সেখানে খতম করে এবং ক্যান্টনমেন্ট ঘেরাও করে।

পাকিস্তানের ঔপনিবেশিক সামরিক ফ্যাসিস্টরা পুনরায় সমগ্র পূর্ব বাংলায় তাদের দখল কায়েমের জন্য বিরাট শক্তি নিয়ে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়ে এবং হত্যা, লুট, অগ্নিসংযোগ এবং ধর্ষণের তান্ডবলীলা শুরু করে। বিশেষ করে হিন্দু জনসাধারণের উপর তারা যে অত্যাচার চালায় তা হিটলারের ইহুদীবিরোধী তৎপরতাকে ম্লান করে দিয়েছে। এভাবে তারা পৃথিবীর বুকে অত্যাচারের নির্মমতম নজীর স্থাপন করে। সঠিক নেতৃত্ব ও পথে পরিচালিত না হওয়ায় সশস্ত্র দেশপ্রেমিক প্রতিরোধ ভেঙ্গে পড়ে, সামরিক দস্যুরা সমগ্র পূর্ব বাংলাব্যাপী তাদের ফ্যাসিস্ট ঔপনিবেশিক দখল করতে সক্ষম হয়।

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পূর্ব বাংলার শ্রমিক আন্দোলন প্রতিনিয়ত আওয়ামী লীগ ও তার নেতৃত্বে মুক্তিবাহিনী, সকল দেশপ্রেমিক পার্টি ও জনসাধারণের প্রতি ঐক্যবদ্ধ হয়ে সঠিক পথে সংগ্রাম পরিচালনা করতে আহবান জানায়। বরিশাল জেলার ঝালকাঠির মুক্তিবাহিনী ও আওয়ামী লীগের দেশপ্রেমিকরা আহবানে সাড়া দেয়। তাদের অংশগ্রহণসহ অন্যান্য দেশপ্রেমিকদের নিয়ে স্থানীয় ভিত্তিতে জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠন করা হয়।

ঐক্যবদ্ধ মুক্তিবাহিনী তফসিলী হিন্দু সম্প্রদায় অধ্যুষিত পূর্ব বাংলার বৃহত্তম পেয়ারা বাগান কুরিয়ানা, ডুমুরিয়া, ভীমরুলী এলাকায় গেরিলা যুদ্ধ পরিচালনা করে।

এই গেরিলা যুদ্ধের রূপ হয় প্রধানত জাতীয় শত্রুখতম করা। অতি অল্প সময়ের মধ্যেই কয়েক শত জাতীয় শত্রুখতম করা হয় ; পাক সামরিক দস্যুদের একখানি লঞ্চ আক্রমণ করা হয় এবং প্রায় তিরিশজন সামরিক দস্যুকে খতম করা হয়, দুজন পুলিশসহ দুই ইঞ্জিন বিশিষ্ট একটি স্পীড বোট দখল করা হয়।

মে মাসের প্রথম থেকে শুরু করে প্রায় দেড়মাস সময়কালীন এ অঞ্চলের গেরিলা যুদ্ধে পাকিস্তানী সামরিক দস্যুরা এত ভীতসন্ত্রস্ত হয় যে, তারা বরিশাল জেলার প্রায় সমস্ত সৈন্য এবং অনেক থানার পুলিশ নিয়ে এ অঞ্চল ঘেরাও করে। তারা জলপথে কারফিউ জারী করে, গানবোট, স্পীডবোট, লঞ্চ দিয়ে দিনরাত পাহারা দেয়, বরিশাল জেলার কয়েক হাজার মুসলিম জনসাধারণকে হত্যার ভয় দেখিয়ে পেয়ারা গাছ কাটা, মুক্তিবাহিনীকে খোঁজ করা, হিন্দুদের বাড়ি লুট করা, তাদেরকে খতমের জন্য নিয়ে আসে।

এ অঞ্চলের সমস্ত ঘরবাড়ি তারা জ্বালিয়ে দেয়, লুট করে, শত শত লোককে হত্যা করে, পেয়ারা গাছ কেটে ফেলে-কিন্তু মুক্তিবাহিনীর সন্ধান তারা পায়নি। মুক্তিবাহিনী তাদের ঘেলাও পার হয়ে বরিশাল জেলার বিভিন্ন স্থানে জাতীয় শত্রুখতমের মাধ্যমে গেরিলা যুদ্ধ চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে। কোন শক্তিই তাদেরকে ধ্বংস করতে পারবে না। বরিশালের গেরিলা যুদ্ধের সমর্থনে পূর্ব বাংলার অন্যান্য স্থানে জাতীয় শত্রুখতমের মাধ্যমে গেরিলা যুদ্ধ চলছে।

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পূর্ব বাংলার জাতীয় প্রশ্ন নিয়ে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ ও সোভিয়েট সামাজিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা আন্তর্জাতিক ষড়যন্ত্রে মেতেছে। তারা লুণ্ঠন-শোষণ বজায় রাখা এবং চীন জনগণ কমিউনিজম বিরোধিতার জন্য গোটা পাকিস্তান ও ভারত যৌথ সামরিক জোট বা পূর্ব বাংলা-ভারত যৌথ সামরিক জোট স্থাপনের দ্বিমুখী লক্ষ্য সামনে রেখে, তাদের সমর্থকদের নেতৃত্বে পূর্ব বাংলার জাতীয় সংগ্রামকে ব্যবহার করছে। পাকিস্তান যাতে তাদের হাতছাড়া না হয় এ জন্য তারা একে সাহায্য ও সহায়তা করছে। এ উদ্দেশ্যে তারা নিজেদের মাঝে সহযোগিতা করছে আবার পাকিস্তান-ভারত-বাংলাদেশের উপর একচেটিয়া প্রভাব স্থাপনের জন্য নিজেদের মাঝে প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতাও করছে।

মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সোভিয়েট সামাজিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, আমলাতান্ত্রিক পুঁজিবাদ ও সামন্তবাদ এই চার পাহাড়ের শোষণের প্রতিনিধিত্বকারী ভারতীয় প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠী তাদের সমর্থকদের নেতৃত্বে পূর্ব বাংলার মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সমর্থন ও সহায়তা করছে। তাদের উদ্দেশ্য হলো পূর্ব বাংলায় এই চার পাহাড়ের শোষণ ও লুণ্ঠন কায়েম করা এবং চীনবিরোধী, জনগণ ও কমিউনিস্ট বিরোধী বাংলা-ভারত যৌথ সামরিক জোট স্থাপন করা।

অতীতে নেতাজী সুভাষ বোস ভারতের আনয়নের জন্য জাপানী ফ্যাসিস্টদের সহায়তায় আজাদ হিন্দু ফৌজ ও সরকার গঠন করে এবং জাপান-জার্মান ফ্যাসিস্টদের মিত্র হিসেবে কাজ করে। জাপানী ফ্যাসিস্টদের সহায়তার প্রকৃত উদ্দেশ্য ছিল আজাদ হিন্দু ফৌজ ও সরকারকে নিজের সাহায্যকারী শক্তি হিসেবে ব্যবহার করা এবং বৃটিশদের উৎখাত করে নেতাজীর নেতৃত্বে পুতুল সরকার গঠন করে ভারতকে তাদের সাম্রাজ্যভুক্ত করা। দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধের পরাজয় জাপানীদের এ স্বপ্ন নস্যাৎ করে দেয়। এভাবে প্রতিক্রিয়াশীলদের সহায়তায় ভারতকে মুক্ত করার প্রচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ হয়।

অতীত ও বর্তমান বিশ্বের ঘটনাবলী আমাদের শিক্ষা দেয় মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সোভিয়েট সামাজিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদ ও ভারতীয় প্রতিক্রিয়াশীলদের সহায়তায় কখনই পূর্ব বাংলা বা বিশ্বের অন্য কোন দেশ, জাতি ও জনগণের সত্যিকার মুক্তি আসতে পারে না। এদের সহায়তা জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে হয় বানচাল করবে বা জাতীয় মুক্তির নামে চার পাহাড়ের শোষণ ও লুণ্ঠন পূর্ব বাংলায় কায়েম করবে।

পূর্ব বাংলার দেশপ্রেমিক জনগণ ও বিশ্বের বিপ্লবী জনগণ পূর্ব বাংলার জাতীয় প্রশ্নে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সামাজিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদ ও ভারতীয় সম্প্রসারণবাদের এ সকল জঘন্য চক্রান্তকে কখনই সমর্থন করতে পারে না।

কাজেই পাকিস্তানের ঔপনিবেশিক শাসকগোষ্ঠীকে উৎখাত করার সাথে সাথে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সোভিয়েট সামাজিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদকেও পূর্ব বাংলা থেকে উৎখাত করতে হবে এবং ভারতীয় সম্প্রসারণবাদের মাধ্যমে চার পাহাড়ের শোষণ কায়েমের বিরোধিতা করতে হবে এবং প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শক্তির সাহায্যের উপর ভিত্তি না করে নিজেদের শক্তির উপর নির্ভর করে সংগ্রাম পরিচালনা করতে হবে।

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গত কয়েক মাসের অভিজ্ঞতা প্রমাণ করেছে পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের মহান জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সঠিকপথে পরিচালিত করার জন্য একটি বিপ্লবী রাজনৈতিক পার্টির প্রয়োজন। এইরূপ একটি বিপ্লবী পার্টি প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য পূর্ব বাংলা শ্রমিক আন্দোলন গত সাড়ে তিন বৎসর ধরে বিপ্লবী কাজ করে আসছে। এ সময়কার বিপ্লবী অনুশীলনে পূর্ব বাংলা শ্রমিক আন্দোলনের রাজনৈতিক, সাংগঠনিক, সামরিক লাইনের সঠিকতা ঐতিহাসিকভাবে প্রমাণিত হয়েছে। পক্ষান্তরে মণি সিং-মোজাফফর সংশোধনবাদী, হক-তোয়াহা নয়া সংশোধনবাদী দেবেন-মতিন ট্রটস্কি-চে'বাদী, কাজী-রনো ষড়যন্ত্রকারী বিশ্বাসঘাতক চক্র রাজনৈতিক, সামরিক ও তত্ত্বগত ক্ষেত্রে সম্পূর্ণরূপে পরাজিত হয়েছে। পূর্ব বাংলা শ্রমিক আন্দোলনের কর্মীরা জাতীয় মুক্তির গেরিলা যুদ্ধ সূচনা ও পরিচালনা করার মাধ্যমে জাতীয় মুক্তিবাহিনী গড়ে তুলছে; দেশপ্রেমিক জনসাধারণকে ঐক্যবদ্ধ করে জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গড়ে তুলছে; বিপ্লবী অনুশীলনের প্রক্রিয়ার মতাদর্শগত ক্ষেত্রে পুনর্গঠিত হচ্ছে। এভাবে সর্বহারা রাজনৈতিক পার্টি প্রতিষ্ঠার যথাযথ অবস্থার সৃষ্টি হয়েছে।

এ কারনে পূর্ব বাংলা শ্রমিক আন্দোলন তার ঐতিহাসিক ভূমিকা সমাপ্ত করে পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টি প্রতিষ্ঠা করেছে। ইহা পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা শ্রেণীর রাজনৈতিক পার্টি এবং এর পথপ্রদর্শক তাত্ত্বিক ভিত্তি হলো মার্কসবাদ লেনিনবাদ মাও সেতুঙ চিন্তাধারা। ইহা হচ্ছে বিশ্বের বিপ্লবী সংগ্রামের অভিজ্ঞতার সার সংকলন, ইহা বিপ্লবের বিজ্ঞান। ইহার প্রয়োগের মাধ্যমেই পূর্ব বাংলার বিপ্লব বাস্তবায়িত হবে।

পূর্ব বাংলার বাঙালী জাতির অস্তিত্ব আজ বিপন্ন; পূর্ব বাংলার সকল সংগ্রামরত দেশপ্রেমিক রাজনৈতিক পার্টি, ব্যক্তি, গোষ্ঠী, ধর্মীয়, ভাষাগত উপজাতীয় সংখ্যালঘু, মুক্তিবাহিনী, বিভিন্ন শ্রেণী, স্তর, অর্থাৎ পূর্ব বাংলার সমগ্র জনগণ ঐক্যবদ্ধ হোন; বরিশালের দৃষ্টান্ত অনুসরণ করে জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠন করুন; নিজেদের শক্তির উপর নির্ভর করে জাতীয় শক্তি খতমের মাধ্যমে গেরিলা যুদ্ধ চালিয়ে যান; জাতীয় শত্রুর অস্ত্রে নিজেদেরকে সজ্জিত করুন: গ্রামসমূহ থেকে পাকিস্তানের ঔপনিবেশিক সরকারের দালালদের উৎখাত করুন; গ্রামকে মুক্ত করুন; সুবিধামত পেলে সামরিক ও পুলিশ দস্যুদের খতম করুন; তাদের অস্ত্রে নিজেদেরকে সজ্জিত করুন- এভাবে পূর্ব বাংলার ভূমিতে নিজেদের শক্তির উপর নির্ভর করে পাকিস্তানী সামরিক দস্যুদের পরাজিত ও ধ্বংস করুন; পূর্ব বাংলাকে মুক্তি করে স্বাধীন গণতান্ত্রিক, শান্তিপূর্ণ, নিরপেক্ষ, প্রগতিশীল, পূর্ব বাংলার প্রজাতন্ত্র কায়েম করুন।

পূর্ব বাংলার সর্বহারা পার্টি-জিন্দাবাদ।
জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট-কায়েম করুন।
জাতীয় মুক্তিবাহিনী-জিন্দাবাদ।
জাতীয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধ-জিন্দাবাদ।

পাকিস্তানী ঔপনিবেশিক সামরিক দস্যু ও তাদের দালাল জাতীয় শত্রুদের খতম করুন। মণি সিং-মোজাফফর সংশোধনবাদী, হক-তোয়াহা নয়া সংশোধনবাদী, দেবেন-মতিন ট্রটস্কি-চে'বাদী, কাজী-রনো ষড়যন্ত্রকারী-ধ্বংস হোক।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের সদস্য শাজাহান সিরাজের বক্তৃতা	বাংলাদেশ কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের দলিল	২৫ জুন, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ

BANGLADESH CENTRAL STUDENT'S ACTION COMMITTEE

বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিকামী ভাই-বোনেরা,

বিশ্বের ইতিহাসের জঘন্যমত গণহত্যাকারী, রক্তলোলুপ, খুনী, লম্পট, মদখোর, পিশাচ ইয়াহিয়া ও তার পাকিস্তান সেনাবাহিনী বুলেট, বেয়নেট, ট্যাঙ্ক, কামান, আর পাশবিক অত্যাচারে বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের গণজীবন আজ সম্পূর্ণ বিপর্যস্ত। বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের অবিসংবাদিত নেতা বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিব ও তাঁর প্রাণের চেয়েও প্রিয় বাংলাদেশ ও বাঙালী জাতিকে পৃথিবীর ইতিহাস থেকে নিশ্চিহ্ন করার জঘন্য ষড়যন্দ্রকারী খুনী ইয়াহিয়া ও তার হানাদার বাহিনী বিনা নোটিশে বাংলার নিরস্ত্র মানুষের উপর সশস্ত্র হামলা চালিয়েছে। যুদ্ধের সমস্ত আইনকানুন উপেক্ষা করে ২৫শে মার্চ রাতের অন্ধকারে ঘুমন্ত বাংলার শহর, বন্দর, গ্রামের নিরস্ত্র মানুষের উপর অতর্কিতে সশস্ত্র হামলা চালিয়ে লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষকে হত্যা করেছে। হানাদার বাহিনীর সৈন্যরা আজও জ্বালিয়ে পুড়িয়ে ছারখার করছে গ্রামের পর গ্রাম, বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, স্কুল-কলেজ, মসজিদ-মন্দির, হাট-বাজার, দোকানপাট। বাংলাদেশের একের পর এক তল্লাশী করে সক্ষম যুবকদের মেশিনগানের শিকারে পরিণত করছে। লক্ষ লক্ষ নিরীহ পরিবারকে করছে গৃহহারা। বর্বর সেনাবাহিনীর অত্যাচার এখানেই শেষ নয়। বাংলাদেশের মা-বোনেরাও রক্ষা পায়নি তাদের পাশবিক অত্যাচারের হাত থেকে। পিতার সামনে যুবতী মেয়েকে, স্বামীর চোখের সামনে স্ত্রীকে নিয়ে পাশাবিক অত্যাচার চালাচ্ছে। শত শত মা-বোনকে ধরে নিয়ে তাদের ইজ্জত নষ্ট করে তাদেরকে উলঙ্গ করে ফেলে রাখছে পথে-প্রান্তরে। প্রতিদিন শত শথ যুবকের রক্ত নিয়ে মৃতদেহ নদীতে ভাসিয়ে দিচ্ছে। এই বর্বরতা থেকে রেহাই পায় না দুধের শিশু আর বৃদ্ধরাও।

কিন্তু মাতাল ইয়াহিয়া বাহিনীর এই পাশবিক অত্যাচার পারেনি বাংলার স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে স্তব্দ করতে। ২৫শে রাতে গ্রেফতারের পূর্বে স্বাধীন বাংলার জাতির পিতা বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিব ''স্বাধীন গণতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ'' ঘোষণা করেছেন। নেতার নির্দেশ বাংলার প্রতিটি আনাচে-কানাচে পৌঁছানোর সাথে সাথে ইস্ট বেঙ্গল রেজিমেন্ট, ই পি আর বাহিনী, পুলিশ, আনসার, মুজাহিদ ও মুক্তিবাহিনী এক হয়ে পাকিস্তানী সেনাবাহিনীকে বাংলার মাটি থেকে নিশ্চিহ্ন করতে সশস্ত্র যুদ্ধে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছে। বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি কৃষক, শ্রমিক, বুদ্ধিজীবি, মেহনতি মানুষও পাকিস্তান উপনিবেশবাদের শৃঙ্খল থেকে বাংলাদেশকে মুক্ত করার নিয়েছে এক ইস্পাতকঠিন শপথ। পৃথিবীর যে-কোন বৃহৎ শক্তিকেই বাংলার এই মুক্তিসংগ্রামের কাছে মাথা নত করতে হবে। কারণ এ সংগ্রাম বাঙালী জাতির বাঁচার সংগ্রাম, এ সংগ্রাম সত্যের সংগ্রাম। দিনের পর দিন জনতার মুক্তি মিছিল এগিয়ে চলেছে সাফল্যের স্বর্ণশিখরের দিকে। আমাদের মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা বীরবিক্রমে পাকিস্তানী সেনাবাহিনীকে প্রতিহত করে চলেছে। প্রতিদিন মুক্তিযোদ্ধা ও গেরিলাদের আক্রমণে শত শত পাকিস্তানী হানাদার শত্রু নিহত হতে চলেছে। ইতিমধ্যে প্রায় বিশ হাজার পাকিস্তানী শত্রুসেনাকে খতম করা হয়েছে।

বাংলার প্রতিটি ছাত্র-ছাত্রী ভাই-বোনদের মনে রাখতে হবে শেখ মুজিব আমাদের সাথে বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা করতে পারে নাই। ইচ্ছা করলে তিনি বাংলার স্বার্থকে বিসর্জন দিয়ে কুচক্রী ইয়াহিয়ার সাথে হাত মিলিয়ে প্রধানমন্ত্রী হতে পারতেন। কিন্তু তা তিনি করেননি। জালেম ইয়াহিয়ার কাছে মাথা নত করেননি বলেই ২৫শে মার্চের সেই নারকীয় বিভীষিকার রাতে জেল-জুলুম আর মৃত্যুকে হাসিমুখে বরণ করে সরাসরি বাংলার স্বাধীনতা

ঘোষণা করেন। নেতা আজ নরখাদক ইয়াহিয়ার কারাগারে কোথায় কিভাবে আছেন তা আমরা জানি না। কিন্তু বঙ্গবন্ধুর মহান আদর্শ ও তাঁর বজ্রকণ্ঠ আজ প্রতিটি বাঙালীর মনে সদা জাগ্রত। যুব সমাজের উপর যে বিশ্বাস স্থাপন করে তিনি স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা করেছেন আমরা যুবকেরা যেন তা ভুলে না যাই। আমরা যেন বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা না করি।

ভাই-বোনেরা আমার- মনে রাখতে হবে আমাদের সকলের পরিচয় আজ একটি- আমরা মুক্তিযোদ্ধা। অতীতের বিদ্বেষ, ভবিষ্যতের মোহ সবকিছু বিসর্জন দিয়ে আজ আমরা লক্ষ লক্ষ যুবক যদি প্রতিটি পাকিস্তানী ফৌজ খতম করতে প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ হই, পৃথিবীর কোন শক্তিই বাংলার স্বাধীনতাকে রুখতে পারবে না। বঙ্গবন্ধুকেও আমরা কারগার থেকে ছিনিয়ে আনতে পারব। আজ তাই যুবকেরা যেখানেই যে আছেন নিকটবর্তী ট্রেনিং ক্যাম্পে ট্রেনিং নিন। ইতিমধ্যেই লক্ষাধিক যুবক ট্রেনিং ক্যাম্পে ভর্তি হয়ে পাকিস্তানী হানাদারদের বাংলার মাটি থেকে নিশ্চিহ্ন করার কলাকৌশল শিক্ষা গ্রহণ করছে, কিছুদিনের মধ্যেই হানাদার বাহিনীর উপর ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়ে তাদের নিশ্চিত হত্যা করবে।

কৃষক, শ্রমিক, মেহনতি ভাইয়েরা- বাংলাদেশের শতকরা ৮০ জন আপনারা কৃষক ও শ্রমিক। আপনাদেরও আজ শত অত্যাচারের মুখে বাংলার এই মুক্তিযুদ্ধে অংশীদার হতে হবে। আপনাদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতা ছাড়া এ যুদ্ধে জয়লাভ করা সম্ভব নয়। আপনারা আজ নিরস্ত্র। শত্রুর মোকাবেলা করার মত অস্ত্র আজ আমাদের হাতে নেই। কিন্তু বুলেট-বেয়নেটের চাইতেও আমাদের বড় অস্ত্র আপনাদের হাতে রয়েছে। অসহযোগ ও আত্মনির্ভরশীলতাই আজ আপনাদের বড় অস্ত্র। ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের কোন আইন আপনারা মানবেন না। বাংলাদেশের উপর আইন প্রয়োগ করার কোন অধিকার তাদের নেই। খাজনা, ট্যাক্স দেওয়া সম্পূর্ণ বন্ধ করে দিন। যদি কেউ খাজনা নিতে আসে, তাকে ধরে শাস্তি দিন। আমাদের অর্থ দিয়ে আমাদের ধ্বংস করার গুলি যাতে না কিনতে পারে তার জন্য পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সকল প্রকার দ্রব্যসামগ্রী কেনা বন্ধ করুন। বৈদেশিক মুদ্রা অর্জন করতে পারে এমন দ্রব্যাদি যেমন পাট, চা, চামড়া ইত্যাদির উৎপাদন সম্পূর্ণ বন্ধ করে দিন। প্রত্যেকটি গ্রামে আজ সম্পূর্ণ আত্মনির্ভরশীল সমাজ গড়ে তুলুন। খাদ্যের অভাব যাতে দেখা না দেয় তার জন্য ধানের চাষ বৃদ্ধি করুন। মনে রাখতে হবে পরনির্ভরশীলতাই আপনাদের বড় শত্রু।

আপনাদের আজ সর্বপ্রথম কর্তব্য- যে সকল জামাত-মুসলিম লীগের দালালেরা পাকিস্তানী হানাদার বাহিনীকে সাহায্য করছে, যারা আপনাদের ধনসম্পদ লুট করছে, যারা শত্রুসেনাদের কাছে খবরাখবর আদান-প্রদান করছে তাদের হত্যা করা। তাদের নামের তালিকা করে মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের কাছে দিন। মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা আপনাদের আশেপাশেই আছে। ইতিমধ্যেই শত শত দালালদের হত্যা করা হয়েছে।

প্রত্যেকটি গ্রাম থেকে যাতে মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা অনায়াসে শত্রুসেনাদের আক্রমণ করতে পারে তার জন্য আপনারা প্রত্যেকটি গ্রামবাসী মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের আশ্রয়, খাওয়া ও যোগাযোগের সম্পূর্ণ ব্যবস্থা করে দিন।

কৃষক, শ্রমিক, মেহনতি ভাইয়েরা- মনে রাখবেন এ যুদ্ধ শুধু বাংলার ভৌগোলিক স্বাধীনতাই এনে দেবেন না। এ যুদ্ধের ফলশ্রুতি হিসাবে আপনাদের জন্য প্রতিষ্ঠিত হবে এক শোষণহীন সমাজব্যবস্থা।

পাকিস্তানী কুকুর বাহিনীর নৃশংস তাড়নায় বাংলাদেশের ৬০ লক্ষ মানুষ আজ ভারতে গিয়ে আশ্রয় নিয়েছেন। শরনার্থী ভাইবোনদের একটি কথা স্মরণ রাখতে হবে। আপনারাও শত্রুর বিরুদ্ধে লড়াই করতে গিয়ে দেশত্যাগ করতে বাধ্য হয়েছেন। তাই আপনারাও এ যুদ্ধের অংশীদার। আপনাদের যে সমস্ত ঘরবাড়ি, ধনসম্পদ ফেলে এসেছেন তা আবার আপনারা ফিরে পাবেন। পাকিস্তানী হানাদারদের দয়ার উপর নয়, কোন বৃহৎ শক্তির চাপ সৃষ্টির মাধ্যমে নয়- হাতে আমরা অস্ত্র নিয়েছি, রক্ত আমরা দিতে জানি- তাই যুদ্ধ করেই শত্রুর মোকাবেলা করে বাংলাদেশের মাটিতে আপনাদের ফিরিয়ে নেব। পাকিস্তানী সেনাবাহিনীর সাথে বাংলাদেশের যে দালালরা আপনাদের ধনসম্পদ কেড়ে নিয়েছে, মনে রাখবেন, আপনাদের চোখের সামনেই তাদের একমাত্র শাস্তি

হবে মৃত্যুদন্ড। শরনার্থীদের মধ্যে ঢুকে কেউ যাতে কোন প্রকার সাম্প্রদায়িক বিদ্বেষ সৃষ্টি করতে না পারে তার জন্য আপনারা অবশ্যই সজাগ থাকবেন। ৬০ লক্ষ শরনার্থীর প্রতি ভারত সরকার ও ভারতের জনগণ যে মানবতাবোধ দেখিয়েছেন বিশ্বের মুক্তিকামী মানুষ ও বাংলার জনগণ তা চিরদিন শ্রদ্ধার সাথে স্মরণ করবে। বাংলাদেশে পৈশাচিক ইয়াহিয়ার নরহত্যা আজ যখন পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসকে স্তব্ধ করে দিয়ে এক নতুন কলঙ্কের ইতিহাস সৃষ্টি করেছে তখন বিশ্বের বৃহৎ শক্তিবর্গ নীরব ভূমিকা পালন করছে। বিশ্বের কোন কোন বৃহৎশক্তি আজ পাকিস্তান হানাদার বাহিনীকে সাহায্য করছে। আমরা সেইসব বৃহৎশক্তিবর্গকে স্পষ্ট করে জানিয়ে দিতে চাই আমরা আজ বাংলার স্বাধীনতার যুদ্ধে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছি, কোন প্রকার আপসের মাধ্যমে এর সমাধান করা যাবে না কারণ স্বাধীনতা কোন আপস মানে না। স্বাধীনতা ভিক্ষা করে আসে না। আমরা তাই কারো কাছে ভিক্ষা চাই না। তবে আমাদের এই মুক্তিসংগ্রামের বিরোধিতা যারা করবেন, বিশ্বের জাগ্রত বিবেকের সামনে লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষকে হত্যা করে একটি জাতিকে নিশ্চিহ্ন করছে দেখেও যারা নীরব আছেন, ইতিহাস তাদের ক্ষমা করবে না, ইতিহাসের পাতায় তাদেরকেও পাকিস্তানী জালেমশাহীর সমান কলঙ্কের বোঝা বহন করতে হবে, মানবতার শত্রু হয়ে চিহ্নিত থাকতে হবে।

খুনী ইয়াহিয়া-জানি লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষের রক্ত নিয়েও তোমার পিপাসা আজও মেটেনি। কিন্তু তুমি জেনে রাখ, যেসব পাঞ্জাবী, পাঠান, বেলুচ, সিন্ধী সেনাবাহিনীকে দিয়ে তুমি বাংলার লক্ষ লক্ষ নিরপরাধ, নিরস্ত্র নারী-পুরুষকে নির্বিচারে হত্যা করে চলেছ বাংলাদেশকে পুড়ে ছারখার করছ, তাদের একটিকেও আমরা বাংলাদেশ থেকে ফিরে যেতে দেব না। একটি একটি করে তাদের হত্যা করব। বঙ্গোপসাগরের তীরে দাঁড়িয়ে স্বচক্ষে প্রতিটি পাকিস্তানী সেনার লাশ তোমাকে দেখতে হবে। জানি বাংলাদেশ থেকে তুমি অনেক দূরে আছ। বাংলাদেশ থেকে তোমার পোষা হানাদারদের হত্যা করে শেষ করলেই যুদ্ধ শেষ হবে না। সেদিন বেশী দূরে নয় বাংলাদেশ থেকে তোমার পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে গিয়ে তোমাকে আর তোমার সেনাবাহিনীকে খতম করব। তোমার সাধের পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানকে ভেঙ্গে চুরমার করে পৃথিবীর ইতিহাস থেকে পাকিস্তানের নাম নিশানা মুছে ফেলবো।

আমরা যারা মুক্তিযোদ্ধা তাদের একটি দৃঢ় আত্মবিশ্বাস থাকতে হবে। স্বাধীনতা আমাদের ভোগ করার জন্য নয়। আমাদের রক্তের বিনিময়ে আমাদের উত্তরসূরীদের জন্যই এ স্বাধীনতা। আমরা মায়ের কাছ থেকে শেষ বিদায় নিয়ে এসেছি। হয়তো আমরা কেউ আর মায়ের কোলে ফিরে যাব না কিন্তু যারা আমার বোনের ইজ্জত নষ্ট করেছে, যারা লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষকে হত্যা করছে তাদের প্রতিশোধ যদি আমরা নিতে না পারি তাহলে ইতিহাসের পাতায় আমাদের মীরজাফর হয়ে বেঁচে থাকতে হবে- আজীবন পাঞ্জাবের গোলাম হয়ে থাকতে হবে। পিঠে বুলেট খেয়ে আমরা যেন বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা না করি। আমরা প্রতিটি মুক্তিযোদ্ধা বুকে বুলেটবিদ্ধ হয়ে শহীদ হব। এতে যদি একটি একটি করে আমাদের সবাইকে শহীদ হতে হয় তাহলেও সে রক্ত বৃথা যাবে না। শহীদের রক্তে রঞ্জিত প্রতিটি ধূলাকণা সেদিন এক একটি বুলেট হয়ে শত্রুদের খতম করবে। বাংলাদেশের মায়েরা-জানি তোমাদের কোল আজ খালি হয়েছে। নিষ্ঠুর হানাদার বাহিনী লাখ লাখ সন্তানকে তোমাদের কোল থেকে কেড়ে নিয়ে হত্যা করেছে। আমাদের দৃঢ়বিশ্বাস, বাংলার এই স্বাধীনতা রক্ষার যুদ্ধে যে মায়ের সন্তান শহীদ হয়েছে সে মা কাঁদবে না, সে মায়ের চোখের অশ্রু হবে বারুদ- যে বারুদ পুড়ে ছারখার হবে ইয়াহিয়া ও তার সেনাবাহিনী। বাংলাদেশের মানুষের পক্ষ থেকে লাখ লাখ সালাম ও শ্রদ্ধা জানাই বীর শহীদদের। জয় আমাদের হবেই। জয় বাংলা।

শাজাহান সিরাজ
সাধারণ সম্পাদক,
ছাত্রলীগ কেন্দ্রীয় সংসদ;
সদস্য
স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পশ্চিমবঙ্গে বাংলাদেশের প্রবাসী বুদ্ধিজীবিগণ কর্তৃক যুক্তরাজ্যের পার্লামেন্টারী প্রতিনিধিদলের কাছে প্রদত্ত স্মারকলিপি	পশ্চিমবঙ্গে প্রবাসী বুদ্ধিজীবি	২৯ জুন, ১৯৭১

MEMORANDUM BEFORE THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION ON BEHALF OF BANGLADESH REFUGEE INTELLECTUALS NOW IN WEST BENGAL

Sirs,

In the face of desperate attempts by the Govt. of Pakistan to justify before the world community its forcible military occupation of Bangladesh and to cover up their acts of genocide there, we take this opportunity to appraise you. Honorable Members of the British Parliament, of the circumstances under which the democratic and peace-loving people of Bangladesh were driven to the path of armed struggle for securing the independence of their country.

On the midnight of March 25, 1971 the Pakistan military Junta, i.e. the so-called government of Pakistan cracked down on Bangladesh to crush the democratic will of the people expressed in the general elections of December 1970. In these elections the people gave a clear mandate to the Awami League to redefine East Bengal's political and economic relationship with West Pakistan through the League's six-point Programme. The Awami League won 167 of the 169 seats from Bangladesh in a House of 313 which meant a clear majority for it in the National Assembly. The successful candidates of the Awami League received 80% of the popular vote cast in Bangladesh.

Yahya Khan started negotiations with the Awami League Leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for a political settlement in mid-March but actually only used this as a cover for military preparations and dispatch of troops from West Pakistan to Bangladesh. When in the course of these negotiations hopes were raised for a settlement within the framework of a united Pakistan for which the Sheikh tried till the last moment the Pakistan Army struck, in an act of treachery unparalleled in contemporary history. Guns, tanks and planes were used against unarmed civilians to carry out a programme of mass slaughter of Bengalis.

While hundreds and thousands of people were being killed, the police, the Bengali
members of the East Pakistan Rifles and men and officers of the East Bengal Regiment rose in a heroic resistance, which was later joined by thousands of the sons and daughters of Bangladesh.

It is in this background of spontaneous resistance of the people against the army of West Pakistan that the Democratic Republic of Bangladesh was born on April 10, 1971. It derives its sanction from a people's inalienable right to live in security, which was threatened by the bad faith and genocidal attack of the Military Junta on the unsuspecting Bengalis on the night of March 25.

Pakistan is now dead and buried under a mountain of corpses. The hundreds and thousands of people murdered by the West Pakistani troops in Bangladesh will act as an impenetrable barrier between West Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh. It is Yahya Khan and his Junta therefore who have dug grave of Pakistan.

On their orders the West Pakistan troops committed acts of inhuman savagery and sadism. Professional West Pakistani soldiers, under orders from their commanders violated the code of military honor and were seen as beats of prey who indulged in an orgy of murder, rape. loot, arson and destruction unequalled in the annals of civilization. Foreign newsmen were driven out of Bangladesh to avoid international publicity. But even some journalists taken on a guided tour of Bangladesh in May reported genocide and inhuman atrocities. And now, we have the gruesome talc of Pak. Army's programme as reported in "The Sunday Times" by Mr. Antony Mascarenhas an erstwhile Pakistan journalist from Karachi. These atrocious acts clearly indicate the concept of two nations and two countries was already very deeply rooted in the minds of Yahya and his associates who would not conceive of committing such atrocities of their own countrymen. This is an alien occupation army full of racial hatred towards the people of Bangladesh whom it wanted to subdue and enslave. This is why the situation in Bangladesh is radically different from civil wars in other countries including that of the USA. In such cases two parts of one people fought over certain issues and could still achieve reconciliation and reunion based on a sense of common identity. From its very inception, Pakistan was an unusual slate, unique in modern history, with its two wings separated by more than one thousand miles of foreign territory. Linguistically and culturally, Bangladesh is completely different from West Pakistan.

The people of Bangladesh, despite all this asked for autonomy on the basis of the Awami League's six-point formula within the framework of Pakistan. But their sincere efforts to maintain the unity of Pakistan through justice to ail its units were frustrated by a large-scale massacre of the people of Bangladesh. A point of no return has consequently been reached. The sovereign and independent Republic of Bangladesh is now on the map of the world. The treacherous attack on, and the continuing slaughter of people whose only sin was to demand a change in their colonial status in Pakistan through constitutional means, clearly rule out all possibility of a return to the position before March 25.

The Government of Democratic Republic of Bangladesh has been constituted by the elected representatives of the people who alone represent the legitimacy, legal and moral authority in the Country.

The West Pakistan, military junta which is illegally and immorally occupying the urban centers of Bangladesh cannot and should not be considered as the lawful govt. of the land.

The people and government of the democratic world should come out on the side of democracy in Bangladesh as against the military dictatorship of Yahya and his junta. Britain as the mother of the democratic parliamentary system should act immediately and show others the way. We appeal to you and through you to the government of Britain to take the following steps immediately:

1. Recognize the government of the Democratic Republic of Bangladesh.
2. Put pressure on Islamabad to secure the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other political prisoners of Bangladesh.
3. Give all help to Bangladesh to defend freedom and democracy.
4. Stop all aid to Pakistan, including aid in the pipeline.
5. Several trade and economic relations with Pakistan.
6. Force Yahya to stop genocide.
7. Establish an International Commission of Jurists to enquire into the acts of genocide and traffic in women committed by the Pakistan troops, and punish the culprits.

BONGAON
JUNE 29, 1971

Your faithfully.
On behalf of Bangladesh intellectuals
now in West Bengal.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের সাথে আপসের বিরোধিতা করে মওলানা ভাসানী	দি হিন্দুস্তান টাইমস (নয়াদিল্লী)	৩০ জুন,১৯৭১

NO COMPROMISE WITH YAHYA ON INDEPENDENCE: BHASANI
Press statement oil June 29,1971

Maulana Bhasani, the National Awami Party leader, today made it emphatically clear that there could not be any compromise regarding the political settlement of the Bangladesh issue.

In a Press statement, Maulana Bhasani reiterated that, however, deep the conspiracy against the freedom of Bangladesh might be, it was bound to fail.

The people of Bangladesh, he said, would not accept a hoax in the name of a political settlement when they had lost their most valuable assets, when the honour of their women had been violated, when they had lost their health and homes and had been driven out from their own country and when they had sacrificed one million valuable lives.

U. S. Criticized

"They are determined either to have full independence or to choose death. There can be no compromise or hotchpotch solution. Any party, which ignores the demand for full independence and joins hands with Yahya; will be hated more than the anti-people Muslim League. Their political death is inevitable."

The Maulana vehemently criticized the arms supply by America and said not only the people of free Bangladesh but also the democratic and peaceful people of the world, including those of America, had repeatedly appealed to the US Government not to extend arms or monetary help by the "most-hated Yahya Government."

He regretted that the U.S. Government had ignored the world opinion and was giving modern weapons and planes, more in quantity than before, to Pakistan. "They have thus exposed their own character which is against humanity. The Nixon Administration must bear the consequences of this policy," Maulana Bhasani added.

Since the last great war, the imperialist U.S. Government was indulging in a conspiracy and was trying to perpetrate its domination and exploitation in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. But the American Government should realise that though they might give the aggressor Yahya all the arms, they could not succeed in crushing the struggle of the 75 million Bengalis to liberate their country from the hands of the aggressors.

Maulana Bhasani said the population of Vietnam was much less than that of Bangladesh. Yet the Nixon Government was unable to crush the peoples' movement there, even though it was spending Rs. 50 million per day. "Those countries, including the U.S., China, and Britain, who would give arms and monetary aid to Yahya to perpetrate his regime in free Bangladesh, will one day be accused by history."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিশ্বের বিদ্যোৎসাহী সমাজের কাছে স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের জন্য সাহায্য প্রার্থনা করে বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি	১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH SIKSHAK SAMITI

(Bangladesh Teachers' Association)

Darbhanga Building, Calcutta University, Calcutta-12, India.

Dear friend, July 1, 1971

Perhaps you are aware that in the lace of unparalleled atrocities committed by the Pakistan Army on the people of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, a large number of teachers of all levels has crossed into India. Since the community of teachers had played a significant role for over two decades, in the movement for democracy, secularism and a just social order in the country, its members became naturally enough a special target of the Pakistan Army. Many teachers have been killed, others who are trapped in the occupied zones are being harassed and persecuted, a few have been forced at gunpoint to issue statements in support of the action of the Pakistan Army. As a result, members of this harassed community are tracking into India every day. The teachers from Bangladesh, now in temporary exile in India, have formed an association of their own, on whose behalf we are writing you to-day.

About 100 university teachers. 1000 college teachers and 3000 schoolteachers have registered their names with us. Several thousand others in different bordering states of India are yet to make contract with the Association. Most of the teachers have come with their families and all are without any means to support themselves.

Having regard to the contribution that this community has made in the past and their expectant role in the reconstruction of society as and when the country achieves freedom, it is felt that we make all efforts to save it from impending doom. We have drawn up a number of schemes for providing the teachers with temporary academic occupation- research, publications and teaching the evacuee children in the refugee camps. The execution of this programme will require financial assistance from non-governmental sources, in addition to what the government of India and the government of Bangladesh may be in a position to make.

In the circumstances, we appeal to you-the members of the academic community the world over-to contribute generously to the funds of our Association. Contributions may be sent to the Bangladesh Sikshak Samiti. Darbhanga Building, Calcutta University, Calcutta-12, India.

Sincerely yours.
(Dr. A. R. Mallick)
Vice-Chancellor.
University of Chittagong
and
President.
Bangladesh Sikshak Samiti.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবি মুক্তি সংগ্রাম পরিষদের পক্ষে জহির রায়হানের একটি আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবি মুক্তিসংগ্রাম পরিষদ	৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH LIBERATION COUNCIL
OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA
বাংলাদেশ বুদিজীবি মুহিসংগ্রাম পরিষদ

July 6, 1971.

Dear

Teachers, writers, painters, artists and journalists of Bangladesh those who have been forced to take temporary refuge in India have recently formed an organisation entitled Bangladesh Liberation Council of the Intelligentsia. Our aims and objectives are explained in an appeal enclosed. Further information about, our organisation can be obtained from the address given below.

At present we are in desperate need of financial and material help from an fraternal organizations and sympathetic individuals around the world. We hope you would be in a position to extend all possible help and co-operation in our efforts.

Any monetary contribution may be sent to :
Dr. A. R. Mallick
President. Bangladesh Liberation Council
of the Intelligentsia
17, Sundari Mohan Avenue
Calcutta-14, India.

With best regards.
Yours truly.
(Zahir Raihan)
General Secretary.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সংসদ সদস্যদের সমাবেশে অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপতি সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলামের ভাষণ	বাংলাদেশ সরকার	৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ পরিষদ সদস্যবর্গের সমাবেশে অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপতি সৈয়দ নজরুল ইসলামের ভাষণ

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের মাননীয় পরিষদ সদস্যবর্গঃ

আপনারা আমার সংগ্রামী অভিনন্দন ও শুভেচ্ছা গ্রহণ করুন। বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণার পর আমরা সবাই একসঙ্গে মিলিত হবার সুযোগ পেয়েছি। আজ জাতির ক্রান্তি-লগ্নে আমাদের এই সম্মেলনের গুরুত্ব অপরিসীম। আমাদের মুক্তিফৌজের বীর নওজোয়ানেরা অপূর্ব বীরত্বের সাথে এখন শত্রুর মোকাবেলা করছে। হাজার হাজার যুবক পবিত্র মাতৃভূমির স্বাধীনতা রক্ষার সংকল্পে দৃঢ়প্রতিজ্ঞ। আত্মোৎসর্গের মহান আদর্শে তারা বলীয়ান।

মাননীয় সদস্যবৃন্দ, আপনারা জনগণের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি। বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষ বিশ্বাস করে তাদের দায়িত্ব আপনাদের অর্পণ করেছিল। আপনারা সবাই বাঙালীর স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের সৈনিক বৈ আর কিছু নন। আমাদের মহান নেতা শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের দীর্ঘদিনের সহচর হিসাবে তাঁর জীবনব্যাপী আদর্শ আর সংগ্রামের আমরা ধারক ও বাহক। আদর্শের জন্য, নীতির জন্য, নেতার কাছে আর বাংলার মানুষের কাছে দেওয়া প্রতিজ্ঞা রক্ষার জন্য এই ধরনের অটুট মনোবল আর কোন দেশের জনপ্রতিনিধিরা দেখাতে পেরেছেন কিনা তার নজীর আমার জানা নেই। আপনাদের বীরত্ব, আদর্শনিষ্ঠা, মনোবল ও ত্যাগের জন্য আমি অভিনন্দন জানাই। আপনারা গৃহহারা সর্বহারা হয়ে বাংলার স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে আত্মোৎসর্গ করেছেন- তাই আপনাদের প্রতি আমার অকুণ্ঠ আন্তরিক সালাম আর অভিনন্দন।

বন্ধুরা আমার, নির্বাচন-উত্তরকালে রমনার রেসকোর্স ময়দানে আমাদের মহান নেতা আপনাদেরকে শপথবাণী উচ্চারণ করিয়েছিলেন। সেদিন সাক্ষী ছিল রেসকোর্স ময়দানের লক্ষ লক্ষ সংগ্রামী জনতা আর বাংলার নির্যাতিত নিপীড়িত মানুষ। আমি আজ গর্বের সঙ্গে বলব, মহান নেতার হাত ধরে আমরা যে প্রতিজ্ঞা করেছিলাম যে প্রতিজ্ঞায় আমরা অটুট এবং অটল রয়েছি। আপনাদের অসীম মনোবল বিগত কয়েক মাস যাবৎ স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে জিইয়ে রেখেছে। অবশ্যি সঙ্গে সঙ্গে এই কথা বলতে হবে, আমাদের যে সমস্ত বীর সৈনিকেরা, মুক্তিফৌজের যে তরুণ সংগ্রামীরা মাতৃভূমির স্বাধীনতার জন্য অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নিয়েছেন তাঁদের অপূর্ব বীরত্ব বাংলার মানুষের জন্য এক গর্বের বস্তু। আর ভবিষ্যৎ ইতিহাসের জন্য তা এক অপূর্ব বীর গাঁথা।

৬-দফা ভিত্তিক শাসনতন্ত্র রচনার জন্য আপনারা জনগণের কাছে যে প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়ে নির্বাচিত হয়েছিলেন তা পালন করতে আপনাদের নেতা এবং তার সহকর্মীবৃন্দ কী কী প্রচেষ্টা চালিয়েছেন, তা আপনাদের জানা আছে।

জাতীয় পরিষদের সদস্যগণ জানেন, একটা খসড়া শাসনতন্ত্র প্রণয়ন করে আপনাদের সামনে পেশ করা হয়েছিল। সেই খসড়া শাসনতন্ত্র পর্যালোচনা ও পরীক্ষার জন্য ৩০ সদস্য বিশিষ্ট সাব-কমিটি যখন আলাপ-আলোচনা চালাচ্ছিল, তখনই মার্চ মাসের সেই ১লা তারিখে হঠাৎ জনাব ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব ভুট্টো সাহেবের পরামর্শে আর তাঁর অভিমান রক্ষার জন্য জাতীয় পরিষদের অধিবেশন বন্ধ করে দেন। সারা পৃথিবী জানে, আজকে পাকিস্তান দ্বিধাবিভক্ত হওয়ার যদি কোন মূল আর সঙ্গত কারণ থাকে, তাহলে সে অবস্থা সৃষ্টি আমরা

করি নাই, করেছেন ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব আর ভুট্টো সাহেব। আর এর জন্য দায়ী পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের শোষকেরা, যারা ২৩ বছর পর্যন্ত বাংলার গরীব-চাষী মজুরের রক্ত শোষণ করে পাহাড় গড়ে তুলেছে।

আওয়ামী লীগের মাননীয় সদস্যবৃন্দ, আমরা কি অপরাধ করেছি? আমাদের একমাত্র অপরাধ ২ বছর পর্যন্ত আমরা পাকিস্তানের অখন্ডতা রক্ষা করার জন্য চেষ্টা করেছিলাম। আমরা বলেছিলাম, বাংলার মানুষকে শোষণ করে, বাংলার চাষী-মজুরের রক্ত শোষণ করে কায়েমী স্বার্থবাদীরা আর পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের পুঁজিবাদীরা যারা বাংলাকে আজ রিক্ত করেছে, শূন্য করেছে, তারাই পাকিস্তানকে ধ্বংস করতে চায়। নিয়মতান্ত্রিক উপায়ে সেই সমস্যার সমাধান করতে চাইলাম বলে আমরা নির্বাচনে অংশগ্রহণ করেছিলাম। আমাদের নেতা নির্বাচন পরবর্তীকালেও একটার পর একটা চেষ্টা চালিয়েছিলেন। কিন্তু যারা কায়েমী স্বার্থবাদের দালাল, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের একচেটিয়া পুঁজিবাদের দালাল, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সামন্ত প্রভুদের দালাল- আজ যারা পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের সামরিক জান্তাদের ছত্রচ্ছায়ায় রাজনীতি করে শুধু বিলাস আর ভোগ করতে চায়, তারাই বঙ্গবন্ধুর গণতান্ত্রিক প্রচেষ্টায় বাধা হয়ে দাঁড়ালো। আওয়ামী লীগের আন্তরিকতাকে তারা দুর্বলতা মনে করে তাকে বানচাল করতে চেষ্টা করলো।

১লা মার্চের পর থেকে প্রতিটি ঘটনা যে কত দ্রুতগতিতে অগ্রসর হয়েছিল সে আপনারা নিজের চোখে দেখেছেন। আমার স্পষ্ট মনে আছে- যেদিন ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব জাতীয় পরিষদের অধিবেশন অনির্দিষ্টকালের জন্য মুলতবী ঘোষণা করলেন, সেদিন পূর্বাণী হোটেলে আমরা সম্মেলনে আর একবারের মত বসেছিলাম। সেখানে বঙ্গবন্ধুকে সামনে রেখে আমি ব্যক্তিগতভাবে একটার পর একটা প্রতিজ্ঞাবাণী উচ্চারণ করেছিলাম। আর আপনারা সেই প্রতিজ্ঞা প্রতিধ্বনিত করে আবার বলেছিলেন বাংলার মানুষের কাছে- আপনারা বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা করবেন না। দেশবাসী জানে বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা আপনারা করেন নাই। জঙ্গীশাহীর অত্যাচার, ইয়াহিয়ার প্রলোভন কোন কিছুই আপনাদের টলাতে পারে নাই। ইতিহাস এই কাহিনী একদিন স্বর্ণাক্ষরে লিখে রাখবে বলে আমার নিশ্চিত বিশ্বাস।

আপনারা নিজ নিজ এলাকায় ছড়িয়ে পড়েছিলেন- অসহযোগ আন্দোলনের বাণী নিয়ে বাংলাদেশের হাটে, মাঠে, ঘাটে, বাংলাদেশের সরকারী আদালতে। বাংলার দেশ-প্রেমিক ছাত্র-জনতার সাহায্যে আপনারা যে অভূতপূর্ব অসহযোগ আন্দোলন সৃষ্টি করেছিলেন, ইতিহাসে তার নজীর নেই। সেই অসহযোগ আন্দোলনের সময়ে যখন আমরা একটা থেকে একটা সঙ্কটের মুখে উত্তরণ লাভ করেছিলাম, তখন ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব ১৫ই মার্চ ঢাকায় আলোচনা করতে এসেছিলেন। ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেবের সঙ্গে বঙ্গবন্ধুর আলোচনা শুরু হলো। ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব, আপনি যদি বিন্দুমাত্র সত্য কথা বলেন, আজকে না হোক, কবরে গিয়েও যদি জবাব দেন- তাহলে অস্বীকার করতে পারবেন না যে, বঙ্গবন্ধুর সঙ্গে প্রথম আলোচনাতেই আপনি স্বীকার করেছিলেন, জনগণের হাতে ক্ষমতা ফিরিয়ে দেবেন, মার্শাল ল' উঠিয়ে নেবেন এবং ৬-দফার ভিত্তিতে একটা অন্তবর্তীকালীন শাসনতন্ত্র জারী করে ক্ষমতা আওয়ামী লীগের হাতে তুলে দেবেন। এর ভিত্তিতে আলোচনা হলো। বঙ্গবন্ধুর আদেশে এবং নির্দেশে আমি এবং প্রধানমন্ত্রী জনাব তাজউদ্দিন সাহেব, আলোচনা শুরু করলাম। জনাব ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেবের পক্ষে ছিলেন লেঃ জেঃ পীরজাদা, প্রাক্তন বিচারপতি কর্নেলিয়াস, আর অর্থনীতিবিদ বাংলার মানুষের চিরশত্রু এম, এম, আহম্মদ। ২৪ শে মার্চ পর্যন্ত আলোচনা হলো। ডকুমেন্টও তৈরী হলো। জাষ্টিস কর্নেলিয়াস সাহেব উপস্থিত ছিলেন। উনি যদি একজন সৎ-খ্রীস্টান হয়ে থাকেন তাহলে তাকে এ কথা স্বীকার করতে হবে।

বন্ধুরা আমার, আপনারা বলতে পারেন, নিরস্ত্র মানুষকে কেন তারা গুলি করে মারলো? কেন পরিষদ সদস্যদের বাড়িঘরে কামান চালানো হলো?

সেই ২৫শে মার্চের রাতের আঁধারে এই বীভৎস ঘটনার প্রতিবাদে আপনারা রুখে দাঁড়ালেন। বাংলার নির্বাচিত গণপ্রতিনিধিরা মফঃস্বল শহরে, জেলা শহরে, গ্রামে, বন্দরে রাজনৈতিক নেতৃত্ব দেওয়ার জন্য রুখে

দাঁড়িয়েছিলেন। আমি শ্রদ্ধার সঙ্গে স্বীকার করবো আমাদের ও বেঙ্গল রেজিমেন্টের বীরত্ব আজকের ইতিহাসের এক উজ্জ্বল অধ্যায়। ই পি আর, আমাদের পুলিশ বাহিনী, আমাদের আনসার, আমাদের মোজাহিদরাও বাংলার মানুষের পাশে এসে দাঁড়াল। বন্দুক আর কামান তুলে নিন। আজ তারা সংগ্রামের পুরোভাগে। বাংলার গ্রামে, বন্দরে, গঞ্জে আপনারা দাঁড়ালেন। আমি কিভাবে যে আপনাদের শ্রদ্ধা জানাব তা আমি ভাষায় প্রকাশ করতে পারি না। যে সমস্ত মিথ্যাবাদী বলে আওয়ামী লীগের নেতারা আর সদস্যরা সংগ্রামের পুরোভাগে ছিল না তাদের আমি জবাব দিতে চাই। বাংলার মানুষ জানে আপনারই রয়েছেন পুরোভাগে। আমি জানি চট্টগ্রামে, ময়মনসিংহে, যশোরে, রংপুরে, খুলনায়, বরিশালে, ঢাকায়, ফরিদপুরে বাংলার সর্বত্র আপনাদের নেতৃত্বেই সংগ্রাম হয়েছে। নিজের প্রাণের মায়া ত্যাগ করে আপনারা গ্রামে-বন্দরে ঘুরে বেড়িয়েছেন। বাংলার সৈনিকদের পাশে পাশে আপনারা রয়েছেন। অকুতোভয় আপনারা লড়েছেন। বাংলার সৈনিকেরা যখন বুকের তাজা রক্ত মাতৃভূমির জন্য ঢেলে দিচ্ছেন এর পরে বাংলার স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা না করে আর কি পথ ছিল? স্বাধীনতার জন্য লড়াই্ না করে আর কি উপায় ছিল? মূলতঃ এবং বাহ্যত বঙ্গবন্ধু গ্রেপ্তার হওয়ার মুহূর্তে স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণার বাণী রেখে যান। আমরা জানতাম বঙ্গবন্ধু যদি গ্রেপ্তার হন, তবে স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা তিনিই করে যাবেন। আর এই স্বাধীনতা রক্ষা করার জন্যই আমাদের সংগ্রাম করে যেতে হবে।

প্রিয় বন্ধুরা আমার, ২৫শে মার্চের রাতের পরে আমরা বিছিন্ন হয়ে পড়েছিলাম। তাই স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ সরকার গঠনের ঘোষণা করতে আমাদের একটু বিলম্ব হয়েছিল।

আমরা যে পাঁচজন শেখ সাহেবের পাশে ছিলাম এবং যাদের কাছে কথিত, লিখিত, অলিখিত সর্বপ্রকারের দায়িত্ব বঙ্গবন্ধু দিয়ে গিয়েছিলেন- ১৩ই এপ্রিল তারিখে বাংলার পূর্ব অঞ্চলে সর্বপ্রথমে একত্রিত হলাম। পরিষদের সদস্যবৃন্দ যারা উপস্থিত ছিলেন তাদের সামনে সেদিন আমি আমার সহকর্মীবৃন্দের তরফ থেকে স্বাধীনতা কার্যকরী করার জন্য পরিকল্পনা পেশ করেছিলাম। তখন যোগাযোগহীন অবস্থায় আপনাদের বেশীর ভাগই ছিলেন বাংলাদেশে শত্রুর দখলীকৃত এলাকার অভ্যন্তরে। অথচ একটা সরকার গঠন না করলে স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে পরিচালনা করা যাচ্ছিল না। সেইহেতু সেদিনের উপস্থিত বন্ধুদের কাছেই আমরা পরিকল্পনা পেশ করেছিলাম।

১৯৫৭ সালে পলাশীর আম্রকাননে আমাদের স্বাধীনতা সূর্য অস্তমিত হয়েছিল। আর ১৯৭১ সালে বাংলাদেশের আর একটি আম্রকাননে দাঁড়িয়ে আমরা বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে ৭ কোটি মানুষ এবং বঙ্গবন্ধুর তরফ থেকে স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা করেছি।

স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা করেই ১৭ই এপ্রিল সারা পৃথিবীর মানুষকে যা বলেছিলাম, আমরা বিশ্বাস করি তা অন্তরের বাণী। বিশ্বাস করি- ১৭ই এপ্রিলের এই ঘোষণা বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের অন্তরের অন্তঃস্থলের মর্মবেদনার এক অগ্নিস্ফুলিঙ্গের বিরাট বিস্ফোরণ।

স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণার পর আমি আমার সহকর্মী জনাব তাজউদ্দিন আহম্মেদকে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর দায়িত্ব দিয়েছিলাম। তাঁর পরামর্শে এবং বঙ্গবন্ধুর পূর্বতম নির্দেশের বলে আমি জনাব খোন্দকার মোস্তাক আহম্মদকে পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী, জনাব মনসুর আলী সাহেবকে অর্থমন্ত্রী আর জনাব কামরুজ্জামান সাহেবকে স্বরাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রীর পদে নিযুক্ত করেছিলাম। আমরা জানতাম, আপনারা যে প্রয়োজনে তাঁদেরকে দীর্ঘকাল নেতৃত্বের আসনে বসিয়েছেন, আমি আপনাদের সবার সঙ্গে পরামর্শ না করেও নিঃসঙ্কোচে আর বিনা দ্বিধায় তাঁদেরকে সরকারের দায়িত্ব দিতে পারি।

তাঁদেরকে দায়িত্ব দেওয়ার পরে তিন মাস চলে গিয়েছে। এই তিন মাস যাবৎ আমি আপনাদের কাছে অকপটে স্বীকার করব- যা করার ছিল অনেক কিছু করা সম্ভবপর হয় নাই।

কিন্তু আপনাদেরকে আমি একটি কথা বলব, জনাব তাজউদ্দিন আহম্মদ এবং তাঁর মন্ত্রিসভার সদস্যরা আন্তরিকতার সঙ্গে কাজ করার চেষ্টা করেছেন। আমাদের সৌভাগ্য যে আমাদের সরকারের জন্মমুহূর্ত থেকেই,

কর্নেল এ, জি, ওসমানীর মত একজন স্বনামধন্য দেশপ্রেমিক সমরবিশারদকে সেনাবাহিনীর প্রধান সেনাপতিরূপে পেয়েছি। আপনারা জানেন, অত্যাধুনিক সমরাস্ত্রে সুসজ্জিত পাকিস্তান বাহিনীর বিরুদ্ধ জলে, স্থলে, অন্তরীক্ষে আমাদের বীর মুক্তিবাহিনী অসীম বীরত্বের সাথে একটি অসম লড়াই লড়ে যাচ্ছেন।

রণক্ষেত্রে পশ্চাদপসরণ পরাজয় নয়। যুদ্ধের প্রয়োজনে পশ্চাদপসরণ করতে হয় এবং যাতে পুনরায় তীব্র আক্রমণে জয়লাভ করা যায়। যেদিন হিটলারের বাহিনী ফরাসীদেশ আক্রমণ করেছিল সেদিন হাজার হাজার বছরের পুরাতন সভ্যতা ও সংস্কৃতির উত্তরাধিকারী ফরাসী সরকারকেও হিটলারের কাছে মাথা নোয়াতে হয়েছিল। মাত্র ৩ দিনে সব ধ্বংস করে হিটলারের ট্যাংক বাহিনী প্যারিসের উপকণ্ঠে উপস্থি হয়েছিল। ফরাসী দেশের বীরনায়ক জেনারেল দ্য গল মাত্র মুষ্টিমেয় সৈন্য নিয়ে ইংলিশ চ্যানেল পার হয়ে ইংল্যান্ডে চলে গিয়েছিলেন। পরবর্তীকালে জেনারেল দ্য গল শক্তি সঞ্চয় করে যেদিন ইংলিশ চ্যানেল পার হয়ে ফ্রান্সে অবতরণ করেছিলেন সেদিন হিটলারের বাহিনী তাঁর সামনে টিকতে পারেনি।

বৃটিশের মত শক্তিশালী সেনাবাহিনীকেও সিঙ্গাপুর থেকে হটে এসে বর্মা ত্যাগ করতে হয়েছিল। যুদ্ধে পশ্চাদপসরণ করতে হয় যুদ্ধের কলাকৌশল প্রয়োজনে। তাই বাংলার মুক্তিবাহিনী আজকে সাময়িকভাবে যদি কোন রণাঙ্গন থেকে পশ্চাদপসরণ করে তবে তাকে পরাজয় মনে করবেন না। আমাদের বীর মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা পরাজিত হওয়ার জন্য রণক্ষেত্রে অস্ত্রধারণ করেনি। বীর মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা জয়লাভ করার জন্যই অস্ত্রধারণ করেছি। জয় আমাদেরই হবেই।

আমি জানি, আজকে বাংলার ঘরে ঘরে কী হাহাকার! আমি জানি নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি হিসাবে আপনাদের বুকের মধ্যে কী ক্রন্দনের রোল! আপনারা যখন শোনেন, আপনার শহরে, আপনার গ্রামে, আপনার গঞ্জে যারা একদিন বিশ্বাস করে, ভালবেসে, আপনাদের ভোট দিয়েছিল তাদের ঘরবাড়ি আজকে জ্বালিয়ে দেয়া হচ্ছে, তখন কী মর্মবেদনায় আপনারা পীড়িত হন! আপনার প্রতিবেশী নারীদেরকে বর্বর পশুরা ইজ্জতের হানি করছে জেনে আপনাদের কলিজা ফেটে যায়। এই ধরনের অত্যাচার পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে কোন সৈন্যবাহিনী কোন দিন করে নাই। নারীর ইজ্জত লুণ্ঠিত হচ্ছে আজ আবার বাংলাদেশে, হত্যা করা হয়েছে দশ লক্ষ নারী, পুরুষ আর শিশুকে। মসজিদ, মন্দির আর গীর্জা ধ্বংস হয়েছে। বাংলার ফসল আজকে মাঠে মাঠে লুটিয়ে পড়েছে। আমাদের তরুণদের আজকে হত্যা করা হচ্ছে, গুলি করে মারা হচ্ছে।

এই কাহিনীর মর্মবেদনা আপনাদের বুকের ভেতর যেমন বাজে, আমার বুকে যেমন বাজে আর সকলের বুকেও তেমনি বাজে। যদি বঙ্গবন্ধু আজ আমাদের মধ্যে উপস্থিত থাকতেন, তার প্রিয় দেশবাসীর এই মর্মন্তুদ দুঃখে তিনি অধীর হয়ে যেতেন তাদের মুক্তির জন্য। তাই বন্ধুরা! আপনাদের ব্যথা বিশ্ববাসীকে বলার জন্য মন্ত্রীসভার সদস্যরা আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করে চলেছেন। তাঁরা কি পর্যন্ত সফল হয়েছেন তার বিচার করবেন আপনারা। কিন্তু একটা জিনিস আপনাদেরকে আমি স্পষ্ট করে বলে দিতে চাই- আপনারা সমালোচনার সঙ্গে সঙ্গে কিভাবে কাজের অগ্রগতি সম্ভব তার পথ দেখিয়ে দিন।

বিশ্ববাসীর কাছে সারা পৃথিবীর পত্র-পত্রিকা আর কূটনৈতিক কার্যকলাপের দ্বারা আমরা এই কথা প্রমাণ করতে সক্ষম হয়েছি যে বাংলাদেশে আজ গণহত্যা চলছে। আজকে আপনাদের মন্ত্রিসভা নিরলস চেষ্টা দ্বারা সারা পৃথিবীর কাছে প্রমাণ করতে সক্ষম হয়েছে যে ইয়াহিয়া ভুল আর ভ্রান্ত, আর আমরা সঠিক পথে চলেছি। আজকে সারা পৃথিবীর পত্র-পত্রিকা তা গ্রহণ করেছে।

আজকে লন্ডনের ''অবজারভার'' ''সানডে টাইম'' বা যে-কোন পত্র-পত্রিকা দেখুন, ইয়াহিয়ার বর্বরতার নিন্দায় তারা মুখর। যে আমেরিকা সারা পৃথিবীর রাজনীতি নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে, ''নিউইয়র্ক টাইম'' এবং অন্যান্য সমস্ত প্রভাবশালী পত্রিকাগুলি ইয়াহিয়াকে ধিক্কার দিচ্ছে। শুধু তাই নয়, ফরাসীদেশে, ইটালীতে, জার্মানীতে, স্ক্যান্ডিনেভিয়ান দেশগুলোতে এমন কি আরবেরও কোন কোন অঞ্চলে বিশেষ করে বৈরুতের আর সুদানের পত্রিকাগুলি আপনাদের পক্ষে আজকে মত প্রকাশ করে চলেছে।

আপনারা জিজ্ঞেস করতে পারেন যে এখন পর্যন্ত এই রাষ্ট্রের এই সরকারের স্বীকৃতি কেন লাভ করা সম্ভবপর হয় নাই? কূটনৈতিক প্রশ্নে বৃহৎ শক্তিবর্গ পৃথিবীতে নিজস্ব স্বার্থের কারণে অনেক কিছু করে।

কিন্তু জেনে রাখুন বিশ্বের জনমত আপনার পক্ষে সেখানে বিশ্বের রাষ্ট্রগুলি আপনাকে স্বীকৃতি দেবেই। আমাদের বন্ধু ও প্রতিবেশী ভারতবর্ষ আমাদের লক্ষ লক্ষ শরনার্থীকে শুধু আশ্রয়ই দেয় নাই আমদের দাবীর ন্যায্যতাকে স্বীকার করে নিয়ে সাহায্য করার জন্য স্বেচ্ছায় আজকে এগিয়ে এসেছে। সেই জন্য ভারত সরকারের কাছে আমরা কৃতজ্ঞ।

বন্ধুরা আমার, মুক্তিসংগ্রামে, স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে একদিকে যেমন সৈন্যবাহিনীকে প্রস্তুত করতে হয় চরম আঘাত হানার জন্য, তেমনি আর একদিকে কূটনৈতিক আক্রমণের দ্বারা শত্রুকে পর্যুদস্ত করতে হয়। তৃতীয়তঃ দেশের অভ্যন্তরে মানুষের মনোবলকে শক্ত রাখতে হয়। আর শত্রুর মনোবল ভাঙ্গতে হয়।

বিদেশে কূটনৈতিক প্রচার চালিয়েছেন আপনার সরকার। মুক্তিফৌজকে সুসংগঠিত করার জন্য আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করেছেন। হাজার হাজার ছেলে আজ মুক্তিফৌজে যোগ দেওয়ার জন্য, মাতৃভূমির স্বাধীনতা রক্ষা করার জন্য এগিয়ে আসছে। সবাইকে সমানভাবে সৈনিকের শিক্ষা দানের বন্দোবস্ত করা সম্ভব হয় নাই। তার একমাত্র কারণ আমাদের সীমিত সামর্থ।

এই সরকারের আয়ের কোনরকম সুনির্দিষ্ট বন্দোবস্ত নেই। শুধুমাত্র দান, খয়রাত, ঋণ আর কিছু বান্ধব মারফত টাকা সংগ্রহ করে কোনমতে সরকার চলছে। তাই যারা মুক্তিযুদ্ধে নাম লেখাবার জন্য ট্রেনিং গ্রহণ করতে বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে এগিয়ে আসছেন, তাদের সবাইকে ট্রেনিং-এর সুবন্দোবস্ত করা সম্ভবপর হয় নাই। কি করে এই সীমিত সামর্থ্যের মধ্যে ভাল ট্রেনিং-এর বন্দোবস্ত ও মুক্তিবাহিনীকে আরও জোরদার করা যায় আপনাদের মন্ত্রিসভার সদস্যরা তা আপনাদের সঙ্গে আলোচনা করবেন। আমি বিশ্বাস রাখি, দেশপ্রেমে উদ্বুদ্ধ হয়ে আপনারা গঠনমূলক সমালোচনা দ্বারা ভবিষ্যৎ কর্মপন্থা নির্ধারণ করবেন। মনে রাখবেন বর্তমান মুহূর্তে যুদ্ধের সবচেয়ে বড় প্রয়োজন ঐক্যের। সারা পৃথিবীর মানুষ যেন দেখতে পায় আওয়ামী লীগ, বঙ্গবন্ধুর সহকর্মীরা, বঙ্গবন্ধুর শিষ্যরা, বাংলার স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের নায়করা এক প্রাণ এক মন হয়ে বাংলার স্বাধীনতার জন্য সংগ্রাম করে যাচ্ছেন। ঐক্যে কোনরকম ফাটল ধরলে তার ফল হবে মারাত্মক। কেউ কেউ বাইরে থেকেও নানা প্রকার প্ররোচনায় আমাদের মধ্যে ফাটল ধরাতে চেষ্টা করতে পারে। সেই সমস্ত প্রচেষ্টাকে আমাদের বানচাল করে দিতে হবে। আমি আপনাদের আশ্বাস দিতে পারি আমার মন্ত্রীসভার সদস্যরা মনেপ্রাণে এক। তাদের প্রতিনিয়ত চিন্তা মাতৃভূমির স্বাধীনতাকে কি করে ত্বরান্বিত করা যায়। যে অটুট ঐক্য আজকে সরকারের মধ্যে বজায় আছে সেই অটুট ঐক্য আজকে আওয়ামী লীগের প্রতিটি নির্বাচিত সদস্য ও কর্মীদের মধ্যে গড়ে তুলতে হবে।

আমাদের প্রধান সেনাপতির বর্তমান রণকৌশল আমাদেরকে গেরিলা যুদ্ধের পদ্ধতি অবলম্বন করতে হয়েছে। এবং গেরিলা যুদ্ধের সবচেয়ে বড় জিনিস হলো জনসাধারণের অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন ও সহযোগিতা। আপনারা যারা প্রতিনিধি, আপনাদের কাছে আমার আকুল আবেদন আমাদের গেরিলা যোদ্ধারা যে রণনীতি আর কৌশলে যুদ্ধ করে চলেছে, এই রণনীতি আর কৌশলে আপনারাই তাদের সর্বাধিক সাহায্য করতে পারে- জনগণের মনোবল অটুট রেখে আর সমর্থন বজায় রেখে। বন্দুক নিয়ে যারা লড়াই করছে তারাও যেমন মুক্তিযোদ্ধা, আপনারাও তেমন মুক্তিযোদ্ধা। এটা জনযুদ্ধ, ভাড়াটিয়া সৈন্যদের যুদ্ধ নয়। এটা হচ্ছে People's War-এই People হচ্ছে সবচেয়ে Important factor.

আর সেই People-কে সংঘবদ্ধ করার দায়িত্ব জনসাধারণের প্রতিনিধিদের। প্রতিটি সৈনিককে জনতার বন্ধু ভাবতে হবে। নির্যাতিত, নিপীড়িত ও লাঞ্ছিত বাংলার মানুষ যেন ভাবে তাদের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিরা, তাদের প্রিয় প্রতিষ্ঠান আওয়ামী লীগের কর্মীরা, সৈনিকেরা তাদের বন্ধু। যদি আমরা জনগণের এই সমর্থনকে বজায় রাখতে পারি তাহলে, আমি আপনাদেরকে আশ্বাস দিতে পারি যে, আপনাদের বীর সৈনিকেরা, পৃথিবী যা ভাবছে তার চেয়ে বহু আগে বাঙলার স্বাধীনতা অর্জন করবে।

বন্ধুরা আমার, জনগণের সমর্থন আদায় করতে হলে আমাদের প্রত্যেকের কার্যকলাপে জনগণের বন্ধু, জনতার বন্ধু, নির্যাতিত চাষীর বন্ধু বলে নিজেদের প্রমাণ করতে হবে। অত্যাচারী মিল মালিকের বিরুদ্ধে আমরা নির্যাতিত শ্রমিকের বন্ধু। বাংলার মধ্যবিত্ত বুদ্ধিজীবির আমরা বন্ধু। এই বন্ধুত্ব প্রকাশের প্রধান উপায় হলো আওয়ামী লীগের প্রণীত ম্যানিফেষ্টোকে বার বার জনগণের সামনে তুলে ধরা। আওয়ামী লীগ ভোট পেলে যে সমস্ত প্রতিশ্রুতি পালন করবে বলে প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছিল, সে সমস্ত প্রতিশ্রুতি আমরা পালন করব। এই মুহূর্তে মুক্তিসেনানীরা যে অঞ্চলকে শত্রুমুক্ত করবে সেই অঞ্চলের রাজনৈতিক নেতারা, অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক সংস্কারের যে প্রতিশ্রুতি আমরা দিয়েছি, তাকে বাহ্য রূপ দেওয়ার জন্য সক্রিয়ভাবে কাজে নামবেন। মনে রাখতে হবে, সেনাবাহিনী যুদ্ধে জয়লাভ করে যে স্বাধীনতাকে তারা অর্জন করে দেবে, সেই স্বাধীনতাকে রাজনৈতিক, সাংস্কৃতিক ও সামাজিক পটভূমিকায় রূপে দেওয়ার দায়িত্ব আপনাদের।

তাই বন্ধুরা, নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিরা, আমাদের নীতি আদর্শে আপনারা অটল থাকবেন। বঙ্গবন্ধুর আদর্শ হচ্ছে আমাদের আদর্শ। বিশ বছরের ক্রমাগত সংগ্রামের মধ্যে পরীক্ষা-নিরীক্ষার ভিতর দিয়ে এই আদর্শকে আমরা আজকে পৃথিবীর সামনে তুলে ধরছি। অসাম্প্রদায়িকতা বা 'সেকুলারিজমের' মহান আদর্শ বহু পরীক্ষা-নিরীক্ষার ভিতর দিয়ে এই আদর্শকে আমরা আজকে পৃথিবীর সামনে তুলে ধরছি। অসম্প্রাদায়িকতা বা 'সেকুলারিজমের' মহান আদর্শ বহু পরীক্ষা-নিরীক্ষার পর আমরা বিশ্বের কাছে তুলে ধরেছি। এই একটি বিষয়ে আপনাদের স্পষ্ট থাকতে হবে। কোন প্রকারে সাম্প্রদায়িকতার মালিন্যে যেন আওয়ামী লীগের সদস্যবৃন্দের নাম কলঙ্কিত না হয় সে বিষয় আপনাদের লক্ষ্য রাখতে হবে। গণতন্ত্র অর্থই হলো অসাম্প্রদায়িকতা। যেখানে সাম্প্রদায়িক ভেদবুদ্ধি সেখানে গণতন্ত্র কোনদিন কার্যকর হতে পারে না।

আজ আমরা গণতন্ত্রে বিশ্বাস করি বলেই অসাম্প্রদায়িকতা বা সেকুলারিজমে বিশ্বাস করতে হবে। বাংলার প্রতিটি হিন্দু, মুসলমান, বৌদ্ধ, খ্রীস্টানেরা মনে প্রত্যয় জন্মাতে হবে যে আপনারা সবারই বন্ধু আর ভবিষ্যৎ বাংলার সুখ আর সমৃদ্ধিকে সবাই আপনারা রূপ দিতে যাচ্ছেন।

অর্থনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে, গণতান্ত্রিক কাঠামোতে সমাজতান্ত্রিক অর্থনৈতিক পদ্ধতি আমরা বহু পূর্বেই গ্রহণ করেছি। এ প্রশ্নে কারো মনে সন্দেহ থাকা উচিত নয়। যুদ্ধবিধ্বস্ত দেশকে গড়ে তুলতে ব্যক্তিগত মালিকানা হ্রাস করতেই হবে। এই যুদ্ধবিধ্বস্ত অর্থনীতিকে গড়ে তুলতে রাষ্ট্রীয় পর্যায়ে অর্থনৈতিক মালিকানা অর্জন করে সমাজতান্ত্রিক অর্থনীতির মাধ্যমে আপনাদেরকে দেশ গঠনের কাজে অগ্রসর হতে হবে।

বন্ধুরা আমার, আদর্শের উপর ফাটল যেন না হয়। বাংলার স্বার্থে পৃথিবীর যে দেশের সঙ্গে যে কোন জায়গায় বন্ধুত্ব করা দরকার তা আমরা করব। নিরপেক্ষ পররাষ্ট্র নীতি আমাদের অবলম্বন। বিশ্বের নির্যাতিত মানুষের স্বাধীনতার জন্য আমরা সেই সমস্ত জাতির পাশেই দাঁড়াব। বহু রক্তের বদলে, বহু দুঃখের রজনী পার করে আমরা জেনেছি স্বাধীনতার লড়াই কি। আমরা জেনেছি সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা যারা এখনো পৃথিবীর দিকে দিকে বিভিন্ন জাতিকে পদানত করে রেখেছে, সেই সমস্ত পদদলিত জাতির বুকের মর্মজ্বালা কি। একদিন আমেরিকাকে বৃটিশ রাজ্যের অধীন থেকে স্বাধীনতার জন্য লড়াই করতে হয়েছিল। বোস্টনের বন্দরে যেদিন জাহাজ ডুবিয়ে দিল, আমেরিকার স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামীদের এবং জর্জ ওয়াশিংটনের অসি ঝলসে উঠল বোস্টনের তীরে তীরে। আর জেফারসনের বলিষ্ঠ কণ্ঠ যেদিন মানবতার জয়গান গাইল, সেদিনের আমেরিকা সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বিরুদ্ধেই সংগ্রাম করেছিল। তাহলে কেন আজ সাম্রাজ্যবাদী ইয়াহিয়ার জন্য অস্ত্র আসছে? আমি প্রেসিডেন্ট নিক্সনের কাছে আপনাদের তরফ থেকে মনের বেদনা প্রকাশ করেছি, প্রতিবাদ জানিয়েছি পাকিস্তানকে অস্ত্র সরবরাহের বিরুদ্ধে। বহু সংগ্রামের ভিতর দিয়ে সোভিয়েত রাশিয়াকে তার জাতীয় স্বাধীনতা পুনরুদ্ধার করতে হয়েছিল। জারের অত্যাচার, সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের চক্রান্ত, পরবর্তীকালে হিটলারের আক্রমণের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম করে বীর রুশ জাতি স্বাধীনতার স্বর্ণশিখরে উপস্থিত হয়েছিল। আপনাদের মাধ্যমে আর একবার আমি মহান রুশ জাতির কাছে আবেদন জানাই, তারা এই স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে আমাদের পাশে এসে দাঁড়াক। চিরকাল বাংলার মুক্তিকামী মানুষ সোভিয়েত রাশিয়ার মানুষকে স্মরণ করবে।

আমাদের প্রতিবেশী চীনের বর্তমান নায়কেরা ইয়াহিয়ার সঙ্গে মিতালী গড়ে তুলেছেন। জানি না পিছনে রাষ্ট্রগত স্বার্থ ছাড়া আর কি থাকতে পারে। আমরা তো চীনকে এই দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতে দেখি নাই। চীনের বর্তমান নায়কেরা যাই বলুন না কেন মহান জাতি চীনের প্রতি কোন অবিশ্বাস আমরা পোষণ করি না। চীনের সাধারণ মানুষকে আমরা আমাদের ভালবাসাই দেই। আর আবেদন জানাই, আপনারা আপনাদের নায়কদের বাধ্য করুন- যেখানে কৃষক-শ্রমিক মরছে, যেখানে একটা জাতি নির্যাতনে নিষ্পেষিত হচ্ছে সেখানে একটা অত্যাচারী সাম্রাজ্যবাদী সরকারকে তাঁরা সমর্থন যেন না জানায়। একটা সাম্রাজ্যবাদী সরকারকে কী করে আজকে আপনাদের নায়কেরা সমর্থন করেছেন। তা একবার আপনারা দেখুন।

বন্ধুরা, মনে রাখতে হবে আমাদের স্বাধীনতা অন্য কেউ এনে দেবে না। নিজেদের স্বাধীনতা নিজেদেরকেই অর্জন করতে হবে। বাইরের কোন রাষ্ট্র স্বাধীনতার ফল এনে দেবে, এ ধারণা ভুল। দশ লক্ষ বাঙ্গালী রক্ত দিয়েছে। বঙ্গবন্ধু বলেছিলেন রক্ত যখন আমরা দিতে শিখেছি তখন রক্ত আরো দেবো, বাংলার মানুষকে মুক্ত করে ছাড়বো। দশ লক্ষ বাঙ্গালীর বীর যারা প্রাণ দিয়েছে তাদের কসম দিয়ে আপনাদেরকে বলছি, আজকে স্বাধীনতার লড়াই-এ প্রয়োজন পড়লে আরো আমরা প্রাণ বিসর্জন দিব। তবু আপোস করব না। ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেব তার শেষ বেতার ভাষণে আমাদের হুমকি দিয়েছেন। এই ইয়াহিয়া খান বাংলার নির্বাচিত জনগণের প্রতিনিধিদের সদস্যপদ বাতিলের ব্যবস্থা করেছেন। ইয়াহিয়া খাঁন পশ্চিম পাকিস্তান থেকে আমরা নির্বাচিত সদস্য নই। বাংলার মানুষ আমাদেরকে নির্বাচিত করেছে। তাদের কাছে দেওয়া প্রতিশ্রুতি রক্ষা করার জন্যই আজ আমরা গৃহহারা, সর্বহারা, আজ আমরা বনে জঙ্গলে ঘুরছি। কে তুমি ইয়াহিয়া? তোমাকে সরকার পরিচালনার দায়িত্ব কে দিয়েছে? পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের জনগণও তোমাকে রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনার দায়িত্ব দেয় নাই। নির্যাতিত পাঠান, বেলুচ, সিন্ধিদেরকেও তুমি শাসন করে চলেছো। পাঞ্জাবের চাষী-মজুরদের উপর অত্যাচারে তুমি জমিদারদের সহায়তা করেছো। তোমার হুমকি ও ঔদ্ধত্যের উত্তর রণক্ষেত্রে আমাদের বীর সৈনিকেরা দেবে।

সর্বশেষে আপনাদেরকে বলি সংকল্পে অটুট থাকতে হবে ! দুর্বলতা কোনভাবে যেন আমাদের মনে স্থান না পায়। পরিপূর্ণ স্বাধীনতাই আমাদের লক্ষ্য। স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম বাংলার বিকল্প কোন প্রস্তাব, আপনাদের কাছে, বাংলার মানুষের কাছে গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়। তৎসত্ত্বে ইয়াহিয়া খান সাহেবের কাছে বলেছিলাম, আহবান জানিয়েছিলাম যুদ্ধ বন্ধ করুন। আমরা দশ লক্ষ মরেছি, তোমার ১৫ হাজার সৈনিককে তো ইতিমধ্যে মুক্তি বাহিনীর লোকেরা খতম করেছে। ২৫ থেকে ৩০ হাজার সৈন্য আহত হয়েছে। শুধু বাংলার ঘরে ঘরে মা-বোনেরা কন্দন রোল নয়, পাঞ্জাবের ঘরেও তো ক্রন্দনের রোল। সেখানেও বিধবার মর্মভেদী হাহাকার তোমার কানে কি পৌঁছে না? তাই যুদ্ধ বন্ধ করে শান্তিপূর্ণ উপায়ে সমস্যা সমাধান কর।

(১) বাংলা স্বাধীনতা স্বীকার কর। (২) বঙ্গবন্ধুকে মুক্তি দাও। (৩) সমস্ত সেনাবাহিনী প্রত্যাহার কর। আর (৪) যে ক্ষতি করেছ তার ক্ষতিপূরণ দাও। এই চারটি শর্ত আমি দিয়েছিলাম শান্তিপূর্ণ মীমাংসার জন্য। ইয়াহিয়া খান প্রত্যুত্তর দিয়েছেন আটাশে জুন তারিখে। আটাশের পর থেকে শান্তিপূর্ণ আলাপ-আলোচনার মাধ্যমে সমস্যা সমাধানের পথ রুদ্ধ হয়েছে। এখন বাংলার ভবিষ্যৎ নির্ধারিত হবে বাংলার মাঠে, প্রান্তরে, পদ্মা, মেঘনা, যমুনার কূলে যুদ্ধের মাধ্যমে।

আপনাদের সুযোগ প্রধান সেনাপতির নির্দেশে তার সৈন্যবাহিনী রক্ত ঢেলে দিচ্ছে। তাদের সেই তপ্ত লহু আজ আপনাদের সংকল্পকে আরো দৃঢ় করুক। বাংলার যে শত শত সতী নারী তাদের ইজ্জত দিয়েছে, তাদের ইজ্জতের শপথ-ইয়াহিয়া বাহিনীকে নির্মূল না করা পর্যন্ত, বাংলার স্বাধীনতা অর্জন না হওয়া পর্যন্ত আমাদের বিশ্রাম নাই। আপনারা সংকল্পবদ্ধ হউন, আপনারা শপথ করুন, মুক্তিযুদ্ধে যে কোন অবস্থায়, যে কোন অধ্যায়ে আপনারা ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়বেন।

দীর্ঘকাল বহু সুখে-দুঃখে আমরা আপনাদের পাশে পাশে ছিলাম। আমার প্রিয়তম নেতা শেখ মুজিবর রহমান স্নেহ করতেন, ভালবাসতেন, আপনারা দীর্ঘকাল দিয়েছেন, স্নেহ দিয়েছেন, কোনদিন কে আমরা আপনাদের বিশ্বাসের অমর্যাদা করেছি? বঙ্গবন্ধুর বিশ্বাস, আপনাদের স্নেহ-ভালবাসার বিনিময়ে আমরা কি কোনদিন আপনাদের আদর্শ থেকে বিচ্যুত হয়েছি? ২০-২২ বছরের ইতিহাস যদি একথা বলে সুখে-দুঃখে জয়-পরাজয়ে গৌরবে-অগৌবরে আপনাদের পাশে পাশে ছিলাম। আপনাদের বিশ্বাসের অমর্যাদা করি নাই। আজ আপনাদের কাছে আকুল আবেদন জনাব আবার আপনারা বিশ্বাস করুন। দেখুন আমরা কি করতে পারি, যদি না পারি তবে শুধু আপনাদের কাছে নয় অনাগত ভবিষ্যতের কাছে আমাদের কি জবাবদিহি করতে হবে না? আমার বিশ্বাস আমার মন্ত্রিসভার সদস্যরা এবং আমার প্রধান সেনাপতিও এ সম্বন্ধে সজাগ।

১৯৬৬ সাল থেকে ১৯৬৯ সালে এই তিন বছর আমি আপনাদের পরিচালনার দায়িত্ব লাভ করেছিলাম। বঙ্গবন্ধু এই তিন বছর কারাগারে ছিলেন। আইয়ুব-শাহীর দাপট আর অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে আমি দেখেছি তখনও আপনারা অধৈর্য হন নাই। আমি কোনদিন ধৈয্য হারাই নাই। বহুবার আপনাদের বলেছি, সংগ্রামে জয়ী হতে হলে ধৈর্যের প্রয়োজন। বহুবার সংগ্রামের বহু কৌশল নিয়ে আপনাদের সাথে আমার মতবিরোধ হয়েছে। আজ আমি গর্বের সাথে বলতে পারি আমার প্রবর্তিত কৌশলের ফলে আমরা ১৯৬৯ সালে বঙ্গবন্ধুকে মুক্ত তথা আইয়ুবশাহীকে খতম করেছিলাম।

বিশ্বাসের বলে আপনারা আমাকে বঙ্গবন্ধুর সহকর্মী হিসেবে প্রধান সহ-সভাপতি করেছিলেন। এই বিশ্বাসের বলে আপনারা আমাকে জাতীয় পরিষদে ডেপুটি নেতা করেছিলেন। আমি জানি, এই বিশ্বাসের বলে বঙ্গবন্ধুর অনুপস্থিতিতে আবার আপনারা আমাকে অস্থায়ী রাষ্ট্রপতির দায়িত্ব দিয়েছেন। আমার ভাগ্য এই যে, আমার নেতা, আমার ভাই, আমার প্রিয়তম বন্ধু শেখ সাহেব যখনই যান, তার অসমাপ্ত কাজের দায়িত্ব গাড়ে পড়ে যায়। সেই কাজ চিরকাল আপনাদের পাশে পাশে থেকে করেছি। আজও আপনাদেরকে আমি প্রতিশ্রুতি দিচ্ছি-যদি বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা করি, যদি সংকল্পে কোনরকম মলিনতা দেখেন, যদি আপনাদের নীতি ও আদর্শ থেকে কোনদিন বিচ্যুতি দেখেন, আপনারা আঁস্তাকুড়ে নিক্ষেপ করবেন। কিন্তু বাংলার এই সংকট মুহূর্তে, জাতির স্বাধীনতার এই ক্রান্তিলগ্নে যেখানে শত শহীদের রক্তে আজকে ইতিহাস লেখা হয়েছে, আর যেখানে হাজারে হাজারে সৈনিক আজকে বনে-প্রান্তরে ইতিহাস লিখে চলেছে, সেই মুহূর্তে আর একবার আপনারা আস্থা স্থাপন করুন। আমার বন্ধু তাজউদ্দিন সাহেব দীর্ঘদিন আপনাদের পাশে পাশে সংগ্রাম করেছে, বহু জেল খেটেছে। আমার ভাই মোস্তাক সাহেব, মনসুর সাহেব, কামরুজ্জামান সাহেব দীর্ঘকাল সংগ্রামের পরীক্ষিত সেনাপতি। তাঁদের উপর আপনারা আস্থা স্থাপন করুন। একথা আমি বলব না, নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি হিসাবে সমালোচনা আপনারা করবেন না। সমালোচনার উদ্দেশ্য হবে একটি- কী করে স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে জোরদার করা যায়।

আর যদি বাংলার স্বাধীনতা এই মন্ত্রীসভার নেতৃত্বে একদিন অর্জিত হয়, সেই গৌরব আপনারা নেবেন, আওয়ামী লীগের কর্মীরা নেবেন, বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষ নেবেন, মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা নেবেন। আর সেদিন যদি শুধু কিছু ধন্যবাদ, মন্ত্রিসভার সদস্যদের দেন, তবে আমি কৃতার্থ হব। আপনাদের সবাইকে জানাই আমার আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ।

-জয় বাংলা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পশ্চিমবঙ্গের বাংলাদেশের প্রবাসী বুদ্ধিজীবিগণ কর্তৃক কানাডীয় পার্লামেন্টারী প্রতিনিধিদলের কাছে প্রদত্ত স্মারকলিপি	পশ্চিমবঙ্গে প্রবাসী বুদ্ধিজীবি	৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

MEMORANDUM TO THE VISITING MEMBERS OF THE CANADIA PARLIAMENT FROM REFUGEE INTELLECTUALS OF BANGLADESH

Sirs,

We take this opportunity to express our deep sense of gratitude for the moral support and sympathy shown by the Government and people of Canada for the cause of Bangladesh. We deeply appreciate your government's embargo on arms supply to the military overlords in Pakistan and also for your advocacy of a political settlement acceptable to the people of Bangladesh. We gratefully acknowledge your contribution to the relief undertaken for more than seven million unfortunate refugees who have taken shelter in India.

You are no doubt aware of the circumstances in which the People's Republic of Bangladesh emerged as the eighth largest sovereign state of the world on April 12, 1971.

From its very inception Pakistan was an unusual state, unique in modern history in that its two wings were separated by more than one thousand miles of foreign territory- with a common religious belief as the only binding- factor. The Pakistan Resolution- of 1940 which spelled out the aspirations of the Muslims of undivided India conceived of "Sovereign Stales" in the two Muslim majority areas of the sub continent.

In their sincere desire and enthusiasm to build a unified state the people of East Pakistan surrendered their right to sovereignty as visualized in that resolution and accepted the structure of one Pakistan. They tried t6 make- this dream work but, did not succeed owing to (the) undemocratic manoeuvres. Taking advantage of the goodwill of the people of East Bengal. They, evolved a political and economic system in which the Bengalis had an inferior position. The misery, suffering, and exploitation of the people of Bangladesh by the West Pakistani ruling clique over the last twenty three years finally brought home to them the realization that they could not survive with honor and dignity unless autonomy of the regions as visualized in the Pakistan Resolution of 1940 became a political reality. The six point programme of Awami League formulated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman sought to end regional exploitation while preserving the unity of Pakistan. The massive support given to this programme by the people of Bangladesh in the first general elections held in Pakistan in December 1970" was the last desperate attempt by them to force a realization on the ruling circles of West Pakistan of the seriousness of the situation. But the- military rulers never meant to give up their colonial exploitation of Bangladesh nor were they prepared to let democracy function. The tragic happenings since March 25, 1971 have proved that the military rulers want to hold on to power at all costs. The declaration of independence by the people of Bangladesh was therefore the only course left open to them.

The atrocities committed by the Pakistani soldiers clearly indicate that the concept of one nation and one country had never taken root in the minds of Yahya Khan and his associates because such acts could never be permitted by an army except on an alien people whom it wants to subdue and terrorize.

We appeal to you and through you to the Government of Canada to take the following steps immediately:

1. Recognize the Govt of the People s Republic of Bangladesh.
2. Put pressure on Islamabad to secure the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and all other political prisoners in Bangladesh.
3. Give all possible help to Bangladesh in defense of freedom and democracy.
4. Stop an aid to Pakistan, including aid in the pipeline.
5. Sever all trade and economic relations with Pakistan.
6. Force Yahya to stop his campaign of genocide.
7. Establish an International Commission of Jurists to enquire into the acts of genocide and traffic in women committed by the Pakistan troops and to punish the culprits.

BANGAON
July 7. 1971.

Yours faithfully,
On behalf of Bangladesh Intellectuals
now in West Bengal.'

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ রেডক্রস সোসাইটি কর্তৃক কানাডীয় পার্লামেন্টারী প্রতিনিধিদলের কাছে প্রদত্ত স্মারকলিপি	বাংলাদেশ রেডক্রস সোসাইটি	৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

MEMORANDUM BEFORE THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION ON BEHALF OF BANGLADESH RED CROSS SOCIETY :

Sirs,

This short memorandum is being submitted to you on behalf of Bangladesh Red Cross Society formed after 25th March, 1971 by the doctors, nurses and volunteers who have been lucky enough to escape the carnage of the Pakistan Army. We are here today as international refugees in India, which country has very kindly offered us temporary shelter and assistance. We are here patiently waiting for time when resistance within the country and international pressure from outside will force Pakistan to withdraw its troops from Bangladesh and enable us to go back. We want to go back when we have an international guarantee for our safety on return or when Bangladesh is free.

We are here, Sir, today not because we "had anything to do with active politics or with the democratic protests of the people against the military junta in Pakistan, but simply because we are Bengalis. Our students, between the age of 15 and 30 are being systematically picked up and eliminated by the Pakistan Army, not because they broke any of their declared and undeclared regulations, but simply because they are considered as potential elements of opposition and resistance to Pakistan's military rule in Bangladesh. The twentieth century is witnessing in Bangladesh one of the worst criminal acts of racial subjugation and planned genocide and yet few Governments of the world have shown enough concern about it.

We do not wish to recount all the horrors of the continuing repression in Bangladesh as these have been fully documented and reported in the world press. It distresses us to find that the world powers have done nothing effective to stop genocide in Bangladesh while some of them are actually abetting it and contributing to it by supply of arms and economic aid.

We had hoped very much that the Government of the Canadian deleg*f»on, the oldest democracies in the world would not be a silent witness to the suppression of the elected representatives of the people of Bangladesh by means of brute force.

May we urge, you Sirs, to try and persuade your Government to initiate steps, as a signatory of the genocide convention, through the United Nations, to stop genocide in Bangladesh. May we also request you to help create conditions for our return to our country by recognizing the justness of our cause and the legitimacy of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, founded as it is on the wishes of her people.

BANGAON
July 7, 197'

Yours faithfully.
On behalf of Bangladesh
Red Cross Society.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতীয় ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদ সদস্যদের যৌথ সভার উপর লিখিত আওয়ামী লীগের মুখপত্রের সম্পাদকীয়	জয় বাংলা	১৬ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

যুক্ত বৈঠকের ঐতিহাসিক গুরুত্ব

চলতি মাসের ৫ই ও ৬ই তারিখে মুজিবনগরে বাংলাদেশ আওয়ামী লীগের জাতীয় ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদ সদস্যদের যে অধিবেশন হয়ে গেল- তার ঐতিহাসিক গুরুত্ব ইতিমধ্যেই আমাদের জাতীয় জীবনে প্রতিভাত হতে শুরু করেছে। শুধু জাতীয় জীবনে নয়, আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রেও এই বৈঠকে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রাম ও তার গণপ্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক চরিত্রের একটা যথার্থ প্রেক্ষিত তুলে ধরবে তাতে সন্দেহ নেই। এতে রণাঙ্গনে সংগ্রামরত আমাদের বীর মুক্তিবাহিনী ও গেরিলা যোদ্ধাদের মনোবল ও আক্রমণ ক্ষমতা যেমন আরো বাড়বে, তেমনি বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামে যেসব বন্ধুরাষ্ট্র অকৃপণভাবে সমর্থন জোগাচ্ছেন, তাদের এই সমর্থনের নৈতিক ভিত্তি আরো দৃঢ় হবে। কারণ, রণাঙ্গনের বীর মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা যেমন জানেন তাদের সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধিরা ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে তাদের পাশেই রয়েছেন, তেমনি বিশ্বের মানবতাবাদী ও শান্তিকামী বন্ধু দেশগুলোও জানবে, বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামে সকল স্তরের মানুষের ঐক্য অটুট ও অনড় রয়েছে। ভুলভ্রান্তি মানুষ মাত্রেই হয়। বাংলাদেশের মানুষের উপর আকস্মিকভাবে চাপিয়ে দেয়া এই যুদ্ধে প্রাথমিক প্রস্তুতির ক্ষেত্রেও ক্ষেত্রবিশেষে ভুলভ্রান্তি ঘটতে পারে। বিপ্লবের ইতিহাসে স্বাধীনতার যুদ্ধে প্রাথমিক প্রস্তুতির ক্ষেত্রে এই ধরনের মানবিক ভুলভ্রান্তি- সব দেশে সব যুগেই ঘটতে দেখা গেছে। এই ভুলভ্রান্তি বড় কথা নয়। বড় কথা অটুট গণঐক্য, জাতীয় ঐক্য এবং শত্রুর উপর আঘাত হানার ক্রমবর্ধমান মনোবল। গত তিনমাসে বাংলাদেশের মানুষ প্রমাণ করেছে, তারা নিরস্ত্র এবং অপ্রস্তুত থাকা সত্ত্বেও আধুনিক সমরাস্ত্রে সজ্জিত পাঁচ ডিভিশনের এক বিশাল ও বর্বর দস্যু বাহিনীর বিমান, ট্যাঙ্ক ও গানবোটের ত্রিমুখী আক্রমণতারা সাফল্যের সঙ্গে প্রতিরোধ করে চলেছে। তাদের বড় অস্ত্র অটুট মনোবল ও দেশের সর্বস্তরের মানুষের মধ্যে ঐক্য। বাংলাদেশের একজন মানুষ, তিনি বুদ্ধিজীবি, চাকররিজীবি, ব্যবসায়ী, কিম্বা গণপ্রতিনিধি হোন, অথবা ক্ষেতের চাষী ও কারখানার মজুর হোন, নিদেন দিনমজুর হোন, আজ একটিমাত্র লক্ষ্যে তারা সকলেই উদ্দীপিত ও অবিচল, তা হল বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি ও স্বাধীনতা। ষোড়শ ও সপ্তদশ শতকের প্যটার্নে ইয়াহিয়ার জঙ্গীচক্র বাংলাদেশে যে ঘৃণ্য ঔপনিবেশিক শাসন কায়েম করতে চায়, তার শৃঙ্খল ভেঙ্গে মুক্তির উদয়াচরে- নতুন মুক্তিসূর্যের প্রত্যাশায় ভোরের অরুণিমার মত তাজা বুকের লহু ঢালছে দেশের বীর মুক্তিবাহিনী। এই রক্তদান বৃথা যেতে পারে না। মুজিবনগরের বৈঠকে সম্মিলিত হয়ে আওয়ামী লীগের সংসদীয় সদস্য ও নেতারা সমস্বরে এ কথাই ঘোষণা করেছেন, বিশ্ববাসীকে জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন। এই ঐতিহাসিক বৈঠকে আরো স্পষ্ট করে তুলল, এই মুক্তিযুদ্ধে জনগণের ও জনপ্রতিনিধিদের ঐক্য কত অকৃত্রিম নিবিড়।

ফ্যাসিস্ট আইয়ুবের রাজনৈতিক জারজপুত্র জুয়াড়ি ইয়াহিয়া বাংলাদেশের রাজনীতিতে একটি নতুন জুয়ার চাল চালতে চেয়েছিলেন। তিনি বিশ্ববাসীকে বোঝাতে চেয়েছিলেন যে, আওয়ামী লীগকে রাজনৈতিক প্রতিষ্ঠান হিসাবে তিনি নিষিদ্ধ করেছেন বটে, তবে আওয়ামী লীগের পরিষদ সদস্যদের সদস্যপদ তিনি নষ্ট করেননি, এমন কি গত ডিসেম্বরের মাসের নির্বাচনকেও তিনি বানচাল করতে চান না। সাধু! সাধু! এ না হলে 'নির্ভেজাল গণতন্ত্রী' আর কাকে বলে! দুনিয়া দেখুক, ইয়াহিয়া চক্র গণতন্ত্রের কত বড় পূজারী! তিনি জনগণের দল নিষিদ্ধ ঘোষণা করেন, কিন্তু দলের সদস্যদের হাতছাড়া করতে চান না। তিনি নির্বাচন বানচাল করতে চান না, চান নির্বাচনে জনগণের রায় বানচাল করে দিতে। তারপর যারা তার হাতে বয়েৎ হবে তাদের দিয়ে একটা পুতুল সরকার গঠন করে নিজেদের ইচ্ছামত এমন একটা শাসনতন্ত্র তৈরী করা, যে শাসনতন্ত্র জনগণের প্রতিনিধিদের দ্বারা রচিত এই মর্মে অপপ্রচার চালিয়ে বিশ্ববাসীর চোখে ধুলা দেয়া যাবে এবং অন্যদিকে যে শাসনতন্ত্রে নানা

কথার মারপ্যাচে ক্ষমতার চাবিকাঠি রাখা হবে ইয়াহিয়ার বর্বর জঙ্গীচক্রের হাতে, জনগণের অথবা জনপ্রতিনিধিদের হাতে নয়। যে শাসনতন্ত্র হবে আইউবী শাসনতন্ত্রের চাইতেও ধোঁকাবাজিপূর্ণ। আর এই ইচ্ছা থেকেই ইয়াহিয়া এদ্দিন তথাকথিত রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের কথা বলেছেন। তার এই 'রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের' বটিকা সেবনের জন্য আইউবের দশ বছরের সেবাদাস ফজলুল কাদের চৌধুরী, সবুর, ওয়াহিদুজ্জামানের মধ্যে যেমন কাড়াকাড়ি পড়ে গেছে, তেমনি কাড়াকাড়ি লেগেছে আইউব আমলের গোপন সেবাদাস ফরিদ, খাজা, খয়ের, গোলাম আজম প্রমুখ চামুদের মধ্যে। ইয়াহিয়া আশা করেছিলেন এই চামুদের সঙ্গে আওয়ামী লীগের কিছু পরিষদ সদস্যকে ধরে-বেঁধে এনে যুক্ত করে তিনি তার পার্লামেন্ট ও সরকার খাড়া করবেন। এই দুরাশা নিয়েই তিনি যে আওয়ামী লগি দলীয় সদস্যদের বাড়িঘর জ্বালিয়েছেন, তাদের পরিবার-পরিজনের উপর অকথ্য অত্যাচার চালিয়েছেন, সম্পত্তি বাজেয়াপ্ত করে ১৪ বছর জেলে দিয়েছেন এমন কি তাদের কাউকে কাউকে খুন করেছেন- হঠাৎ সেই পরিষদ সদস্যদের প্রতিই 'ক্ষমা প্রদর্শন' ও জীবনের নিরাপত্তার 'নিশ্চয়তা' দিয়ে প্রচারকার্য চালাতে শুরু করেন। কিন্তু সীমান্তে 'অভ্যর্থনা শিবির' স্থাপন এবং দালালদের মাধ্যমে অনেক দেনদরবারের পরও দেখা গেছে আওয়ামী লীগের সংসদীয় সদস্যরা কেউ ইয়াহিয়ার বশংবদ হতে কিংবা তার পা-চাটা কুত্তাদের দলে ভিড়তে রাজী নয়। যে দু'একজন সদস্যকে বন্দুকের নল দেখিয়ে ইয়াহিয়া কয়েদ করেছেন, ভবিষ্যতে সুযোগ পেলে তারা কি করবেন, সে সম্পর্কে ইয়াহিয়া চক্র নাকি নিশ্চিত নন। ফলে এলো ২৮শে জুনের বেতার ঘোষণা। তথাকথিত রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের প্রহসন শিকায় তুলে রেখে ইয়াহিয়া বাধ্য হয়ে বিশ্ববাসীকে তার আসল চেহারা দেখালেন, বললেন, তিনি বিশেষজ্ঞ দ্বারা তৈরী একটা শাসনতন্ত্র দেশকে উপহার দেবেন। অর্থাৎ নিজেই একটা শাসনতন্ত্র তৈরী করবেন। দেশকে শাসনতন্ত্র দেয়ার নামে আইউব যা করেছিলেন, তার রাজনৈতিক জারজপুত্রেরা তার চাইতে বেশী কি করতে পারেন?

ইয়াহিয়া-ভুট্টো-টিক্কা চক্রের এই ঘৃণ্য ষড়যন্ত্রেরই সমুচিত ও সফল জবাব বর্তমান মাসের গোড়ার দিকে অনুষ্ঠিত আওয়ামী লীগ দলীয় উভয় পরিষদের সদস্যদের যুক্ত বৈঠক। এই বৈঠকে জাতীয় ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদের সাড়ে পনর আনা সদস্য অংশ গ্রহণ করে একথাই দিবালোকের মত স্পষ্ট করে দিয়েছেন যে, আওয়ামী লীগের কিছুসংখ্যক সদস্যকে নিয়ে একটা তথাকথিত রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের চেষ্টায় ইয়াহিয়া সফল হচ্ছেন বা হবেন এই প্রচার সম্পূর্ণ মিথ্যা। ইয়াহিয়ার হাতে দু'চারজন বন্দী সদস্য ছাড়া কেউ নেই। বাংলাদেশের প্রকৃত গণপ্রতিনিধিরা রয়েছেন মুক্তাঞ্চলে, প্রকৃত বৈধ সরকার রয়েছে মুজিবনগরে। দস্যু ইয়াহিয়াচক্র অধিকৃত বাংলাদেশে অবৈধ দখলদার মাত্র। বাংলাদেশের মাটিতে অবস্থান করা বা বাংলাদেশের মানুষের নামে কথা বলার কোন অধিকার এই খুনী ও তস্কর-চক্রের নেই। জাতীয় ও আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে বাংলাদেশের মানুষের নামে কথা বলবে, তাদের প্রতিনিধিত্ব করবে একমাত্র গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার।

মুজিবনগরে বৈঠক ঐতিহাসিক গুরুত্ব লাভ করব এজন্যেই যে, এই বৈঠক বাংলাদেশের মানুষ ও মুক্তি বাহিনীর মনোবল দ্বিগুণ বাড়িয়ে দিয়েছে। দেশের মানুষ জেনেছে তাদের গণপ্রতিনিধিরা রমনায় দশ লক্ষাধিক জনতার সামনে ৩রা জানুয়ারী তারিখে শেখ মুজিবরের নেতৃত্বে যে শপথ করেছিল, সে শপথ তারা ভঙ্গ করেনি বরং অক্ষরে অক্ষরে পালন করছে। আজ মুক্তিবাহিনী জাতীয় স্বাধীনতা অর্জনের যে পবিত্র দায়িত্ব পালন করছে রণাঙ্গনে, সেই একই দায়িত্ব পালন করছে আওয়ামী লীগের সংসদীয় সদস্যেরা জাতীয় ও আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে। গণমানুষ ও গণপ্রতিনিধিদের ভূমিকায় আজ আর কোন পার্থক্য নেই। একই প্রতিরোধ-চেতনা ও স্বাধীনতা কামনায় তারা উদ্বুদ্ধ, অণুপ্রাণিত। আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রেও মুজিবনগর বৈঠকের গুরুত্ব অপরিসীম। প্রথমতঃ নির্বাচিত গণপ্রতিনিধিদের একটা অংশকে ইয়াহিয়া-চক্র হাতে পেয়েছে এবং তাদের যোগসাজশে ইয়াহিয়া বাংলাদেশের হয়ে কথা বলতে পারে এই দাবী ও প্ররোচনায় সম্পূর্ণ মিথ্যা প্রমাণিত হয়েছে। বিশ্বের শান্তিকামী গণতন্ত্রী ও মানবতাবাদী দেশগুলোর কাছে আজ এটা পরিষ্কার যে, বাংলাদেশের গণপ্রতিনিধিরা ঐক্যবদ্ধ রয়েছেন এবং স্বাধীনতার লক্ষ্য অর্জনে তারা কৃতসংকল্প।

এই অবস্থায় বাংলাদেশের জনগণের নির্বাচিত বৈধ সরকার হিসেবে গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারই তাদের সর্বপ্রকার সাহায্য ও সহযোগিতা লাভের দাবীদার। গণপ্রতিনিধিত্বহীন ইয়াহিয়ার গণ-দুশমন চক্র বাংলাদেশে বেআইনী দখলদার, সুতরাং মুজিবনগরের বৈঠকের পর বাংলাদেশ সরকারের আন্তর্জাতিক স্বীকৃতি আরো ত্বরান্বিত হবে এবং বিশ্বের আরো বেশীসংখ্যক রাষ্ট্র বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রতি তাদের সাহায্য ও মৈত্রীর হাত বাড়াবেন, এ বিষয়ে আমরা সুনিশ্চিত। জনগণের ঐক্যবদ্ধ সংগ্রাম কখনো ব্যর্থ হয় না। বাংলাদেশের জনগণের মুক্তিসংগ্রামও ব্যর্থ হতে পারে না। স্বাধীনতার রক্তপতাকা মুক্ত অঞ্চলের ঘরে ঘরে উড়ছে। গণ ঐক্যের অজেয় দুর্গের প্রাকারে বাজছে আসন্ন বিজয়ের দুন্দুভি। পূর্ব দিগন্তে রক্তারুণ উদয় ঊষার সুসংবাদ ছড়াচ্ছে। জয় আমাদের অবশ্যম্ভাবী। মুজিবনগরের বৈঠক এই অবশ্যম্ভাবী বিজয় আরো ত্বরান্বিত করবে।

-জয় বাংলা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
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৪২ বলাকা ভবন
ঢাকা

বাংলার স্বাধীনতা রক্ষার সংগ্রামে দুঃখিনী মায়ের যেসব দুরন্ত নির্ভীক ছেলেরা আজ মৃত্যুর সাথে পাঞ্জা লড়ছেন, শত্রুর রক্তেস্নাত হয়ে বাংলাকে শত্রুমুক্ত করার দৃঢ় প্রত্যয়বোধে উদ্বুদ্ধ মুক্তিযোদ্ধা ভাইয়েরা আমার, আপনারা আমার সংগ্রামী অভিনন্দন গ্রহণ করুন। আজ হতে তিন মাস আগে রাতের অন্ধকারে অতর্কিতে পশ্চিমা গৃধিনীর দল ধ্বংসের উন্মত্ততায় পাগল হয়ে যখন আমার বাংলার নিরীহ নিরস্ত শান্তিপ্রিয় মানুষের উপর ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছিল, নারীর করুণ আর্তনাদে বাংলার মাটি যখন ডুকরে কেঁদে উঠেছিল, তখন সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, আপনারা প্রতিহিংসার অগ্নিশিখা হাতে নিয়ে এগিয়ে এসেছিলেন, মৃত্যুর নিশ্চিত সম্ভাবনা জেনেও আপনারা দুঃখিনী মায়ের ডাকে সেদিন পাগলের মতো ছুটে আসতে পেরেছিলেন বলেই আজ বাংলার মাটিকে শত্রুর কবলমুক্ত করার সম্ভাবনা উজ্জ্বল হয়ে উঠেছে। গর্বে আমার বুক ভরে ওঠে। স্বাধীনতার এই সংগ্রামে আপনাদের আত্মত্যাগের কথা যখন আমি ভাবি, আর্তের বেদনার মাঝেও সম্ভাবনার বাণী আমাকে উজ্জীবিত করে। বাংলার ছেলেরা স্বাধীনতার প্রশ্নে আপোস নাই, আত্মত্যাগের প্রশ্নে পিছু হটে নাই, নির্যাতনের কাছে মাথা নিচু করে নাই, অত্যাচারীদের ক্ষমা করতে শেখে নাই। আপনাদের নিশ্চয়ই মনে আছে, আমরা মুজিব ভাইকে কথা দিয়েছিলাম ছয়-দফাকে অস্বীকার করা হলে বাংলার শ্যামল মাটিতে রক্ত ঢেলে স্বাধীনতার জয়গান আমরা লিখে দেব। বাংলার বিভিন্ন রণাঙ্গনের কথা আমি যখন ভাবি তখন আমার বার বার মনে পড়ে, মুজিব ভাই, তুমি এসে দেখে যাও, তোমার বাংলার ছেলেরা কি অপূর্ব রণসাজে আজ প্রস্তুত হয়েছে। আমার মনে হয়, বরকতকে ডাক দিয়ে বলি, ভাই বরকত, জীবনের ওপার হতে তুমি চেয়ে দেখো, তোমার রক্ত আমাদের বুকে কি প্রতিহিংসার আগুন জ্বালিয়েছে। ভাই মনুমিয়া, বুলেট হাতে তোমার সাথীদের আজ তুমি দেখ। তোমার সাথী-সঙ্গীদের হৃদয়ে আজ প্রতিহিংসার প্রচন্ড উন্মত্ততা। সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, মাতৃত্বের ঋণ শোধ করার তাগিদ আজ প্রাণের চেয়েও বড়। তাই জীবন দিয়ে আমাদের জীবনের সম্ভার সাজাতে হবে। শত্রুধ্বংসের মধ্য দিয়ে সম্ভাবনার আগুন জ্বালতে হবে। মৃত্যুকে যারা ভয় করে, ... ভ্রূকুটি দেখে যারা থমকে দাঁড়ায়, মৃত্যুর সাথে পাঞ্জা লড়ার কব্জায় যাদের জোর নেই, রক্তের বদলে রক্ত নেওয়ার উন্মাদনায় যাদের অভাব-এ পথ তাদের নয়। এ পথ তাদের যাঁরা প্রতিহিংসার আগুনে আজ জ্বলছে, এ পথ তাদের যারা মৃত্যুর সাথে পাঞ্জা লড়তে শিখেছে, এ পথ তাদের যারা বুকের রক্ত দিয়ে স্বাধীনতার অক্ষর লিখতে পারে। সংগ্রামী বন্ধুরা আমার- এ পথ তাই তোমাদের। শত অভাব-অভিযোগ, অনটনের প্রতিকূলতার মুখে দাঁড়িয়ে তোমাদের এ যুদ্ধ আজ একথাই প্রমাণ করে এ যুদ্ধে বিজয়ের মালা তোমরা ছিনিয়ে আনবে। আজ আমাদের শপথ-রক্তে আনো লাল, রাত্রির বৃন্ত হতে ছিঁড়ে আনো ফুটন্ত সকাল।

সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, পশ্চিমা শত্রুসেনারা পাশবিকতার জঘন্য প্রবৃত্তিতে উন্মত্ত হয়ে ধ্বংসের যে তান্ডবলীলা চালিয়েছে, তা বর্ণনা করতে আমি পারব না। গতবারেও তা বলেছি। গর্ভবতী মায়ের পেট চিরে তার গর্ভজাত সন্তানকে তারা বের করেছে, কারণ আমাদের উত্তরসূরীদের তারা নির্মমভাবে নিঃশেষ করে দিতে চায়।

মায়ের কোল থেকে শিশুকে টেনে কেড়ে নিয়ে টুকরো টুকরো করে তারা হত্যা করেছে। বাপের সামনে ছেলেকে খুন করে মরা ছেলের লাশ বাপকে টানতে বাধ্য করেছে। স্বামীর কোল হতে সতী-সাধ্বী স্ত্রীকে ছিনিয়ে নিয়ে তার উপর পাশবিক অত্যাচার চালিয়েছে। যে মায়ের গর্ভে আমার জন্ম, যে মায়ের স্তন পান করে আমার বয়ঃবৃদ্ধি, যে মায়ের বুকভরা স্নেহ আমার মনের সম্ভাবনার আলো জ্বালিয়েছে, যে মা আমার গাল ধরে চুমু খেয়েছে- আজ আমাদের চোখের সামনে সে মায়ের সতীত্ব ভুলুণ্ঠিত হয়েছে। মায়ের মাতৃত্ব, বোনের সতীত্বের মর্যাদা পশুরা দেয় নাই। একটি ঘটনা তোমাদের বলতে চাই- যশোরের এক ক্যাম্পে এক মা পাগলিনির মত আর্তনাদ করছিল। তার সমস্ত শরীর, তার সমস্ত কাপড়ের আঁচল রক্তে ভেজা। মায়ের কাছ যখন গিয়ে শুধালাম, মাগো, তোমার কি হয়েছে- আমার মা তখন আঁচল সরালো। দেখি তার কোলে মাস তিনেকের একটি শিশুর লাশ বয়নেটের আঘাতে আঘাতে তার বুক ঝাঁঝরা হয়ে গিয়েছে। রক্তে রক্তে তার সমস্ত শরীর লাল হয়ে গেছে। আমরা মায়ের মুখের দিকে তাকাতে পারি নাই। মা আমার ডুকরে কেঁদে উঠে বললো, ''আমার তিনমাসের ছেলে তো কোন অপরাধ করে নাই, আমার দুধের বাচ্চা মাসুম কোন অন্যায় করে নাই- কেন তার এ অবস্থা হলো? কেনো আমার চোখের সামনে বিনা অপরাধে এই নির্মমতার শিকার হতে হলো?'' আমার দুঃখিনী মা, আমার সন্তানহারা জননী, আমার শোকার্ত জন্মদাত্রী, আমার গর্ভধারিণী ডুকরে কেঁদে উঠে বললো, ''আমি তোমাদের কাছে বিচার চাই, আমার সন্তান হত্যার প্রতিশোধ চাই।'' সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, মায়ের কোলে শায়িত ঐ কচি ভাইয়ের লাশ ছুয়ে মায়ের কাছে শপথ করেছি, বাংলাদেশে একটি তরুণ যদি বেঁচে থাকে, বাংলাদেশে একটি মুক্তিফৌজ যদি বেঁচে থাকে, দুঃখিনী মায়ের স্তনপান যদি আমরা করে থাকি তবে এর প্রতিশোধ আমরা নেবই। মা, মাগো আমার, ওদেরকে আমরা ক্ষমা করি নাই তুমি বিশ্বাস করো, ওদের রক্তস্নান না করা পর্যন্ত তোমার ছেলেরা ঘরে ফিরবে না। ওদের নির্মূল না করা পর্যন্ত বুলেট আমরা ছুঁড়বো। জীবন দিয়ে হলেও ওদের আমরা নির্মূল করবোই।

সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, যে ঘর আমাদের গপুড়ে গেছে, সৃষ্টির আবীর মাখিয়ে সে ঘর আবার আমরা বাঁধব। যে গ্রাম পুড়ে গেছে- সে গ্রাম আবার গড়ে উঠবে। যে ফসল পুড়ে গেছে- মাটির বুক চিরে সে ফসল আবার আমরা ফলাবো। যে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, স্কুল, কলেজ, ধ্বংসস্তুপে পরিণত হয়েছে, আমার বিশ্বাস, বিদ্যার্থীদের কলগুঞ্জনে আবার সে বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় মুখরিত হয়ে উঠবে। কিন্তু যে মা তার তিন মাসের ছেলেকে বিনা অপরাধে হারিয়েছে, শত্রুর রক্তে হাত না রাঙালে সে মায়ের কোন সান্ত্বনা নাই। যে মা তার সতীত্ব হারিয়েছেম শত্রুকে নিপাত করার আগে সন্তানের দাবী নিয়ে তার সম্মুখে দাঁড়াতে পারব না। যে বোন সতীত্ব হারানোর বেদনায় আজ গুমরে গুমরে কাঁদছে, পাকিস্তানী শত্রুদের হত্যা করার পূর্বে সে বোনের সম্মুখে যাবার কোন অধিকার আমাদের নাই।

সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, মাতৃত্বের ঋণ পরিশোধের জন্যে আমাদের এগিয়ে যেতে হবে। আমি জানি এই যুদ্ধে মুক্তিফৌজরাই লড়ছেন না, যে কৃষক গ্রীষ্মের খর রোদে দাঁড়িয়ে হালচাষ করতো তারাও আজ এই মুক্তিযুদ্ধের অংশীদার। যে শ্রমিক কারখানায় কাজ করতো, এ যুদ্ধের অনুপ্রেরক আজ তারাও। যারা দিনান্তে অফিস করতো, তারাও এ যুদ্ধের শরীক। যে জ্ঞানতাপস জ্ঞানের নিকুঞ্জে নতুন নতুন সম্ভাবনার ফুল ফুটাতো, সে শিক্ষকও আজ মুক্তিযুদ্ধের বীর সৈনিক। তাই ওদের মারণাস্ত্র থাকতে পারে, আমাদের হিমাচলের মতো অটল জনতা রয়েছে। ওদের কামান থাকতে পারে- কিন্তু আমাদের ঈমান হিমাচলের মতো অটল। ওরা লড়ছে লোভের উদগ্র নেশায় বুঁদ হয়ে- আমরা লড়ছি দেশপ্রেমে উদ্বুদ্ধ হয়ে। তাই বিজয় আমাদের অনিবার্য। সাফল্য আমাদের সুনিশ্চিত। রণাঙ্গনের ফলাফল সে কথাই তো প্রমাণ করে। পঁচিশ জনার কাছে তিন'শ জন মার খেয়ে হটে যাবে কেনো? এত মারণাস্ত্রের দাম্ভিকতা থাকা সত্ত্বেও শত্রুসেনারা ২৫ হাজার সৈন্য হারাচ্ছে কেনো- একথা বিশ্ববাসী আজ জানে।

সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, এবার রূপসী বাংলা গণ-সমুদ্রের ফেনিল চূড়ায় পরিণত হয়েছে। বিসুভিয়াসের মতো জ্বলে উঠেছে- তাই তো গর্বে আজ আমাদের বুক ভরে ওঠে। এতো হুমকির কাছেও যে মানুষ মাথা নত

করে নাই, যে মানুষ ট্যাক্স দেয় নাই, যে মানুষ অফিসে যায় নাই, যাদের ঐক্যে চির ধরে নাই- বিজয় তাদের সুনিশ্চিত, একথা আমি হলপ করে বলতে পারি।

সম্প্রতিকালে মিথ্যার বেসাতী করা যার অভ্যাস, সেই পাকিস্তান বেতারকেন্দ্র হতে বিশ্বাসঘাতক বেঈমান এহিয়া একটি বক্তৃতা করেছেন। তার ধৃষ্টতা সীমা ছাড়িয়ে গেছে, যুদ্ধে মার খেয়ে আজ রক্তপিপাসু শোষক বেসামাল হয়ে গেছে। নইলে আমরা বুঝতে পারি না, বাংলাদেশের রাজনীতি সম্পর্কে মন্তব্য করার দুঃসাহস এহিয়া পেলো কোথা হতে? এহিয়ার জানা উচিত, বাংলাদেশ একটি স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম গণ-প্রজাতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র। এহিয়ার জানা উচিত, দশ লক্ষ মানুষের লাশের তলায় পাকিস্তানের অস্তিত্ব শেষ হয়ে গেছে। পাকিস্তান আজ একটা মৃত লাশ ছাড়া কিছুই নয়। হানাদারের একথা বোঝা উচিত বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে কোন মন্তব্য করার অধিকার তার নাই। বাংলাদেশের মানুষ তার মন্তব্যকে বরদাস্ত করতে আজ প্রস্তুত নয়। বিশ্বাসঘাতক, বেঈমান, নির্লজ্জ-উপনির্বাচনের স্বপ্ন দেখছে। কিন্তু তার জানা উচিত, বাংলাদেশ থেকে উপনির্বাচনে দাঁড়ানোর চেষ্টা কোন দালাল যদি করে- তবে তার শিকড় সমেত উপড়ে ফেলতে মুক্তিবাহিনী জানে। বাংলাদেশের সর্বাধিনায়ক শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের বাংলাদেশের নেতৃত্বে আওয়ামী লীগের- এই সত্যকে এহিয়া যদি ভুলতে চাও, বুলেটের তীব্র আঘাতেই ভুল আমরা ভাঙব।

হিংসার উন্মত্ততায় দানবিক ইচ্ছাকে চরিতার্থ করার হীনমন্যতায় শোষণের নেশায় বুঁদ হয়ে এহিয়া খান বাংলার উপর আক্রমণ চালিয়েছিল। শোষক ভেবেছিল দশ লক্ষ মানুষকে খুন করলেই হয়তো বাংলার গণ-আন্দোলন থেমে যাবে। শেখ মুজিবকে বন্দী করলেই স্বাধীনতার কথা বাঙালীরা ভুলে যাবে। পঞ্চাশ লক্ষ লোককে বাংলাদেশ থেকে তাড়িয়ে দিলেই হয়তো বাংলার গণ-আন্দোলন মোড় হারিয়ে ফেলবে। কিন্তু এহিয়া, তুমি বাংলাকে চেনো নাই। বাংলাদেশে শুধু গোলাপ, চামেলী, বকুল ফোটে না- এবার দেখো, সেখানে লাল টকটকে রক্তপলাশ ফুটেছে। চবিবশ বছরের সন্তান হারিয়ে মায়েরা শুধু কাঁদতো, এবার দেখো তারা আপন সন্তানের বুকের রক্তে স্বাধীনতার অর্ঘ্য দিতে শিখেছে। বাংলার বুকে শুধু বসন্তের হিল্লোলই বইতো- এবার দেখো সেখানে কালবৈশাখী কুজঝটিকার ঝড় উঠেছে। তোমাদের কাছে আমরা বার বার মার খেয়েছি- এবার দেখো প্রত্যাঘাত হানতে আমরা শিখেছি। তোমাদের ঔদ্ধত্যের জওয়াব আমরা রণাঙ্গনেই দেবো।

সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার, আবার আমি বলতে চাই- আপনাদের অসুবিধা অনেক। বাংলাদেশ রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানের চেষ্টার অভাব না থাকা সত্ত্বেও, প্রধানমন্ত্রীর আন্তরিকতার অভাব না থাকা সত্ত্বেও, আপনাদের প্রয়োজন মেটাতে তারা পারেন না। কিন্তু এবার আমি বলতে চাই, আজ নেওয়ার দিন নয়- আজ বুকের রক্ত উজাড় করে দিতে হবে। বন্ধুরা আমার, কান পেতে শোন, শহীদের আত্মারা আজও হাতছানি দিয়ে ডাক দেয়। চোখ মেলে চেয়ে দেখো, মায়ের চোখের অশ্রু আজও শুকায় নাই, বোনের দীর্ঘশ্বাসে বাংলার মাটি আজও বিষিয়ে আছে। তাই বন্ধুরা আমার, এগিয়ে চলো, আঘাত হানো, তোমাদের আঘাতে আঘাতে তাদের ক্ষতবিক্ষত করে ফেলো। তোমাদের আত্মত্যাগে বাংলার দিগন্তে স্বাধীনতার সূর্য আলো বিচ্ছুরিত করে তুলুক, মায়ের ঋণ তোমরা পরিশোধ করো।.....

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
দিল্লীতে আয়োজিত বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে আন্তর্জাতিক সেমিনার উপলক্ষে বাংলাদেশ মিশনে অনুষ্ঠিত সভার কার্যবিবরণী	সরকারী দলিলপত্র	২০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

Minutes of the meeting held on July 20, 1971 in the Hall Room of Bangladesh Mission in connection with the International Seminar at New Delhi from 14th to 16th August, 1971.

The following gentlemen were present:
1. Professor Syed Ali Ahsan
2. Dr. Anisuzzaman
3. Mr. Matilal Paul
4. Dr. K. S. Murshed
5. Dr. Bclayct Hossain
6. Mr. Ali Anwar
7. Mr. Moudud Ahmed
8. Mr. R. I. Choudhury, First Secretary, Bangladesh Mission In chair.

After examining all the relevant aspects of this Seminar it has been decided that capers on the following subjects should be prepared from our side by the persons as shown against each item.

(a) "Account of events in Chronological order leading to the present situation in Bangladesh": The paper has already been prepared on this subject and Professor Syed Ali Ahsan will hand over the same to Mr. Moudud Ahmed for typing and finalization.

(b) "Economic viability of Bangladesh": The paper has already been prepared by Mr. Motilal Paul, Economist.

(c) "Genocide in Bangladesh": Mr. Sadeq Khan has already been working on this subject. He may be requested to prepare this paper.

(d) "Refugee influx from Bangladesh to India and the humanitarian aspects of the problem": Dr. Swadesh Bose. alternatively Dr. Mosharaf Hossain will prepare the paper.

(e) 'The legitimacy of independent Bangladesh and Awami League Government from the point of view of international law and political aspirations": Mr. Subrata Roy Choudhury, eminent Barrister of Calcutta High Court is already working on this subject. So, he may be requested to prepare this paper.

(f) "The political aspect of Bangladesh" (background with its true perspective which will include economic exploitation, attack on culture etc. leading to the present

crisis) : Dr. A. R. Mallick has already taken the responsibility of preparing this paper.

(g) "Recognition of Bangladesh in international law and current practices": Mr. Moudud Ahmed will prepare this paper.

(h) "The nature of Bengali nationalism": Dr. K. S. Murshed will prepare this paper..

(i) "Documentation of all immediate events leading to the proclamation of independence": A good compilation on this subject has already been made covering the period from March 1969 till April 1971. This compilation has already been approved by the Foreign Minister and is being sent to the press for printing. Therefore, this can be used for this purpose.

It has been decided that the individuals who will be preparing the papers should be informed so that they may be able to submit the same before 31st July positively for finalization and printing.

In this connection it has been observed by all members present that through this effort some literature will come out which can be utilized by us in future.

2. As per minutes of the last meeting Dr. A. R. Mallick submitted a list of 20 persons. The list has now been revised keeping in view the actual requirement and utility. It will be seen that each one who goes may take part in some way either by reading paper or for effective lobbying purposes. Out of 20, the following 10 has now been finally proposed.

1.Dr.-A.R. Mallick
2. Prof. Syed Ali Ahsan
3. Dr. K. S. Murshed
4. Dr. Swadesh Bose, Economist
5. Dr. A. A. Z. Ahmad, Physicist
6. Dr. Motilal Paul, Economist
7. Mr. Osman Jamal, Rajshahi University
8. Mr. Sadek Khan, Journalist
9. Mr. Moudud Ahmad. Barrister-at-Law
10. Mr. Alamgir Kabir. Journalist

3. The meeting finds difficulty in suggesting the names of the Parliamentarians as the Foreign Office in consultation with the appropriate authority would be able to prepare the proper list. But as some members suggested certain names, they are listed below:

(a) Mr. Abdul Muntakin Choudhury, MNA
(b) Mr. Amirul Islam, MNA
(c) Mr. M. A. Sultan, MNA
(d) Mr. M. A. Khair, MNA
(e) Mr. Taheruddin Thakur. MNA

4. As the Conference authority requires also some artists, the following names have been proposed:

(a) Mrs. Sanjida Kbatoon
(b) Miss Kallyani Ghosh
(c) Mr. Sarnar Das
(d) Mr. Abdul Jabbar
(e) Mr. Apel Mahmood.

20 names have been suggested above in total.. The rest five for inclusion may be suggested.

5.It has also been suggested that the Conference authority should be requested to send a formal invitation and also enquiring about the financial provisions for travelling, accommodation and other relevant expenses.

When all the papers reach the First Secretary of the Bangladesh Mission, a budget will be submitted for printing the same. However, proposal for printing these papers may be approved provisionally.

No. B. 5/80/71, dt. 21. 7. 71.

(R. I. Choudhury)
First Secretary.

Copy forwarded to Prof. Syed Ali Ahsan, 4/1, Palm Avenues, Calcutta-16.

He is requested kindly to ensure that the paper under the caption "Account of events in chronological order leading to the present situation in Bangladesh very kindly prepared by him reaches the undersigned in final shape by the 31st July, 1971 so that it can be printed in time.

(R. I. Choudhury)
First Secretary

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতীয় ও প্রাদেশিক পরিষদের সদস্যগণ কর্তৃক স্বাধীনতা চালিয়ে যাওয়ার সংকল্প ঘোষণা	'বাংলাদেশ'-বাংলাদেশ সরকার প্রচারিত বুলেটিন	২১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES VOW AFRESH

The elected representatives of Bangladesh vowed afresh to liberate the occupied territory of Bangladesh from the hands of the West Pakistani occupation forces and to follow the ideals and ideology of the Awami League and its leader Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. They completely rejected the idea of any political accommodation with Islamabad.

This strong determination was voiced by all the 374 elected representatives (Members of National and Provincial Assemblies of the now defunct Pakistan) of Bangladesh in the course of deliberations in a two. day conference held somewhere in Bangladesh, to consolidate the freedom and sovereignty of Bangladesh.

135 MNAs and 239 MPAs met in a conference on the 6th of July, 1971. The conference concluded on the 7th of July, 1971. It may be mentioned that all the ministers of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, namely, Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister, Mr. Khandaker Moshtaque Ahmed, Foreign Minister, Mr. Mansur Ali, Finance Minister and Mr. A. H. M. Kamaruzzaman, Relief and Rehabilitation Minister, were present.

The session started with the inaugural speech by Syed Nazrul Islam and concluded with the adoption of some resolutions. Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed, Prime Minister, and Cot. A. G. Usmani. Commander-in-Chief, Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces) who is also a member of the National Assembly, addressed the conference and many members in the deliberations.

It became clear from the outcome of the two-day session that the members had moulded themselves to solidly stand behind the government in its effort to drive out the enemy. However, the conference gave its clear, unswerving, determined opinion, that there is no way left for any settlement after the carnage that bas been unleashed in Bangladesh by Yahya's hordes. The emancipation of 75 million people and the liberation of Bangladesh lay solely in the complete elimination of occupation forces from the soil of Bangladesh. To achieve these ends, the conference resolved to push on the war of liberation with greater speed and vigour.

The conference in a resolution urged all the countries o/the world to put pressure on the Islamabad regime to stop the genocide in Bangladesh. In another resolution it requested all the democratic countries in general, and the Secretary-General, United Nations in particular, to put pressure on Islamabad to get the unconditional release of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and to put his family members in the hands of the

Bangladesh Government for their safety and security. The conference condoled the death of one elected representative at the hands of the Pakistan Army and prayed for the eternal peace of those souls who met martyrdom in the war of liberation.

The conference reiterated its confidence in the government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and assured all necessary help to push on with the liberation programme.

In another resolution, the members regretted the arms supply by the U.S. to Islamabad and condemned the action which amounts to helping Yahya Khan to continue his genocide in Bangladesh.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি প্রশ্নে অধ্যাপক মোজাফফর আহমদ- ২৫ জুলাই	এশিয়ান রেকর্ডার সেপ্টেম্বর ৩-৯, ১৯৭১	২৫ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

Prof. Muzaffar Abmed On Bangladesh Struggle:

The National Awami Party Chairman (Muzaffar-Wali group). Prof. Muzaffar Ahmed, said in Mujibnagar on July 25 that the liberation struggle in Bangladesh had the sympathy of the smaller States in West Pakistan. "We are expecting this sympathy to manifest itself soon."

In an interview, Prof. Ahmed said he had information that the freedom fighters there were marking time to renew their struggle. The people in two other States-Sind and Baluchistan-were also growing restive and "they may soon join the struggle for liberation."

He added: "I know their minds: we were in a common struggle for autonomy and democracy. The Fascist Government of Gen. Yahya Khan is completely isolated from the people in these three States."

He said that the Bangladesh struggle was not a secessionist movement of the type waged in Biafra. It was a national liberation struggle like that in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Muzambique. Pakistan would never be able to crush the Bangladesh movement. However, while hoping for early success, the freedom fighters should not ignore the possibility of the movement resolving itself into a protracted guerrilla struggle. "The strength of the movement lay in the people's unity. From the Chief Justice down to. the chaprasi, the people are against the Pakistani army junta. Even the British rulers in India were not so completely isolated from the people as Gen. Yahya's regime is in Bangladesh. It was this unity that had frustrated Pakistan's attempt to set up a puppet regime. Another strong point of ours is that we have the sympathy of the people of India, which surrounds Bangladesh on all three sides."

He said: "The socialist countries were not helping us as we expected. On the other
hand, USA and China are openly helping Pakistan. We did not expect silence from the Arab countries. We thought at least the progressive countries among the Arabs would show us sympathy."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘‘সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ একমাত্র লক্ষ্য’’ -মওলানা ভাসানী	টাইমস অব ইন্ডিয়া (নয়াদিল্লী)	২৮ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

SOVEREIGN BANGLADESH IS THE AIM
Press statement by Maulana Bbasani on July 26, 1971

The President of the National Awami Party, Maulana Bhasani, said today that everyone in Bangladesh, irrespective of political shades-Rightist, Leftist of Centrist-barring a few self-seekers, must subscribe to the goal an independent Bangladesh.

"Only Mir Jafars will try to create a division on our ranks for their own personal gains," the Maulana said in a Press statement, repudiating reports that be ever stood for a united front of Leftist parties.

The Maulana said, "Since the inception of Pakistan, I have been harping on the same theme-ushering in of an independent, sovereign, and socialist Bangladesh for economic, social, and cultural freedom of Hindus, Muslims, Christians and tribals."

"I have never before or after the fateful day of March 25 pleaded for the creation of a United Front of all Leftist parties of Bangladesh, excluding the Awami League."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শ্রমিক লীগের পক্ষ থেকে বিশ্বের শ্রমিক সমাজের কাছে সাহায্যের আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ কেন্দ্রীয় শ্রমিক সংগ্রাম কমিটি	৮ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO THE WORKERS OF ALL NATIONS OF THE WORLD

The war of liberation of Bangladesh is going on. In this uneven war on one side is the invading armed hordes of Yahya Khan killing, looting and plundering innocent and unarmed people of Bangladesh for the sake of perpetuating colonial hold on the 75 million people and on the other side is the unarmed people fighting and dying for justice and liberation.

The peoples' struggle will continue till the goal of achieving full freedom will come true.

In the following lines, the special position of the working class of Bangladesh in relation to the liberation movement is being narrated for enlightening the fellow brethren all over the world:

There are four million industrial workers in Bangladesh. These include workers in
industries, communication sectors and other allied fields.

The working class people were the worst victims of the colonial rule perpetuated on Bangladesh by the ruling coterie of West Pakistan. During the last 23 years, the Jagirdars-Landlords, industrial monopolists, and exploiters of West Pakistan, with the active and willing help of the so-called Field marshals, Generals and Air-marshals of the Armed Forces have been systematically exploiting the people of Bangladesh. The economic exploitation was accompanied with continuous and villainous attempts to destroy the distinct and long-cherished political and socio-cultural ideals of Bengalees. This was done in order to break the backbone of our people, so that, they could never consolidate themselves into a homogeneous entity to assert their rights for economic, political and cultural emancipation. The exploitation and repression, in all its forms and features, gradually took a classic form of colonial rule. At this stage, in 1966, Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman formulated and declared his historic 6 point programme to constructively combat the imminent disintegration of the people of Bangladesh. The Six-point programme was a comprehensive political formula to ensure economic, political, and cultural emancipation for the people of Bangladesh. The working class being the most conscious section among the "masses, immediately saw in this programme a definite promise/of economic emancipation and under the leadership of Sk. Mujib, came-out in the fore-front of the subsequent mass movements. As a matter of fact" in creating the overwhelming mass upsurge in favor of the 6-point programme in the late sixties in the face of extreme repression and intimidation let lose by the Ayub regime, in toppling his rule and freeing Sk. Mujib from the Agartala conspiracy case and later, in giving the Awami League a historic victory in the last general election, the workers and students of Bangladesh played the most decisive role.

Then again it was the workers and students who formed the hardcore of the non-cooperation movement launched by Sheikh for fighting against the Bhutto-Yahya conspiracy. And finally, when the armed might of Yahya Khan was let loose on the unsuspecting and unarmed people of Bangladesh to put at naught their democratic rights, the war of liberation began. Here also, as in other previous occasions, the workers were the first to join the war of liberation as fighters and volunteers.

The carnage, the ruthless killings, unprecedented mass massacres perpetuated on our people to-day by Yahya Khan and his army have not been able to break the will and determination of the workers of Bangladesh.

About one lakh members of the working class in Bangladesh have been killed so far. Residential colonies of the industrial workers through the length and breadth of Bangladesh have been systematically gutted down. In Adamjie Jute Mills premises, the invaders killed hundreds of workers in a mosque. The West Pakistani Army are now singling out leading workers and their families, killing them at sight, looting their meager possessions up to the last grain of rice. Those who have escaped the initial onslaught of tanks and mortars are now fighting a slow and painful death due to lack of shelter and food.

In the face of all these odds and atrocities the workers are still continuing their struggle. The non-cooperation call given by the Bangabandhu is being continued in to by our working class people. For the industrial and communication workers, non-cooperation is an effective weapon to, destroy the economic base of the invaders. The same weapon is, however, depriving the poor workers of their work and wages which they could have easily earned by agreeing to cooperate with Yahya. It is thus very clear indeed that the ,weapon of non-cooperation designed to weaken the enemy will eventually destroy the users of the weapon i.e. the 4 million workers of Bangladesh, if during the fighting period they are not sustained by help from their brethren all over the world.

We, therefore, appeal, on behalf of the fighting workers of Bangladesh, and in the name of humanity and justice to the working class of all nations of the world to come to our aid at this most crucial and fateful juncture of our struggle for freedom and economic emancipation.

1. We seek economic and material help of varied kinds.

2. We hope that the working people all over the world, through their respective organizations, will chalk-out an effective programme and launch immediate movements so that their Governments give recognition to the sovereign state of Bangladesh, with Bangabandhu Sk. Mujibur Rahman as head of the State.

3. We request our fellow workers of the world to create economic blockade against the Government of Pakistan. The international sea-mens fraternity may please refuse to work in any Pakistani ship or other ships going to or coming from West Pakistan.

4. We will also request our fellow workers to start appropriate movements so that countries all over the world forthwith stop giving any aid. economic or military, to the Government of Pakistan.

5. We would request you to take initiative in forming an International Workers Co-ordination Forum for giving effective and long term assistance to the fighting people of Bangladesh.

We would request our fellow brethren to consider that time is very important for us and a moment's delay in helping us today may cause us years of sufferings and subjugation. JAI BANGLA.

Yours in all
Struggles for Justice and Freedom
THE WORKERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Sd/- Md. Shah Jahan
Acting President
National Worker's League and
Member, Bangladesh Central
Worker's Action Committee

Sd/- Abdul Mannan
General Secretary
National Workers' League and
Convener, Bangladesh Central
Workers' Action Committee,
Mujibnagar, Bangladesh.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ শরনার্থী বুদ্ধিজীবিদের পক্ষ থেকে সিনেটর কেনেডীকে প্রদত্ত স্মারকপত্র	বাংলাদেশ শরনার্থী বুদ্ধিজীবি	১০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

A MEMORANDUM TO MR. EDWARD M. KENNEDY FROM REFUGEE INTELLECTUALS OI BANGLADESH

Sir,

We take this opportunity to express 'our deep sense of gratitude for the moral support and sympathy shown for the cause of Bangladesh. We deeply appreciate your own concern and opposition to the supply of arms and aid to the military overlords in Pakistan and also for your support to the cause of the people of Bangladesh. We gratefully acknowledge your contribution to the relief undertaken for more than seven million unfortunate refugees who have taken shelter in India.

You are no doubt aware of the circumstances in which the People's Republic of Bangladesh emerged as the eighth largest sovereign state of the world on April 10, 1971.

From its very inception Pakistan was an unusual state, unique in modern history in
that its two wings were separated by more than one thousand miles of foreign territory- with a common religious belief as the only binding factor. The Pakistan Resolution of 1940 which spelled out the aspirations of the Muslims of undivided India conceived of "Sovereign States" in the two Muslim majority areas of the sub-continent.

In their sincere desire and enthusiasm to build a unified state, the people of East Pakistan surrendered their right to sovereignty as visualized in that resolution and accepted the structure of one Pakistan. They tried to make this dream work but did not succeed owing to (the) undemocratic manoeuvres. Taking advantage of the goodwill of the people of East Bengal, they evolved a political and economic system in which the Bengalis had an inferior position. The misery, suffering and exploitation of the people of Bangladesh by the West Pakistani ruling clique over the last twenty three years finally brought home to them the realization that they could not survive with honor and dignity unless autonomy of the regions as visualized in the Pakistan Resolution of 1940 became a political reality. The six-point programme of the Awami League formulated by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman sought to end regional exploitation while preserving the unity of Pakistan. The massive support given to this programme by the people of Bangladesh in the genera elections held in Pakistan in December, 1970 was the last desperate attempt by them to force a realization on the ruling circles of West Pakistan of the seriousness of the situation. But the military rulers never meant to. give up their colonial exploitation of Bangladesh nor were they prepared to let democracy function. The tragic happenings since March 25, 1971 have proved that the military rulers want to hold' on to power at all costs. The declaration of independence by the people of Bangladesh was therefore the only course left open to them.

The atrocities committed by the Pakistani soldiers clearly indicate that the concept of one nation and one country had never taken root in the minds of Yahya Khan and his associates because such acts could never be permitted by an army except on an alien people whom it wants to subdue and terrorize.

We appeal to you and through you to the Government and people of the United States of America to take the following steps immediately:-

1. Recognize the Govt. of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.
2. Put pressure on Islamabad to secure the release of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and all other political prisoners in Bangladesh.
3. Give all possible help to Bangladesh in defense of freedom and democracy.
4. Stop all aid to Pakistan, including aid in the pipeline.
5. Sever all trade and economic relations with Pakistan.
6. Force Yahya to stop his campaign of genocide.
7. Establish an International Commission of Jurists to enquire into the acts of genocide and traffic in women committed by the Pakistan troops, and to punish the culprits.

BONGAO
August 10, 1971.

Yours faithfully,
On behalf of Bangladesh Refugee
Intellectuals now in West Bengal

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
রাজনীতি ও রণকৌশলগত খসড়া দলিলের সংক্ষিপ্ত সার	পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি	১০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির রণনীতি ও রণকৌশলগত খসড়া দলিলের সংক্ষিপ্ত সারঃ-

অদূর ভবিষ্যতে পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির তৃতীয় কংগ্রেসকে সামনে রেখে ''পার্টির কংগ্রেস প্রস্তুতি কমিটি'' কর্তৃক পার্টি সভ্যদের নিকট উপস্থিত করার জন্য পার্টির রণনীতি ও কৌশলগত খসড়া দলিল।

*পাকিস্তানী উপনিবেশবাদ, আন্তর্জাতক সাম্রাজ্যবাদ ও দেশীয় সামন্তবাদ বিরোধী পূর্ব বাংলার জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবকে সফল করে তুলুন।

*তিন শত্রুবিরোধী সকল দল, মত, ব্যক্তি ও প্রতিষ্ঠানের সমন্বয়ে জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠনে অগ্রসর হোন।

*''জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের'' ও মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠনের নেতৃত্বে পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টিকে প্রতিষ্ঠিত করুন।

(১) পূর্ব বাংলার সামাজিক অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা

(ক) পাকিস্তানী শাসক ও শোষকদের প্রেক্ষিতে পূর্ব বাংলা উপনিবেশ।

(খ) আন্তর্জাতিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের প্রেক্ষিতে পূর্ব বাংলা আধা বা নয়া উপরিবেশ।

(গ) আভ্যন্তরীণ সামন্তবাদ তথা জোতদারী-মহাজনী প্রথার প্রেক্ষিতে পূর্ব বাংলা আধা সামন্তরিক।

অতএব, পূর্ব বাংলা বর্তমান সামাজিক-অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা ঔপনিবেশিক, আধা ঔপনিবেশিক এবং আধা সামন্তবাদী।

(২) মূল শত্রুতিনটি

(ক) পাকিস্তানী উপনিবেশবাদী শক্তি তথা পাকিস্তানী আমলা মুৎসুদ্দী গোষ্ঠী।

(খ) বিদেশী সাম্রাজ্যবাদ বিশেষ করে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ।

(গ) সামন্তবাদ তথা জোতদার মহাজন গোষ্ঠী।

(৩) প্রধান দ্বন্দ্ব

পাকিস্তানী ঔপনিবেশিক শক্তির সঙ্গে পূর্ব বাংলার সামন্ত গোষ্ঠী ছাড়া বাকী সকল শ্রেণীর জনগণের বিরোধ হল প্রধান বিরোধ।

(৪) বিপ্লবের চরিত্র

* উপনিবেশবাদ ও আন্তর্জাতিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদের থেকে মুক্তির প্রশ্নে এ বিপ্লব ''জাতীয় মুক্তি বিপ্লব''। আভ্যন্তরীণ সামন্তবাদের থেকে কৃষক জনতার মুক্তির প্রশ্নে এ বিপ্লবের চরিত্র হবে ''গণতান্ত্রিক''। অতএব এ বিপ্লবের চরিত্র ''জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লব''।

* যেহেতু বিপ্লবের নেতৃত্বে থাকবে শ্রমিক-কৃষক মৈত্রীর ভিত্তিতে বিপ্লবী শ্রেণীসমূহের সমবায়ে শ্রমিক-শ্রেণী ও তার পার্টি কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি, তাই এ বিপ্লবের চরিত্র ''জনগণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লব'।

যেহেতু এ বিপ্লবের মাধ্যমে সামন্তবাদের উৎখাত হবে এবং প্রকৃত কৃষকদের হাতে আসবে জমি, তাই এ বিপ্লবের চরিত্র ''বুর্জোয়া গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবও'' বটে। অতএব সব মিলে এ বিপ্লব হল ''জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লব''।

(৫) বিপ্লবী মুক্তিফ্রন্ট

তিন শত্রুবিরোধী সামন্ত রাজনৈতিক দল, শ্রেণী-সংগঠন ও গণ-সংগঠন, রাজনৈতিক গ্রুপ ও মত এমনকি বিশিষ্ট সমবায়ে গঠিত হবে ''জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট''।

(৬)বিপ্লবের নেতৃত্ব

শ্রমিক কৃষক ও বিপ্লবী বুদ্ধিজীবিদের মৈত্রীর ভিত্তিতে শ্রমিকশ্রেণী ও তার রাজনৈতিক দল কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির নেতৃত্বে এ বিপ্লব চূড়ান্ত রূপ নেবে।

(৭)বিপ্লবী অভিজ্ঞতা

* কোন প্রকার আপোসের মাধ্যমে পূর্ব বাংলার স্বাধীনতা আসতে পারে না।
* নির্বাচন বা পার্লামেন্টারী প্রথার মাধ্যমে পূর্ব বাংলার মুক্তি আসবে না।
* নিরস্ত্র জনতার ব্যাপক গণ-অভ্যুত্থানের মাধ্যমে পূর্ব বাংলা স্বাধীন হতে পারে না।
* ধনিক শ্রেণীর নেতৃত্বে সশস্ত্র বিপ্লব সফল হতে পারে না।
* উন্নত মানের সশস্ত্র শত্রুর বিরুদ্ধে সম্মুখ লড়াই-এর কায়দা যে কত ভ্রান্ত তাও প্রমাণিত হয়েছে।
* শহর থেকে বিপ্লবের সূচনা ও স্বল্প সময়ে ক্ষমতা দখলের রণকৌশল যে চূড়ান্তভাবে ভ্রান্ত তাও প্রমাণিত হয়েছে।

(৮)বিপ্লবের সঠিক পথ

* দীর্ঘস্থায়ী সশস্ত্র সংগ্রামই পূর্ব বাংলার মুক্তির একমাত্র পথ।
* এ সংগ্রাম শুরু করতে হবে গেরিলা কায়দায়, তারপর এটা বিকশিত হবে চলমান ও নিয়মিত যুদ্ধে।
* এ যুদ্ধের সূচনা গ্রামবাংলা থেকে। সেখানে শত্রুসবচাইতে দুর্বল।
* বিপ্লবের মূল শক্তি হবে গ্রাম্য ক্ষেতমজুর, বর্গাচাষী ও গরীব যারা সংখ্যায় শতকরা ৮০-৮৫ জন।

(৯) বিপ্লবে বাঙালী ধনী শ্রেণীর ভূমিকা

* এ বিপ্লবে প্রধান দ্বন্দ্ব পাকিস্তানী শাসক-শোষক গোষ্ঠীর সঙ্গে পূর্ব বাংলার উঠতি ধনিক ও জাতীয় ধনিক শ্রেণীর তীব্র বিরোধ রয়েছে তাই তারা বিপ্লবের দোদুল্যমান মিত্র।

* যেহেতু তিন মূল শত্রুর মধ্যে পাকিস্তানী ঔপনিবেশিক শক্তির সঙ্গে পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণের প্রধান দ্বন্দ্ব এবং এ ঔপনিবেশিক শক্তির সঙ্গে বাঙালী ধনীদের রয়েছে তীব্র সংঘাত সেহেতু শ্রেণী হিসাবে তারা 'জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের' দোদুল্যমান মিত্র।

* বাঙালী ধনীদের এ অংশ বিপ্লবের প্রথম দিকে ঐক্যফ্রন্টে যোগ দেবে না। বিপ্লবী শক্তিসমূহ যখন দৃঢ় ঐক্যের ভিত্তিতে সুসংহত ও সবল হয়ে অগ্রসর হকে একমাত্র তখনই এ দোদুল্যমান মিত্ররা ঐক্যফ্রন্টে আসতে বাধ্য হবে।

* বাঙালী ধনীদের যে অংশ মুৎসুদ্দী চরিত্রের তারা সময় আপোষকামী। তারা সশস্ত্র শ্রমিক-কৃষক-বুদ্ধিজীবীকে যমের মত ভয় করে। এরা শেষ পর্যন্ত আত্মসমর্পণের প্রচেষ্টা চালিয়ে যাবে।

(১০) কোন পণ? আপোষ না সংগ্রাম?

পূর্ব বাংলার বিপ্লবের বর্তমান স্তরে ''রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের'' অর্থ এক পাকিস্তানের মধ্যে পূর্ব বাংলার অবস্থান। এর অর্থ স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম জনগণের গণতান্ত্রিক পূর্ব বাংলা নয়। এর অর্থ পাকিস্তানী ঔপনিবেশিক শক্তির নিকট আত্মসমর্পণ। পূর্ব বাংলার বিপ্লবী জনগণ ও পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি এ প্রস্তাব ঘৃণাভরে প্রত্যাখান করে।

(১১) নমনীয় কৌশল

বাঙালী ধনী যারা কলকারখানার মালিক, বাঙালী, ব্যবসায়ী, কন্ট্রাক্টর, ধনী কৃষক এবং দেশপ্রেমিক জোতদারদের সম্পদ-বাড়ি গাড়ি ইত্যাদির কোন সম্পত্তির উপর হস্তক্ষেপ করা যাবে না একটি মাত্র শর্তে যে তারা বিপ্লবের পক্ষে থাকবে। তবে তাদের অধীনে কর্মরত শ্রমিক-কর্মচারী ও বর্গাচাষীকে আগের মত নির্মম শোষণ করতে দেওয়া হবে না। এখানে থাকবে মুক্তিফ্রন্টের কঠোর বিধিনিষেধ।

যেসব ধনী, ধনী কৃষক, জোতদার বা যে কেউ শত্রুর সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করবে তাদের কঠোর শাস্তি দেয়া হবে এবং তাদের সম্পত্তি বাজেয়াপ্ত করা হবে। জমি কৃষকদের মধ্যে বন্টন করে দেয়া হবে। এ কাজে ব্যাপক কৃষক জনতাকে সক্রিয়ভাবে পক্ষে পেতে হবে, যার উপর বিপ্লবের জয়-পরাজয় নির্ভর করবে।

পরিশিষ্ট

প্রিয় কমরেডগণ, দীর্ঘ চবিবশ বৎসর পর ঘটনার ঘাত-প্রতিঘাত বিভিন্ন শ্রেণীসমূহের তীব্র শ্রেণীসংগ্রামের মধ্য দিয়ে পাকিস্তান তথা পূর্ব বাংলার রাজনীতি অনেকগুলি বিতর্কমূলক বিষয়ের অবসান ঘটিয়ে চলেছে। মূলতঃ সে বিষয়গুলি পূর্ব বাংলার জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের পথে ছিল চূড়ান্ত বাধা। যেমন পূর্ব বাংলা ''উপনিবেশ'' কি না? ঔপনিবেশিক মুক্তির জন্য সশস্ত্র সংগ্রামের প্রয়োজন আছে কি না? বুর্জো নেতৃত্বে জাতীয় মুক্তির সংগ্রাম জয়যুক্ত হতে পারে কি না? সংগ্রামের কৌশল কি হবে- সম্মুখ সমর না গেরিলা-পন্থা? শহর থেকে শুরু, না গ্রাম থেকে সূচনা? সর্বোপরি, প্রধান দ্বন্দ্ব কি পাকিস্তানী উপনিবেশবাদ, না সামন্তবাদ? উপরোক্ত সমস্ত পন্ডিতী বির্তকের অবসান ঘটিয়ে আজ পূর্ব বাংলার বিপ্লব সুনির্দিষ্ট রূপ নিতে চলেছে। বাকী রয়েছে শ্রমিক-কৃষক মৈত্রীর ভিত্তিতে শ্রমিকশ্রেণীর ও তার পার্টির নেতৃত্ব বিপ্লবী মুক্তিফ্রন্ট। ইতিমধ্যে এগুলোও দানা বেঁধে উঠেছে। প্রতিটি পার্টিকর্মীর একনিষ্ঠ, ত্যাগ, সাহস, সহনশীলতা ও সংগ্রাম- এগুলো দ্রুত বিকশিত করতে সাহায্য করবে। গত কয়েক মাসের মধ্যে পার্টি কর্মীরা তার প্রমাণও দিয়েছে। ইতিমধ্যে অনেকে শহীদী মৃত্যুবরণ করেছে। অনেক নিচুস্তরের কর্মী উচ্চমানের যোগ্যতার পরিচয় দিয়েছেন, অনেক উচ্চস্তরের কর্মী পেছনে হটে যাচ্ছে, দুর্বল জেলা সবল হয়েছে- সবল জেলা দুর্বল হয়েছে।

সবচাইতে লক্ষণীয় বিষয় হচ্ছে, পার্টি দ্রুত বিকশিত হচ্ছে ও বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে এবং লড়াই-এর মাধ্যমে খাঁটি পার্টি গড়ে উঠছে। এর মাধ্যমে আমাদের পার্টি জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবের নেতৃত্ব দানের যোগ্যতা অর্জন করেছে। অতএব, বন্ধুগণ, আজ একথা দৃঢ়তার সঙ্গে বলা চলে যে, দীর্ঘস্থায়ী সংগ্রামের মধ্য দিয়ে পূর্ব বাংলার জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লব অবশ্যই সাফল্যমন্ডিত হবে। জাতীয় ও আন্তর্জাতিক জনমত এবং সংগ্রামী ''শক্তি'' আমাদের পক্ষে। দুনিয়ার মুক্তিসংগ্রামের ইতিহাস ও অভিজ্ঞতা আমাদের সহায়ক। মার্কসবাদ-লেলিনবাদ, কমরেড স্ট্যালিন, মহান নেতা মাও সে তুং, কমরেড হো-চি-মনের চিন্তাধারা ও অভিজ্ঞতা আমাদের পাথেয়। জয় আমাদেরই হবেই।

পূর্ব বাংলার ''জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লব'' জিন্দাবাদ।

পূর্ব বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি দীর্ঘজীবি হোক।

১০-৮-৭১ ইং

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তি সমন্বয় কমিটির নিজস্ব ভূমিকা ব্যাখা করে প্রদত্ত বিবৃতি	বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তি সমন্বয় কমিটি	১০ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

১০ই আগস্ট ১৯৭১ ''বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তি সমন্বয় কমিটি'' কর্তৃক নিম্নোক্ত বিবৃতি প্রচারিত হয়ঃ

আজ যখন একদিকে শত শহীদের রক্তস্নানে বাংলার মুক্তিসংগ্রাম এক নুতন স্তরে উন্নীত হইয়াছে এবং অপরদিকে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ-সামন্তবাদ ও বৃহৎ পুঁজির প্রতিভূ পাক-জঙ্গীশাহী এই মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে নস্যাৎ করিবার জন্য নূতনতন ষড়যন্ত্রে লিপ্ত, ঠিক সেই মুহূর্তে যে প্রশ্নটি বাংলাদেশে মুক্তিসংগ্রামের সম্মুখে সর্বাপেক্ষা গুরুত্ব লইয়া উপস্থিত হইয়াছে তাহা হইতেছে বাঙালী জাতির ঐক্যের প্রশ্ন। গত ১লা জুন সেদিন বাংলাদেশকে দস্যুকবলমুক্ত এবং পরিপূর্ণরূপে স্বাধীন করিবার ব্রত লইয়া কতগুলি রাজনৈতিক দল ও সংগঠন একত্রিত হইয়া ''বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রাম সমন্বয় কমিটি'' গঠন করিয়াছিল, সেই দিনই এই ঐক্যের উপর গুরুত্ব দিয়াছিল। ১লা জুনের ঘোষণায় তাই উল্লেখিত হইয়াছে।

এই সমন্বয় কমিটির আশু লক্ষ্য হইল সুনির্দিষ্ট কর্মসূচী ও কর্মপদ্ধতির ভিত্তিতে বাংলাদেশের সরকারের ও মুক্তিসংগ্রামরত সকল শক্তির সহিত সংযোগ ও সমন্বয় সাধন করিয়া জাতীয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে সাফল্যের পথে অগ্রসর করিয়া লওয়া।

আমরা বিশ্বাস করি বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে সফল করিয়া তুলিবার জন্য প্রয়োজন সকল দল-মত-ব্যক্তির সমবায়ে গঠিত একটি সুসংহত ও ঐক্যবদ্ধ জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্টের। তাই এই সমন্বয় কমিটির তরফ হইতে আমরা আওয়ামী লীগ সহ স্বাধীনতাকামী অন্যান্য সকল রাজনৈতিক দল, গ্রুপ, গণ-সংগঠন, শ্রেণী-সংগঠন ও দেশপ্রেমিক ব্যক্তিবর্গের নিকট এইরূপ একটি জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠনের আহবান জানাইতেছি।

কিন্তু অত্যন্ত দুঃখজনক যে, যে মুহূর্তে সমন্বয় কমিটির তরফ হইতে ঐক্যবদ্ধ সংগ্রামের প্রচেষ্টা গ্রহণ করা হইতেছে, সেই মুহুর্তে 'সমন্বয় কমিটি'র গঠনকে কেন্দ্র করিয়া বিভিন্ন মহল বিভ্রান্তির ধুম্রজাল সৃষ্টি করিতেছে। তাহারা ইহাকে বিভেদাত্মক ও বিভ্রান্তিকর কার্যকলাপ বলিয়া চিত্রটি করিতে প্রয়াস পাইতেছেন। অথচ আমাদের ঘোষণা হইতে এইরূপ মনে করিবার কোন কারণ নাই। 'সমন্বয় কমিটি'র পূর্ণাঙ্গ ঘোষণা সংশ্লিষ্ট সকল মহলকে বহু পূর্বেই প্রেরণ করা হইয়াছিল। তাহা ছাড়া আমাদের এই বক্তব্য লইয়া গত ১লা জুলাই সমন্বয় কমিটির দুইজন প্রতিনিধি বাংলাদেশের প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সহিত সাক্ষাৎ করিয়াছেন। 'সমন্বয় কমিটি' গঠনের পূর্বে এবং পরে সমন্বয় কমিটি পৃথকভাবে ও সমষ্টিগতভাবে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতাকামী রাজনৈতিক দল ও ব্যক্তিদের সহিত ব্যক্তিগতভাবে ও আনুষ্ঠানিকভাবে ঐক্যের প্রস্তাব লইয়া আলাপ-আলোচনা করিয়াছেন। সুতরাং 'সমন্বয় কমিটি'কে কেন্দ্র করিয়া কোন প্রকার বিভেদাত্মক কর্মকান্ড আবিষ্কার করা নিছক কষ্টকল্পনা ছাড়া আর কিছুই নয়। বরং সমন্বয় কমিটি বিরোধী কোন প্রকার মন্তব্য ঐক্যের ক্ষেত্রই বিনষ্ট করবে।

আমরা মনে করি বাংলার স্বাধীনতা লড়াইয়ে অংশ গ্রহণের অধিকার প্রত্যেকটি বাঙালী নাগরিকের আছে। একমাত্র পাকিস্তানী শাসকগোষ্ঠীর মুষ্টিমেয় দালাল ইহার ব্যতিক্রম। কে ছোট, কে বড়, কে ইয়াহিয়া প্রদত্ত ১৯৭০-এর নির্বাচনে অংশ গ্রহণ করিয়াছিল কি করে নাই, কে সেই নির্বাচনে জয়লাভ করিয়াছে বা পরাজিত হইয়াছে- সে কথা বড় নয়, বড় হইল বাংলার স্বাধীনতা। সেই স্বাধীনতার উদগ্র আকাংক্ষা লইয়া সমন্বয় কমিটি ইতিমধ্যেই দেশের অভ্যন্তরে নিজের শক্তি ও সামর্থ অনুযায়ী জনগণকে সংগঠিত করা, পাকসেনা ও তাহার দালালদের খতম করিবার কাজ শুরু করিয়াছে। সে সকল এলাকায় এইরূপ কাজ ভালভাবে করা গিয়াছে

সেখানেই জনগণের মধ্যে নূতন উৎসাহ সৃষ্টি করা সম্ভব হইয়াছে, এবং ফলে আরও কিছু রাজনৈতিক গ্রুপ এবং সংগঠন সমন্বয় কমিটির সহিত সংযোগ স্থাপন করিয়াছে। সমন্বয় কমিটির উদ্যোগে বিভিন্ন গ্রামাঞ্চলে কৃষক-শ্রমিক ও জঙ্গী সমবায়ে গড়িয়া উঠিযাছে ছোট ছোট গেরিলা দল ও গেরিলা এলাকা। এই সকল এলাকায় স্থানীয় আওয়ামী লীগ ও সমন্বয় কমিটি বহির্ভূত অন্যান্য রাজনৈতিক দলের কর্মীরাও সমন্বয় কমিটির সহিত ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে উক্ত প্রচেষ্টায় অংশগ্রহণ করিয়াছে। বাংলাদেশের অভ্যন্তরে কি ঘটিতেছে এবং সমন্বয় কমিটির কাজগুলি কিভাবে চলিতেছে সে সম্পর্কে যাহাদের নূন্যতম ধারণা আছে, তাহরাই জানেন সমন্বয় কমিটির কাজ দেশের অভ্যন্তরে সংগ্রামরত মানুষের ব্যাপক ঐক্যের ক্ষেত্র রচনা করিতেছে। তথাপি যেহেতু সমন্বয় কমিটির বিরুদ্ধে কিছু কিছু ভ্রান্ত ধারণা প্রচার করা হইতেছে সেইহেতু কতকগুলি প্রশ্নে আমাদের পুনরুক্তি করিতে চাই। প্রথমতঃ সমন্বয় কমিটি কোন জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট নয়। বরং সমন্বয় কমিটির তরফ হইতে জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠনের আহবান জানানো হইয়াছে। সেই ফ্রন্টই হল একটি খাঁটি জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট যাহা ছেট-বড় সকল সংগ্রামী শক্তিকেই সংঘবদ্ধ করিতে পারে। দ্বিতীয়তঃ সমন্বয় কমিটি দেশের অভ্যন্তরে জনগণকে সংগঠিত করিয়া যে গেরিলা বাহিনী গঠন ও গেরিলা যুদ্ধের প্রোগ্রাম উপস্থাপিত করিয়াছে, তাহা কোনক্রমেই বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিবাহিনী ও মুক্তিযুদ্ধের বিরোধী নয়। আমাদের ১লা জুনের ঘোষণায় স্পষ্টভাবে উল্লেখ আছে, ''এই গেরিলা যুদ্ধ পরিচালত হইবে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিফৌজের সহিত যোগাযোগ রক্ষা ও সমন্বয় সাধনের মাধ্যমে।'' তৃতীয়তঃ এই সমন্বয় কমিটি আওয়ামী লীগ বা অন্য কোন রাজনৈতিক শক্তির বিরোধী কোন শক্তি নয়। সমন্বয় কমিটির ঘোষণায় প্রতিটি ছত্রে ইহার সুস্পষ্ট প্রমাণ পাওয়া যায়।

আমরা মনে করি, বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সকল শক্তিকে ঐক্যবদ্ধ করিতে পারিলেই বিজয়কে সুনিশ্চিত করা যায়। তাই জাতির এই ক্রান্তিলগ্নে আমরা সর্বপ্রকার দলীয় সংকীর্ণতা পরিহার করিবার জন্য সকলের নিকট উদাত্ত আহবান জানাইতেছি। প্রত্যক্ষ বা পরোক্ষ কোন প্রকার দলীয় সংকীর্ণ মনোবৃত্তি খুনী ইয়াহিয়ার হাতকেই শক্তিশালী করিবে। আমাদের তাই শ্লোগান- ঐক্য, একমাত্র ঐক্য, বাংলাদেশের মহান জনতার ব্যাপক সংগ্রামী ঐক্যই বিজয়ের চাবিকাঠি। এই ঐক্য প্রতিষ্ঠার জন্য আমরা অত্যন্ত নিষ্ঠার সহিত কাজ করিয়া যাইতে প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ। কিন্তু আমরা মনে করি, অনুরূপভাবে আওয়ামী লীগসহ অন্যান্য স্বাধীনতাকামী দলগুলিকে আগাইয়া আসিতে হইবে।

প্রসঙ্গক্রমে আমরা আরও একটি বিষয় সম্পর্কে আমাদের মতামত সুস্পষ্টভাবে উল্লেখ করিতে চাই। কিছুদিন ধরিয়া মহল 'সমন্বয় কমিটি' কে ভারতের রাজনৈতিক দলগুলির সাথে জড়িত করিয়া বিভ্রান্তিকর অবস্থার সৃষ্টি করিতে প্রয়াস পাইতেছে। সর্বপ্রকার বিভ্রান্তি নিরসনকল্পে আমরা সুস্পষ্টভাবে ঘোষণা করিতে চাই যে, ভারতের আভ্যন্তরীণ রাজনীতির সাথে আমরা কোনভাবেই সম্পর্কিত নই এবং সম্পর্কিত হইতেও চাই না। আমরা চাই, ভারত সরকার, ভারতের জনগণ ও ভারতের বিভিন্ন রাজনৈতিক দলসহ পৃথিবীর সকল স্বাধীনতাকামী গণতান্ত্রিক শক্তিই স্বাধীন-সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ গঠনের সংগ্রামে আমদের সর্বপ্রকার সাহায্য করুক। যে-কোন মহল হইতে এই ধরনের যে-কোন শর্তহীন সাহায্যে আমরা কৃতজ্ঞতা সহকারে গ্রহণ করিব।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের গণহত্যায় পাকিস্তানকে সহায়তা না করার জন্য মার্কিন সরকারের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি	২১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
Durbhanga Building, Calcutta University
Calcutta-12.

Your Excellency,

The Bangladesh Teacher's Association have been viewing with grave concern the continuous supply of arms and ammunition by the Govt. of U.S.A. to the Government of Pakistan. The United States Government is aware that such arms and ammunition would be used by the Pakistan Army in its act of genocide in Bangladesh. The protests against this action by us and all peace and freedom loving people of the world do not seem to have had any effect, whatsoever, on the Govt. of U. S. A. till now. The Association had voiced a few weeks ago their feelings on the subject in their memorandum submitted to Senator Kennedy. The association had sent a copy of the same to President Nixon through the United States Consulate in Calcutta. A news item appeared recently in a section of the Press to the effect that American arms and military equipments in Vietnam are now being shipped or are proposed to be shipped to Pakistan and that the service of American experts on Guerrilla warfare, are being placed at the disposal of General Yahya for imparting training to Pakistan Army personnel to fight the Bangladesh Liberation Army. This has caused further concern to the 75 million people of Bangladesh.

The Bangladesh Teachers' Association consider all these actions of the Govt. of U.S.A. as abetment to the act of genocide now being perpetrated by Pakistan Army in Bangladesh. They find it difficult to believe that the American people are willing to offer assistance to a ruthless Military regime for crushing the Liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh. The association, therefore, appeals to the people and Govt. of U.S.A. in the name of justice, humanity and freedom to :

(a) stop all aid, military and economic, to General Yahya's Government;

(b) put pressure on the Govt. of Pakistan to stop further atrocities in Bangladesh and release the great leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unconditionally; and

(c) recognize the Government of the sovereign state of Bangladesh.

Yours truly,
Dated, Calcutta, August 21, 1971. (A. K. Roy)
General Secretary,
Bangladesh Teachers' Association.

The Consul General of the
United States of America,
Calcutta.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন প্রশাসনের সমালোচনা করে বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির বিবৃতি	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি	১১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

PRESS STATEMENT ISSUED BY DR. A. K. ROY, SECRETARY, BANGLADESH SIKSHAK SAMITI ON BEHALF OF THE BANGLADESH SIKSHAK SAMITI.

The recent utterances of Prof Galbraith, the noted Economist and the former Ambassador to India, regarding the solution of Bangladesh problem, made on his arrival in Calcutta during the course of his interview with the Press at Dum Dum Airport (vide Statesman September 9, 1971) has drawn our attention. Professor Galbraith has suggested that the only solution of Bangladesh problem is to grant Bangladesh' Self Government or Autonomy in some form or other. Obviously Professor Galbraith is still thinking in terms of united Pakistan of which Bangladesh would be an autonomous zone. If the learned Professor still thinks such a solution would be acceptable to seventy five million people of Bangladesh, he is very much mistaken. To-day nothing short of Independent Bangladesh will be acceptable to people of Bangladesh. We have sacrificed and are ready to sacrifice more and prepared to fight till we drive out the occupying army of West Pakistan from the sacred soil of Bangladesh. The sacrifices made by people of Bangladesh is too high a price for mere autonomous zone of Bangladesh within the frame of one Pakistan. While appreciating his humanitarian and sympathetic attitude towards the suffering millions of evacuees, who have taken shelter temporarily in India, we appeal to him to exert his personal influence to create public opinion in his country in support of Bangladesh Liberation Movement, so that Nixon Administration may be forced, under public pressure, to change their present policy towards Bangladesh and recognize the democratically constituted Government of Bangladesh. We have firm belief that peace-loving democratic Americans cannot allow Nixon Administration to supply arms and ammunitions to Pakistan for killing Bangalees in the name of saving Islam and integrity of Pakistan in one hand and to assist the refugees on the other hand, who would be driven out by the Pakistani Army equipped with those American arms and ammunitions.

We want to take this opportunity to draw the attention of Professor Galbraith to the fact that the Bangladesh Teachers Association have been viewing with grave concern the continuous supply of arms and ammunitions by the Government of U.S.A. to the Government of Pakistan. The United States Government and the great people of U.S.A. should be aware that such arms and ammunitions would be: used by the Pakistan Army in its act of genocide in Bangladesh. The people of the World including ourselves have protested against this action. But this protests do not seem to have had any effect on U.S.A. Government, till now. The Association had voiced about a month ago their feelings on the subject in their memoranda submitted to Senator Kennedy, to President Nixon through the United States Consulate in Calcutta. A news item appeared recently in

a section of the Press to the effect that American arms and military equipments in Vietnam are now being shipped or are proposed to be shipped to Pakistan and that the services of American experts on Guerrilla warfare, are being placed at the disposal of General Yahya for imparting training to Pakistan Army personnel to fight the Bangladesh Liberation Army. Our voice of resentment has also been communicated to the Consul General of U.S.A., Calcutta, through a Memorandum submitted by the Secretary, on behalf of the Association, a few days back. We also deplore the similar action taken by the Chinese Government. We find it difficult to believe that the American people are willing to offer assistance to a ruthless Military regime for crushing the Liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh. The Association, therefore, appeal to the people and Government of U.S.A. and the Chinese people and their Government in the name of justice, humanity and freedom to :

(a) stop all aid. military and economic, to General Yahya's Government;

(b) put pressure on the Government of Pakistan to stop further atrocities in Bangladesh and release the great leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman unconditionally and other political prisoners including Teachers and Intellectuals;

(c) recognize the Government of the sovereign state of Bangladesh.

Dated, Calcutta
September 11, 1911.

(A. K. ROY)
General Secretary
Bangladesh Teachers' Association.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আওয়ামী লীগ, কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি, ন্যাপ ও কংগ্রেস সমবায়ে সংযুক্ত কমিটি গঠন	মুক্তিযুদ্ধ	১২ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

আওয়ামী লীগ, কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি, ন্যাপ ও কংগ্রেস সমবায়ে সংযুক্ত কমিটি গঠন সংগ্রামী ঐক্য প্রতিষ্ঠার পথে শুভ পদক্ষেপ

॥ বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি ॥

বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তির সংগ্রাম আরও সুষ্ঠুভঅবে পরিচালনার উদ্দেশ্যে গত বুধবার পাঁচটি সংগ্রামী দলের প্রতিনিধিদের সমবায়ে মন্ত্রিসভার পরামর্শদাতা কমিটি গঠিত হইয়াছে। এই কমিটিতে রহিয়াছেন বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রধানমন্ত্রী জনাব তাজউদ্দিন আহমদ ও পররাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রী খোন্দকার মুশতাক আহমদ, ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টির অধ্যাপক মোজাফফর আহমদ, কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির কমরেড মণি সিং, জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের শ্রীমনোরঞ্জন ধর ও ভাসানী ন্যাপের মওলানা ভাসানী। আওয়ামী লীগের দুইজন প্রতিনিধি এই কমিটিতে অন্তর্ভুক্ত হইবেন। তাঁহাদের নাম এখনও ঘোষণা করা হয় নাই। জনাব তাজউদ্দিন এই কমিটির আহবায়ক নির্বাচিত হইয়াছেন।

গত বুধবার গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রধানমন্ত্রী জনাব তাজউদ্দিন আহমদের আহবানে মুজিবনগরে উপরোক্ত দলগুলির নেতৃবৃন্দের দুই দফা বৈঠক অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। এই বৈঠকে পরামর্শদাতা কমিটি গঠনের সিদ্ধান্ত সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে গৃহীত হয়। বৈঠকে যোগদান করেন জনাব তাজউদ্দিন আহমদ, খোন্দকার মুশতাক আহমদ, ক্যাপ্টেন মনসুর আলী, জনাব কামরুজ্জামান ও জনবা আবদুস সামাদ (আওয়ামী লীগ), কমরেড মণি সিং, অধ্যাপক মোজাফফর আহমদ, মওলানা ভাসানী ও শ্রীমনোরঞ্জন ধর।

এখানে উল্লেখযোগ্য যে, বাংলাদেশের জাতীয় মুক্তির সংগ্রাম আর সুষ্ঠুভাবে পরিচালনা এবং সংগ্রামী রাজনৈতিক দলগুলির তৎপরতা সমন্বয় সাধনের উদ্দেশ্যে একটি ঐক্যবদ্ধ জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠনের জন্য কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি ও ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টি প্রথমাবধি দাবি জানাইয়া আসিতেছিল। 'পরামর্শদাতা কমিটি' জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্টের সমার্থক না হইলেও ইহাকে সঠিক পথে এক ধাপ অগ্রগতি বলা যায়। ঐক্যফ্রন্টের সপক্ষে প্রয়োজনীয়তা উপলব্দি করেন।

বুধবারের সর্বদলীয় বৈঠক খুবই আন্তরিকতাপূর্ণ পরিবেশে অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। আশা করা যায় যে, ইহার ফল সুদূরপ্রসারী হইবে এবং বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের ইতিহাসে এই দিনটি উজ্জ্বল হইয়া থাকিবে।

প্রস্তাবাবলী

সর্বদলীয় বৈঠকে গৃহীত এক প্রস্তাবে গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশের রাষ্টপ্রধান শেখ মুজিবর রহমানের অবিলম্বে ও বিনাশর্তে মুক্তি দাবি করা হয়। অপর এক প্রস্তাবে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামে আত্মদানকারী নাম জানা না-জানা সকল শহীদের স্মৃতির উদ্দেশ্যে গভীর শ্রদ্ধা নিবেদন করা হয়। বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামে অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন

* বাংলাদেশের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির সাপ্তাহিক মুখপত্র।

দান এবং বাংলাদেশের বাস্তুত্যাগীদের আশ্রয় ও সাহায্য দানের জন্য ভারতের জনগণ, ভারত সরকার ও অন্যান্য সাহায্য- সমর্থনদানকারী দেশের সরকার ও জনগণের প্রতি গভীর কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করিয়া একটি প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ করা হয়।

অপর এক প্রস্তাবে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার স্বীকৃতি ব্যতীত অন্য কোন ভিত্তিতে রাজনৈতিক সমাধান গ্রহণযোগ্য নয় বলিয়া দৃঢ় অভিমত ব্যক্ত করা হয়। আর একটি প্রস্তাবে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের নিপীড়িত জনগণের সহিত সংহতি জ্ঞাপন করা হয় এবং গণতন্ত্র ও স্বায়ত্তশাসনের দাবিতে তাঁহাদের আন্দোলনের প্রতি সমর্থন ঘোষণা করিয়া তাঁহাদের প্রতি বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামে সমর্থন দানের আহবান জানান হয়।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সর্বদলীয় উপদেষ্টা কমিটির উপর আওয়ামী লীগের সাপ্তাহিক মুখপত্রের সম্পাদকীয়	জয়বাংলা	১৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

সর্বদলীয় উপদেষ্টা কমিটি

(সম্পাদকীয়, জয় বাংলা)

বর্তমান মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে সফল সমাপ্তির পথে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়ার কাজে গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী সরকারকে উপদেশ দানের জন্য বাংলাদেশের চারটি প্রগতিশীল রাজনৈতিক দলের সমন্বয়ে যে উপদেষ্টা কমিটি গঠন করা হয়েছে, তার খবর দেশ-বিদেশের সংবাদপত্রে ইতিমধ্যেই প্রকাশিত হয়েছে এবং এ সম্পর্কে অনেক উৎসাহী আলোচনাও মুদ্রিত হয়েছে। বস্তুতঃ এই সর্বদলীয় উপদেষ্টা কমিটি গঠিত হওয়ার জাতীয় মুক্তি সংগ্রামে জাতির যে নিবিড় ও অটুট ঐক্য আরেকবার প্রমাণিত হল, তাতে বাংলাদেশের ভিতরে মুক্তিসংগ্রামীরা যেমন অনুপ্রাণিত হবেন, তেমনি বাইরে বাংলাদেশের শুভাকাংক্ষী ও বন্ধু দেশগুলোও উৎসাহী হবেন। বস্তুতঃ এই উপদেষ্টা কমিটি গঠনের গুরুত্ব এইখানেই যে, বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে অনৈক্য সৃষ্টির জন্য সাম্রাজ্যবাদী চক্রান্ত এবং উগ্র তত্ত্বসর্বস্বদের সুবিধাবাদী ভেদনীতি অঙ্কুরেই বিনষ্ট হল এবং জাতীয় স্বাধীনতা ও গণতন্ত্রের লক্ষ্যে অবিচল চারটি প্রগতিশীল দল বাংলাদেশের জনগণের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিত্বশীল সরকারের প্রতি তাদের ঘোষিত সমর্থন আরো কার্যকর ও সক্রিয় করে তুললেন। এ ব্যাপারে এই দলগুলোর ভূমিকার যেমন প্রশংসা করতে হয়, আওয়ামী লীগেরও। আওয়ামী লীগ গত সাধারণ নির্বাচনে বাংলাদেশে প্রায় শতকরা নিরানববইটি আসনে জয়লাভ করে জাতিকে নেতৃত্ব দানের অবিসম্বাদিত অধিকার লাভ করা সত্ত্বেও মুক্তিসংগ্রাম পরিচালনায় অন্যান্য প্রগতিশীল দলের সমর্থন ও উপদেশ গ্রহণে সিদ্ধান্ত দ্বারা দলীয় স্বার্থের উর্ধেব জাতীয় স্বার্থের প্রতি তাদের আনুগত্য বলিষ্ঠভাবে প্রমাণ করেছেন।

সর্বদলীয় উপদেষ্টা কমিটিতে যারা রয়েছেন, তাদের রাজনৈতিক মত ও পথে পার্থক্য থাকলেও সকলেই পরীক্ষিত দেশপ্রেমিক। কমিটিতে ভাসানী ন্যাপের প্রতিনিধিত্ব করছেন মওলানা ভাসানী, বাংলাদেশের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির প্রতিনিধিত্ব করছেন শ্রী মণি সিং, বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় কংগ্রেসের শ্রী মনোরঞ্জন ধর এবং মুজাফফর ন্যাপের অধ্যাপক মুজাফফর আহমদ। এ ছাড়া এই কমিটিতে আওয়ামীলীগের দু'জন সদস্যকে অন্তর্ভূক্ত করা হবে। বর্তমানে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রধানমন্ত্রী এই কমিটিতে রয়েছেন। প্রধানমন্ত্রী কমিটির বৈঠক আহবান ও পরিচালনা করবেন।

মুজিবনগরে অনুষ্ঠিত এই উপদেষ্টা কমিটির প্রথম বৈঠকে গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকারই যে বাংলাদশের একমাত্র বৈধ সরকার এবং বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিব বাংলাদেশের অবিসংবাদিত জাতীয় নেতা এ সত্যটির অকুণ্ঠ অভিব্যক্তি দেখা গেছে। জাতীয় মুক্তি-সংগ্রামে জাতীয় দৃষ্টিভঙ্গির এই সমঝোতা ও অভিন্নতা একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ঘটনা।

বাংলাদেশের গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী সরকার এবং এই সর্বদলীয় উপদেষ্টা কমিটির মধ্যে স্বাভাবিক চরিত্রগদ পার্থক্য রয়েছে, কিন্তু রয়েছে উদ্দেশ্য ও লক্ষ্যগত ঐক্য। এই লক্ষ্য হল বাংলাদেশের পূর্ণ জাতীয় স্বাধীনতা। চরিত্রগত পার্থক্যের ক্ষেত্রে বলা চলে, গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী সরকার সরকার জনগণের ভোটে নির্বাচিত একমাত্র সংস্থা, জনগণের পক্ষ থেকে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণের ও তা কার্যকর করার সম্পূর্ণ এখতিয়ার তার। অন্যদিকে জনগণের পক্ষ থেকে এই সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ ও তা কার্যকর করার ব্যাপারে সাহায্য ও সুপরামর্শ দান হবে উপদেষ্টা কমিটির কাজ। তাই এই উপদেষ্টা কমিটির গঠনের উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করা গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী সরকার মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে জোরদার করার কাজে একটি বলিষ্ঠ ও সময়োপযোগী পদক্ষেপ নিয়েছেন বলা চলে। এই ব্যবস্থার ফলে বাংলাদেশের সকল এলাকার স্বাধীনতা এবং হানাদার দস্যুদের চূড়ান্ত পরাজয়ের দিনটি অবশ্যই ত্বরান্বিত হবে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
শিক্ষা দিবস উপলক্ষে কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদের সদস্য শাজাহান সিরাজের ভাষণ	বাংলাদেশ কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ	১৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্রসংগ্রাম পরিষদ

BANGLADESH CENTRAL STUDENTS' ACTION COMMITTEE.

সদর দপ্তরঃ ঢাকা *Head Office : DACCA*

বাংলাদেশের সাথী ভাইবোনেরা,

আজ মহান ১৭ই সেপ্টেম্বর। এ দিনটি বাংলার ছাত্রসমাজ ও গোটা বাঙালী জাতির ঐতিহাসিক ক্রান্তিক্ষণ। এ দিনের গায়ে আমাদের ভাই ওয়াজিউল্লা, বাবুল, গোলাম মোস্তফার বুকের তাজা খুন জড়ানো। আজ থেকে ন'বছর আগে এমনি সারা বাংলাদেশের প্রতিটি স্কুল, কলেজ, ভার্সিটির অঙ্গনে বিদ্রোহের অগ্নিলাভা জ্বলে উঠেছিল। লক্ষ হাতের বজ্রমুঠিতে জ্বলে উঠেছিল রক্তরাতুল লাল ঝান্ডা।

একদিন মীরজাফরের বিশ্বাসঘাতকতার ফলে পলাশীর আমবাগানে বাংলার স্বাধীনতাসূর্য ম্লান হয়ে যায়। ইস্ট ইন্ডিয়া কোম্পানীর বণিকেরা এ দেশে মনিব সাজে। অফিস-আদালত-রাজপটে, সকল শিক্ষা নিকেতনে ওদের ভাষা, সভ্যতা, সংস্কৃতির দুর্বহ পাথর চেপে বসে। ধীরে ধীরে এই পাথর "অহল্যার অভিশাপে" পরিণত হয়। পঙ্গু করার প্রচেষ্টা বাঙালী জাতির ভাষা, সভ্যতা ও কৃষ্টির সতেজ হৃৎপিন্ডকে। একমাত্র ইংরেজীই রাজভাষায় সমাসীন হয়। সাথে সাথে ফিরিঙ্গি শিক্ষাব্যবস্থা জোঁকের মত চেপে বসে আমাদের অস্তি মাংস হাড়ে হাড়ে।

ভারত ভাগ হয়ে তথাকথিত পাকিস্তানের জন্ম হল। জন্মলাভের শুরু থেকেই বাংলাদেশকে পাঞ্জাবের কলোনী করার হীন ষড়যন্ত্র শুরু হল। বাংলাদেশ ও বাঙালী জাতিকে পৃথিবীর ইতিহাস থেকে নিশ্চিহ্ন করার হীন ষড়যন্ত্রে উপনিবেশবাদী পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী জঙ্গীশাহী বারবার বাংলাদেশের ছাত্রসমাজের উপর বুলেট, বেয়নেট ব্যবহার করে রাজপথকে লালে লাল করে দিয়েছে।....

শহীদের অতৃপ্ত আত্মার চিৎকার যায় নাই, যেতে পারে না। প্রতিবছর ছাত্রসমাজের পক্ষ থেকে আমরা প্রভাতফেরী, পুষ্পমাল্য, সভা, শোভাযাত্রার মাধ্যমে এই মহান দিবস পালন করে থাকি। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশ আক্রান্ত। পাঞ্জাবী সেনাদের রাইফেল, কামান, মেশিনগান আর মর্টারের আঘাতে বাংলার প্রতিটি শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান বিধ্বস্ত, লাখ লাখ শহীদের রক্তে বাংলার পথ প্রান্তর রক্তাক্ত। সারা বাংলাদেশ জ্বলে -পুড়ে ছারখার। আমরা আজ যুদ্ধে লিপ্ত। বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিব বাংলার স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা করেছেন। আর বিদেশে ছাত্র-ছাত্রী-যুবকেরা বাংলার স্বাধীনতা রক্ষার যুদ্ধে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছে। আজকের এই মহান সুপ্রভাতে তাই কোন প্রভাতফেরী নেই, একগুচ্ছো ফুলের পরিবর্তে একমুঠো বুলেট, ফেস্টুন-প্ল্যাকার্ডের পরিবর্তে হাতে রাইফেল নিয়ে, মিছিলের পরিবর্তে দলে দলে মুক্তিযোদ্ধা গেরিলা হয়ে ছাত্র-ছাত্রী, ভাই-বোনেরা সারা বাংলার গ্রাম-গঞ্জে ওয়াজিউল্লা-বাবুল-মোস্তফার হত্যাকারী পাঞ্জাবী হানাদারদের হত্যা করে শহীদদের রক্তের প্রতিশোধ নিতে মৃতঞ্জয়ী অভিযান চালিয়েছে। অভিযান চালিয়েছে বাংলার স্বাধীনতাকে রক্ষা করতে।

মুক্তিযোদ্ধা গেরিলা ভাইয়েরা

বাংলার অবিসংবাদিত নেতা বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিবের হাত ধরে শহীদদের নামে শপথ করে, বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের কাছে আমরা ওয়াদা করেছিলাম যে কোন ত্যাগের বিনিময়ে পাঞ্জাবীদের হত্যা করে

মাতৃভূমিকে আমরা মুক্ত করবই। আমরা সে ওয়াদা ভুলে যাই নাই। আমরা বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা করতে পারি না। মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের প্রচন্ড আক্রমণে আজ পাক সেনাবাহিনীর ভীতসন্ত্রস্ত। প্রতিদিন মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের প্রচন্ড আক্রমণে শত শত হানাদার খুন হতে চলেছে। ১৭ই সেপ্টেম্বরের এই মহান দিনের বিপবী অগ্নিলাভার রঙ চোখে-মুখে ছড়িয়ে পাক হানাদার বাহিনীর দস্যুদের খতম করার কাজে আসুন আমরা আরো কঠোর প্রত্যয়ে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়ি। ওয়াজিউল্লা-বাবুল-মোস্তফার মত ব্যক্তিগত স্বার্থকে বিসর্জন দিয়ে বাংলাদেশ ও বাঙালী জাতির স্বার্থে নিজেদের আত্মোৎসর্গ করি।

কৃষক শ্রমিক মেহনতি ভাইয়েরা,

পাঞ্জাবী শত্রুসেনার বুলেটের আঘাতে আজও আপনারা প্রাণ দিচ্ছেন। রাজাকার বাহিনীর অত্যাচারে আপনাদের গণজীবন আজও বিপর্যস্ত। আপনাদের এ রক্তদান বৃথা যাবে না। আপনাদের সন্তান আপনাদের সন্তান হয়ে আপনাদের রক্ষা করার জন্য আমরা আজ হাতে অস্ত্র নিয়েছি। একটি পাঞ্জাবীকেও জীবিত অবস্থায় বাংলাদেশ ছেড়ে যেতে দেব না। রাজাকার বাহিনীতে যারা আছে তাদেরকে কেবল একটি কথাই বলতে চাই তোমরা অনেকেই বাঙালীর সন্তান। বাংলাদেশের স্বার্থের দিকে তাকিয়ে পাঞ্জাবীদের সাহায্য না করে মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের কাছে আত্মসমর্পণ কর। অন্যথায় তোমাদেরকেও পাঞ্জাবীদের মত একটি একটি করে হত্যা করা হবে। মুক্তিযোদ্ধা গেরিলারা আজ বাংলাদেশের প্রতিটি গ্রামে ছড়িয়ে পড়েছে হানাদারদের খতম করতে। আপনারা গেরিলাদের সর্বপ্রকার সাহায্য ও সহযোগিতা করুন। কারণ তারা আপনাদেরই ভাই, আপনাদেরই বন্ধু। কিছু সংখ্যক দুষ্কৃতকারী তথাকথিত মুক্তিযোদ্ধা সেজে আপনাদের উপর অত্যাচার করছে। তাদের নামের তালিকা নিকটবর্তী মুক্তিযোদ্ধা শিবিরে পাঠিয়ে দেন।

বাংলাদেশের লাখ লাখ মানুষকে হত্যা করে, সারা বাংলাদেশকে জ্বালিয়ে-পুড়িয়ে ছারখার করে, হাজার হাজার মা-বোনের ইজ্জত নষ্ট করেও যখন মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের প্রচন্ড আক্রমণে খুনী ইয়াহিয়ার কুকর বাহিনী বাংলার পথে-ঘাটে খুন হচ্ছে ও পরাজয় অবশ্যম্ভাবী বলে ভীতসন্ত্রস্ত হয়ে পড়েছে, ঠিক সেই মুহূর্তে মাতাল ইয়াহিয়া অভিনব পন্থায় স্বাধীন বাংলার জনক বঙ্গবন্ধুর বিচার প্রহসন শুরু করেছে। জল্লাদ ইয়াহিয়াকে শেষবারের মত একটি কথাই স্মরণ করিয়ে দিতে চাই- শেখ মুজিবের জীবনের উপর আঘাত আসলে তুমি টিক্কা বাহিনী বাংলাদেশ ছেড়ে যেখানেই যাও না কেন, সেখানেই গিয়ে তোমাদের হত্যা করা হবে। পাঞ্জাবের তখতে তাউসকে ভেঙ্গে খান খান করে ইতিহাস থেকে নাম-নিশানা মুছে ফেলা হবে।

সারা বিশ্বের মুক্তিকামী মানুষ যখন খুনী ইয়াহিয়ার এই গণহত্যার বিরুদ্ধে সোচ্চার কণ্ঠে প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশকে স্বীকার করে নিতে আমাদের পাশে এসে দাঁড়িয়েছে তখন বিশ্বের বৃহৎশক্তি ও সাম্রাজ্যবাদের দোসর চীন-মার্কিন সরকার জঙ্গীশাহীকে অস্ত্র দিয়ে সাহায্য করেও কোন ফায়দা না দেখে বাংলাদেশের শত্রু ডঃ মালিককে ক্ষমতায় বসিয়ে পাকিস্তানকে টিকিয়ে রাখার অভিনব প্রচেষ্টায় মেতে উঠেছে। আমরা সেই সকল শক্তিবর্গকে স্পষ্ট করে জানিয়ে দিতে চাই হিমালয় পাহাড় ধসে যেতে পারে, বঙ্গোপসাগর শুকিয়ে মরুভূমি হতে পারে, কিন্তু বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষকে পাঞ্জাবের গোলাম করে রাখা যাবে না। আমরা তোমাদের কাছে ভিক্ষা চাই না। ভিক্ষা করে স্বাধীনতা অর্জন করা যায় না। যুদ্ধ করেই আমরা শত্রুসেনাদের খতম করে বাংলার স্বাধীনতা রক্ষা করব।

বাংলার ছাত্রসমাজ ও জনগণের পক্ষ থেকে আজকের এই পবিত্র দিনে গণপ্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ সরকারের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করে আমরা বলতে চাই- বাংলার ভৌগোলিক স্বাধীনতার সাথে সাথে বাংলার কৃষক-শ্রমিক-মেহনতি মানুষের অর্থনৈতিক অধিকার দিতে হবে। বঙ্গবন্ধু ঘোষণা করেছিলেন- আমি কৃষক-শ্রমিক রাজ কায়েম করব। লক্ষ লক্ষ মানুষের তাজা রক্ত আর ধ্বংসস্তূপের মধ্যদিয়ে যে নতুন বাংলাদেশ সৃষ্টি হতে যাচ্ছে তার অর্থনীতি অবশ্যই সমাজতান্ত্রিক হতে হবে। আমলাতান্ত্রিক শাসনব্যস্থাকে অবশ্যই নির্মূল করতে হবে। সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সামন্তবাদ ও একচেটিয়া পুঁজিবাদী ব্যবস্থাকে ভেঙ্গে খান খান করে একটি শ্রেণীশোষণহীন

সমাজব্যবস্থা গড়ে তুলতে হবে। প্রতিষ্ঠিত করতে হবে বিজ্ঞানভিত্তিক গণমুখী শিক্ষাব্যবস্থা, যার মাধ্যমে প্রতিটি মায়ের সন্তান একই নীতিতে শিক্ষা গ্রহণ করতে পারে। পাঞ্জাবের ২২ পরিবারকে উৎখাত করে আবার নতুন করে কোন পুঁজিপতি বাংলাদেশে যাতে সৃষ্টি না হয়, জনগণের অর্থ-সম্পদ আত্মসাৎ করার কোন সুযোগ যাতে না থাকে তার বৈজ্ঞানিক নিশ্চয়তার ভিত্তিতে অবশ্যই ভাবী শাসনতন্ত্র রচনা করতে হবে।

ওয়াজিউল্লা, বাবুল, মোস্তফার রক্তে অনুপ্রাণিত আজকের স্বাধীনতা রক্তার যুদ্ধের ছাত্রলীগের অন্যতম নেতা চিশতি শাহ হেলালসহ লাখ লাখ শহীদের উত্তরসূরী হিসাবে বাংলার মাটি ও মানুষকে মুক্ত করার যে মহান দায়িত্ব নিয়ে আমরা ছাত্রসমাজ হাতে অস্ত্র তুলে নিয়েছি, তা আদায় না হওয়া পর্যন্ত আমরা ক্ষান্ত হবো না। মানব সভ্যতার অবসম্বাদিত খুনী ইয়াহিয়া-টিক্কার বাদশাহীর হেরেম ভেঙ্গ চুরমার করে আমরা আমাদের জন্মভূমির সকল প্রান্তে স্বাধীনতার বিজয় বৈজয়ন্তী ওড়াবো। বাংলার ছাত্রসমাজ ও জনগণের পক্ষ থেকে সংগ্রামী সালাম জানাই বীর শহীদ ভাইদের। জয় আমাদেরই হবেই। আফ্রো-এশিয়ার নির্যাতিত মানবগোষ্ঠীর মহান নেতা শেখ মুজিব দীর্ঘজীবি হোক। মহান ১৭ই সেপ্টেম্বর অমর হোক-

জয় বাংলা

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
উপদেষ্টা কমিটির উপর লিখিত সরকারের কাছে প্রদত্ত একটি প্রতিবেদন		সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

The newly formed Consultative Committee consisting of leaders of major political parties has been a step forward for conducting deliberation struggle as a national war. Awami League, having the overwhelming support of the people and being the supreme vanguard of the people's movement in East Bengal, did not have to go for a Committee like this. But it was considered necessary for the greater interest of the people. The immediate effect of forming this Consultative Committee has been.

(a) a psychological impact to boost the morale of our people inside Bangladesh;

(b) a psychological impact upon the people and Governments of the world to show that the liberation war is conducted by all the major forces of the population;

(c) It will have an impact on Yahya Khan's Government and create a psychological pressure on them to accept the world pressure sooner.

It appears that Indian Government has played a role in bringing about this Consultative Committee. The apparent reasons are:

(a) this would contain the left political forces in West Bengal and will restrain them from doing anything that will jeopardize the interest and policy of the Central Government of India;

(b) the pressure of the Russian Government to include NAP (Muzaffar group) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party into the front;

(c) Moulana Bashani has no party as such and is fully committed now to Awami League and its leadership. Therefore, by including his name the overall impression both from national and international point of view has been improved psychologically.

A Section of Awami League considers that this will gradually take the independence movement away from its leadership and push it into the hands of the more leftist elements. But the operative part, of this Consultative Committee is limited to :

(a) that the Committee would only be available to the Government of Bangladesh for consultation on matters relating to the, liberation struggle;

(b) The Prime Minister would convene and conduct meetings of the Committee.

This means that in reality the Consultative Committee would be nothing but a mere Advisory Board completely under the control of the Bangladesh Government. They will be consulted only when the Prime Minister would deem it necessary. In one way this has been a triumph for Awami League. In one hand it has extended its arms to embrace other political forces and in other hand it retains the complete political leadership and initiative.

*উপদেষ্টা কমিটি সংক্রান্ত এই প্রতিবেদন সরকারী নথিপত্র থেকে সংগৃহীত।

From the pro-Moscow group point of view, it is considered to be a step forward for them and above all they are happy that after such a long time they have given some sort of formal recognition as a force to be a part of this liberation struggle.

This Consultative Committee has not included the other' factions of the liftist movement in our country. Duba groups perhaps would not have joined in any case. But the component parts of the 9-party coordinating committee for the liberation struggle would perhaps have joined the Consultative Committee, if they were invited. From their point of view who are basically Mao se-tung and Che Guevara, this Consultative Committee is also a step forward but it would have been wiser to include this group also into the Consultative Committee.

The main reason why the Bangladesh movement could not attack the support and attention of the younger generation of the world, who are mostly dominated by the radicals, is that this movement is viewed as not a liberation war in the classical sense. It is not considered to be a revolutionary national liberation war and this is why it could not arouse enough public opinion in the European, African and Latin American countries. Even in England, France, Germany and America the youths have neglected our cause. From this point of view the more we give our war a color of a broad-based national liberation war the more support and assistance we will get from the people and the countries who traditionally support the people's struggles.

However, ineffective the Consultative Committee may be in reality, the radical forces whether included in it or not will derive certain benefit. They will be able to move more freely, organize their bases more actively and will again a kind of security for their personal safety both in India and inside Bangladesh. They may consider it as a recognition of their right to infiltrate and integrate their own forces with others.

ASSESSMENT

The remaining forces should be included into this Consultative Committee in some form or the other keeping (he main functional structure of the Committee as it is now. This will increase the strength of the liberation struggle and on the other hand will counter-act the unnecessary criticism that the leftists are kept out of this Committee. Both nationally and internationally, our support will increase keeping at the same lime the leadership of Awami League intact.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে আপোষের বিরোধিতা করে ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টির বিবৃতি	সংগ্রামী বাংলা	১৮ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

বাংলা আমার, জননী আমার, ধাত্রী আমার, আমার দেশ প্রাণপ্রিয় মাতৃভূমির পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতা অথবা মৃত্যু এটাই বাঙ্গালী জাতির শেষ কথাঃ বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় আওয়ামী দলের ঘোষণা

মওলানা ভাসানীর নেতৃত্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় আওয়ামী দলের তরফ থেকে সম্প্রতি এক প্রেস বিজ্ঞপ্তিতে আশঙ্কা প্রকাশ করা হয় যে বাংলাদেশের সশস্ত্র মুক্তিযুদ্ধ যখন দুর্বার গতিতে এগিয়ে চলেছে এবং এক নতুন রূপ পরিগ্রহ করতে যাচ্ছে, সেই মুহূর্তে কোন কোন শক্তির তরফ থেকে আপোসের যূপকাষ্ঠে এই স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে বলি দেওয়ার চক্রান্ত চলছে। তবে কি এত রক্ত, এত ত্যাগ, এত সংগ্রামের এই শেষ পরিণতি?

বাংলাদেশ জাতীয় আওয়ামী দলের বিবৃতির পূর্ণ বিবরণঃ

বাংলাদেশের জনগণের মুক্তিসংগ্রাম যখন জনযুদ্ধে রূপান্তরিত হতে চলেছে ঠিক সেই মুহূর্তে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামকে কেন্দ্র করে আন্তর্জাতিক রাজনীতির সংগ্রাম শুরু হয়েছে। তথাকথিত 'রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের' নামে আজ বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিসংগ্রামের গতিরোধ করার এক ঘৃণ্য ষড়যন্ত্র চলছে। ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টি এ সম্পর্কে বাংলার মুক্তিকামী জনগণকে হুঁশিয়ার করে দেওয়ার প্রয়োজন মনে করছে। বাংলার মুক্তিসংগ্রাম আজ এমন এক পর্যায়ে এসে পৌঁছেছে যেখানে শাসকচক্রের সঙ্গে কোন আপসের চিন্তাও করা যায় না। বাংলার মানুষ আজ নির্মম, নিষ্ঠুর সত্যের মুখোমুখি দাঁড়িয়ে তিক্ত অভিজ্ঞতার মধ্য দিয়ে এটাই বুঝতে পেরেছেন যে, বাংলার মুক্তি আপোষের সরল পথে আসবে না। হানাদার দস্যুদের বিরুদ্ধে সশস্ত্র লড়াই অব্যাহত রেখেই বাংলার মুক্তি সম্ভব।

বাংলার মুক্তি সংগ্রামকে নস্যাৎ করে দেওয়ার যে ষড়যন্ত্র চলছে, সে সম্পর্কে বাংলার মজলুম ও প্রবীণ জননেতা, ন্যাশনাল আওয়ামী পার্টির সভাপতি মওলানা ভাসানী ইতিপূর্বে ২৪শে জুন দ্ব্যর্থহীন কণ্ঠে ঘোষণা করেছিলেন- ''বাংলাদেশের জনগণ রাজনৈতিক সমাধানের নামে ধোঁকাবাজি কিছুতেই গ্রহণ করবে না। তাদের একমাত্র পণ- হয় দেশের পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতা, নয় মৃত্যু। এর সঙ্গে গোঁজামিলের কোন স্থান নাই।''

স্বাধীন বাংলার স্বীকৃতি প্রভৃতি চার দফা ছাড়া বাংলাদেশের সমস্যার কোন রাজনৈতিক সমাধান সম্ভব নয়- এ মর্মে গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ৮ই অক্টোবর যে ঘোষণা করেছেন তা সমস্ত বাংলার মানুষের মনোভাবেরই প্রতিধ্বনি।

বাংলাদেশের বীর মুক্তিযোদ্ধারাই রণাঙ্গনে বাংলাদেশের চূড়ান্ত ফয়সালা করবেন।

* মওলানা ভাসানীর পৃষ্ঠপোষকতায় প্রকাশিত পত্রিকা।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির শিক্ষা ও সমাজসেবা বিভাগের একটি চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি	২১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE DIVISION

P-3, Suhrawardy Avenue,
Calcutta-17.

No. PC-78

21/22 October, 1971.

Dr. AJOY K. ROY,
Secretary,
Bangladesh Teachers Association,
38/2, Elgin Road,
Calcutta-20

Dear Dr. ROY,

I wonder if you could please see me at this address for discussion about your work here. We need your counsel and assistance in preparing a couple of questionnaires-one for eliciting information about demobilized freedom fighters (students and non-students) and the other for victims of undesirable motherhood. Perhaps you could care to see me on receipt of this note.

Thanking you,

Yours Sincerely,
(K. S. Murshid)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
''বাংলাদেশের পূর্ন স্বাধীনতাই সমস্যার একমাত্র সমাধান'' - আওয়ামী লীগের ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির ঘোষণা	জয়বাংলা	২৪ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশের পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতাই সমস্যার একমাত্র সমাধান

আওয়ামী লীগের ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির দ্ব্যর্থহীন ঘোষণাঃ বঙ্গবন্ধু আশু মুক্তির ব্যবস্থা ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে অবিলম্বে স্বীকৃতিদানের জন্য বিশ্বের রাষ্ট্রবর্গের প্রতি আবেদন

গত বৃহস্পতিবার মূলতবী হয়ে যাওয়ার পূর্বে নীতির পুনরুল্লেখ করে বাংলাদেশ আওয়ামী লীগের পক্ষ থেকে দ্ব্যর্থহীন ও স্পষ্টভাবে ঘোষণা করা হয় যে, পূর্ণ স্বাধীনতাই বাংলাদেশ সমস্যার একমাত্র সমাধান। ওয়ার্কিং কমিটি এই সংগ্রাম ত্বরান্বিত করার জন্য বলিষ্ঠ শপথ গ্রহণ করে।

ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির অপর এক প্রস্তাবে বাঙ্গালী জাতির অবিসম্বাদিত নেতা বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের আশু মুক্তির জন্য প্রত্যক্ষ কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণের জন্য বিশ্বের প্রতিটি রাষ্ট্র ও জাতিসংঘের প্রতি আহবান জানান হয়।

ওয়ার্কিং কমিটি জনগণের বিপুল ভোটে নির্বাচিত আওয়ামী লীগ দলীয় সদস্যদের সদস্যপদ খারিজ করে তদস্থলে ইয়াহিয়ার উপ-নির্বাচন অনুষ্ঠান প্রচেষ্টাকে 'ধৃষ্টতার পরিচায়ক এবং বিশ্ব জনমতকে বিভ্রান্ত করার অপচেষ্টা' বলে অভিহিত করে এবং এ প্রসঙ্গে স্পষ্টভাবে ঘোষণা করে যে বাঙ্গালী জাতি ও আওয়ামী রীগ স্বাধীন বাংলায় জাতীয় জীবনে তথাকথিত পাকিস্তানীদের কোন হস্তক্ষেপই সহ্য করবে না।

ভারতসহ বিশ্বের যে সমস্ত রাষ্ট্র বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের মুক্তি ও স্বাধীনতার যুদ্ধের প্রতি অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন জ্ঞাপন করেছেন, আওয়ামী লীগ ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির তাদের প্রতি আন্তরিক কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করেন।

আওয়ামী লীগ ওয়ার্কিং কমিটির প্রস্তাবে বিশ্বের প্রতিটি মানুষ ও যে সমস্ত সংবাদপত্র প্রচার মাধ্যমে বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রামকে সমর্থন দান করেছেন তাদের প্রতি সংগ্রামী অভিনন্দন জানান হয়। সাথে সাথে ওয়ার্কিং কমিটি বাংলাদেশ ইয়াহিয়া চক্রের নজীরবিহীন গণহত্যা, নারী নির্যাতন ও ধ্বংসযজ্ঞের বিরুদ্ধে মানবতার স্বার্থে সক্রিয় জনমত গঠনের জন্য বিশ্ববাসীর প্রতি আকুল আবেদন জানান।

ভারত সরকার ৯০ লক্ষাধিক শরনার্থীকে আশ্রয় দিয়ে ও তাদের বরণ-পোষণের দায়িত্ব নিয়ে মানবতার ইতিহাসে যে নজির সৃষ্টি করেছেন তজ্জন্য আওয়ামী লীগ ওয়ার্কিং কমিটি গভীর কৃতজ্ঞতা প্রকাশ করেন। সাথে সাথে ওয়ার্কিং কমিটি দ্ব্যর্থহীনভাবে ঘোষণা করেন যে, জাতি-ধর্ম নির্বিশেষে ভারতে আশ্রিত প্রতিটি শরনার্থীকে সসম্মানে বাংলাদেশ ফিরিয়ে আনার ব্যপারে আওয়ামী লীগ বদ্ধপরিকর।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মুক্তিসংগ্রামে ছাত্র ও যুব সম্প্রদায়কে অংশগ্রহণের জন্য বাংলাদেশ ছাত্রলীগ ও বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়নের যৌথ বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র লীগ ও বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়ন	৭ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

To
The News Editor,

Mujibnagar: 7th November, 1971.

Bangladesh Students' Union and Bangladesh Students' League the two traditional fighting organizations of the students of Bangladesh-the vanguard of all democratic movements have issued the radiant call of United Struggle against the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan.

The representatives of these two main students organizations met to-day and issued the following statement on behalf of the students and youths of Bangladesh.

The signatories to the statement are :

* Noor-e-Alam Siddiquee.
President, Bangladesh
Students' league.

Nurul Islam
resident, Bangladesh
Students' Union

*Shahjahan Shiraj,
General Secretary,
Do

Mujahidul Islam Selim.
Do.General Secretary,

* A. S.M. AbdurRab,
Vice-President,
Dacca University Central Students' Union.

* Abdul Quddus Makhan,
General Secretary, Do.

Released By :

(Shahjahan Shiraj)
General Secretary,
Bangladesh Students' League. ,

(Mujahidul Islam Selim)
General Secretary,
Bangladesh Students' Union

PRESS RELEASE

The Statement:

The glorious freedom struggle of Bangladesh inspired by the ideal and conducted according to the instructions of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the great leader of the Bengali Nation, is now seven months old. Our heroic freedom fighters are fighting a life and death battle and unhesitatingly shedding their blood for the liberation of their motherland. The fighting students of Bangladesh have long been unitedly fighting against the Ultra-reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan. In keeping with the past tradition of the students and youths of Bangladesh must forge iron-strong unity and canyon freedom struggle to liberate the motherland.

The students and youths must come forward and participate in the armed struggle.
We must keep in mind that the enemy of the 75 million people of Bangladesh- the savage Yahya clique is being nourished by the Chinese, Government, as well as the American Imperialists. We have therefore to fight against heavy odds.

Our struggle is a national liberation struggle for attaining the cherished goals of Bengali Nation and it is directed against imperialism and colonialism. This is a people's War. Therefore, all the fighting forces of Bangladesh should unite under the leadership of Bangladesh government.

We appeal to the youths and students of Bangladesh, particularly the workers of this two organizations to participate in the liberation struggle en masse against the freedom fighters unitedly, jointly boycott the administration in the Pak-occupied areas and destroy the invading army. We appeal to all fighting forces to advance under the leadership of the Bangladesh government that has been established according to people's verdict in order to accelerate our victory as well as to raise the demands for and secure the release of President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

As the liberation forces are achieving new successes, the World conscious is more and more siding with us. We express our gratitude to the countries like India, Soviet Union which are in many ways helping and supporting us and we appeal to all freedom loving and democratic people and states, particularly the students and youths of the World, to extend support and assistance to our just struggle. We appeal to all States of the World to accord recognition to the Bangladesh Government headed by Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Raqman.

We appeal to all strengthening united armed struggle with a view to establishing secular, democratic, progressive state by completely liberating Bangladesh, a state that will free from all kinds of exploitation and ensure peace and prosperity to the workers, peasants, middle class, students and youths.

There is nothing in the World more glorious than sacrificing our Jives in the struggle for liberating our motherland. Let us pledge to unitedly liberate the country from the clutches of the enemy. Our victory is certain. Joy Bangla.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ ছাত্রলীগ সভাপতি নূরে আলম সিদ্দীকির বক্তব্য	বাংলাদেশ কেন্দ্রীয় ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ	১৭ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

স্বাধীনতার অগ্নিমন্ত্রে শুচিশুদ্ধ অনির্বাণ মুক্তিবাহিনী, অকুতোভয় ছাত্র-শ্রমিক ও আমার সংগ্রামী অভিভাবকমন্ডলী।

বাঙ্গালী জাতীয়তাবাদের মহানায়ক মুক্তিপাগল জাতির জনক বঙ্গবন্ধুর মহান আদর্শে উজ্জীবিত, তার অবিস্মরণীয় প্রেরণায় অনুপ্রাণিত ও তাঁর অমোঘ নির্দেশ পরিচালিত স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের ৭ মাস অতিক্রান্ত হয়েছে। এই সংগ্রামের প্রারম্ভে বাংলার নৃশংস আক্রমণের মুখে এক দুর্ভেদ্য প্রতিরোধ আন্দোলন গড়ে তুলেছিল। হত্যা, ব্যাভিচার, নৃশংসতা ও পাশবিকতারকাছে বাংলার গণদেবতা মাথা নত করে নাই, আর তাই, আমাদের আন্দোলন ক্রমে ক্রমে প্রতিরোধের মোহনা হতে প্রতিঘাতের প্রচন্ড উন্মত্ততায় মোড় নেয়। বাংলার প্রতিটি তরুণ বঙ্গবন্ধুর মহান আদর্শকে সামনে রেখে মায়ের কোল ছেড়ে বেরিয়ে আসে বাংলার প্রত্যন্ত অঞ্চলে। তারা সামরিক শিক্ষা নিতে থাকে শত্রুর বিষদাঁতগুলো উপড়ে ফেলা আর জননী বাংলাকে মুক্ত করার দৃপাত মানসে। তাই আজ আমরা দেখতে পাই, ২৪ ঘন্টায় বাংলাকে পর্যুদস্ত করার দুঃস্বপ্ন তাদের ভেঙ্গে চৌচির হয়ে গেছে, আমারা দেখতে পাই সূর্যসেনাদের তীক্ষ্ম আঘাতের বিপর্যস্ত পশ্চিমা পশুদের শায়িত লাশের স্তুপ। ঐক্যবদ্ধ বাঙ্গালীর সংগ্রামের ফলে শুধু পশ্চিমা ষড়যন্ত্রের প্রাসাদ প্রকম্পিত হয়ে ওঠে নাই, সারাবিশ্ব বুঝতে পেরেছে যে, বাঙালী নিঃস্ব নয়। বাঙালীরা পরাধীনতা মানে না।

আজ সারা বাংলার একটি পথ- সে পথ মুক্তির, সে পথ স্বাধীনতার। তাই মৃত্যুর ভ্রুকুটি নির্যাতনের খড়গাঘাত আমাদেরকে বিপর্যস্ত করতে পরেনি; বরং শত্রুর পাশবিকতা শত্রু হননের প্রতিহিংসায় আমাদের প্রজ্জ্বলিত করেছে। বাংলার মাটি আজ অপরাজেয়, বাঙালীর প্রতিটি ঘর দুর্ভেদ্য দুর্গ। সমঝোতার প্রলোভন তাদের কাছে প্রহসন ছাড়া কিছুই নয়। আন্দোলনের অনির্বাণ আদর্শ বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিব, আর আন্দোলনের সম্পূর্ণ পরিচালনার দায়িত্ব আওয়ামী লীগের। বাংলার সংগ্রামী প্রতিষ্ঠানের পক্ষ থেকে গণম্যান্ডেন্টকে উপেক্ষা করার ঔদ্ধত্যের চ্যালেঞ্জ করে যখন স্বাধীনতার উদাত্ত আহবান ছাত্রসংগ্রাম পরিষদ জানায়, তখন তারা বঙ্গবন্ধুকে মহান জাতির নেতা হিসাবে সামনে রেখেই এ আন্দোলনের ডাক দিয়েছিল এবং দালাল ছাড়া বাংলার প্রতিটি মানুষ ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে এ আন্দোলনের পাশে সে দাঁড়িয়েছিল দলমত নির্বিশেষে। আজ স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনের ৭ মাস অতিক্রান্ত হয়েছে। বাংলাদেশের মাটিতে মুখচেনা দালাল, ডাস্টবিনের আবর্জনাকে তুলে এনে বিশ্বকে যখন বিভ্রান্ত করার প্রচেষ্টা করা হচ্ছে, তখন বাংলার প্রতিটি প্রগতিশীল মহলের সম্মিলিত পতাকার নিচে দাঁড়িয়ে এ দূরুভিসন্ধির চ্যালেঞ্জ মোকাবেলা করা উচিত। বিশ্বের মানুষ জানে বাংলার প্রগতিশীল রাজনৈতিক মহল দ্বিধাহীনচিত্তে বঙ্গবন্ধুর নেতৃত্বে আস্থা প্রকাশ করে এবং গণপ্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে সমর্থন জানিয়ে অকুতোভয় সে চ্যালেঞ্জের মোকাবিলা করেছেন। এছাড়া আমি গর্বিত এবং আনন্দিত বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র ইউনিয়ন আমাদের সাথে এক যুক্ত বিবৃতির মাধ্যমে বাঙ্গালী জাতির মহানায়ক বঙ্গবন্ধুর আদর্শে, অনুপ্রেরণায় ও নির্দেশে পরিচালিত স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে ঐক্যবদ্ধ মুক্তি আন্দোলনের আহবান জানিয়েছে। তারা সর্বক্ষেত্রে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রশাসন গড়ে তোলার দ্বিধাহীন ডাক দিয়ে বিশ্বকে পুর্নবার জানিয়ে দিলেন সমস্ত প্ররোচনায় মুখে বাঙালী জাতি এক ও অভিন্ন। স্বাধীনতার প্রশ্নে তারা হিমাচলের মত অটল। ... .আসুন, আমরা রাত্রির বৃন্ত হতে ছিঁড়ে আনি ফুটন্ত সকাল।

সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা, দখলকৃত বাংলায় সম্প্রতি উপ-নির্বাচনের নামে বিশ্বের প্রচন্ডতম হাস্যকর প্রহসন সৃষ্টি করা হয়েছে। ২৪ বছরের ইতিহাসে যাদের কুষ্ঠরোগীর মত দালালীর ক্ষতচিহ্নে ভরা, গত নির্বাচনে ঐক্যবদ্ধ গণচেতনার ভয়ে যারা রণভঙ্গ দিয়ে বিবি সাহেবের আচঁলের তলায় আশ্রয় নিয়েছিলো, এমন কি বিশ্বাসঘাতক সবুর ও নির্লজ্জ ফ-কা চৌধুরীর মত যারা তওবা করে ক্ষমা ভিক্ষা করে বিবৃতি দিয়ে বঙ্গবন্ধুর নেতৃত্বে আস্থা

স্থাপন করেছিলো- তাদের মত প্রায় ৬৭ জন দালালকে বিনাপ্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতায় নির্বাচিত ঘোষনার স্পর্ধ। দেখিয়েছে বিশ্বাসঘাতক জালেম। আমরা জানি জালেম প্রায় সব জায়গায় নির্বাচন এড়িয়ে গেছে। কারণ কালবৈশাখীর ঝড়ের প্রচন্ডতায় বিক্ষুদ্ধ বাংলাকে সে চিনেছে। সে জানত নির্বাচনের ঝুঁকি নেওয়ার শক্তি আর দুঃসাহস তার নাই, তবুও স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম বাংলায় নাক গলিয়ে যে অপরাধ ইয়াহিয়া করেছে তার প্রতিশোধ হিটলারের দোসব আইকম্যানের মৃত্যুদন্ডের মতই নেওয়া হবে। আমরা নিঃসংশয় রণাঙ্গনের বুলেট এ প্রশ্নের উত্তর দেব। ....

গণতন্ত্রমনা বাঙালীর হৃদয়ের ঔদার্যকে এরা কাপুরুষতা ভেবেছিল। গত নির্বাচনের পর প্রচন্ড গণবিস্ফোরণের মুখে এদের পিষে মাটির সাথে মিশিয়ে দিতে আমরা পারতাম। ... এদের জন্যে বাংলার আলো-বাতাস-মাটি আজ হারাম। এদের স্পর্শে বাংলার মাটি ডুকরে কেঁদে ওঠে। এদের দূষিত নিঃশ্বাসে বাংলার বাতাস দূষিত হয়। আজ এদের জন্য কোন মায়া নাই, মমতা নাই, দয়া-দাক্ষিণ্য নাই, ক্ষমা নাই। আজ এদের একমাত্র প্রাপ্য হল মৃত্যু। মোনেম আর মোনেম ঘোষিত এমপিএ আমির হোসেনের পথ ধরেই এদেরকে বাংলার বুক হতে বিদায় নিতে হবে। মাটির বুকেও যদি এরা লুকাতে চায়, মাটি খুঁড়ে এদের বের করে টুকরো টুকরো করে কেটে গায়ে লবণ ছিটিয়ে উন্মুক্ত স্থানে টাঙ্গিয়ে রাখতে হবে। ভবিষ্যতে প্রতিটি দালাল যেন এদের পরিণতির দৃষ্টান্ত দেখে শিউরে কেঁপে ওঠে।

সংগ্রামী ভাইয়েরা আমার,

যেখানে যখন যে অবস্থায় এদের পাওয়া যাবে, মৃত্যুই এদের পাওনা। এদেরকে করায়-গন্ডায় পাওয়া বুঝিয়ে দিতে হবে। ..... আমাদের ধারণা, ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে এরা যুদ্ধের পাঁয়তারা করছে, এর দাঁতভাঙ্গা জবাব দেয়ার জন্য আপনারা প্রস্তুত হোন।

সংগ্রামী ভাই-বোনেরা আমার, আপনারা নিশ্চয়ই উপলব্দি করেছেন, আমাদের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম যতই তীব্রতর হচ্ছে বিশ্ববিবেক, আজ ততই স্পষ্ট আমাদের সপক্ষে। বিশ্বের পথে-প্রান্তরে আজ স্বাধীনতার সপক্ষে অশান্ত মিছিল।.... গণতন্ত্রের পাদপীঠ আমাদের নিকটতম প্রতিবেশী ভারত প্রথম হতেই সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের পক্ষে কার হৃয়মথিত সহানুভূতি উজার করে দিয়েছে। আমি আনন্দিত রাশিয়াও আমাদের সমর্থনে এগিয়ে এসেছে। কিন্তু সংগ্রামী বাংলা এখন মুক্তির সুতীক্ষ্ম আকাংক্ষায় উদগ্রীব। সারা বাংলা এখর প্রচন্ড শক্তিতে শত্রুকে আঘাত হানছে। আর বিশ্ববিবেক যখন চিৎকার কর বলছে বিচারের বাণী নিরবে-নিভৃতে কাঁদতে দেব না, তখন আন্তর্জাতিক রাজনীতির চোরাগলিতে সমঝোতায় কানাঘুষা আমাদের কানে আসছে। আমরা এই ব্যর্থ প্রয়াসে কেবল মর্মাহতই নই, বিস্ময়াভিভূতও হয়েছি। ... মানবতার আর্তনাদ তাদের কর্ণকুহরে পৌঁছে না, অসহায় মানুষের আকুতি এদের হৃদয়কে নাড়া দেয় না। বাৎকে বাৎ এরা গণতন্ত্রের কথা বলে, কিন্তু গণতন্ত্রের অমোঘ মন্ত্র এদেরকে আকর্ষণ করে নাই, আর তাই ক্ষমতার সতরঞ্জে এরা ষড়যন্ত্রের গুটি চেলে বাজিমাৎ করতে চান। বিশ্ববিবেকের কণ্ঠস্বর হয়ে দৃঢ়চিত্তে সত্যের প্রতিধ্বনি করার কথা ছিল- রাহুচক্রে তিনিও আজ দিশেহারা হয়ে ঘুরপাক খাচ্ছেন, নইলে সেলসবারীতে ২৫ জন শ্বেতাঙ্গ হত্যা করার জন্যে যখন জাতিসংঘে মানবতা রক্ষা দিবস পালন করা হয়, তখন পৃথিবীর জঘন্যতম নৃশংসতা, জঘন্যতম পাশবিকতা, ১০ লক্ষ মানুষ হত্যার পরও তারা স্পন্দনহীন নির্বিকার থাকেন কেমন করে। ভাবতে আমি অবাক হয়ে যাই বিশ্বের নির্মমতম নৃশংসতার পরও সমঝোতা, কবরের শান্তি আর ধৈয্য ধারণের স্তুতিবাক্য আওড়ান তাঁরা কোন লজ্জার মাথা খেয়ে। শক্তির প্রচন্ড দাম্ভিকতায় উন্মাদ বলেই কেরিয়া, আলজেরিয়া, কিউবার ইতিহাস এদের চক্ষুকে উন্মোচিত করে নাই। এই সব মূক, ম্লান, বধির শক্তিবর্গকে আমরা নিঃসংশয়চিত্তে জানিয়ে দিতে চাই, এবার আমরা শেষ সমঝোতার জন্যই বৈঠকে বসেছি, তবে সে বৈঠক আন্তর্জাতিক প্রাসাদ শীতাতপ নিয়ন্ত্রিত দরবার কক্ষের গোলটেবিলে ঘিরে বসে নাই, বসেছে জননী বাংলার চতুস্পার্শেবর রণাঙ্গনের ট্রেঞ্চে- সে বৈঠকের আলোচনা চালাচ্ছে বঙ্গবন্ধুর আদর্শে উজ্জীবিত সূর্যসেনা মুক্তিবাহিনীর নির্ভীক সেনানীরা। সে বেঠকের ভাষা স্বার্থের রাজনীতির পরিভাষার অনুলিপি নয়- তার ভাষা হল ব্যারেলের অগ্নিবর্ষী বুলেট। সে বৈঠকে সমঝোতা বা আপোষ-মীমাংসা হবে না- স্বাধীনতার

চূড়ান্ত সনদ লিখিত হবে। আর সে সনদ আমরা কলমের কালো কালিতে লিখতে চাই না, লিখব শত্রুর বুকের তাজা লাল টকটকে উত্তপ্ত রক্তে। আপনারা শুনে রাখুন, শত্রুর রক্ত নিক্তিতে মেপে আমরা পাওনা বুঝে নিতেই বৈঠকে বসেছি। এখানে রাজনৈতিক সওদাগরী ব্যর্থতার বেলাভূমিতে গুমরে মরবে।

আজও অসত্যের বুকে বিদীর্ণ করে সত্যের উদ্ভাসিত আলোকরশ্মি যেসব উপনিবেশবাদী শক্তি অবলোকন করতে পারেননি, শোষণ ও অবিচারকে যারা প্রতিবাদ করতে পারেননি, আজও দশ লক্ষ শহীদের আর্তনাদ যারা শোনেননি, সেইসব শক্তির প্রতিভূকে আমি একটিবার জিজ্ঞেস করতে পাই- এই শোষণের কষাঘাতে জর্জরিত হয়ে নিজের দেশ হইতে হিজরত করে আপনাদের জাতির কি জন্ম হয় নি?

বৃহৎ শক্তির প্রতিভূ আপনাকে একটি বার জিজ্ঞেস করতে চাই- দশ লক্ষ মানুষের মৃত্যু নয়, একটিবার আপনার সামনে যদি আমার জোয়ান ছেলেকে বুলেটের নির্মম আঘাতে শত্রুরা খুন করত, একটিবার আপনার চোখের সামনে আপনার অশীতিপর বৃদ্ধের বুক বেয়নেটের খোঁচায় চৌচির করে দিত, যদি একটিবারের জন্য আপনার চোখের সামনে আপনার মেয়েকে সম্পূর্ণ উলঙ্গ করে পাশবিক অত্যাচার করত, যদি আপনার সম্মুখে আপনার গর্ভবতী স্ত্রীর পেট চিরে তার গর্ভজাত সন্তানকে বেয়নেটের খোঁচায় বের করত, যদি আপনার বোনের কোল হতে তার তিন মাসের কচি শিশুকে কেড়ে নিয়ে তার সম্মুখেই টুকরো টুকরো করে খুন করত, যদি আপনার ঘর পুড়িয়ে ঘরছাড়া করে জোর করে পরে দেশে পরবাসী করত- তবে আপনি কি প্রতিহিংসার আগুনে জ্বলে উঠতেন না? আপনি কি ঐ জালেম জল্লাদের কবল হতে মুক্তি চাইতেন না? আপনার স্ত্রী অঝোরে কেঁদে বলত কিনা- ওগো এর প্রতিশোধ চাই। স্বজন হারানো শ্মশানে ওদের চিতা জ্বালাতে আপনি কি একটিবার চাইতেন না? শিশুর মৃত্যুকান্না ভেদ করে সমঝোতার সস্তা স্তুতিবাক্য কি আপনাকে সান্ত্বনা দিতে পারত? নিশ্চুপ কেন? উত্তর দিন। আপনি কি পারতেন শত্রুর রক্তে না রাঙিয়ে আপনার নিষ্পাপ সতীত্বহারা মেয়ের সামনে পিতৃত্বের অধিকার নিয়ে দাঁড়াতে। বৃহৎশক্তির প্রতিভূ! আপিনি যদি না পারে না পারেন তবে আমাদের পারতে বলবেন কোন লজ্জায়? কোন স্বার্থের তাগিদে? আজ আমি বিশ্বের উপনিবেশবাদী শক্তিসমূহের কাছে পরিষ্কার জানিয়ে দিতে চাই- আমরা আজ কেবল স্বাধীনতার জন্য লড়ছি না, লড়ছি মায়ের অশ্রু, পিতার আর্তনাদ, ভায়ের রক্ত, শিশুরকান্না, বোনের সতীত্ব হননের প্রতিশোধ নেওয়ার জন্য- লড়ছি শত্রুর রক্ত নিক্তিতে মেপে সব পাওনা বুঝে নেয়ার জন্য। এ যুদ্ধ সমঝোতার নয়, এ যুদ্ধ স্বাধীনতার। এ অস্ত্র কেবল বুলেটেই নয়, ন্যায় ও সত্যের মহান আদর্শ এর সঞ্জীবনী শক্তি। এর সেনা কেবল রণাঙ্গনে যোদ্ধারাই নয়, বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষ।

আমি জানি, শক্তির দাম্ভিকতা যত প্রচন্ড হোক না কেন তারপরাজয় অবশ্যম্ভাবী। নইলে গত বিশ্বযুদ্ধে হিটলার পরাজিত হত না, মুসোলিনী হার মানত না। কোরিয়া, আলজেরিয়া, কিইবা মুক্ত হতো না। সর্বশেষ দৃষ্টান্ত আজকের চীন। আজ চীনের যে বিজয় তা পারমাণবিক শক্তির বিজয় নয়, সর্বহারা মানুষের বিজয়। তাই চীন স্বস্তি পরিষদে সর্বহারা ও স্বাধীনতাকামী মানুষের সমর্থনে এগিয়ে আসবে আমরা আশা করি।

ইতিহাস তুমি সাক্ষী রবে সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষর এই ন্যায়, সত্য ও স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রাম ব্যর্থ হবে না- হতে পারে না। ইনশাল্লাহ আমরা বিজয়ী হবই।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি কর্তৃক উপস্থিত রাষ্ট্রীয় রূপরেখা ও কর্মসূচী	বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি	৩০ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশের জনগণের সামনে উপস্থাপিত স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম জন গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র ও সমাজব্যবস্থা রূপরেখা ও কর্মসূচী

ভূমিকা

পূর্ব বাংলা পাকিস্তানী ঔপনিবেশিক শক্তি তথা দস্যু হানাদার বাহিনীর কবলমুক্ত। দীর্ঘ নয় মাসের রক্তক্ষয়ী যুদ্ধ ও লক্ষ লক্ষ নরনারীর জীবন এবং বিনিময়ে অর্জিত হয়েছে এ মুক্তি। এ মুক্তিসংগ্রামে পূর্ব বাংলার সমগ্র শোষিত মেহনতি মানুষের রয়েছে সক্রিয় অবদান। বিশেষ করে বিভিন্ন নামে আখ্যায়িত মুক্তি ফৌজের সর্বজনস্বীকৃত। বাংলা মায়ের মুক্তিপাগল ঐ সেনানীদের জীবনাহুতি ছাড়া এ সংগ্রাম কিছুতেই সফল হতে পারত না, যদিও পাকিস্তানী ঔপনিবেশিক পশুশক্তিকে পরাজিত করার প্রশ্নে ভারত সরকার ও তার সেনাবাহিনীর ভূমিকাও এখানে জড়িত আছে। তবুও এ কথা দৃঢ়তার সাথে বলা চলে যে, পূর্ব বাংলার মেহনতি জনগণ ও তার সন্তানদের দ্বারা গঠিত মুক্তিবাহিনীই ছিল এ যুদ্ধের নিয়ামক শক্তি। আগামী দিনেও স্বাধীন-সুখী-সমৃদ্ধিশীল সার্বভৌম বাংলাদেশ গঠনে এরাই নিয়ামক শক্তি হিসেবে কাজ করবে।

দেশ আজ হানাদার-মুক্ত হলেও শত্রুমুক্ত নয়, নয় শোষক ও শোষকহীন। কেননা, বাংলাদেশের সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষের উপর কেবলমাত্র পাকিস্তানী শাসকরাই শোষণ চালায়নি- তাদের সাথে শোষণের শরিকদার ছিল (ক) দেশের অভ্যন্তরের জোতদার মহাজন বা সামন্তবাদী শ্রেণী (খ) বিদেশী সাম্রাজ্যবাদ বিশেষ করে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, যদিও এ তিনের মধ্যে প্রধান শত্রুছিল পাকিস্তানী শাসকরা।

বাংলার মাটিতে আজ পাকিস্তানী শাসকরা না থাকলেও তাদের বহু কল-কারখানা, ব্যাঙ্ক, ইনস্যুরেন্স কোম্পানী ও ব্যবসায় প্রতিষ্ঠান রয়ে গেছে, রয়ে গেছে মার্কিনসহ বিভিন্ন সাম্রাজ্যবাদী দেশের পুঁজি-পাট্টা; তদুপরি জোতদার-মহাজনরা রয়েছে অক্ষত। অতএব ঐসব দেশী-বিদেশী শক্তির প্রত্যক্ষ ও পরোক্ষ শাসন ও শোষণ থেকে জনগণকে অবশ্যই মুক্ত করতে হবে, নতুবা আওয়ামী লীগ প্রধান শেখ মুজিবুর রহমান কর্তৃক বিঘোষিত শোষকহীন সমাজ হবে অর্থহীন।

গত নয় মাসের ঘটনাবলী কি প্রমান করে? প্রমাণ করে দেশের অভ্যন্তরের জোতদার-মহাজন ও তাদের দালালরাই ছিল পাকিস্তানী শাসকদের মূল খুঁটি; এদের প্রত্যক্ষ সহযোগিতায় পূর্ব বাংলার অসংখ্য গ্রামে সংঘটিত হয়েছে অগণিত 'মাইলাই' (ভিয়েতনাম) হত্যাকান্ড। আজো শেষ হয়নি দেশী-বিদেশী প্রতিক্রিয়াশীলদের ষড়যন্ত্র, ভাঙ্গেনি তাদের শোষণের বিষদাত।

তাছাড়া অর্থনৈতিক ব্যতীত রাজনৈতিক স্বাধীনতা অর্থহীন, তা পূর্ব বাংলার জনগণ গত চবিবশ বছর ধরে হাড়ে হাড়ে উপলব্দি করেছে, উপলব্দি করেছে বলেই বাংলার সাধারণ মানুষ সর্বাগ্রে স্বাধীনতার দাবী তুলেছে, সকলের আগে ধারণ করেছে অস্ত্র। এ জনগণই গত নয় মাসে সবচাইতে বেশী ত্যাগ স্বীকার করেছে। তাই এ জনগণকে সকল প্রকার শোষণ থেকে অবশ্যই মুক্ত করতে হবে। শুধু মুখের কথায় জনগণের মুখে হাসি ফুটবে

১৯৭১ সালের ৩০ ও ৩১ নভেম্বর এবং ১ ডিসেম্বর অনুষ্ঠিত পার্টির কংগ্রেসে গৃহীত রাজনৈতিক দলিলের ভিত্তিতে রচিত।

না, পেটে ভাত জুটবে না, বেকার পাবে না কাজ, ভূমিহীন পাবে না জমি, ঋণগ্রস্থ মানুষ হবে না, ঋণমুক্ত, রোগী পাবে না ঔষধপথ্য, শিক্ষার দ্বার হবে না সকলের জন্য খোলা।

এমতাবস্থায় দেশের সকল শ্রেণীর জনগনকে দেশী-বিদেশী সকল শাসন ও শোষণ থেকে মুক্ত করতে হলে সর্ব প্রথম তিনটি কাজের উপর বেশী গুরুত্ব দিতে হবে।

প্রথমত: দেশের সর্ব স্তরের জনগণের মধ্যে আনতে হবে স্বাধীনতা ও সার্বভৌমত্ব সম্পর্কে পূর্ন আস্থা। দেশের মাটিতে মিত্র বাহিনীর অবস্থানকে জনগণ ভীষণ আশঙ্কার চোখে দেখছে। যেহেতু আমাদের দেশের মানুষ ঘরপোড়া গরুর মত, তাই সিঁদুরে মেঘ দেখলেই তাদের ভয় জাগা স্বাভাবিক। এ অবস্থায় সরকারকে দৃঢ়ভাবে ঘোষণা করতে হবে-

পাকিস্তানী শাসক তথা বাইশ পরিবারের, বিদেশী সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের এবং দেশীয় জোত-মহাজন শ্রেণীর যাবতীয় সম্পদ বাজেয়াপ্ত করা হবে। এ তিন শোষণের কবল থেকে জনগণ সম্পূন মুক্ত থাকবে।

দ্বিতীয়ত: সকল স্তরের মুক্তি ফৌজকে নিয়ে একটি নিয়মিত সেনাবাহিনী গড়ে তোলা এবং প্রাপ্তবয়স্ক ও কর্মক্ষম পুরুষদের সামরিক ট্রেনিং দানের জন্য মুক্তি ফৌজের উদ্যোগে দেশের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে ট্রেনিং কেন্দ্র স্থাপন করা ।

তৃত্বীয়ত: দেশের অভ্যন্তরে ছোট-বড় সকল রাজনৈতিক দলের সহযোগিতায় সমগ্র জাতির উন্নতি ও কল্যাণার্থে একটি সামগ্রিক কর্মসূচী প্রণয়ন করা ।

বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির পক্ষ থেকে আমরা সমগ্র জাতির সামনে বিশেষ করে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের নিকট বিবেচনার জন্য উপরোক্ত উদ্দেশ্যে নিম্নোক্ত কর্মসূচী সবিনয় উপস্থিত করছি। আমরা দৃঢ়ভাবে মনে করি যে, একমাত্র এ কর্মসূচী বাস্তবায়ণের মাধ্যমেই বাংলার সমগ্র শোষিত ও মেহনতি জনগণের রাজনৈতিক, অর্থনৈতিক, সামাজিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক মুক্তি আসতে পারে। আমরা এও দৃপ্তকণ্ঠে যোষণা করছি যে এ কর্মসূচী বাস্তবায়নের ক্ষেত্রের সরকারের সাথে বাংলার কমিউনিষ্ট পার্টি পূর্ণ সহযোগিতা প্রদান করবে।

প্রথমত: রাষ্ট্রের নাম হওয়া উচিত জনগনতান্ত্রিক পূর্ব বাংলা (People's Republic of Purba Bangla) । যেহেতু দুই বাংলা ছিল এক বাংলা, তাই 'বাংলাদেশ' নামটিতে সমগ্র বাংলাদেশ কে বুঝায় এবং এতে বিভান্তি থেকে যায়।

রাষ্ট্রের মুল নীতি সমূহ

(১) সমাজতান্ত্রিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থা গড়ে তোলার জন্য দেশকে অনুন্নত কৃষিপ্রধান দেশ হতে উন্নত শিল্প প্রধান দেশ রুপে গড়ে তুলতে হবে। দেশকে শিল্পায়িত দেশরুপে গড়ে তোলার জন্য সমাজতান্ত্রিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থায় পূর্ব ধাপ গনতান্ত্রিক সমাজব্যবস্থা অবশ্যই গড়ে তুলতে হবে। গনতান্ত্রিক সমাজ ব্যবস্থা গড়ে তোলার পথে মূল বাধারুপে তিনটি শত্রুসমাজের উপর জগদ্দল পাথরের মত দাঁড়িয়ে আছে। এ তিনটি শত্রুহচ্ছে- (১) উপনিবেশবাদ ও নয়া-উপনিবেশবাদ , (২) দেশীয় সামন্তবাদ এবং (৩) আমলাতান্ত্রিক শোষণ।

পাকিস্তান উপনিবেশবাদ, আন্তর্জাতিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদ বা নয়া উপনিবেশবাদ, দেশীয় সামন্তবাদ (জোতদার-মহাজনী) ও এদের দালালদের সমস্ত সম্পদ এবং দেশীয় আমলাতান্ত্রিক পুঁজি গণতান্ত্রিক সরকার বাজেয়াপ্ত করবে।

(২) রাষ্ট্র হবে সম্পূর্ণ স্বাধীন ও সার্বভৌম। আনুপাতিক ভোট* ব্যবস্থার মাধ্যমে জনগণ তাদের শ্রেণীভিত্তিক প্রতিনিধি নির্বাচন করে পার্লামেন্ট গঠন করবে এবং এ পার্লামেন্ট হবে জনগণের সার্বভৌম ক্ষমতা কার্যকরী করার সর্বোচ্চ শক্তিশালী হাতিয়ার। ১৮ বছর ও তদূর্ধ্ব বয়সের প্রতিটি নর-নারীর ভোটাধিকার থাকবে।

(৩) সকলের জন্য কর্মসংস্থান, খাদ্য-বস্ত্র-বাসস্থান, শিক্ষা ও চিকিৎসা এবং বৃদ্ধকালীন ভাতা প্রদান করার নিশ্চয়তা (গ্যারান্টি) সম্মুখে রেখে সমস্ত পরিকল্পনা প্রণয়ন ও কার্যকরী করা হবে।

(৪) বাংলাদেশে বসবাসকারী সকল জাতি, উপজাতি, ধর্ম, বর্ণ, ভাষা এবং নারী-পুরুষ নির্বিশেষে সকল মানুষের সমান রাষ্ট্রীয় ও সামাজিক অধিকারের নিশ্চয়তা থাকবে।

(৫) এ রাষ্ট্র দেশের মধ্যে সকল রকমের দুর্নীতি, স্বজনপ্রীতি, চুরি-ডাকতি-রাহাজানি, ভিক্ষাবৃত্তি, ব্যাভিচার-বেশ্যাবৃত্তি, মদ-মাতলামি-জুয়া, ছেলেধরা, কালোবাজারি মজুতদারি, দাঙ্গা-হাঙ্গামা, সাম্প্রদায়িকতা, উগ্র আঞ্চলিকতা প্রভৃতি যেসব সামাজিক অনাচার ও শোষণ-নিপীড়ন মানুষকে যুগ যুগ ধরে পঙ্গু করে এসেছিল- তার পরিপূর্ণ উচ্ছেদ করবে।

উপরোক্ত মূলনীতি সামনে রেখেই বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি জন গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের নিম্নোক্ত কর্মসূচী হাজির করছে-

১। কৃষক ও কৃষি সমস্যার ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) বাংলাদেশের আধাসামন্তবাদী ব্যবস্থার অবশেষকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে উৎখাত করা হবে। "যে চাষ করে জমি তার'' এ নীতির ভিত্তিতে কৃষিব্যবস্থার পুনর্গঠন করা হবে। জাতীয় গণতান্ত্রিক বিপ্লবে তিন শত্রুর এবং তাদের দালালদের সমস্ত বাজেয়াপ্ত জমি ও কৃষি যন্ত্রপাতি ক্ষেতমজুর, বর্গাচাষী ও গরীব কৃষকদের মধ্যে প্রয়োজনের অনুপাতে বিনামূল্যে বিতরণ করা হবে।

(খ) বিপ্লবের মিত্র শিবিরে অনেক অকৃষক জমির মালিক আছে বা থাকবে যারা কৃষির আয়ের দ্বারা স্বাচ্ছন্দে জীবিকা নির্বাহ করতে পারছে না বলে অন্য পেশা গ্রহণ করেছে- কৃষক হিসাবে এদের ভূমিকা নেই। এদের জমি উচিত মূল্যে সরকারী খরচে ক্রয় করে বিনামূল্যে কৃষকদের মধ্যে বিলি করা হবে। কিন্তু এদের জমি তখনই নেওয়া হবে যখন এরা নিজ নিজ পেশার আয়ের দ্বারা স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ হতে পারবে, তার আগে নয়।

(গ) অন্ন-বস্ত্র-শিক্ষা-স্বাস্থ্য-বাসস্থান এর মৌলিক প্রশ্নে অসহায় বিধবা ও অন্যান্য অকৃষক মানুষদের হাতে জীবনধারণের মূল উপকরণ হিসেবে যে জমি আছে তা উচিত মূল্যে সরকারী খরচে ক্রয় করে নেওয়া হবে ও বিনামূল্যে কৃষকদের মধ্যে বিলি করা হবে। তবে তা করা হবে ঐ সকল মানুষের বেঁচে থাকার প্রয়োজনে, রাষ্ট্র কর্তৃক বিকল্প ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করার পর, তার আগে নয়।

(ঘ) আবাদযোগ্য পতিত জমি ও সরকারী খাস জমিসমূহ কৃষকদের মধ্যে বিনামূল্যে বিতরণ করা হবে। ওয়াকফ, দেবোত্তর সম্পত্তির নামে যুগ যুগ ধরে কৃষকদেরকে শোষণ করা হচ্ছে তাকে বিলুপ্ত করা হবে। কিন্তু ধর্মীয় ও সৎ উদ্দেশ্যে যে ওয়াকফ বা দেবোত্তর করা হয়েছিল সে উদ্দেশ্য যাতে ব্যাহত না হয়, তার জন্যে সরকার উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করবে।

(ঙ) উন্নত ধরনের বীজ, সার ও বৈজ্ঞানিক কৃষি যন্ত্রপাতি সরবরাহ, কৃষিতে সেচসহ উন্নত বৈজ্ঞানিক ব্যবস্থার প্রবর্তন, জরুরী কার্যক্রম হিসেবে বন্যা ও জলস্ফীতি প্রতিরোধের স্থায়ী দৃঢ় ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করে দেশকে খাদ্যে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণ করা হবে।

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* আনুপাতিক ভোট বলতে বুঝায়ঃ- নির্বাচনে ব্যক্তি প্রার্থী না হয়ে পার্টি প্রার্থী হবে। জনগণ পার্টিগুলোকে ভোট দেবে। যে পার্টি সারা দেশে যত বেশী ভোট পাবে তা একত্র করে সম্পূর্ণ প্রদত্ত ভোটের অনুপাতে পার্লামেন্ট ঐ পার্টির প্রতিনিধির সংখ্যা নির্দিষ্ট হবে। তারপর ঐ পার্টি ব্যক্তি নির্দিষ্ট করে দেবে (অর্থাৎ পার্লামেন্ট প্রতিনিধি মনোনিত করে পাঠাবে)। এ অবস্থায় কোন ভোটারের ভোট অপ্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক থাকে না।

(চ) বাংলাদেশের জলসম্পদের যথাযথ উন্নয়নের ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে। অভ্যন্তরীণ চাহিদা ও বিদেশী রপ্তানির উদ্দেশ্যে বনজসম্পদ, বন্যপশু-পক্ষী-কীট-পতঙ্গদের সংরক্ষণ ও বৃদ্ধি সাধন করা হবে এবং মৎসশিল্পে বৈজ্ঞানিক প্রথা প্রবর্তনসহ উহার সার্বিক উন্নতি সাধন করা হবে।

(ছ) কৃষিশ্রমিক বা ক্ষেতমজুরদের জন্যে উপযুক্ত মজুরি পাবার প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে।

(জ) জাতীয় শত্রুজোতদার-মহাজনদের নিকট যে সমস্ত কৃষক-মজুর ও গরীব কুটিরশিল্প যুগ যুগ ধরে ঋণদায়গ্রস্থ, তাদেরকে ঐ ঋণের নাগপাশ থেকে মুক্ত করা হবে।

(ঝ) কৃষকদের জন্যে এবং কুটিরশিল্পীদের জন্যে বিনাসুদের দীর্ঘমেয়াদী ঋণ পাবার ব্যবস্থা করা হবে এবং তাহাদের উৎপাদিত দ্রব্যাদির উচিত মূল্য পাবার ব্যবস্থা করা হবে। কৃষকদের মত কুটিরশিল্পীদেরও প্রয়োজনীয় কাঁচামাল সরবরাহ করা হবে।

(ঞ) কৃষক ও কুটিরশিল্পীদের স্বার্থে স্বেচ্ছাপ্রণোদিত সমবায় গঠনের জন্যে উৎসাহ ও সহযোগিতা প্রদান করা হবে। পর্যায়ক্রমে কৃষি সমবায়, পণ্য সরবরাহ ও বাজারজাতকরণ সমবায় প্রতিষ্ঠা এবং উন্নয়নে প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে।

(ট) জনসাধারণকে যৌথ অর্থনৈতিক জীবনযাত্রায় উদ্বুদ্ধ করার জন্য রাষ্ট্রের পৃষ্ঠপোষকতায় কিছু সংখ্যক আদর্শ যৌথ খামারের প্রবর্তন করা হবে।

২। শ্রমিক ও শ্রম সমস্যার ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) শ্রমিকদের জন্য মানুষের মত বেঁচে থাকার উপযোগী মজুরি প্রদানের ব্যবস্থা করা হবে।

(খ) দৈনিক অনাধিক ৮ ঘন্টা শ্রমের রেওয়াজ প্রতিটি শিল্প-ব্যবসায় প্রতিষ্ঠানের শ্রমিক ও দোকান কর্মচারীদের ক্ষেত্রে কড়াকড়িভাবে চালু করা হবে। অবশ্য প্রয়োজনে ৮ ঘন্টার অধিক শ্রমের জন্য দ্বিগুণ হারে উপরি পারিশ্রমিকের ব্যবস্থা করা হবে।

(গ) অবসরপ্রাপ্ত বা কাজ করতে গিয়ে পঙ্গু বা কার্যে অক্ষম হয়ে গেছে এমন শ্রমিকদের জন্য সরকার ও মালিকদের খরচে বিশেষ মজুরি (গ্রাচুইটি), বীমা ও পেনশনের ব্যবস্থা করা হবে।

(ঘ) শ্রমিকদের জন্যে প্রয়োজনীয় বাসস্থান এবং অবসর বিনোদন কেন্দ্রেন ব্যবস্থা রাখা হবে।

(ঙ) শ্রমিকদের জীবনধারণের মান ও চাকরির শর্ত উন্নত করার প্রয়োজনে ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন গঠন, মালিকদের সাথে যৌথ দর কষাকষি ও ধর্মঘট করার পূর্ণ অধিকার দেওয়া হবে।

৩। শিল্প ও ব্যবসার ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) কৃষিনির্ভর অবস্থা থেকে দেশকে দ্রুত শিল্পসমৃদ্ধ করে গড়ে তোলা হবে এবং এ নীতির উপর ভিত্তি করে শিল্পব্যবস্থাকে পুনর্গঠন করা হবে।

(খ) রেল, স্টিমার ও স্টেটবাস ব্যাঙ্ক, বীমা, পোর্ট, ডক এবং কাগজ, পাট, বিদ্যুৎ, তৈল, খনি, জাহাজ নির্মাণ কারখানা, অস্ত্র কারখানা ও বিআইডিসি, ওয়াপদা ও বিসিক কর্তৃক নির্মিত কারখানা ইত্যাদি মূল শিল্প ও ব্যবসায়ী প্রতিষ্ঠানসমূহ পরিপূর্ণভাবে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত থাকবে।

(গ) দেশকে দ্রুত আত্মনির্ভরশীল ও শিল্প-সমৃদ্ধ করার নীতিকে ছোট ও মাঝারি শিল্প এবং শিল্পপতিদের সরকারী সহযোগিতা দেওয়া হবে। অল্প সুদে ঋণ প্রদান ও যুক্তিসঙ্গত দামে কাঁচামাল ইত্যাদি সরবরাহের ব্যবস্থা ও বাজারের সুযোগ- সুবিধা লাভে তাদের সাহায্য করা হবে।

(ঘ) রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত শিল্প-কারখানা ও ব্যবসায়ী প্রতিষ্ঠানসমূহকে সরকারী পৃষ্ঠপোষকতায় সরকার ও শ্রমিকদের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি মারফত যৌথভাবে পরিচালনার ব্যবস্থা করা হবে। অন্যথায় আমলাতান্ত্রিক শোষণ হতে শিল্পকে রক্ষা করা যাবে না এবং শিল্প বিকাশের পক্ষে এগুনো যাবে না, যেহেতু আমলারা লুটের মাল হিসাবে শিল্পকে এ যাবৎ ব্যবহার করেছে।

(ঙ) ব্যক্তিগত মালিকানায় শিল্প ব্যবসার ক্ষেত্রে অত্যাধিক মুনাফার ফলে যাতে একচেটিয়া পুঁজির বিকাশ না ঘটে, শ্রমিক যাতে উপযুক্ত মজুরি ও ন্যায্য অধিকার থেকে বঞ্চিত না হয় তার জন্যে এবং দ্রব্যমূল্যের প্রশ্নে জনসাধারণের স্বার্থের দিকে লক্ষ্য রেখে মুনাফার উপর উপযুক্ত নিয়ন্ত্রণ ব্যবস্থা প্রয়োগ করা হবে ।

(চ) আভ্যন্তরীণ খাদ্য ও পাট ব্যবসা এবং সমস্ত প্রকারের বৈদেশিক ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্যকে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত করা হবে।

৪। ছাত্র ও শিক্ষাব্যবস্থার ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থার সাথে সামঞ্জস্য রেখে শিক্ষাব্যবস্থার আমূল পরিবর্তন সাধন করা হবে। সর্বস্তরে বৈজ্ঞানিক ও গণমুখী শিক্ষার প্রচলন করা হবে। কারিগরি ও বাস্তবমুখী শিক্ষার প্রাধান্য দেওয়া হবে।

(খ) মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা পর্যন্ত শিক্ষা অবৈতনিক ও বাধ্যতামূলক রাখা হবে। এরপর সাধারণ শিক্ষার পাশাপাশি কারিগরি ও বৃত্তিমূলক শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা থাকবে। শ্রমিক, কৃষক ও অল্প আয়ের লোকের ছেলেমেয়েদের জন্যে মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষার পরও দশন মান পর্যন্ত সরকারী খরচে শিক্ষা দেওয়া হবে। এদের মেধাবী ছেলেমেয়েদের জন্য সরকারী খরচে উচ্চশিক্ষা প্রদানের ব্যবস্থা থাকবে। শিক্ষার ক্ষেত্রে সৃজনশীল প্রতিভার বিকাশের জন্য উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে।

(গ) উপরোক্ত শিক্ষাব্যবস্থার জন্যে প্রয়োজনীয় শিক্ষালয় এবং তার আনুষঙ্গিক যাবতীয় ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে।

(ঘ) বাংলাভাষার মাধ্যমে যাবতীয় শিক্ষা প্রদানের যথাযথ ব্যবস্থার প্রবর্তন এবং বাংলাভাষার উৎকর্ষ সাধন করা হবে।

(ঙ) ধর্মীয় শিক্ষার অবাধ সুযোগ-সুবিধার ব্যবস্থা থাকবে।

৫। চিকিৎসা ও বাসস্থানের ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) চিকিৎসা ব্যবস্থাকে জনসেবা এবং আরোগ্যের চাইতে প্রতিরোধ শ্রেয়তর (Prevention is better than cure) ঐ নীতিদ্বয়ের উপর ভিত্তি করে পরিচালনা করা হবে।

(খ) নিম্ন আয়ের লোকেরা যাতে সরকারী খরচে উপযুক্ত চিকিৎসার সুযোগ লাভ করে তার ব্যবস্থা থাকবে। পর্যাপ্ত পরিমাণে মাতৃসদন, দাতব্য চিকিৎসালয়, আরোগ্য নিকেতন ও জটিল রোগের চিকিৎসা কেন্দ্র চালু রাখা হবে। বিনা চিকিৎসায় একজনও লোকও যাতে মারা না যায় তার ব্যবস্থা থাকবে।

(গ) এলোপ্যাথি, হোমিওপ্যাথি, কবিরাজী ও হেকিমী চিকিৎসা বিজ্ঞানের উৎকর্ষ সাধনের যথাযোগ্য সরকারী পৃষ্ঠপোষকতা থাকবে।

(ঘ) সকল মানুষের জন্যে বাসস্থানের ব্যবস্থা করা হবে, কিন্তু যতদিন পর্যন্ত পরিপূর্ণ ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা যাবে না, ততদিন পর্যন্ত স্বল্প আয়ের মানুষের জন্যে গৃহনির্মাণের প্রয়োজনীয় উপকরণ কম মূল্যে (Subsidised price) সরাবরাহ করা হবে। শহর শিল্প ও ব্যবসাকেন্দ্রে স্বল্প ভাড়ায় ঘর পাবার কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে।

৬। বিচার ব্যবস্থা ও আইন সম্বন্ধীয় ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) জনসাধারণের স্বার্থের জন্যে আইন, আইনের জন্য জনসাধারণ নহে- ঐ নীতির ভিত্তিতেই আইন ব্যবস্থার পরিবর্তন করা হবে। বিচার যাতে দ্রুত নিষ্পত্তি হয়, তার জন্যে যথোপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা হবে। বিচার বিভাগকে শাসন বিভাগ হতে পৃথক করা হবে।

(খ) বিনাবিচারে কাহাকেও শাস্তি দেওয়া বা হয়রানি করা হবে না। যে কোন আদলতের রায়ে সন্তুষ্ট হতে পারেনি এমন ব্যক্তির উচ্চতর আদালতে আপীল করার অধিকার থাকবে। অভাবগ্রস্তদের জন্য বিনা খরচে আইনগত সাহায্য ও পরামর্শ লাভের ব্যবস্থা থাকবে ।

(গ) ছোটখাটো ও প্রাথমিক বিরোধের যাতে শুরুতেই অবসান হয় তার জন্য গণআদালতের ব্যবস্থা থাকবে।

(ঘ) বিচর ব্যবস্থায় গণতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতির প্রচলন করা হবে। প্রতিটি বিচারক জনসাধারণ কর্তৃক যথাযথভাবে নির্বাচিত হবেন। প্রয়োজনবোধে নির্বাচকমন্ডলীর সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ বিচারককে প্রত্যাহার এবং তদস্থলে নতুন বিচারক নির্বাচিত করতে পারবেন।

(ঙ) অন্যায় অবিচার বা অসাদচরণের দায়েং কোন বিচারককে উচ্চতর আদালতে অভিযুক্ত করা যাবে।

৭। ধর্ম ও সংস্কৃতি সম্পর্কে

(ক) রাষ্ট্র পরিপূর্ণভাবে ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ থাকবে। যার যার ধর্ম তার কাছে পবিত্র এবং ধর্মের ব্যাপারে কোনরূপ জবরদস্তি নেই- ধর্ম প্রসঙ্গে এ নীতি কড়াকড়িভাবে কার্যকরী হবে। ধর্মের ব্যাপারে কোন বৈষম্যমূলক আচরণ যাতে না ঘটতে পারে তার জন্য উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা রাখা হবে; অর্থাৎ প্রত্যেক ধর্মের অনুসারীরা নিজ নিজ ধর্ম স্বাধীনভাবে পালন করার সুযোগ পাবে। রাষ্ট্রে প্রত্যেক ধর্মের স্বীকৃতি ও ধর্ম পালকদের অবাধ অধিকার থাকবে- কিন্তু ধর্মের নামে কোন প্রকার জোর-জুলুম করা বা শোষণ চলতে দেওয়া হবে না।

(খ) বাংলাদেশের জনগণের গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের সংস্কৃতি বা তমদ্দুনের ভিত্তি হবে-

1) বাঙ্গালী জাতির সংস্কৃতির বিকাশ ও তার উন্নয়ন সাধন করা;

2) সংস্কৃতি ও সাহিত্যে মেহনতি জনগণের আশা-আকাঙ্খাকে রূপায়িত করা;

3) গণতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশের রাষ্ট্রের মূলনীতি বা আদর্শেও বিরোধী যাবতীয় সাহিত্য-সংস্কৃতির প্রকাশ, প্রচার ও প্রসার রোধ করা;

4) কুরুচিপূর্ণ যাবতীয় গান, বাজনা, সিনেমা, থিয়েটার, শিল্পকলা ইত্যাদি তথাকথিত শিল্পসাহিত্য ও সংস্কৃতির উপর কঠোর বাধানিষেধ আরোপ করা;

5) জনগণের সর্বস্তরে সুন্দর, সুষ্ঠ স্বাভাবিক মননশীলতা ও মানসিকতা যাতে গড়ে ওঠে তার জন্য এবং শিল্প-সংস্কৃতির ক্ষেত্রে সৃজনশীল প্রতিভার বিকাশের জন্য উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা।

৮। খাজনা ট্যাক্স ও করের ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) সকল প্রকারের ইজারাদারীসহ প্রচলিত খাজনা প্রথার বিলোপ সাধন করা হবে। সমস্ত বকেয়া খাজনা মওকুফ করা হবে। 'খাজনা প্রথার স্থলে উৎপাদন অণুসারে কর আদায়ের প্রথা প্রবর্তন করা হবে। নিম্ন আয়ের কৃষক ও গরীব কুটির শিল্পীদের জন্য - যাদের ভরন পোষণের পর উদ্বৃত্ত থাকে না- তাদেরকে রেহায় দেওয়া হবে।

খ. শিল্প- কৃষি ব্যবসা বাণিজ্যের ক্ষেত্রে ক্রমিক উচ্চ হারের কর ব্যবস্থ্য প্রবর্তন করা হবে, অর্থাৎ উচ্চ আয়ের জন্য উচ্চতর হার এবং নিম্ন আয়ের নিম্নতর হারে কর আদায়ের ব্যবস্থা থাকবে এবং পরোক্ষ ট্রাক্স প্রথার বিলোপ করা হবে।

৯। নারী সমমাজের ক্ষেত্রেঃ

ক. নারীরা যে সমস্ত সামাজিক অব্যবস্থা বা দূনীতির দূরূন যুগ যুগ ধরে লাঞ্চিত ও নিগৃহীতা হয়ে আসেছে সেগুলোর অসান ঘটানোর হবে। সমম্পত্তির উত্তারাধিকতার, বিবাহ বিচ্ছেদ আইন, বৃত্তিগ্রহণ ও চাকুরীতে প্রবেশ প্রভৃতি বিষয়ে নারীরা পুরুষদের সমান অধিকার ভোগ করবে।

খ. নর ওনারীর সমান অধিকার থাকবে। স্ত্রী-পুরুষনির্বিশেষে সমান কাজের জন্য সমান মজুরির ব্যবস্থা রাখা হবে। গভ্বাবস্থায় সংকটকালীন সময়ে মেহনতকারী নারীকে সর্বোত্তম প্রয়োজনীয় ছুটি ও বিশেষ চিকিৎসার সুযোগ দেওয়া হবে।

১০। উপজাতি ও তপসিলীদের ক্ষেত্রে

ক) বাংলাদেশের যে সমস্ত অণুন্নত উপজাতি আছে তাদের মাতৃভাষা, সামাজিক ও অর্থনেতিক জীবনের উন্নয়ন করা হবে।

খ) চাকরি এবং অন্যান্য সামাজিক ও শিক্ষাগত সুযোগরে ক্ষেত্রে উপজাতি, তফসিলী ও অন্যান্য পশ্চাৎপদ সম্প্রদায়ের ব্যাপারে বিশেষ সুবিধার ব্যবস্থা করা হবে।

১১। রাষ্ট্র কাঠামো ও সরকারী প্রশাসনের ক্ষেত্রে

ক) বাংলাদেশের গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রের আইনসভা হবে এককক্ষবিশিষ্ট। ঐ আইনসভা হবে- জনগণের দ্বারা নির্বাচিত, জনগণের স্বার্থের রক্ষক ও জনগণের মধ্য থেকে আসা-গণপ্রতিনিধিদের সর্বোচ্চ সংস্থা।

খ) বিপ্লবের তিন শত্রু বা তাদের সাহায্যকারী দালালদের কোনরূপ নাগরিক অধিকার বা ভোটাধিকার একটি নিদির্ষ্ট সময় পর্যন্ত থাকবে না। ঐ নির্দিষ্ট সময়ে সরকারী শাসন বা প্রশাসন ব্যবস্থায় তাদেরকে কোনরূপ অংশগ্রহণ করতে দেওয়া হবে না। কিন্তু তারা যাতে তাদেও প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল ধ্যান-ধারণার পরিবর্তন করে নতুন সমাজের নতুন মানুষ হিসেবে নিজেদেরকে গড়ে তুলতে পারে- তার জন্য রাষ্ট্র উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করবে।

গ. গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্রে জেল ব্যবস্থার আমূল সংস্কার করে অপরাধীদের নৈতিক ও চারিত্রিক উন্নতি সাধন করে তাদের পূনর্বাসন করবে।

ঘ. পার্লামেন্ট, আইনসভা বা স্থানীয় শাসন বা প্রশাসন সংস্থাগুলোর নির্বাচনে জনসাধারণের মধ্যে যাঁরা আঠার বছর বা তদূর্ধ্ব বয়সের এবং মানসিক সুস্থ অবস্থায় আছেনতনারী-পুরুষ নির্বিশেষে তাদের সকলেরই সার্বজনীন, সমান ও প্রত্যক্ষ ভোটাধিকার থাকবে। সংশ্লিষ্ট নির্বাচকমন্ডলীর সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ প্রয়োজনবোধ তাদের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধি বা প্রতিনিধিদের প্রত্যাহার (Recall) করতে এবং নতুন প্রতিনিধি নির্বাচিত করতে পারবে। গোপন ব্যালট প্রাথাতে ভোটদান ব্যবস্থার প্রবর্তন করা হবে।

(ঙ) দেশে ব্যাপক গণপঞ্চায়েত ব্যবস্থার প্রচলন করা হবে। স্থানীয় প্রশাসন ব্যবস্থায় গনপঞ্চায়েতের প্রাধান্য থাকবে।

(চ) সর্বনিম্ন প্রশাসক থেকে রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান পর্য়ন্ত সকল সরকানী প্রশাসক ও পরিচালক জনসাধারণের গোপন, সমান ও প্রত্যক্ষ ভোটে নির্বাচিত হবে। প্রধানত: স্থানীয় জনসাধারন থেকেই সংশ্লিষ্ট প্রশাসক বা পরিচালক নির্বাচিত করা হবে। নির্বাচকমন্ডলীর সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠ অংশ প্রয়োজনবোধে উপরোক্ত যেকোন প্রশাসক বা পরিচালককে প্রত্যাহার করে সতুন প্রশাসক বা পরিচালক নির্বাচিত করতে পারবে।

(ছ) যে কোন প্রশাসক বা পরিচালকের বিরুদ্ধে আদালতে মামলা দায়ের করার অধিকার প্রত্যেক নাগরিকের থাকবে।

(জ) দেশের সামরিক, আধা-সামরিক বা প্যারা-মিলিশিয়া বাহিনীর সর্বত্র গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থা চালু থাকবে। রাষ্ট্রীয় ব্যবস্থায় ও তাদের ভোটাধিকার থাকবে। আমাদের দেশের সামরিক বাহিনী এ যাবৎ যে দাসত্বমূলক অবস্থায় বা মৌলিক অধিকারবিহীন অবস্থায় জীবনযাপন করতে বাধ্য হয়ে এসেছে, তার থেকে তাদের মুক্ত করা হবে। তাদের দেশপ্রেমকে আরও উন্নত করার জন্য এবং গণতন্ত্রের ভাবধারায় তাদের আরও উদ্বুদ্ধ করার জন্য যথাযথ সরকারী প্রচেষ্টা থাকবে।

(ঝ) দেশরক্ষার কাজে যাতে দেশের সমস্ত নাগরিক বিশেষ করে শ্রমিক ও কৃষক প্রয়োজনবোধে অংশগ্রহণ করতে পারে- তার জন্য উপযুক্ত সামরিক শিক্ষার সুযোগ-সুবিধা থাকবে।

(ঞ) বিপ্লবে অংশগ্রহণের কারণে যারা পঙ্গু বা বিকালাঙ্গ ও শহীদ হয়েছেন বা হবেন যথাক্রমে তাদের বা তাদের পরিবারের উপযুক্ত ভরণপোষণের দায়িত্ব সরকার বহন করবে।

(ট) বিপ্লবে জড়িত থাকার কারণে ক্ষতিগ্রস্থ জনসাধারণের প্রতিটি অংশকে পুনর্বাসন করা হবে। বিপ্লব চলাকালে পূর্ব বাংলার যে সকল অধিবাসী দেশ ত্যাগে বাধ্য হয়েছে তাদের সম্পত্তি ফেরত পাবার ও তাদের পুনর্বাসনের উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থা সরকার গ্রহণ করবে।

১২। বৈদেশিক ও আন্তর্জাতিক নীতির ক্ষেত্রে

(ক) বিশ্বের ধনবাদী-সাম্রাজ্যবাদী এবং সমাজতান্ত্রিক এই দুই শিবিরের মধ্যে গণতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশ সরকার নিঃসন্দেহে সমাজতান্ত্রিক শিবিরের পক্ষেই থাকবে।

(খ) বাংলাদেশের গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র বিভিন্ন নিপীড়িত জাতির বিশেষ করে এশিয়া, আফ্রিকা ও ল্যাটিন আমেরিকার জাতীয় মুক্তির ও স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের সপক্ষে থাকবে এবং সার্মথ্য অনুসারে ঐ সমস্ত জাতিকে সাহায্য-সহযোগিতা প্রদান করবে।

(গ) বিশ্ব সর্বহারার সমর্থনে বাংলাদেশের বৈদেশিক নীতি পরিচালিত হবে। প্রত্যেক জাতির নিপীড়িত জনসাধারণের সাথে আন্তর্জাতিক মৈত্রী ও সৌহার্দ্যের নীতি সরকার গ্রহণ করবে।

(ঘ) গণতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশের রাষ্ট্র প্রতিবেশীদের সঙ্গে- যথা ভারত, বার্মা, নেপাল, সিংহল ও মহাচীনের সাথে বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ সম্পর্কে স্থাপন করে চলবে এবং এই রাষ্ট্র বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন সমাজব্যবস্থার সাথে পঞ্চশীলার ভিত্তিতে শান্তিপূর্ণ সহ-অবস্থানের নীতি অনুসরণ করে চলবে।

[১৯৭১ সালের ৩০শে, ৩১শে নভেম্বর ও ১লা ডিসেম্বর অনুষ্ঠিত বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির তৃতীয় কংগ্রেস (দ্বিতীয় বিশেষ) গৃহীত রাজনৈতিক দলিলের ভিত্তিতে রচিত]

বাংলার কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির সম্পাদক কমরেড আবুল বাশার কর্তৃক প্রকাশিত ও প্রচারিত।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির কর্তব্য সম্পর্কে পার্টি সার্কুলার	বাংলাদেশ কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি	৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

পার্টি সার্কুলার

(পার্টি সভ্য,কর্মী ও দরদীদের জন্য)

মুক্তিযুদ্ধের নূতন অধ্যায়
ও
আমাদের করণীয়

আট মাসের কঠোর ও রক্তক্ষয়ী সংগ্রামের পরে আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধ আজ সাফল্যের দ্বারে আসিয়া উপনীত হইয়াছে। যে নর-পিশাচের দল বাংলাদেশ লাখ লাখ নিরস্ত্র মানুষ হত্যা করিয়া, অগণিত অসহায় নারীর মান-সম্মান বিনষ্ট করিয়া এবং এক কোটি নিরপরাধ লোককে দেশ ছাড়া করিয়া বীরত্বের পরাকাষ্ঠা দেখাইয়াছিল তাহারা আজ মুক্তিবাহিনী ও মিত্র ভারতীয় যৌথ দুর্বার আক্রমণের সম্মুখে প্রাণভয়ে পলায়ন করিতেছে। বাংলাদেশের বিস্তীর্ণ এলাকা ইতিমধ্যেই মুক্ত হইয়াছে এবং আশা করা যায় রাজধানী ঢাকাতে শীঘ্রই স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের পতাকা উত্তোলিত হইবে।

ভারতের উপর আগ্রাসী আক্রমণ

সাম্রাজ্যবাদের সহযোগী পাকিস্তানের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের সেনাবাহিনীর গণহত্যা, গ্রামে গ্রামে অগ্নিসংযোগ, লুঠতরাজ, নারীধর্ষণ প্রভৃতি বর্বর অত্যাচার চালাইয়া মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে রক্তের বন্যায় ডুবাইয়া দিতে চেষ্টা করিয়াছিল, কিন্তু তা সম্পূর্ণ ব্যর্থ হইয়াছে। জনগণের ইয়াহিয়া-চক্রবিরোধী লৌহদৃঢ়, ঐক্য, দুর্ধর্ষ মুক্তিবাহিনীর বীরত্বপূর্ণ সংগ্রাম, আমাদের সংগ্রামের প্রতি ভারতের জনগণের অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন, ভারত সরকারের সাহায্য এবং সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নসহ সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশসমূহ ও দুনিয়ার প্রগতিশীল জনগণের সহানুভূতির ফলে ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের চক্রান্ত প্রথম ধাপেই বানচাল হইয়া গিয়াছে। দুর্জয় মুক্তিবাহিনীর নিকট পর্যদুস্ত হইয়া আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে ইয়াহিয়া থান পা-ভারতের মধ্যে যুদ্ধ হিসাবে চিত্রিত করিয়া সাম্রাজ্যবাদী দোসরদের হস্তক্ষেপের ষড়যন্ত্র করিতে থাকে।

গত ৩রা ডিসেম্বর অতর্কিতে ভারতের উপর পাকিস্তানের বিমান আক্রমণ এবং ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে পাকিস্তানের যুদ্ধ ঘোষণা ঐ ষড়যন্ত্রেরই অঙ্গ। ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে পাকিস্তানের এই আক্রমণ প্রকৃতপক্ষে আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের বিরুদ্ধেই আক্রমণ।

বাংলাদেশ-ভারত মৈত্রী

বর্তমান অবস্থায় গত ৬ই ডিসেম্বর ভারত সরকার কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশের গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র ও সরকারের স্বীকৃতি একটি সময়োচিত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পদক্ষেপ। আমরা এ জন্য ভারতের জনগণও ভারত সরকারকে আন্তরিক অভিনন্দন জানাইতেছে। ভারত কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি ফলে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদের সহযোগী ও চীনের সাহায্যপুষ্ট পাকিস্তান সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে আমাদের মুক্তিবাহিনী ও ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষা বাহিনীর ন্যায্য লড়াই ঐক্যবদ্ধভাবে পরিচালিত হওয়ার ভিত্তি রচিত হইয়াছে।

ভারত সরকার কর্তৃক বাংলাদেশ সরকারের স্বীকৃতিদানের পর আমাদের মুক্তিবাহিনী ও ভারতের প্রতিরক্ষা বাহিনী একযোগে মিত্রবাহিনী হিসাবে সাধারণ শত্রু ইয়াহিয়া-চক্রের বিরুদ্ধে লড়াই করিতেছে। এই সম্মিলিত

মিত্রবাহিনীর দুর্বার আক্রমণের সামনে পাকিস্তান সেনাবাহিনী তাহাদের বহু ঘাটি ছাড়িয়া প্রাণভয়ে পলায়ন করিতেছে। বাংলাদেশের বহু অঞ্চল মুক্ত হইয়াছে এবং আশা করা যায়, শীঘ্রই বাংলাদেশ পরিপূর্ণ স্বাধীনতা অর্জন করিবে। আমরা আজ স্বাধীনতার দ্বারপ্রান্তে উপস্থিত হইয়াছি।

আমাদের মুক্তিযোদ্ধারা এবং পার্টি কর্মীরা যে যেখানে আছেন, উক্ত মিত্রবাহিনীর সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করিয়া কাজ করিবেন যাহাতে পাকবাহিনী তাড়াতাড়ি বিধ্বস্ত হইয়া আমাদের বিজয় ত্বরান্বিত হয়। ইহা আমাদিগকে স্মরণ রাখিতে হইবে যে, যদিও ভারতীয় সৈন্যবাহিনী একটি বিদেশী রাষ্ট্রের সৈন্যবাহিনী, তবুও এই বাহিনী বাংলাদেশ সরকারের অনুরোধে আমাদের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের সাহায্যে আগাইয়া আসিয়াছেন এবং পাকবাহিনীর সহিত সম্মুখরণে রক্তও ঢালিতেছেন। আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের স্বার্থেই এই বাহিনীকে সর্বতোভাবে সাহায্য করা আমাদের কর্তব্য এবং এই কাজে জনগণকে উৎসাহিত করিতে হইবে। ভারতীয় বাহিনীর প্রতি আমাদের দেশবাসীর বন্ধুত্বমূলক ও ভ্রাতৃত্বমূলক আচরণ আমাদের দুটি দেশের মধ্যে বন্ধুত্বমূলক সম্পর্ক ও মৈত্রী ঘনিষ্ঠতর করিয়া আমাদের দেশের উপর প্রতিক্রিয়া ও সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের হস্তক্ষেপের পথ রুদ্ধ করিতে সাহায্য করিবে।

মুক্তিযুদ্ধে সোভিয়েতের অবদান

আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সাহায্যে মহান সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন যেভাবে আগাইয়া আসিয়াছে, তাহা অতুলনীয়। ২ শে মার্চ তারিখে বাংলাদেশে ইয়াহিয়া-চক্রের গণহত্যা প্রভৃতি শুরু হওয়ার অব্যবহিত পরেই দুনিয়ার বৃহৎ রাষ্ট্রগুলির ভিতর একমাত্র সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের প্রেসিডেন্ট পদগনি গণহত্যার তীব্র নিন্দা করেন এবং সে নির্যাতন বন্ধ, শেখ মুজিবুর রহমানের মুক্তি, তাঁহার হাতে ক্ষমতা অর্পণ ও বাংলাদেশের জনগণের নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের সাথে একটা সন্তোষজনক রাজনৈতিক মীমাংসা করার জন্য ইয়াহিয়া খানকে অনুরোধ করেন। তখন হইতে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে ঐ সমর্থন সূচক নীতি দৃঢ়তা ও নিষ্ঠার সাথে অনুসরণ করিয়াছে। এই নীতির ভিত্তিতে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নের নেতৃত্বে নিজ দেশের জনগণকে সমাবেশ করিয়াছেন এবং বাংলাদেশের জনগণের পক্ষে দুনিয়াতে একটা প্রবল জনমতও সৃষ্টি করিয়াছেন।

ইয়াহিয়া খান যখন ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধের হুমকি দিতেছিল তখনই সোভিয়েত-ভারত মৈত্রী ও সহযোগিতা চুক্তি সম্পাদিত হয়। এই মুক্তি সারা এশিয়াতে শান্তির একটা দৃঢ় রক্ষাকবচ হিসাবে কাজ করিতেছে। উপরন্তু, ইহার ফলে ও বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে সোভিয়তের সমর্থনের নীতি হেতু ভারত সরকারও ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের বিরুদ্ধে শক্তিশালী নীতি গ্রহণ করিতে আরও অনুপ্রাণিত ও উৎসাহিত হইয়াছেন।

সম্প্রতি, পাক-ভারত যুদ্ধ বাধিবার পরে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা ও চীনের মাওবাদী নেতৃত্ব ইয়াহিয়ার পাশে দাঁড়াইয়া নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের মারফত বাংলাদেশ ও এই উপমহাদেশে হস্তক্ষেপ করার চক্রান্ত করে। ইহাতে আমাদের মুক্তির সংগ্রামের সামনে একটি সংকট উপস্থিত হয়। সেই সংকট সময়ে সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়নই নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে তাহার ভেটো প্রয়োগ করিয়া মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদ ও চীনের মাওবাদী নেতৃত্বের চক্রান্ত ব্যর্থ করিয়া দেয় এবং আমাদের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের সাফল্যে বিরাট অবদান রাখে।

বস্তুতঃ সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন প্রথমাবধি ইয়াহিয়া-চক্রের বর্বর অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে বাংলাদেশের জনগণের পক্ষে দাঁড়াইয়াছে এবং বিভিন্ন সময়ে বিভিন্নভাবে আমাদের মুক্তি সংগ্রামকে প্রভূত সাহায্য করিয়াছে ও করিতেছে। দুনিয়ার নিপীড়িত জাতি সমূহ ও জনগণের ন্যায্য অধিকারের সংগ্রামকে অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন দেওয়ার যে নীতি সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন বরাবরই অনুসরণ করিয়াছে, সেই প্রলেতারীয় আন্তর্জাতিকভাবে নীতির প্রতি বিশ্বস্ত থাকিয়াই সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন বাংলাদেশের জনগণের পক্ষে দাঁড়াইয়াছে। সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন বাংলাদেশের জনগণের অকৃত্রিম বন্ধু। সোভিয়েতের সাহায্য ও সমর্থনই আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সাফল্যের সবচেয়ে বড় গ্যারান্টি।

আত্মসন্তুষ্টির অবকাশ নাই

কিন্তু আমাদিগকে আত্মসন্তুষ্ট থাকিলে চলিবে না। সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা সমগ্র ভারতীয় উপমহাদেশের উপর তাহাদের কব্জি শিথিল হইয়া যাওয়ার আশঙ্কায় উন্মাদের মত আচরণ করিতেছে। ইয়াহিয়া-চক্রের ব্যাপক নরহত্যা এবং নানা পাশবিক অত্যাচারের কথা বেমালুম চাপিয়া গিয়া সাম্রাজ্যবাদীরা এখন ভারতকেই আক্রমণকারী বলিয়া অভিহিত করিতেছে এবং বশংবদ ইয়াহিয়া সরকারকে টিকাইয়া রাখার জন্য পথ খুঁজিতেছে। এ জন্য তাহারা সম্ভবপর হইলে যে কোন ঘৃণ্য পদ্ধতি গ্রহণ করিতে পারে, এমন কি খোলাখুলি হস্তক্ষেপ করিতেও দ্বিধা না করিতে পারে। অন্যদিকে চীনের নেতৃত্ব মার্কসবাদ- লেনিনবাদের পথ হইতে বিচ্যুত হইয়া এবং উগ্র জাতীয়তাবাদী এবং সুবিধাবাদী নীতি অনুসরণ করিয়া প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল ইয়াহিয়া সরকারকে র্নিলজ্জভাবে সমর্থন জানাইতেছে, বাংলাদেশের মুক্তির সংগ্রামের বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করিতেছে এবং ভারত সরকারকে আক্রমণকারী আখ্যা দিয়া নানা প্রকার হুমকি দিতেছে। জাতিসংঘ চীন-বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নে মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের সকল চক্রান্তের প্রতি সমর্থন দিতেছে। তাই, এইরূপ একটি আশঙ্কাও দেখা দিয়াছে যে, অন্ধ সোভিয়েত বিরোধিতা হইতে চীন- মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের সহিত সোভিয়েত বিরোধী তথা সমাজতন্ত্রবিরোধী চক্রান্তে শামিল হইয়া চীন-সোভিয়েত সংঘর্ষ সৃষ্টি করিতে পারে। এমন আশঙ্কা আছে যে, মার্কিন সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের ও চীনের প্রত্যক্ষ হস্তক্ষেপ হইলে বাংলাদেশ প্রশ্নকে ভিত্তি করিয়া বাংলাদেশের বুকে এমন কি সমগ্র ভারতীয় উপমহাদেশে এক প্রলংকরী যুদ্ধের সৃষ্টি হইতে পারে এবং আমাদের মুক্ত সংগ্রাম ব্যাহত হইতে পারে।

আমাদিগকে এই বিপদ সম্পর্কে সম্পূর্ণ সজাগ থাকিতে হইবে এবং সকল প্রকার অবস্থার জন্য প্রস্তুত থাকিতে হইবে।

সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের ও চীনের হস্তক্ষেপের বিরুদ্ধে তীব্র জনমত সৃষ্টি করিতে হইবে এবং মুক্তিবাহিনী ও ভারতীয় মিত্রবাহিনীর সাহায্যে মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে তীব্রতর করিয়া দ্রুত বিজয় অর্জন করিতে হইবে।

সাফল্যের পথে মুক্তিযুদ্ধ

যদি বাহিরের কোন হস্তক্ষেপ না হয়, তবে বর্তমানে এমন এক পরিস্থিতির সৃষ্টি হইয়াছে, যখন আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধ দ্রুত সাফল্য অর্জন করিতে পারে। এই সম্ভাবনার দিকে দৃষ্টি রাখিয়াই আমাদের পার্টির বর্তমান করণীয়গুলি স্থির করিতে হইবে।

করণীয়ঃ

(১) আজ আমাদের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রাম সাফল্যের দ্বারপ্রান্তে আসিয়া পৌঁছিয়াছে। ইহা উপলব্ধি করিয়া মুক্তিবাহিনী ও গেরিলা বাহিনীতে আমাদের কর্মী ও সমর্থকগণ সুদৃঢ় সক্রিয় উদ্যোগী ভূমিকা পালন করুন, যাহাতে স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের পরিপূর্ণ বিজয় ত্বরান্বিত হয়। বলাবাহুল্য যে, আমাদের কর্মী ও সমর্থকগণ সুদৃঢ় সক্রিয় উদ্যোগী ভূমিকা পালন করুন, যাহাতে স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের পরিপূর্ণ বিজয় ত্বরান্বিব হয়। বলাবাহুল্য যে, আমাদের কর্মী ও সমর্থকগণ মুক্তিবাহিনী ও মিত্রবাহিনীর সাধারণ কার্যক্রম মানিয়া নিয়া তাহাদের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করিয়া সংগ্রাম পরিচালনা করিবেন।

(২) মুক্তিযুদ্ধের বর্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে বিজয় ত্বরান্বিত করা ও অন্যান্য কর্তব্য সম্পর্কে আজ দেশবাসীকে সচেতন, সংগঠিত এবং সক্রিয় করা একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রাজনৈতিক কাজ হিসাবে দেখা দিয়াছে। আমাদের পার্টির যেসব কর্মী ও সমর্থক দেশের বিভিন্ন স্থানে ছড়াইয়া আছেন, তাহাদের কর্তব্য হইবে মুক্তিযুদ্ধের সমর্থনে জনগণকে সক্রিয় করিয়া তুলিতে চেষ্টা করা। মুক্তিবাহিনী ও মিত্রবাহিনীর সঙ্গে যাহাতে জনগণ পরিপূর্ণ সহযোগিতা ও ভ্রাতৃত্বমূলক আচরণ করে তাহার জন্য জনগণকে উদ্বুদ্ধ ও সংগঠিত করিতে হইবে। যে সমস্ত পার্টি সভ্য ও কর্মী প্রবাসে চলিয়া যাইতে বাধ্য হইয়াছেন, তাহারাও অবিলম্বে স্ব স্ব জেলা কমিটির পরিকল্পনা অনুযায়ী দেশের অভ্যন্তরে নিজ নিজ অঞ্চলে ফিরিয়া আসিতে শুরু করিবেন এবং সেখানে গিয়া উপরোক্ত কাজগুলি শুরু করিয়া দিবেন।

(৩) মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে দ্রুত সাফল্যমন্ডিত করা ও আমাদের প্রিয় মাতৃভুমি বাংলদেশকে একটি পরিপূর্ণ স্বাধীন, সমৃদ্ধশালী গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র হিসাবে গড়িয়া তোলার জন্য পার্টিও সমস্ত সদস্য, কর্মী ও সমর্থকগণ প্রতিনিয়ত জনতার স্বার্থে কাজ করিয়া যাইবেন এবং পার্টির নীতি ও কমসূচী জনগণের মধ্যে অবিরত প্রচার করিবেন।

(৪) যেসব অঞ্চল মুক্ত হইয়াছে বা হইতেছে সেসব অঞ্চলের গ্রামে, ইউনিয়নে মুক্তিযুদ্ধে অংশগ্রহণকারী সকল দলমতের প্রতিনিধিদের লইয়া সর্বদলীয় গণকমিটি (People's committee) গঠন করার চেষ্টা করিতে হইবে। এই কমিটির উপরেই সেই অঞ্চলের প্রশাসনিক কাজের দায়িত্ব যাহাতে দেওয়া হয়, সে জন্য চেষ্টা করিতে হইবে।

(৫) প্রতিটি মুক্ত অঞ্চল অন্যতম সর্বাধিক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কাজ হইল আইন ও শৃঙ্খলা রক্ষা করা। ইহা করতেই হইবে। জাতি-ধর্ম-ভাষা নির্বিশেষে সমস্ত জনসাধারনের নিরাপত্তা বিধান করিতে হইবে। অবাঙ্গালীবিরোধী বা কোন প্রকার দাঙ্গা-হাঙ্গামা যাহাতে না হয় তার জন্য যথাযোগ্য ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করিতে হইবে।

(৬) মুক্ত এলাকায় খাদ্য ও নিত্যব্যবহার্য দ্রব্যাদির সুষ্ঠ বিতরণের ব্যবস্থা করিতে হইবে। শ্রমিক, কৃষক ও মেহনতি জনগণের দুঃখ-দুর্দশা লাঘব করার জন্য বিশেষভাবে চেষ্টা করিতে হইবে। জনগণের উপর কোন জোর-জুলুম করা চলিবে না। স্কুল, কলেজ, হাটবাজার প্রভৃতি আবার চালু করিয়া তাড়াতাড়ি স্বাভাবিক জীবনযাত্রা ফিরাইয়া আনার চেষ্টা করিতে হইবে।

সকলের মিলিত প্রচেষ্টা দরকার

মুক্তিযুদ্ধ সাফল্যমন্ডিত হওয়ার পরপরই আমাদিগকে নানা ধরনের গুরুতর সমস্যার সম্মুখীন হইতে হইবে। বিপুল সংখ্যক শরণার্থী পুনর্বাসনের সুষ্ঠ ব্যবস্থা করা, যুদ্ধবিধ্বস্ত ভাঙ্গাচোরা অর্থনীতিকে পুনর্গঠিত করা, ভবিষ্যতে দেশকে গড়িয়া তোলার জন্য এবং বাংলাদেশকে একটি গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র কাঠামো প্রতিষ্ঠিত করার জন্য প্রয়োজনীয় ব্যবস্থাদি গ্রহণ করার কাজ আমাদের সামনে উপস্থিত হইতেছে। জনতার পরিপূর্ণ আস্থা ও জনগণের সক্রিয় অংশগ্রহণ ছাড়া উক্ত বিরাট কাজ সুসম্পন্ন করা সম্ভবপর নয়।

এই জন্য প্রয়োজন মুক্তিযুদ্ধে অংশগ্রহণকারী সকল দল ও প্রতিষ্ঠানের সম্মিলিত প্রচেষ্টা।

মুক্তিযুদ্ধকে জোরদার করা ও সুপরিকল্পিতভাবে পরিচালনার জন্য আমরা প্রথম হইতেই ঐক্যবদ্ধ জাতীয় ফ্রন্ট গঠনের প্রস্তাব করিয়াছি। বর্তমান জটিল ও রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতিতে এবং দেশের পুনর্গঠনের কাজ সুচারুরূপে অগ্রসর করার জন্য ঐরূপ ঐক্যবদ্ধ ফ্রন্ট গঠনের প্রয়োজনীয়তা বৃদ্ধি পাইয়াছে। কোন দলকে ছোট মনে করা তাহার প্রভাবকে ক্ষুণ্ণ করার জন্য নয়, দেশবাসীকে সুদৃঢ় ঐক্য গঠনের জন্য ইহা একান্ত প্রয়োজন। এইরূপ ঐক্যবদ্ধ ফ্রন্ট দেশ পুনর্গঠনের উপযোগী একটা কার্যক্রম গ্রহণ করিয়া উহা কার্যকরী করার জন্য উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থাসমূহ গ্রহণ করিতে পারে। এই কার্যক্রমের মূল কথা হইবে- দেশকে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সামন্তবাদ ও একচেটিয়া বুর্জোয়াদের রাজনৈতিক-অর্থনৈতিক প্রভাবমুক্ত করিয়া একটা গণতান্ত্রিক রাজনৈতিক-অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করা। উক্ত কার্যক্রমের মূল বিষয় হইবে- কৃষি জমির সিলিং নির্ধারণ করিয়া খোদ কৃষকের হাতে জমি বিতরণ; শ্রমিকদের বাঁচার মত নিম্নতম মুজরি নির্ধারণ; চাকুরীর নিরাপত্তা ও ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন অধিকার নিশ্চিতকরণ; ব্যাঙ্ক,বীমা, বড় বড় শিল্প, পাট ও আমদানী-রপ্তানী ব্যবসা প্রভৃতি জাতীয়করণ; ছোট ও মাঝারি শিল্পপতিদের জাতীয় শিল্প গড়িয়া তোলার ক্ষেত্রে উৎসাহ দান; সোভিয়েত ইউনিয়ন ও অন্যান্য সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশগুলির সাহায্যে শক্তিশালী রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত শিল্প গড়িয়া তোলা; সমতার ভিত্তিতে ভারতের সাথে বন্ধুত্বমূলক অর্থনৈতিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক সম্পর্ক গড়িয়া তোলা; স্বাধীন ও নিরপেক্ষ বৈদেশিক নীতি গ্রহণ; সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের শর্তযুক্ত সাহায্য বর্জন এবং সমাজতান্ত্রিক ও নিরপেক্ষ দেশগুলির সহিত ঘনিষ্ঠ সম্পর্ক স্থাপন করা।

গত এপ্রিল মাসে বাংলাদেশ সরকার গঠনের পর হইতেই আমরা ইহাকে সমর্থন করিয়া আসিয়াছি এবং আমরা এই সরকারকে সমর্থন করি। তবে আমরা মনে করি যে, বর্তমানে দেশের সামনে যে সকল সমস্যা দেখা দিয়াছে, তাহা যথাযথভাবে সমাধান করার জন্য এই সরকারের মধ্যে মুক্তিযুদ্ধে অংশগ্রহণকারী সকল সংগ্রামী শক্তিগুলোর প্রতিনিধিত্ব প্রয়োজন। ইহা দেশবাসীর মনে বিপুল অনুপ্রেরণা ও উৎসাহ সৃষ্টি করিবে এবং দেশ গঠনের কাজে প্রতিটি মানুষকে সক্রিয় করে তুলিবে।

দেশ পরিপূর্ণভাবে স্বাধীনতা অর্জনের পরে দেশে একটি গণতান্ত্রিক শাসনতন্ত্র রচনার প্রশ্ন দেখা দিবে। এ জন্য অবশ্যই প্রাপ্তবয়স্কদের সর্বজনীন ভোটে একটি শাসনতান্ত্রিক পরিষদ গঠন করিতে হইবে। এই শাসনতান্ত্রিক পরিষদ কর্তৃক শাসনতন্ত্র রচিত হওয়ার পূর্বে গণপ্রজাতান্ত্রিক বাংলাদেশের একটি অন্তবর্তীকালীন শাসনতন্ত্র রচনা করিতে পারে। অন্তবর্তীকালীন শাসনতন্ত্র যাহাতে সারাদেশের নিকট গ্রহণযোগ্য হইতে পারে সে জন্য সকল সংগ্রামী শক্তিগুলোর প্রতিনিধিদের সমবায়ে একটি সাময়িক শাসনতন্ত্র পরিষদ গঠন করা প্রয়োজন।

ঐক্যবদ্ধ জাতীয় ফ্রন্ট গঠন, উহার একটি সাধারণ কার্যক্রম গ্রহণ, সম্প্রসারিত অস্থায়ী জাতীয় সরকার গঠন এবং অন্তবর্তী শাসনতন্ত্র প্রণয়ন প্রভৃতি বিষয়ে বর্তমান বাংলাদেশ সরকার, আওয়ামী লীগ ও অন্যান্য রাজনৈতিক দলের সাথে আলাপ-আলোচনা চালাইতে হইবে এবং দেশবাসীর মধ্যেও উহার সপক্ষে জনমত গড়িয়া তুলিতে হইবে। দেশের বর্তমান রাজনৈতিক বিকাশের স্তরে তথা দেশের মধ্যে সাম্রাজ্যবাদ, সামন্তবাদ ও একচেটিয়া পুঁজিবিরোধী একটি গণতান্ত্রিক সমাজব্যবস্থা গঠন করার ক্ষেত্রে বুর্জোয়া-পেটি বুর্জোয়ার দল আওয়ামী লীগকে আমরা সাধারণভাবে মিত্র বলিয়া গণ্য করি। বর্তমান অবস্থায় দেশবাসীর স্বার্থের অনুকূলে ও দেশ পুনর্গঠনের কাজে আওয়ামী লীগের সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করিয়া চলাই আমাদের সাধারণ নীতি। এই সহযোগিতার ভিতরেও আওয়ামী লীগ নেতৃত্বের সঙ্গে বিভিন্ন বিষয়ে আমাদের মতবিরোধ দেখা দিতে পারে। সেসব ক্ষেত্রে আওয়ামী লীগ ও আওয়ামী লীগ সরকারের কাজের সমালোচনা প্রভৃতি মিত্রসুলভভাবেই পরিচালনা করিতে হইবে।

কমরেডগণ,

মাতৃভূমির যে স্বাধীনতার জন্য বাংলাদেশের জনগণ গত আট মাস যাবৎ বীরত্বপূর্ণ সংগ্রাম করিয়া আসিতেছেন, সেই স্বাধীনতা আজ আমাদের দ্বারে আসিয়া উপনীত হইয়াছে। এক দশক আগে আমাদের পার্টি বাঙ্গালী জাতির আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণের যে দাবী ঘোষণা করিয়াছিল আজ সেই দাবী বাস্তবায়িত হইতে চলিয়াছে। ঘৃণ্য দ্বিজাতিতত্ত্বের ভিত্তিতে ও বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যবাদীদের আর্শীবাদে রচিত কৃত্রিম এবং সাম্প্রদায়িক-প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল রাষ্ট্র পাকিস্তান আমাদের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের দুর্বার আঘাতে আজ ভাঙ্গিয়া পড়িতেছে। পাকিস্তান রাষ্ট্রের অভিশাপ হইতে বাঙ্গালী জাতির মুক্তি আজ আসন্ন। দুনিয়ার বুকে জন্ম নিয়াছে এক নবীন গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী রাষ্ট্র-বাংলাদেশ।

আমরা বিশ্বাস করি, পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের নিপীড়িত জাতিসমূহও শীঘ্রই তাদের ন্যায্য জাতীয় ও গণতান্ত্রিক অধিকারের জন্য রুখিয়া দাঁড়াইবেন এবং তাহাদের ন্যায্য অধিকারগুলো প্রতিষ্ঠা করিবেন। তাঁহাদের এই ন্যায্য সংগ্রামে আমাদের পার্টি সবসময় সাহায্য করিয়াছে এবং ভবিষ্যতেও করবে।

বাঙ্গালী আওয়ামী লীগ জাতির জীবনে আজ এক নূতন দিনের সূচনা হইতেছে। আসুন আমরা সবাই মিলিয়া শপথ গ্রহণ করি যে বাংলাদেশের শ্রমিক, কৃষক ও মেহনতি জনগণকে অতীতের সমস্ত বঞ্চনা, শোষণ ও অত্যাচার হইতে মুক্ত করিব এবং স্বাধীন, ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ, গণতান্ত্রিক এক সুখী ও সমৃদ্ধশালী বাংলাদেশ গঠন করিয়া সমাজতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার পথে আগাইয়া যাইব।

কেন্দ্রীয় কমিটি,

৩রা ডিসেম্বর,১৯৭১ বাংলাদেশ কমিউনিষ্ট পার্টি।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের মূল্যায়ন	পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের (বাংলাদেশ) কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি	.....

EVALUATION OF THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF BANGLADESH

The movement and struggle of Bangladesh have assumed a completely new form. The struggle for establishment of democracy and autonomy has been transformed into the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and the peaceful non-cooperation movement has now turned into armed struggle. The freedom fight of Bangladesh is aided and supported by the entire people. Such united support of the people to the freedom struggle is rare in history. The objective and the form of the struggle for Bangladesh have both changed. The freedom struggle of Bangladesh has important significance in both the national and international sphere. It is a completely new situation.

That is why, determining character of the struggle of Bangladesh and its correct evaluation is absolutely necessary.

The evaluation of the freedom struggle of Bangladesh made by the Central Committee and the tasks set by it are written below:

THE CHARACTER AND FORM OF THE STRUGGLE: ITS ENEMIES AND ALLIES

Character of the Struggle

The character of the rule and the exploitation of the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan in Bangladesh is of a colonial nature; although, in the classical sense. Bangladesh is not a colony of West Pakistani rulers. In this context, the character of the struggle of Bangladesh is-national liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

This struggle is being waged against the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan which is aided by the imperialists. Therefore, this liberation struggle of Bangladesh strikes at the imperialists and it now contains elements of assuming form of direct struggle against imperialism. Also, this struggle is undoubtedly democratic; because, democracy is one of its main objectives.

Form of the Struggle

The struggle is being waged-directly against the ruling clique of Pakistan and its armed occupation army. It is by defeating this army that Bangladesh will have to be established as an independent and sovereign state.

Therefore, the main form of this struggle is armed struggle against the armed enemy troops.

Enemies and Allies of the Struggle

Enemies: The rulling class comprising the monopoly capitalist of West Pakistan who are collaborators of imperialism, particularly American imperialism and the feudal landlords as well as their agents in this country are enemies of the freedom of Bangladesh.

Allies: (a) Allies of this struggle are the entire people of Bangladesh comprising the workers, peasants, middle class; bourgeoisie and jotedars. Among these, the big feudal landlords may prove to be the weakest section. Therefore, we must be cautious about the big feudal landlords (a section of the jotedars).

(b) We consider the exploited people of the different linguistic nationalities of West Pakistan, particularly the small nationalities, the friends of the liberation movement of Bangladesh. The freedom struggle of Bangladesh and the West Pakistani people's struggle for autonomy and democracy are complementary to each other. The freedom fight of Bangladesh is directed against the very reactionary ruling clique which is oppressing and exploiting them (West Pakistanis). Therefore, the people of West Pakistan should support the freedom fight of Bangladesh and all their struggles for democracy and autonomy will receive our support.

(c) In this freedom struggle of Bangladesh, peace, democracy and freedom-loving and progressive people of the world as well as all democratic progressive and socialist states of the world will be considered friends. For the success of this struggle, their total support and aid are essential. In this struggle, the aid of all democratic forces, the people and the Government of India is particularly necessary. Besides, the help of the people and governments of the neighboring Burma, Ceylon and Nepal is also necessary. The aid and support of Afghanistan and the democratic and progressive states of the Arab world will be helpful for the success of this struggle of Bangladesh.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE OF BANGLADESH AND THE WORLD MOVEMENT FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

This freedom fight of Bangladesh will strengthen the world struggle for peace, democracy and freedom; also, the freedom struggle of Bangladesh is a part of the struggle waged by the International Communist Movement for national rights of various nations, nations' right to self-determination and democracy.

Because,: (a) The success of this struggle will strengthen the forces of peace and democracy in South East Asia.

(b) This struggle is directed against the despotic military autocracy of Pakistan which is supported by imperialism. Therefore, the success will indirectly weaken imperialism.

(c) The success of the struggle of Bangladesh will end communalism in Bangladesh and will be helpful in establishing friendly relation with India.

(d) If this struggle becomes victorious, there are chances that the relations of Bangladesh with socialist countries will improve.

If the communist and progressive forces of Bangladesh can play the correct role and if the International Communist Movement extends necessary aid and support, then the afore-mentioned possibilities will materialize and the path of the national democratic revolutionary struggle of Bangladesh will become wider.

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE STRUGGLE

Strength :

(1)The demand and the struggle for the. freedom of Bangladesh

are supported by the entire people.

(2)There is militant attitude among the people and they are extending unreserved support and co-operation to the armed struggle against the enemy army. The youths are taking part in the armed struggle.

(3)Excepting for a small maoist faction, all democratic and leftist parties of Bangladesh have more or less actively joined this struggle.

(4)Since this struggle is directed against the enemy of the people of the oppressed and exploited nations of West Pakistan, there are chances of winning the support of the people of oppressed nations of West Pakistan to this struggle.

(5)This struggle is backed by the support of the people, the democratic forces and the Government of India.

(6) The Soviet Union and the democracy, peace and freedom loving forces and communities of the world have raised their voice of protest against the genocide committed by the Pakistani ruling clique in Bangladesh and have demanded a political solution of the Bangladesh issue. The leading newspapers of the world have protested against the genocide in Bangladesh. For these reasons, world public opinion is being formed in favor of the struggle of the people of Bangladesh and consequently, the freedom fight of Bangladesh is being strengthened.

Weakness:

(1)There is still lack of organized force and power to give organized form to the spontaneous participation and support of the people to the present liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

(2)There is lack of experience on the part of the people and the different fighting parties as regards the carrying on and guiding of this armed struggle.

(3)Among a section of the people, particularly among the Muslims of neighboring India, there is a hostile attitude towards the freedom struggle of Bangladesh.

(4)The Socialist Camp and the Arab World have not yet declared their strong support and help to the freedom struggle of Bangladesh.

(5) The unity of the various parties and forces fighting for the freedom of Bangladesh has not yet been achieved.

(6)The different imperialist forces are extending support and help to the Yahya government by various methods. The American imperialists, ,in particular, have all along been exploiting us also. But the people have not yet become fully conscious about these enemies.

(7)As a result of the national oppression and the discriminatory behavior of the ruling clique of Pakistan, on the one hand, and the policy of Bengali chauvinism or the anti- West Pakistani politics persued by the Awami League leadership in the past and during the election, on the other hand, there now exists an anti-non-Bangali attitude among the people of Bangladesh. On the other hand, as a result of the conspiracies, false propaganda and anti-Bengali incitement carried out by the ruling clique and other reactionary cliques, there have been created certain misunderstandings among the West Pakistani people regarding the people of Bangladesh and their freedom struggle. For these reasons, the question of achieving unity and fraternity among the people of Bangladesh and the exploited people and oppressed nations of West Pakistan continues to remain unsolved.

(8)Although the 'Mukti Fauj' (Liberation Army) that was initially formed out of the East Bengal Regiment, East Pakistan Rifles and Police, etc., fought heroically against the enemy soldiers, this Liberation Army is not politically educated. Moreover, as they had received anti-people and wrong education from the ruling clique of Pakistan over a long period, they are infected with various weaknesses.

CLASS CHARACTER OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE STRUGGLE AND ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

Class Character of the leadership

The main leader of this struggle is-the Awami League and the Government formed by it. They are chiefly the representatives of the emerging bourgeois class of Bangladesh. They have acute and basic contradiction with the monopoly capital of West Pakistan.

Strength

The strength of this leadership is that in the present period they have not surrendered to the monopoly capital of West Pakistan, that is to say, the reactionary ruling clique, and on the question of national rights for the Bengalis, they have stood for armed struggle for the freedom of Bangladesh. This leadership enjoys the wide support of the people of Bangladesh.

Weakness

But the weakness of this leadership is that it lacks the revolutionary staunchness and the organizational ability necessary for directing the present armed struggle.

Secondly, they have no firm faith on achieving freedom through the strength and struggle of the people by means of organizing people's strength. On the other hand, they

are more inclined to achieve the desired result with the aid and support of any big power belonging to any camp. At present, they are completely dependent on the aid of the Indian Government. They still have illusions about the American imperialists.

Thirdly, there is lack of realization on the part of the leadership that unity of all fighting forces is necessary for leading this struggle to success. Rather, narrowness and sectarianism still exists among the leadership.

ROLE OF OTHER PARTIES IN THIS STRUGGLE

(a)The rightist parties have assumed the role of agents of Yahya clique.

(b)Although Bhasani NAP has now declared its support to this struggle, in the past they did not consistently follow any clear political line. (At present Bhasani NAP as a party does not exist anymore; Only Maulana Bhasani and some of his followers are associated with it.)

(c) Three maoist factions are at present lending their support to this movement. They verbally declare that a united front of all left forces including the Awami League is necessary; but actually, they want to form a separate left united front excluding the Awami League.

(d) Another maoist group (Huq -Toaha) is playing a divisive and actually opposing role.

THE QUESTION OF FORMATION OF THE UNITED FRONT

An essential condition for quick and sure victory in this struggle is the formation of a United National Liberation Front comprising all fighting forces including the Awami League, Communist Party and NAP (led by Wali-Muzaffar). The formation of this front will consolidate, heighten and strengthen the freedom struggle and will create greater enthusiasm among the people of Bangladesh. Besides, the sooner the fighting parties and forces of Bangladesh can be unified quicker will be the support extended by the progressive forces of the world and the socialist camp to the freedom fight of Bangladesh.

But the narrowness of the Awami League and, on the other hand, anti-Awami League attitude of some leftist groups are hindering the formation of this front. However, among the Awami League rank and file, particularly among the younger section, pro-unity attitude can be discerned. This attitude is taking shape among some sections of the Mukti Fauj also. Therefore, although many problems face the formation of this front, there is possibility of this front being formed.

The minimum programme on the basis of which a national liberation front comprising all fighting forces of Bangladesh may be formed and on the basis of which the Party may open talks and strive to form national liberation front is incorporated in this document. This programme has been framed keeping in view the object of uniting all classes of people of Bangladesh against the enemy.

PROBLEMS FACING THE STRUGGLE

(1)Organized and well-knit army, guerilla fighters etc. have not yet been formed.

(2)All militant political parties and mas-organisations inside the country have been destroyed.

(3)Economic crisis in the life of the people has assumed an acute form. As a result some sections of the people have fallen into despondency.

(4)Political propaganda inside the country is very weak compared to the extreme oppression to which the people are subjected.

(5)Confusion prevails abroad regarding the struggle of Bangladesh. Propaganda and diplomatic activity aimed at drawing world opinion and the different states to the side of our struggle is also very weak.

(6)Compelled by extreme oppression, millions of our countrymen have sought and are seeking refuge in India. This also has created a great problem for the struggle.

(7)Till now this struggle is dependent on the aid and support of the Indian Government alone and this government is a bourgeois government. This is also a difficult problem.

(8) The reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan is directly and indirectly backed by imperialist support. This has created a problem. Moreover, the overt political support and the military aid given by the maoist leadership of China to these reactionary ruling clique have encouraged them to commit genocide and ruthlessly suppress the freedom fight of Bangladesh by military force. This shameless action of the Chinese leaders has created confusion in many countries regarding this struggle of Bangladesh. This has started the freedom loving people of the world. Besides, as a result of this role of the Chinese leadership, Indo-Pak tension has increased, peace in Asia is being threatened and complications have arisen in the international sphere.

ROLE OF THE PARTY

The present armed fighting and the struggle in Bangladesh have imposed some special and difficult historical responsibilities on the Communist Party. To fulfill this responsibility, the Communist Party must perform the following basic tasks.

(1)To participate fully in the armed struggle on our own initiative.

(2)To try to get rid of all military, political, organizational and other weaknesses by participating in the struggle.

(3)To take the initiative and to try at all levels for the formation of a United Front.

(4)The Party must strive to lead forward this struggle along the path of national democratic revolution as soon as the immediate objective of this struggle is achieved.

VICTORY OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE IS CERTAIN

Finally, we must remember that the freedom fight of Bengal is the struggle against
the armed forces of the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan. This army has been equipped with the modern weapons supplied by the American imperialists and the ruling clique of Pakistan are still getting various kinds of aid from the imperialists. Moreover, the Maoist leaders of China are extending unlimited political, economic and military assistance. In this condition, the freedom fight of Bangladesh is a hard, sanguinary struggle.

But. the ruling clique of Pakistan is completely isolated from the people of Bangladesh. As a result of non-cooperation movement and armed struggle, the administrative system and economic structure of Bangladesh has. completely broken down. Therefore, the ruling clique is today facing an acute crisis. The limitless oppression and repression perpetrated by the ruling class serves only to stir-up intense hatred and anger among the people. The people of Bangladesh are actively participating in the freedom fight and, except for a few agents, this struggle is backed by the support of the entire people of Bangladesh. The youths of Bangladesh are coming forward in large numbers to take part in the armed struggle. Broad unity of the people is the main strength of the freedom fight of Bengal.

Moreover, in the international sphere also, support and aid to the freedom fight of Bengal is gradually increasing. The people, the democratic parties and forces as well as the Government of India are extending unstinted support and aid to the freedom fight of Bangladesh. The Soviet Union has severely condemned the genocide in Bangladesh and has demanded a political solution of the Bangladesh issue. The World Peace Council has also condemned the genocide and demanded a political settlement of the Bangladesh issue.

The progressive forces and the peace loving people of the world are gradually coming forward in support of the freedom struggle of Bangladesh and the chances of world public opinion being formed in support of the freedom struggle of Bangladesh are gradually increasing.

Therefore, however well-equipped the army of the ruling clique of Pakistan may be and however difficult the freedom fight of Bangladesh may be, the ultimate victory of the struggle of Bangladesh is absolutely certain.

Adopted:
22. 5. 71.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of
East Pakistan (Bangladesh)

PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

The minimum programme on the basis of which attempt may be made at present to form a national liberation front is as follows:

(1)To defeat and drive out the occupation army of the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan by waging armed struggle. To completely liberate Bangladesh and to build up Bangladesh as an independent sovereign democratic republican state with a view to advancing along the path of socialism.

(2)To entrust to the representative legislature elected by the people the sovereign and absolute authority to run the state; to introduce direct election based on universal adult franchise and joint electorate system; to concede the people the right to recall elected representatives; to ensure parliamentary democracy; and to establish a secular democratic stale.

(3)To ensure the fundamental rights of the people, namely, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of the press, etc; to ensure enjoyment of those rights by the workers-peasants and other people; to annul all kinds of oppressive laws; to concede full opportunity to the people so that they may actively participate in the determination of state policies; to set up local autonomous bodies elected by the people for managing the local affairs of the cities, towns and villages and to take the help of these bodies in running the government administration. To separate the judiciary from the executive and to entrust to the court the right to determine whether an act is legally valid.

(4)To grant equal rights to all citizens irrespective of race, religion and sex and not to discriminate against anybody on religious or ideological grounds.

(5)To ensure to all citizens the rights to hold their own belief and religious faith and observe their religious rites. To refrain from interfering in any body's religious beliefs. To ban all kinds of communal propaganda. To ban all communal parties as well as all such parties which have served the enemy.

(6)To remove from the administrative machinery of the state all such officials who are either trained or connected or are subservient to Pakistan's ruling clique and foreign imperialists. To restrict the powers of bureaucrats, police, etc.

(7)To build up the defense army of Bangladesh as a genuinely patriotic and people- oriented army.

(8)To adopt necessary measures for the political, economic, cultural i.e., total development of various tribal peoples.

(9)To build up heavy and basic industries in the state sector; to build up the state sector as the main determining force in the field of industries; to establish the authority of the popular representative legislature over the state owned industries; to ensure participation of the workers of state-owned industries in the management of their respective industries. To nationalize banks, insurance, jute industry and trade, foreign trade and main transport system with a view to collecting capital for building up

industries in the state sector and eliminating the hold of the monopolists over the economy.

To encourage capitalists, particularly owners of small capital to build up industries in the fields other than the state sector and to offer them favorable opportunities. To establish trade relations on equal terms with ail countries irrespective of social systems and to expand economic and trade relations with socialist countries. To establish closer trade relations with the neighboring countries, particularly with India.

(10) (a). To carry out urgent and necessary reforms in the sphere of land system. To fix the ceiling of land holding at 100 bigha (slightly more than 33 acres) per family and to distribute the excess land freely among the poor and landless peasants on the basis of their requirement. To pay adequate compensation to the landlords whose lands will have been acquired by the government. To distribute government land freely among the landless and poor peasants.

(b)To exempt the owners of upto 25 bighas of land from ground rent. To eliminate the system of rent collection gradually and introduce income tax in proportion to total income earned from sale of crops produced in the land.

(c)To ensure just price for jute and other cash crops.

(d)To ensure fair wage for agricultural laborers.

(e)To encourage peasants to adopt co-operative farming; to extend state help to the peasants in the form of modern agricultural implements, fertiliser, ow-interest agricultural loan, etc.

(11)To take up flood control, dispelling tidal bore and arrangement of irrigation as urgent tasks at the state lavel and to adopt necessary measures for their implementation.

(12)To introduce universal and free education; to arrange for higher education at low cost; to establish large number of schools, research laboratories, medical, agricultural and technical institutes; to radically reform the education system and arrange for imparting secular education by modern scientific method.

To arrange for imparting education through the medium of Bengali at all levels of education in Bangladesh and to extend all possible help from th* state for the development of the Bengali language. For the Urdu-speaking residents of Bangladesh, to ensure the right to receive education in their mother tongue and build up their own cultural life.

(13)To attach due importance to the development of people's education and culture and the public health system and to make increased expenditure from the state on these accounts; to make medical facilities easily available to the people.

(14)To ensure the workers a minimum wage for maintenance of life, job-security, a maximum of 8 hours working day, future security as well as all trade union rights, including right to strike and collective bargaining. To arrange for their housing, leave, education and medical facilities for family members, cultural performance, sports, etc.

To ensure the office workers, intelligentsia, etc; fair income commensurate with their standard of living; to ensure them a living, a job and security of service and to reduce burden of taxes over them. To arrange transport for the workers and office employees.

(15)To ensure to women equal rights and status as men in the social, economic and political spheres. To free the womankind from all kinds of discrimination and social oppression. To adopt special measures to spread education among women.

(16)To confiscate the movable and immovable properties of all those who have collaborated with the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan or have acted against the people during liberation struggle and to mete out punishment to them.

To confiscate enemy property and turn it into national property.

(17)To return to owners the properties that have been confiscated or occupied by the enemy. To rehabilitate individuals and families evicted by the enemy.

To grant adequate help to the families of those killed or wounded in the liberation struggle.

(18)To persue an independent and neutral policy in the sphere of foreign affairs; to refrain from joining any imperialist war pact: to establish economic-cultural and friendly relations with all countries on the basis of equity; to establish relation of co-operation with the Afro-Asian countries including India, the Socialist Camp, and all friendly countries; to line up with the peace-loving countries and persue a policy of preserving world peace and extending support and co-operation to the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle all over the world.

To persue a policy of full co-operation and support to the just and democratic struggle of the exploited people and oppressed nations of West Pakistan.

To avoid being dependent on imperialist capital and to refrain from accepting foreign aid or loans entailing conditions contrary to the national interest.

This programme is to be implemented as far as practicable in all areas that will be liberated through struggle.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের অবস্থা ব্যাখা করে বিশ্ব বুদ্ধিজীবি মহলের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবি মুক্তি সংগ্রাম পরিষদের আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবি মুক্তি সংগ্রাম পরিষদ	..... ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL FROM THE BANGLADESH LIBERATION COUNCIL OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA

The Bangladesh Liberation Council of the Intelligentsia is an organization of the displaced teachers, scientists, poets, painters, writers, journalists and actors from Bangladesh who managed to escape the wrath of the West Pakistani army, which is responsible for one of history's blackest mass murders and purges.

The object of the Council is to support the war efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, to press to the attention of the world our case for independence, to document the crimes of West Pakistani army, to do educational work among our freedom fighters and to find for our members the means of their subsistence while they work for the liberation movement.

The community from which our membership is drawn has been a special target of the military action started on the night of March 25, 1971. A measure of the army's hostility to the intellectual community is its gunning down of twenty University teachers in cold blood before their wives and children. Their sins are their support for democratic and secular values, their opposition to dictatorship, their insistence on the linguistic and cultural individuality of the Bengalis, their articulation of the political, economic, and philosophical basis of the Bangladesh Movement. The army sought to liquidate the intellectuals as a class along with the political leaders with a view to silencing the demand for greater autonomy for the Bengalis.

The demand for autonomy arose from the wrongs and deprivation suffered for 23 years by Bengalis in Pakistan who formed its majority but had a very modest share in its prosperity. Their representation in the armed forces and higher echelons of the civil service of Pakistan was negligible, and most of their foreign exchange earnings from jute was used to build industries in West Pakistan while Bangladesh served as a protected market for West Pakistan products. Bengalis wished to put an end to this colonial pattern of exploitation and demanded the right to control their economic resources for their own development. This threatened the privileges of the ruling capitalist-bureaucratic-military clique based in West Pakistan, whose 22 rich families controlled 80% of national wealth.

When the general elections of the last December, conceded under popular pressure, showed that the Bengali demand was almost unanimous, President Yahya Khan entered into hypocritical negotiations with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the people of Bangladesh, whose party, the Awami League, had secured 167 of the 196 National Assembly seats and a clear majority in the Assembly, for a political settlement. Under

cover of these talks, which were prolonged, Yahya Khan however gave finishing touches to a two year old plot of putting down the constitutional demand with brute force, Yahya's medieval hordes in modern arms cracked down upon the unsuspecting people of Bangladesh around the midnight of March 25. The massacres and destruction that followed have no parallel in history.

Yahya's perfidy is aimed at denying the democratic process, that is, the right of the majority and perpetuation of the colonial stronghold on Bangladesh. In furtherance of this aim. Islamabad has embarked upon a carefully thought out programme of genocide as a method of settling the problem. Its army has been killing unarmed Bengalis, women, children, the infirm and the old, with psychotic fury. It has so far killed a million and forced over seven million to flee to India and Burma to escape its brutalities, It has laid waste entire city blocks and wiped out entire villages, One of its favorite techniques of terror is to set fire to a village and then sadistically mow down the fleeing men and abduct the girls and subject them to dishonor and torture. In short, the West Pakistani army is carrying on a mission of murder, rape, and looting on a scale that would have shamed an Attila or a Hitler.

The planned extermination of the people of Bangladesh is in progress. We believe
that the intellectuals of the world have a duty towards humanity and, therefore, towards Bangladesh where humanity is in agony.

We appeal to intellectuals around the world:

(1)to organize movements in their own countries to stop genocide in Bangladesh

(2)to raise a voice of protest against Pakistan army's suppression of human rights and to move, the International Commission of Jurists arid the United Nations to take up the Bangladesh issue;"

(3)to support our struggle against dictatorship and colonialism which has now been transformed into a struggle for complete independence;

(4)to create pressure upon their own government to accord recognition to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

(5)to create pressure upon Pakistan military authority tore/ease Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and other political prisoners ;

(6)to give financial support to our cause.

President

Dr. A. R. Mallick—Vice-Chancellor, Chittagong University
Vice-Presidents
Dr. K. S. Murshid-Head, Department of English, Dacca. University
Prof. S. Ali Ahsan-Head, Department of Bengali. Chittagong University
Qumrul Hassan-Painter
Ranesh Dasgupta-Journalist

General Secretary

Zahir Raihan-, Novelist and Film Director

Joint Secretary

Dr. M. Bilayet Hossain-Reader in Physics. Dacca University

Exetutive Secretaries

Hasan Imam-Actor

Sadeq Khan-Art Critic

Moudud Ahmed-Barrister

Dr. Motilal Paul-Economist

Brojen Das-International Sportsman

Wahidul Huq-Musician and Journalist

Alamgir Kabir- Journalist and Critic

Anupam Sen-Sociologist

Faiz Ahmed-Journalist

M. A. Khair-Film-maker

Kamal Lohani-Journalist

Mustafa Monwar-Painter and TV Producer.

Bangladesh Liberation Council of Intelligentsia
9, Circus Avenue,
Calcutta-16, India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবি মুক্তি সংগ্রাম পরিষদের বিবৃতি	বাংলাদেশ বুদ্ধিজীবি মুক্তি সংগ্রাম পরিষদ	..... ১৯৭১

General Yahya Khan has once again outraged the world by revealing his plan of trying Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in a military court in secret and virtually pronouncing on him the sentence of death, in advance.

In fact, a paranoid ruler guilty of usurping the power that belongs to the people alone, has put the world on notice that he wishes to murder a man who has come to symbolize popular will, freedom and human dignity to vast sections of mankind in his own country and elsewhere.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman sought to establish legitimacy, that is the sovereignty of the people, in a country which had been under the heels of dictatorship for over a decade, first by fairly winning the first general elections ever to be held in Pakistan by an absolute majority of votes, and then, by launching a non-violent non-cooperation movement, the like of which the world had never seen, when the right of the majority to rule was menaced and the promised transfer of power to the people appeared doubtful.

When Yahya Khan suppressed popular will and human rights, destroyed the last opportunity of a constitutional resolution of the Bengali demand for autonomy, and treacherously resorted to a genocidal war in Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman fulfilled his obligation to his people whose inalienable right to govern themselves was denied by a minority from a distance of 1000 miles, by declaring independence and urging his people to take up arms against the oppressors.

To try Sheikh Mujibur Rahman then, is to put democracy and its 75 million followers in Bangladesh on trial. To subject his to military justice in secret without the assistance of lawyer chosen by him is to deny him a right dear to all civilized societies.

We deny that the military rulers of Pakistan, who should have the hangman's noose round their own necks, have any legal or moral right to try the Bangabandhu.

We call upon all civilized men and women, peoples and governments and the U. N. Secretary-General to keep faith with their conscience and act before the brutal men in Islamabad carry out their publicly known intention.

Bengalis exercised through their undisputed leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman the revolutionary right of the majority to resist their cultural, economic and political subjugation to the capitalists, bureaucrats and warlords, representing a minority, which had no faith in democracy and proved itself alien to the majority in every sense.

The life of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the founder of a secular, humanist democratic Bangladesh, is important for the well being of his people and for peace in Asia.

Sheikh Mujib is among the finest representative of oppressed and freedom-loving humanity of all time. Raise your voice against his contemplated murder after a covert trial which does not even pretend to be impartial and join an international effort to save him. Petition your MPs. head of State, and the UN Secretary-General to intervene and to presuade the Islamabad regime to abandon its scandalous plan to try Sheikh Mujib; and earn the eternal gratitude of the people of Bangladesh by securing his release.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ভারতে আগত বাংলাদেশবাসীর যুদ্ধকালীন দায়িত্ব ও কর্তব্য সম্পর্কে একটি প্রচারপত্র	সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্প্রীতি পরিষদ	.... ১৯৭১

ভারতে শরণার্থী বাংলাদেশী ভাইবোনদের প্রতি আবেদন

আমাদের জাতীয় ইতিহাসের এক কঠিন ও দুরূহ মুহূর্তে আমরা আজ বাস করছি। স্বৈরাচারী পাকিস্তানী সামরিক বাহিনীর অমানুসিক গণহত্যা ও অত্যাচার থেকে প্রাণে রক্ষা পেয়ে আমরা সাময়িকভাবে আশ্রয় নিয়েছি আমাদেও প্রতিবেশী বন্ধু রাষ্ট ভারতের মাটিতে। আমাদের এ বিপদ মুহূর্তে ভারত সরকার ও এদেশের জনসাধারণ আমাদের প্রতি যে সহানুভূতি ও সাহায্য প্রদান করেছেন তার তুলনা নেই। আমরা বিশ্বাস করি, আমাদের এ অবস্থা সাময়িক। আমরা সোনার বাংলাদেশ থেকে পাকিস্তানী সেনাবাহিনীকে বিতাড়িত করে অতি শীঘ্র জন্মভূমির মাটিতে আবার ফিরে যাব। সংগ্রাম এগিয়ে চলছে। আজকে আমাদেরকে আরও সক্রিয়ভাবে সে সংগ্রামে শরিক হতে হবে। সংগ্রামকে সফল করে দেশকে শত্রুমুক্তি করার জন্যে নিম্নলিখিত বিষয়গুলো আমাদের পুরোপুরি হৃদয়ঙ্গম করা উচিত।

(১) যুদ্ধাবস্থায় আমাদের যে কোন রকম অসুবিধা সহ্য করার মত মনোবল প্রয়োজন। আমাদের স্বদেশবাসী লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক দেশের জন্যে প্রান দিয়েছে- লক্ষ লক্ষ লোক এখনও শত্রুসৈন্যের কবলিত এলাকায় নির্যাতিত হচ্ছে। তাঁদের কথা স্মরণ করে আমরা প্রতিজ্ঞাবদ্ধ হব- দেশের খাতিরে যে কোন অসুবিধাকে আমরা তুচ্ছ মনে করবো।

(২) ৩০ লক্ষ শরণার্থীও ভরণ-পোষণ ও সর্বপ্রকার সুখ-সুবিধার ব্যবস্থা এক ব্যাপক সমস্যা। শরণার্থীদের সহযোগীতা ও উপলব্ধি ছাড়া কোন সরকার বা বেসরকারী সংঘের পক্ষে সব সমস্যার সুষ্ঠু সমাধান করা সম্ভব নয়। কাজেই আমাদেরকে সাধ্যমত ক্যাম্প এলাকায় রিলিফ ও অন্যান্য কাজে সাহায্য করতে হবে।

(৩) পাকিস্তানী দুশমনরা আমাদের ভেতর সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ও জাতিগত বিদ্বেষের বীজ ছড়াবার জন্যে তাদের অনুচরদের লাগিয়ে দিতে পারে। কাজেই সকল প্রকার সাম্প্রদায়িকতা, জাতি-বিদ্বেষ ও রাজনৈতিক তর্ক-বিতর্কে জড়িয়ে পড়ে আমরা যেন শত্রুর শিকার না হই। আমাদের বিশেষ করে মনে রাখতে হবে, পাকিস্তানী সরকার তাদের বর্তমান বেকায়দা অবস্থা থেকে উদ্ধার পাবার জন্য নানা ষড়যন্ত্রে লিপ্ত আছে। তারা বিশেষ করে চেষ্টা করছে, ভারতের মাটিতে একটা সাম্প্রদায়িকতা কলহ সৃষ্টি করতে। তাদেরই উস্কানিতে বিভিন্ন সীমান্ত এলাকায় কিছুসংখ্যক সুবিধাবাদী মিরজাফর হিন্দু-সম্প্রদায়ের জিনিসপত্র লুটপাট করে। মনে রাখবেন, যেসব মুসলমান এসব কাজ করেছে-তারা শুধুমাত্র হিন্দুদের শত্রুনয়, তারা আমাদের জাতীয় শত্রু। আমাদের মুক্তিবাহিনীর বীর সেনারা বহু অঞ্চলে এসব মীরজাফরী দস্যুদের শাস্তিদান করেছেন। আমাদের সবার এক পরিচয়। -হিন্দু-মুসলমান-বৌদ্ধ-খৃষ্টান মিলে আমরা সবাই বাংলাদেশী। আমাদের লক্ষ্য এক- দেশকে শত্রুর কবল থেকে উদ্ধার করা।

(৪) সীমিত অর্থবল ও প্রশাসনিক ব্যবস্থা নিয়ে বাংলাদেশ সরকারকে নানারকম জটিলতার ভেতর দিয়ে যুদ্ধ পরিচালনায় কাজ করে যেতে চলেছে। আমাদের সরকারের প্রতিটি কাজকে বিশেষ ধৈর্যসহকারে গ্রহণ করতে হবে। শীঘ্রই বিভিন্ন কর্মক্ষম ব্যক্তিদের সহায়তায়- ক্যাম্প এলাকায় স্বাস্থ্যরক্ষা, সামাজিক শান্তিরক্ষা, অল্পবয়স্ক শিশুদের শিক্ষাদান ও মহিলাদের কার্যোপযোগী করে তোলার পরিকল্পনা কার্যকরী করা হবে। এ ব্যাপারে আমরা সরকারী ও বেসরকারী উদ্যোগকে সর্বতোভাবে সহায়তা করতে সচেষ্ট হবো।

(৫) সর্বোপরি আমাদের সকলকে মানসিক ও যথাসম্ভব শারীরিকভাবে যুদ্ধাবস্থার জন্যে প্রস্তুত হতে হবে। মুক্তিবাহিনীকে জোরদার করে তোলার জন্যে আমরা যে কোন ক্ষেত্রে সহযোগিতা করব।

আমাদের মনে রাখতে হবে- একতাই গণশক্তির মূল চাবিকাঠী, আর শৃঙ্খলা হলো একতার বন্ধন। আমাদের অভাব-অভিযোগের সুযোগ নিয়ে কেউ যেন আমাদের মধ্যে বিশৃঙ্খলার সৃষ্টি করে আমাদের লক্ষ্যভ্রষ্ট করতে না পারে। মুক্তিযুদ্ধে সেই হবে আমাদের পরোক্ষ দান। আমাদের সকল দুঃখ-কষ্টের মূলে আমরা ফিরে পাব স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশ। সে দিন আসন্ন। ''জয় স্বাধীন বাংলা''

''দুঃখ সহার তপস্যাতেই হোক বাঙ্গালীর জয়
ভয়কে যারা মানে তারাই জাগিয়ে রাখে ভয়
মৃত্যুকে যে এড়িয়ে চলে মৃত্যু তারেই টানে
মৃত্যু যারা বুক পেতে লয় বাঁচতে তারাই জানে।''

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনকে সমর্থনের জন্যে বিশ্বের শ্রমিক সংগঠনসমূহের প্রতি বাংলাদেশ ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন সেন্টার	বাংলাদেশ ট্রেড ইউনিয়ন সেন্টার	..... ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL

To The Trade Union Organizations & The Working People of the World
From the Trade Union Centre & the Working People of
"THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH"

Dear friends and comrades.

You must be aware of the massacre and mass killings in Bangladesh (formerly called East Pakistan) by the ruling Military Junta of Pakistan.

You may know that Pakistan was formed in 1947 comprising of the muslim majority Provinces of the Indian Sub-continent. Inspite of the same religion Pakistan consisted of five distinct nationalities namely the Sindhis, Baluchis, Pakhtoons, Punjabis and the Bengalees. The Bengalees who are 56% of the total population of Pakistan inhabit in the eastern part of the country separated from the western part by a distance of more than one thousand miles. The Bengalees are 75 million in number.

From the very inception the ruling clique of Pakistan served the interest of a handful of big capitalists, feudal landlords and foreign imperialists. The ruling class carried on unbridled exploitation of the working class and peasantry, oppressed the nationalities and most of the wealth of their country was concentrated in a few hands to the utter deprivation of the masses. Under the umbrella of a dictatorial Govt. and black labor laws and a huge army of unemployed labor the limitless exploitation of the working class brought huge profits to the capitalists at rates unparallel in capitalist exploitation. Within a very short time monopolist groups grew up, about twenty-five in number who had a firm grip on most of the industrial and bank capital and consequently upon the Government.

The exploitation of the nationalities was a specific feature in Pakistan and it was particularly obvert in Bangladesh. Most of the industries were owned by industrialists who are mainly from the Punjab and Karachi in the Western wing of the country. Geographically separated from West Pakistan by a distance of more than one thousand miles the people of East Bengal has a language, culture and tradition distinct from those of the nationalities of western part of the country. The ruling class did everything to retard the progress and development of East Bengal and to turn it into a virtual colony. The ruling class attacked the language and culture of the Bengalees aimed at bringing the whole nations to its knees and keep it under subjugation.

In East Bengal as usual the working class had to bear the burnt of all such exploitations.

Democratic movements including struggle of the working class and movement for the rights of nationalities were ruthlessly suppressed. Efforts for the framing of a democratic Constitution and forming a democratic Govt. were frustrated at very step. Martial law was imposed in 1958 under the leadership of General Ayub Khan to suppress democratic movement.

But inspite of the repression and atrocities of the Military regime, progressive, democratic and anti-autocratic forces gradually gained strength. Ayub Khan had to withdraw Martial law and later on as a result of the great mass upsurge in 1969 dictator Ayub Khan had to step down. However, General Yahya Khan took over power and imposed Martial Law for the Second time, though the self-styled President had to declare that the sole objective of his regime was peaceful transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people.

Elections were held to the National and Provincial Assembly in December 1970 and the overwhelming majority of the people voted in favor of the democratic forces defending the rights of the nationalities as well as the cause of the people. These forces gained absolute majority in the National Assembly entrusted with the task of framing the Constitution of the country and forming the Govt.

The Military Regime serving the interest of the imperialists, feudal lords and the monopolists could clearly see in elections result their inevitable downfall. President Yahya Khan, therefore, began to sidetrack the issue of transfer of power on various pretext and refused to convene the National Assembly inspite of the repeated demands of the people and their representatives.

As a result mass movement developed in East Bengal which was supported by democratic elements in West Pakistan also. President Yahya Khan, however, started a dialogue with the representatives of the people with the declared purpose of arriving at a peaceful settlement of the unresolved issues of the constitutional impasse. After a few rounds of talks it was officially declared by the President that there was progress in the talks. The peace loving people of Bangladesh and also other democratic forces heaved a sigh of relief at the possibility of a peaceful solution of the political deadlock and they were expecting an announcement in this regard from the President within a day or two. People were given to understand that the principles were already agreed upon and the necessary legal formalities were being worked out.

While the talks were still continuing, suddenly in the late hours of the 25th March, 1971 without announcing that the talks had failed or without giving any ultimatum, the army of Yahya's military junta pounced upon the People of Bangladesh and let loose a regin of terror and burtality unparallel in human history. On that Black Night of the 25th, thousands of innocent people of Bangladesh, who went to bed with high hopes of a peaceful settlement and a happy future, did not see the light of the dawn. Humanity has never known such naked and dirty betrayal even by the darkest forces of reaction.

The Armed Forces of Pakistan is systematically carrying on mass murders, arrests, looting, rape, arson, distinction of industrial and commercial establishments, towns.

villages, important markets, places of worship, historical places. Banks. Treasuries and jewelleries are being looted by the Army and money and gold is being sent to West Pakistan. Modern automatic weapons, machine guns, tanks, explosives, war ships, gunboats and jet fighters and bombers are being used against the unarmed citizens. The attack is particularly directed against the industrial workers, urban poor people, students and the intelligentsia who were in the fore front of the movement. Slums and huts where the industrial workers and other working people live are being sent on fire and when the inhabitants rush out of the burning houses they are mowed down with machine guns. Factories which escaped destruction have closed down and workers have been rendered jobless and are without shelter. The industrial workers and other employees along with their families have to face starvation. In the occupied areas the Army is making house to house search; shooting and stabbing people, raping women and looting properties. People are being hung from the trees, tortured and killed in the open. People are being forced to dig their own graves before they are killed by the firing squad in the Nazi style. In the streets of the occupied towns passersby are being taken to custody and blood is being forcibly sucked out of their body for building military blood bank. The bloodless persons are then systematically being machine-gunned.

When the Army moves they shell and burn down the villages and markets on the both sides of their route and kill unarmed villagers mercilessly. Villages and towns where the occupation Army dare not enter are being razed to the ground and burnt to ashes by aerial bombing and shelling.

The barbarous atrocities of the occupation Army has made millions in our country shelter less, who are forced to leave the country in millions to save their lives and are taking shelter in the Indian Territory. The massacre has compelled the peasants to run away from their fields and homes leaving behind all their belongings.

Educational institutions, halls and hostels have been shelled and burnt, and thousands of students have been killed. Eminent intellectuals, philosophers, scientists and educationists have been mercilessly shot dead in the presence of their children. Educational institution close down.

News paper office and press have been shelled and burnt. Not less than fifty thousands people died only on the night of 25th March and the killings still continue unabated.

The facts, however, proved beyond doubt that the ruling Military junta was not ready to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people and allow the establishment of democracy and recognize the internationally accepted right of nations to self- determination. The ruling military clique was determined to cling to power even by obvert genocide and by adopting scorched earth policy. Virtually war has been imposed on the people of Bangladesh. And this made it clear to them that their democratic aspirations and right of national self-determination could not be achieved through peaceful means.

A spontaneous resistance against Pakistan Army developed all over Bangladesh. The people of Bangladesh aided by the Bengali Military and para-military personnel and

police who could come over to the side of the people before they were killed, are putting up heroic and determined armed resistance to the Pak Military. The working class of Bangladesh through their bitter experience of last twenty three years-the years of exploitation, poverty, misery and ruthless suppression, realized that the achievement of its class emancipation was impossible without first liberating the people of Bangladesh from the clutches of military Junta of Pakistan the last resort of the vested interest. The working class, true patriots as they are, actively participating in the armed struggle for the liberation of Bangladesh.

An independent, sovereign state under the name of "Democration Republic of Bangladesh" is born and a provisional Government with Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as President and Mr. Tajuddin Ahmed as Prime Minister has been formed and declared. This Govt. is the only legally constituted Govt. of Bangladesh since it has the unequivocal sanction of the people through their electoral verdict on adult franchise held in December 1970.

Facts indicate that this conspiracy of annihilation of the people of Bangladesh was premeditated and planned much earlier. A facist type Army & commando units were created and was specially trained up in the art of mass killings, destruction, arson, looting & raping. The dialogue which was opened by the President and the commitments he made from time to time was nothing but manuvoures behind which the war preparation was being carried on. We know it very well that we have to wage a long 'drawn, well planned and well organized armed struggle to defeat the enemy. We also know that for the victory of our struggle the active moral and material support of the international working class, all democratic forces and peace loving people is essential.

It is most encouraging to note that many trade union organisation of the working class and toiling masses and along with other democratic and peace loving forces have come out in support of our just cause and have also condemned the atrocities perpetrated by Pak Army.

We on behalf of the working class and the people of Bangladesh, appeal to all the people who love peace, freedom and democracy and particularly to the' international working class and trade union organisation of the world:

1. to persuade the Government of the respective countries to recognize the Government of the "Democratic Republic of Bangladesh" which is the only legally constituted Govt. elected by the people of Bangladesh in the last General Elections, which commands the unqualified support and allegiance of all the Bangladesh and whose authority is established throught Bangladesh except a few overrun towns and cities;

2. to give moral and material help to the Govt. and the fighting 'forces in Bangladesh and to persuade the Govt. of the respective countries to do the same;

3. to mobilize public opinion and create pressure on the military—fascist Regime of Pakistan to stop the genocide;

4. to persuade the Govt. of the respective countries to impose economic sanction against Pakistan and to refuse the supply of war materials to the Pakistan Military Junta including loading-unloading carrying of the same.

Mankind is faced with a grave challenge from the barbarous military Regime of Pakistan. Humanity has got two alternatives either to remain a silent spectator to the genocide, destruction and brutality when democracy, justice and freedom is being trampled under boots, when the hopes and aspirations and the birth right of 75 million people of Bangladesh are being crushed by force and thereby encourage the dark forces of reaction all over the world, or to rise up to the occasion to appeal to the conscience of the people, to unite the forces of peace, progress, democracy and freedom and to support the just cause of Bangladesh and give a crushing blow to the facist military junta of Pakistan so that it serves as a lesson to the reactionaries of the world that the awakened masses of the world are not ready to allow such barbarism.

We do not have the slightest doubt that the working class of the world true to its internationalist traditions shall rise to the occasion and mobilizes the forces of peace, freedom, democracy and progress in support of the people of Bangladesh.

Dear Friends, we have firm conviction that with your help and support we shall ultimately rout the enemy and wipe out the occupation Army from the sacred soil of Bangladesh.

The blood of tens and thousands of martyrs cannot and shall not go in vain. Victory shall be ours.

Long live the "Democratic Republic of Bangladesh".
Long live the International Solidarity of the working class.
Long live the unity and fraternity of the forces of peace, progress, freedom and democracy all over the world.

With Fraternal Greetings.
"Trade Union Centre" of Bangladesh.

1. Saifuddiri Ahmed Manik. Convener, TUC, President, Latif Bawany Jute Milts Sramik Union, Dacca, Bangladesh.

2. Manzurul Ahsan, President, Ujala Match Workers' Union and General Secretary, Hotel Inter-Continental Workers' Union. Dacca.

3. Ahsanullah Chowdhury, General Secretary, Bandar Sramik (Port Workers') Union, Chittagong.

4. Lutfur Rahman, President, Kanchan Regional Workers' Union. Dacca.

5. Shamsuddoha, Member, Railway Workers Council of Action, Bangladesh.

6. Alamgir Kabir, Engineering University 4th Grade Employees' Union, Dacca. Bangladesh.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্টের কর্মসূচী	জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট	..... ১৯৭১

জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্টের কর্মসূচী

যে নিম্নতম কর্মসূচীর ভিত্তিতে বর্তমানে জাতীয় মুক্তিফ্রন্ট গঠনের প্রচেষ্টা চালানো যাইতে পারে, তাহা হইলঃ-

(১) পাকিস্তানের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠীর দখলকারী সৈন্যবাহিনী সশস্ত্র সংগ্রামের দ্বারা পরাভূত ও বিতাড়িত করা, বাংলাদেশকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে মুক্ত করা এবং সমাজতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠার লক্ষ্য অর্জনের পথে অগ্রসর হওয়ার জন্য বাংলাদেশকে স্বাধীন সার্বভৌম প্রজাতন্ত্রী রাষ্ট্র হিসাবে গড়িয়া তোলা।

(২) এই রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনার সর্বময় ও সার্বভৌম ক্ষমতা জনগণ দ্বারা নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক আইন সভার হাতে ন্যস্ত করা, প্রাপ্তবয়স্কদের সার্বজনীন ভোটাধিকার ও যুক্তি নির্বাচন প্রথার ভিত্তিতে প্রত্যক্ষ নির্বাচন চালু করা, নির্বাচিত প্রতিনিধিদের ফিরাইয়া আনিবার অধিকার জনগণকে দেওয়া, পার্লামেন্টারী গণতন্ত্র নিশ্চিত করা এবং ধর্মনিরপেক্ষ গণতান্ত্রিক রাষ্ট্র প্রতিষ্ঠা করা।

(৩) জনগণকে বাক স্বাধীনতা, ব্যক্তি স্বাধীনতা, রাজনৈতিক দল ও সংঘ গঠনের স্বাধীনতা, সংবাদপত্রের স্বাধীনতা প্রভৃতি মৌলিক অধিকারসমূহ নিশ্চিত করা, শ্রমিক-কৃষক ও অন্যান্য জনতা যাহাতে ঐসব অধিকার অবাধে ভোগ করিতে পারে তাহার ব্যবস্থা করা, সর্ববিধ দমনমূলক আইন রহিত করা, রাষ্ট্র পরিচালনার নীতিসমূহ নির্ধারণের ব্যাপারে জনসাধারণ যাহাতে সক্রিয়ভাবে অংশগ্রহণ করিতে পারে তাহার পূর্ণ সুযোগ দেওয়া, নগর, শহর ও গ্রামে স্থানীয় ব্যাপারসমূহ পরিচালনার জন্য জনগণের নির্বাচিত স্বায়ত্তশাসিত প্রতিষ্ঠানসমূহ স্থাপন করা এবং সরকারী শাসন পরিচালনার কার্যে এই সব প্রতিষ্ঠানের সহযোগিতা গ্রহণ করা। বিচার বিভাগকে শাসন বিভাগ হইতে পৃথক করা এবং কোন আইন বিধিসম্মত কিনা তাহা নির্ধারণের ভার বিচারালয়ের উপর অর্পণ করা।

(৪) রাষ্ট্রের চোখে জাতি-ধর্ম, স্ত্রী-পুরুষ নির্বিশেষে প্রত্যেক নাগরিকের সমান অধিকার স্বীকার করা এবং ধর্মগত ও মতাদর্শগত কারণে কাহারও প্রতি কোন বৈষম্যমূলক আচরণ না করা।

(৫) প্রত্যেক নাগরিকের নিজ বিবেক-বুদ্ধি অনুযায়ী মতামত ও ধর্মীয় বিশ্বাস পোষণ এবং ধর্মীয় আচার-অনুষ্ঠানের অধিকার নিশ্চিত করা। কাহারও ধর্ম বিশ্বাসে হস্তক্ষেপ না করা। সকল প্রকার সাম্প্রদায়িক প্রচারণা বেআইনী করা। সকল প্রকার সাম্প্রদায়িক দল ও শত্রুদের দালালী করিয়াছে এমন সব দলকে বেআইনী করা।

(৬) পাকিস্তানের শাসকগোষ্ঠী ও বিদেশী সাম্রাজ্যবাদের দ্বারা শিক্ষিত, তাহাদের প্রতি অনুরক্ত ও সম্পর্কিত সকল স্তরের সমস্ত প্রকার কর্মচারীদের রাষ্ট্রীয় প্রশাসনিকযন্ত্র হইতে অপসারণ করা। আমলা, পুলিশ প্রভৃতির ক্ষমতা সীমাবদ্ধ করা।

(৭) বাংলাদেশের দেশরক্ষা বাহিনীকে একটি প্রকৃত দেশপ্রেমিক ও গণস্বার্থকারী সৈন্যবাহিনী হিসাবে গড়িয়া তোলা।

(৮) বাংলাদেশের উপজাতির জনগণের রাজনৈতিক-সাংস্কৃতিক তথা সামগ্রিক বিকাশের জন্য উপযুক্ত ব্যবস্থাসমূহ গ্রহণ করা।

(৯) রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত ক্ষেত্রে ভারী ও মূল শিল্প গড়িয়া তোলা, শিল্পের ক্ষেত্রে রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত শিল্পকে প্রদান নির্ধারিত শক্তি হিসাবে গড়িয়া তোলা, রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত শিল্প ইত্যাদির উপর গণপ্রতিনিধিমূলক আইনসভার কর্তৃত্ব প্রতিষ্ঠা এবং রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত শিল্পসমূহ পরিচালনার ক্ষেত্রে সেইসব শিল্পে নিযুক্ত শ্রমিকদের অংশগ্রহণ নিশ্চিত করা।

রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত ক্ষেত্রে শিল্প গঠনের মূলধন সংগ্রহ ও অর্থনীতির উপর হইতে একচেটিয়া পুঁজিপতিদের কর্তৃত্ব বিলোপের জন্য ব্যাঙ্ক, বীমা, পাটশিল্প ও ব্যবসা, দদেশিক বাণিজ্য, এবং প্রধান পরিবহন ব্যবস্থা জাতীয়করণ করা। যাহারা মুক্তি সংগ্রামে সহযোগিতা করিয়াছেন, তাহাদের শিল্প, বাণিজ্য, ব্যাঙ্ক-বীমা জাতীয়করণ করা হলে উপযুক্ত ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া।

রাষ্ট্রায়ত্ত ক্ষেত্র ব্যতীত অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্রে শিল্প বিস্তারের জন্য পুঁজিপতিদের বিশেষতঃ স্বল্প পুঁজির মালিকদের উৎসাহ প্রদান ও তাহদের সুযোগ-সুবিধা দান। সমাজব্যবস্থা নির্বিশেষে সকল দেশের সাথে সমতার ভিত্তিতে বাণিজ্য সম্পর্ক স্থাপন করা এবং সমাজতান্ত্রিক দেশগুলির সাথে বাণিজ্যিকও অর্থনৈতিক সম্পর্ক সম্প্রসারণ করা। প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্রগুলি বিশেষতঃ ভারতের সহিত ব্যবসা-বাণিজ্যের সম্পর্ক ঘনিষ্ঠ করা।

(১০) (ক) ভূমি ব্যবস্থার ক্ষেত্রে আশু প্রয়োজনীয় সংস্কার সাধন। জমির সিলিং পরিবার প্রতি ১০০ বিঘায় নির্ধারিত করা এবং উদ্বৃত্ত জমি গরীব ও ভূমিহীন কৃষকদের মধ্যে বিনামূল্যে অগ্রাধিকারের ভিত্তি বিতরণ করা। যেসব ভূ-স্বামীর ভূমি সরকারী আয়ত্তে নেওয়া হইবে, তাহাদের উপযুক্ত ক্ষতিপূরণ দেওয়া। সরকারের খাস জমি ভূমিহীন ও গরীব কৃষকদের মধ্যে বিনামূল্যে বিতরণ করা।

(খ) ২৫ বিঘা পর্যন্ত জমির মালিকদের খাজনা হইতে রেহাই দেওয়া। ক্রমে খাজনা প্রথা তুলিয়া দিয়া জমিতে উৎপন্ন ফসলের মোট আয়ের উপর আনুপাতিক হারে আয়কর ধার্যের নীতি অনুসরণ করা।

(গ) পাট ও অন্যান্য অর্থকরী ফসলের ন্যায্যমূল্যে নিশ্চিত করা।

(ঘ) ক্ষেতমজুরদের জন্য যোগ্য মজুরী নিশ্চিত করা।

(ঙ) কৃষকদিগকে সমবায় চাষে উৎসাহিত করা, রাষ্ট্র হইতে কৃষির আধুনিক যন্ত্রপাতি, সার নামমাত্র সুদে কৃষিঋণ প্রভৃতি দ্বারা কৃষকদিগকে সাহায্য কর।

(১১) বন্যা, জলোচ্ছ্বাস নিরোধ এবং সেচ ব্যবস্থার কাজকে রাষ্ট্র হইতে জরুরী কর্তব্য হিসাবে গ্রহণ করা এবং ঐগুলির জন্য রাষ্ট্র হইতে যথাযোগ্য ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা।

(১২) অবৈতনিক সর্বজনীন শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থা চালু করা, কম খরচে সকল প্রকার উচ্চ শিক্ষার ব্যবস্থা করা, বহুসংখ্যক বিদ্যালয়, বৈজ্ঞানিক গবেষণাগার, ডাক্তারী, কৃষি ও কারিগরি শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠান স্থাপন করা এবং শিক্ষা ব্যবস্থার আমূল সংস্কার করতঃ আধুনিক বৈজ্ঞানিক পন্থায় ও ধর্মনিরপেক্ষভাবে শিক্ষাদানের প্রস্তাব গ্রহণ।

বাংলাদেশে শিক্ষার সকলস্তরে বাংলা ভাষার মাধ্যমে শিক্ষাদানের ব্যবস্থা করা এবং বাংলা ভাষার বিকাশের জন্য রাষ্ট্র হইতে সকল প্রকার সাহয্যদান। বাংলাদেশে বসবাসকারী উর্দু ভাষাভাষীদের নিজেদের মাতৃভাষায় শিক্ষালাভ ও নিজেদের সাংস্কৃতিক জীবন গড়িয়া তোলার অধিকার দান।

(১৩) জনগণের শিক্ষা, সংস্কৃতি ও জনস্বাস্থ্য ব্যবস্থা উন্নয়নের কাজকে যথোচিত গুরুত্ব দিয়া উহার জন্য রাষ্ট্র হইতে বেশী করিয়া অর্থ ব্যয় করা এবং চিকিৎসার সুযোগ জনগণের জন্য সহজলভ্য করিয়া তোলা।

(১৪) শ্রমিকদের জীবন-ধারণের উপযোগী নিম্নতম মজুরি, চাকুরীর স্থায়িত্ব, দৈনিক উর্ধ্বে ৮ ঘণ্টা কাজ, ভবিষ্যতের নিরাপত্তা, ধর্মঘট এবং যৌথ দর কষাকষির অধিকার সহ সমস্ত ট্রেড ইউনিয়নের অধিকার নিশ্চিত করা ।

তাদের বাসস্থান, ছুটি, পরিবারসহ সকলের শিক্ষা, চিকিৎসার বন্দোবস্ত, সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠান ও খেলাধুলার ব্যবস্থা করা।

কর্মচারী, বুদ্ধিজীবী প্রভৃতির জীবনধারণের যোগ্য আয় নির্ধারিত করা, তাহাদের জীবিকা ও চাকুরীর সংস্থান এবং নিশ্চয়তা বিধান ও তাহাদের উপর হইতে করভার লাঘব করা।

শ্রমিক ও কর্মচারীদের জন্য পরিবহনের ব্যবস্থা করা।

(১৫) সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক ও রাজনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে পুরুষদের সহিত নারীর সমান অধিকার, সমান মর্যাদা নিশ্চিত করা। সর্ববিধ সামাজিক নিপীড়িন ও বৈষম্যমূলক আচরণ হইতে নারী সমাজের মুক্তির ব্যবস্থা করা। নারীদের ভিতর শিক্ষা প্রচারের জন্য বিশেষ ব্যবস্থা অবলম্বন করা।

(১৬) যাহারা পাকিস্তানের প্রতিক্রিয়াশীল শাসকগোষ্ঠীর সঙ্গে সহযোগিতা করিয়াছে কিংবা মুক্তিযুদ্ধ চলাকালে জনগণের শত্রুতা করিয়াছে, তাহাদের স্থাবর ও অস্থাবর সকল সম্পত্তি বাজেয়াপ্ত করা এবং তাহাদিগকে শাস্তিদানের ব্যবস্থা করা।

শত্রুসম্পত্তি বাজেয়াপ্তে করিয়া তাহা জাতীয় সম্পত্তিতে পরিণত করা।

(১৭) শত্রু কর্তৃক দখলীকৃত সম্পত্তি মালিকদিগকে ফিরাইয়া দেওয়া। শত্রু দ্বারা উৎখাতকৃত ব্যক্তি ও পরিবারবর্গের পুনর্বাসনের ব্যবস্থা করা।

মুক্তিযুদ্ধে নিহত ও আহতদের পরিবারবর্গকে যথোপযুক্ত সাহায্য দেওয়া।

(১৮) বৈদেশিক ক্ষেত্রে স্বাধীন ও নিরপেক্ষ নীতি অনুসরণ করা, কোনরূপ সাম্রাজ্যবাদী যুদ্ধজোটে শামিল না হওয়া, সকল দেশের সহিত সমতার ভিত্তিতে অর্থনৈতিক-সাংস্কৃতিক ও বন্ধুত্বপূর্ন সম্পর্ক স্থাপন, ভারতসহ আফ্রো-এশিয়ার দেশসমূহ, সমাজতান্ত্রিক শিবির ও মিত্রভাবাপন্ন দেশসমূহের সহযোগিতা স্থাপন এবং শান্তিকামী দেশসমূহের সহিত এক কাতারে দাঁড়াইয়া বিশ্ব শান্তি রক্ষা ও বিশ্বের বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলে সাম্রাজ্যবাদবিরোধী জাতীয় মুক্তি আন্দোলনের প্রতি সমর্থন ও সহযোগিতার নীতি অনুসরণ করা।

পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের শোষিত জনগণ ও নির্যাতিত জাতিসমূহের ন্যায্য ও গণতান্ত্রিক সংগ্রামের প্রতি সকল প্রকার সহযোগিতা ও সমর্থনের নীতি অনুসরণ করা।

সাম্রাজ্যবাদী পুঁজির উপর নির্ভরশীল না হওয়া এবং জাতীয় স্বার্থবিরোধী শর্তযুক্ত বৈদেশিক সাহায্য বা ঋণ গ্রহণ না করা।

সংগ্রামের মাধ্যমে কোন অঞ্চল মুক্ত হইলে সেই অঞ্চলে উক্ত কর্মসূচী যথাসম্ভব বাস্তবায়িত করিতে হইবে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ পরিস্থিতির উপর বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি	..... ১৯৭১

REPORT ON BANGLADESH

The whole world was startled and shocked at the news of the large scale destruction and massacre carried out by the mercenary thugs of Yahya Khan, the military dictator of Pakistan, in Bangladesh, formerly known as East Pakistan. On the night of the 25th March, the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan, with the help of its army, trained and equipped by the imperialists, unleashed terror of a magnitude unparalleled in recent history; and it is still continuing unabated. During the last three months, the 75 million Bengalis have been subjected to inhuman repression, several hundred thousand people have been killed, and over six; million people have been driven out of the country only to suffer privations and face death from starvation and disease. Almost all the cities and towns and more than thirty thousand villages of Bangladesh have been ravaged. It is now perfectly clear that the murderous Yahya gang is trying to physically annihilate the Bengali nation.

Why This Genocide?

The roots of this heinous crimes committed by Yahya lies deep in the past. It is in fact the culmination of a deep-rooted conspiracy hatched by the imperialists and the local reactionaries of the then Indian subcontinent even before Pakistan came into existence.

Pakistan was created out of the British Indian subcontinent by incorporating some Muslim majority areas and it consisted of two regions separated by more than one thousand miles of Indian territory. Although Pakistan was created on the basis of the supposed idea that the Muslims of India constituted a single nation, actually five distinct nations with distinct languages and cultures, namely, the Bengalis in the Eastern wing and the Sindhis, Beluchis, Pathans and Punjabis in the Western wing, as well as many tribal peoples inhabited the state of Pakistan. This fact asserted itself again and found expression in national movements now of the Bengalis, now of the Pathans, now of the Sindhis and now of Beluchis.

During the last twenty-four years, people have made headway to progress, whereas the ruling clique has lapsed into greater reaction, and it is this contradiction that has finally led to the present crisis manifested in genocide by the ruling clique on the one hand and the freedom struggle by the popular forces on the other.

Repressive Policy of the Government

From the very beginning the extremely reactionary, ruling clique of Pakistan, which consisted of a handful of bourgeoisie and feudalists, persued a policy of total suppression of all individual, national and democratic rights, because that was the only possible way to prolong and preserve their class rule. In their attempt to preserve their narrow class

interest, the Pakistani ruling clique ruthlessly suppressed all attempts of the people to secure democratic and national rights. All democrats and progressives were mercilessly persecuted. Hundreds of patriots always filed the prisons and on many occasions their number ran into thousands. Conditions were particularly bad in East Pakistan where the level of democratic consciousness of the people was higher than in the Western region.

National Suppression and Disparity

Taking advantage of the uncontrolled sway of the big business, the bourgeoisie of Pakistan soon grew into monopolists. This could only be achieved by severely curtailing all democratic and national rights, in as much as, economic domination can hardly be maintained without political domination and under the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the multi-national state of Pakistan political suppression soon took the form of national suppression.

To maintain their class rule, the reactionary ruling class of Pakistan, which is concerned only with their base bourgeois and feudal interests and not at all with the economic and cultural uplift of the people, was forced to build up a permanent cultural barrier around Pakistan, particularly around East Pakistan; because, if democratic and advanced ideas were allowed to infiltrate into the country the whole attempt to preserve the medieval darkness in Pakistan, for which the ruling class was striving utmost, would collapse.

While the policy of national suppression and discrimination persued by the ruling clique against the different nations of Pakistan was equally intolerable for all, it was particularly disastrous for the Bengalis. The total economic and cultural barrier between India and Pakistan meant for the Bengalis complete estrangement with their past, it meant cultural death for the Pakistani Bengalis. It is no wonder, therefore, that the first voice of protest raised in East Pakistan against the reactionary policy of the ruling class was cent red upon the issue of Bengali language and culture.

The growth of national monopoly capital in Pakistan automatically resulted in economic domination over East Pakistan, and this domination was of a colonial nature as the following facts will reveal.

In Pakistan all the big bourgeoisie were non-Bengalis who had full control over the economy of East Pakistan. The biggest bourgeois is commonly known as "22 monopolist families", controlled 67 % of industrial resources and 79-80% of the Banks and Insurance of Pakistan.

As the big business in Pakistan had full control over the Central Government, the economic policy were always formulated in a manner which favored West Pakistan at the expense of East Pakistan. Consequently during the twenty four years of the existence of Pakistan, the economic disparity between its two wings has only widened. Although East Pakistan's proportion of Pakistan's total population is 56%, its share of total development expenditure has never exceeded 36% (1965-66-1969-70 period) and at the beginning it was even lower-only 20%(1950-51-1954-55). Over the last twenty years. East Pakistan's share of total export earnings has been as high as 70% and has declined to

the range 45-55%, in recent years, whereas its import earnings have normally been not more, than 32%. During all these years West Pakistan's foreign trade has shown a substantial and chronic deficit that has absorbed practically all available foreign exchange. Thus at the cost of East Pakistan, the West Pakistani big bourgeoisie could rise to a position from which they could turn East Pakistan into a captive market. It is important to note that in recent years 40-50% of all West Pakistan exports have been sold to East Pakistan.

The economic domination over East Pakistan has been made possible by the West Pakistan big business domination over the Central Govt., which in itself is an expression of the disparity between the two wings of Pakistan. Ever since the military rule was established in Pakistan, all the military members of the administration has been West Pakistani and of the senior Central Civil Servants 87% were West Pakistanis in 1960 (the figure has not much changed since then and in any case the small number of Bengali officers could hardly influence the central government policy).

In short, the quasi-colonial exploitation of the West Pakistan big bourgeoisie reduced East Pakistan to a state of utter distress. Of course, other nations of Pakistan, namely, the Pathans, Beluchis and Sindhis were also likewise suppressed. But the Bengalis were treated with xenophobic hatred and were subjected to an exploitation which was clearly of a colonial nature.

Popular Struggle for Democracy and Autonomy

The first struggle of the people of East Pakistan started on the language issue. Needless to say, it had a profoundly democratic content, because it started as a reaction against the ruling clique's undemocratic attempt to impose Urdu language, the mother tongue of a microscopic minority, on the rest of the population by making it the only state language. By this action the ruling clique sought to deprive the Bengalis and other nations of their rightful cultural heritage. This struggle assumed great proportions in 1952 in which year it developed into broad struggle for democracy and autonomy. Inspite of severe repression of the reactionary rulers, the movement continued unabated. People's urge for autonomy and democracy found fuller expression during the provincial election in East Pakistan in 1954. In that election the opposition parties formed a United Front against the ruling Muslim League Party. The United Front drew up the famous 21-Point Programme which, inter alia, demanded full autonomy for East Pakistan in accordance with the Pakistan Resolution passed by the all India Muslim league Council in 1940 in Lahore (the so-called Lahore Resolution). In the election the United Front gained a grand victory winning 290 seats out of 300, which clearly showed that the people firmly stood for autonomy and democracy.

But the reactionary Ruling clique refused to heed to the verdict of the people and proceeded to nullify the results of the election. Within two months of formation of the United Front ministry in East Pakistan, the Central Government, in connivance with the American imperialists, dismissed the United Front ministry on false and flimsy pretext. Simultaneously, severe repression was started in East Pakistan. Thousands of democrats and leftists were thrown into the jails.

But these oppressions could not stop the popular struggle in East Pakistan for autonomy. It is also noteworthy that other nations of Pakistan, namely, the Beluchis. Sindhis and Pathans were also fighting for national rights. During this time, the Central government converted the four provinces of West Pakistan into 'One Unit' and introduced 'parity' between the two wings of Pakistan, inspite of the fact that East Pakistan had a majority of population (56 %) and therefore could claim greater share in all matters. This was of course done with a view to suppressing the growing movements for national rights of the various nations of Pakistan. But the imposition of one Unit on West Pakistan only served to intensify the struggle of the smaller nations of West Pakistan mentioned above for achieving national rights.

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which was elected by indirect voting in 1955, framed a Constitution in 1956. Three years after that, under great popular pressure, the Central Government, after much dillydallying, announced a date for the first general election of Pakistan (fixed for February-March, 1959).

But again the reactionary ruling clique began to conspire against the introduction of democracy and, in order to prevent the holding of election, which would open up the path of democracy, imposed martial law on the whole country, again with the connivance of imperialism. After this began the black decade of Ayub Khan's military dictatorial regime.

Ayub Khan tried his utmost to suppress nationalist and democratic movements of the various nations. But ever since 1961, the Bengalis, Pathans and Beluchis were carrying on heroic struggles for their just rights. Even the Indo-Pak war of September 1965 could not confuse the people for any length-of time. In June 1966 Awami League launched its famous 6-point movement. The 6-point programme basically demanded parliamentary democracy based on adult franchise and full autonomy. This programme was Supported by the leftists and communists and the people whole heartedly participated in the movement started on the basis of this programme. This movement was also suppressed temporarily.

But, towards the end of 1968 and beginning of 1969 a popular upsurge raged across the length and breadth of Pakistan which finally swept away the hated Ayub regime. In East Pakistan the movement was the centered upon the 11-point programme formulated by the Students' Action Committee and backed by the political parties opposing the regime.

In addition to the demands contained in the 6-point programme, the 11-point programme included demands for fun civil liberties, educational reforms, students' and workers' demands, neutral and independent foreign policy, nationalization of big industries, banks and insurance, etc.

In West Pakistan, the opposition parties, forces and the people were united on the basis of demand for direct election and parliamentary democracy. The dictatorial Ayub regime could not withstand the pressure of united mass movement of whole Pakistan and toppled over.

Enters Yahya

Then came Yahya Khan to the rescue of the ruling class. Yahya imposed martial law on Pakistan, abrogating Ayub's constitution and pushing aside his phoney democracy.

Popular pressure compelled Yahya to concede certain demands, namely, direct election based on adult franchise, dismemberment of one unit and restoration of former provinces, abolition of 'parity' which was introduced in 1955 as mentioned earlier, a constitution for the country to be framed by the elected National Assembly, etc. But Yahya promulgated a Legal Framework Order which stipulated, inter alia, that the constitution would have to be authenticated by Yahya Khan, the President. This greatly restricted the freedom of the National Assembly.

The first general election was held in December. 1970. The results were startling. In East Pakistan Awami League won 167 out of a total of 169 National Assembly seats. This made Awami League the party with an absolute majority in the National Assembly (having a total of 313 seats).

By voting for Awami League, the people of East Pakistan actually voted for autonomy. And it was the realization of this fact that unnerved the ruling class.

In West Pakistan Z. A. Bhutto won 84 (out of 144) N. A. seats, but these seats were from Punjab and Sind provinces only. However, the ruling class decided to use Bhutto as a cat's paw in their conspiracy to jeopardize democracy.

As soon as Yahya Khan announced a date for the first session of the National Assembly, 3rd March, Bhutto declared that his party would not attend the National Assembly session and threatened direct action in case the session was held on due date. And Yahya thought it fair to postpone the National Assembly session sine die and convene a round table conference of the various party leaders instead. He did not even consider it necessary to consult Awami League, the party commanding absolute majority in the National Assembly, before taking this unusual step.

The last peaceful mass upsurge: the peak

Naturally enough, all democratic parties and forces resented the postponement of National Assembly session and rejected the idea of a round table conference as absurd and ridiculous. But the people, without waiting for the reaction of the leaders, spontaneously came out in thousands in the streets as they heard the news, to protest against this high handed decision of Yahya Khan.

Yet, the upsurge did not lose its peaceful character. In protest against the postponement of the National Assembly session, the Awami League called a general strike for five days from 2nd March. All the democratic parties supported it. The entire people fully responded to this call. The ruling clique as usual tried to suppress it by intimidation and violence. Curfew was imposed on Dacca and other cities and when people brought out peaceful processions, they were mowed down by machine-gun fire. The conspiracies of the ruling clique failed to demoralize the people, however.

On March 6. that is, on the fifth day of the peaceful strike, Yahya announced a new date for the National Assembly session. 25th March, but at the same time blamed the people and the leaders of East Pakistan for the crisis which was actually precipitated by the ruling clique headed by Yahya Khan himself. He even threatened military action to preserve the so-called "solidarity and integrity of Pakistan'. Simultaneously, the military junta reshuffled the military administration in East Pakistan and appointed Lt-General Tikka Khan, a vile creature with low intelligence and cruel nature, the military administrator of East Pakistan. These measures showed that the military junta was already bent on suppressing the peaceful mass upsurge by military onslaught.

On March 7, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman declared his programme of continuous peaceful non-cooperation movement until martial law was lifted and power was transferred to the elected representatives of the people. Sheikh Mujib's demands and programme of action was supported by all democratic parties and the entire people responded to it with great enthusiasm. Literally all activities in the country came to a standstill. Mills, factories, educational institutions, all government, semi-govt. offices and institutions including the High Court and lower courts and the transport system of East Pakistan, etc. ceased to function. The civil administration of East Pakistan including the police and intelligence branch followed the directives of the Awami League. In short. Awami League was in virtual control of East Pakistan.

At this stage Yahya Khan announced that he would come to East Pakistan and talk with Sheikh Mujib. The talks started from 14th March. The talks continued for some time. At one time Yahya publicly declared that he had agreed in principle to the demands of the Awami League leader (i. e. transfer of power and lifting of Martial law). Discussions were also held between the advisers of Yahya Khan and Sheikh Mujib. Then, when people were beginning to think that a political settlement was in sight, came the sudden and furious attack against the unarmed and peaceful people of whole East Pakistan. On the night of 25th March, without the slightest warning and even before the Yahya-Mujib) talks ended, the mercenary thugs of the treacherous liar Yahya Khan were unleashed against the innocent people of Bangladesh.

A new stage begins: Aimed struggle for liberation

Thus, the military junta of Pakistan closed all paths of peaceful struggle for democracy and autonomy and forced the people to take up arms in their own defense and in defense of democracy and national rights. The Bengalee soldiers of the Pakistan army belonging to East Bengal Regiment and East Pakistan Rifles as well as the Police joined the people to form the Mukti Fouj (Liberation army) and began the freedom struggle against the Pakistan army which was, to all intents and purposes, behaving as a foreign occupation army (which in practice proved the colonial nature of West Pakistani rule).

From the events and facts related above, the following conclusions may be drawn:

* The present struggle of the people of Bangladesh is the final phase of their long struggle for democracy and autonomy.

* Even after the repeated and stubborn refusal of the ruling clique of Pakistan to concede democracy and autonomy, the people did not abandon the peaceful path and tried to reach a political settlement with the ruling military dictatorship. The armed attack by the ruling military junta forced the people to start fighting for freedom.

* The people of Bangladesh have taken up arms only when they were compelled to do so by the treacherous and barbarous attacks of the military dictatorship.

* The history of the last twenty four years of the existence of Pakistan as well as the events of the last few months have proved conclusively that conceding democracy was farthest from the thought of the ruling class. Therefore, it was inevitable that sooner or later the struggle for democracy and autonomy would have to develop into armed struggle for freedom of Bangladesh. Because, as has now become perfectly clear, the ultra reactionary ruling class of Pakistan would never allow democracy to be introduced in Pakistan and it would never be possible to dislodge the military-bureaucratic dictatorship of Pakistan by peaceful movement. In short, granting that in the present era, democracy is a vital and irresistible necessity for social development, secession of Bangladesh was a historical necessity.

By obstructing and stifling democracy over the last twenty-four years, by refusing to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people even after the long awaited general election was held and by starting the onslaught on the people of Bangladesh, the reactionary ruling clique of Pakistan has precipitated the present crisis. Therefore, it is the reactionary ruling clique, represented by filthy Yahya Khan, which is solely responsible for the death and disablement of millions of people and loss of colossal wealth.

The people of Bangladesh have accepted this challenge. They have sacrificed a million lives: they are prepared to do more. They will not rest before they reach their destination: liberation of Bangladesh from the clutches of ruthless, colonial occupation army and establishment of a secular, democratic, and just social order in the country.

BANGLADESH SIKSHAK SAMITI
(BANGLADESH TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিদেশে সাহায্য চেয়ে অজয় রায়ের চিঠি		..... ১৯৭১

Dear Len,

It is long since I heard from you. I am sure you are closely following the recent events in Bangladesh. After the Pak army cracked down on 25th March, 1971 on the University Community and other civilians I have to leave my country to take shelter in India with my family. I left Dacca on May 15, and reached India on May 23. During my stay in Dacca I have witnessed the extensive mass killing and structural damage of the public and private buildings by Pak army. Even Mosques, Temples and Churches were not spared where the panic stricken people took refuge. Villages, market places, business centers were destroyed. Over a million were simply butchered, thousands of girls were molested, raped and taken to the army camps. About 100 millions were pushed into Indian soil. These refugees include university (200), college (over thousand) and school (10,000) teachers, scientists, medical doctors, engineers and other intellectuals.

You know we have declared independence on 26th March. A revolutionary Govt. of free Bangladesh has been established. All the democratic political parties including the Communist Party of Bangladesh have participated in this liberation war. We shall fight and fight to the last. Our Mukti Bahini (liberation army) is composed of regulars. University students, peasants, laborers, teachers etc. But you know in this struggle we need international support both material and moral. I have a special appeal to make to you and to your party workers to raise fund for our liberation war. Our boys are fighting without winter clothing's. Please do the needful. Please try to send some money to my address which will be deposited to the fund of C.P.B. (Communist Party of Bangladesh).

Please note that I am now working as Secretary of Bangladesh Teachers Association. This is an organisation of the evacuee teachers which aims to help the distressed teaching community as well as the Mukti Bahini. So you would also appeal to your teaching community to extend generous help for our cause. This may kindly be sent to, Secretary, Bangladesh Teachers' Association, Darbhanga Buildings, Calcutta University, Calcutta-12, India.

With very good wishes,

Dr. Len Shields,
Deptt. of chemistry
Bardford University.
Bradford, ENGLAND.

Yours sincerely,
SD/
(Ajoy)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মুক্তিযুদ্ধ চলাকালীন বৌদ্ধ সম্প্রদায়ের অবস্থা ও ভূমিকা সম্পর্কে একটি প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ বৌদ্ধ কৃষ্টি প্রচার সংঘের প্রচার পুস্তিকা	

২৫শে মার্চ থেকে ১৬ই ডিসেম্বর
রক্তঝরা দিনগুলোতে
-শ্রীবিশুদ্ধানন্দ মহাথের

সভাপতি, বাংলাদেশ বৌদ্ধ কৃষ্টি প্রচার সংঘ ও বিশ্ব বৌদ্ধ সৌভ্রাতৃত্ব সংঘ
১লা জানুয়ারী, ১৯৭২ইং

মুখবন্ধ

গিরিরাজ হিমালয়ের হিমবাহু বন্ধন থেকে পলাতকা গঙ্গা-ব্রহ্মপুত্রের মহামিলনে ঘটেছিল কোন এক মহালগ্নে। তাদের এ সঙ্গম শ্রান্তি ও ক্লেদ মহাসাগরের নীল মহাস্নানে ধুয়েমুছে নেওয়ার ক্ষণেই মহাসাগরের বুকে ভেসে উঠেছিল বিশ্বেও অদ্বিতীয় কৃষিভূমি, আমাদের এই দেশ। এই সোনার বাংলা। সুজলা সুফলা শস্য শ্যামলা এ দেশ শত শতাব্দীর মহানিদ্রা ঘোর ছেড়ে বৌদ্ধ পালযুগের বৌদ্ধ বাংলাই গর্ব সমুন্নত শিরে হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছিল, -সিংহল, সুমাত্রা-জাভা, সুবর্ণভূমি ও সুবর্ণদ্বফিবাসীর মহাতীর্থ ক্ষেত্র এবং এটা ইতিহাসের স্বাক্ষ্য। বৌদ্ধ বাংলার চরম বেদনাকর বিয়োগান্ত পরিণতির ধারা বেয়ে দাসত্বের জিঞ্জিরের নির্মম লৌহ নিষ্পেষণে জর্জরিত মূমূর্ষ বাংলা ও বাঙালীর ধর্ম, সভ্যতা, ভাব-ভাষা-সংস্কৃতি ও কৃষ্টি পুনরুজ্জীবনের প্রথম বলিষ্ঠ পদক্ষেপ শুরু হয় ১৯০৫-১৯০৬ সালে বঙ্গ-ভঙ্গাআন্দোলনের অবয়বের বুকে স্বাধীনতার স্বপ্ন-সাধ নিয়ে। বিপ্লবী-বাংলার মন ও মানসের সীমাহীন দ্যোতনা ভাঙ্গার পূজারী বেশে দেশবন্ধু চিত্তরঞ্জন, দেশপ্রিয় যতীন্দ্র মোহন ও নেতাজী সুভাষের বলিষ্ঠ নেতৃত্বে পূর্ণ পরিণতির পথে বেগবতী হয়ে উঠেছিল বটে, কিন্তু অবাঙ্গালীর দল বিদেশী, বিজাতি বিধর্মী বেনিয়ার অনুকম্পা আশীষ ও সক্রিয় সহযোগিতাপুষ্ট হয়ে বাংলায় স্বপ্নসাধের ভ্রূণাবয়বকেই করে দিয়েছিল শ্বাসরুদ্ধ।

অস্থিচর্মসার নাভিশ্বাসগ্রস্ত বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি বাঙালী হিন্দু, মুসলমান, বৌদ্ধ, খৃষ্টান সন্তানদল, বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিবের বজ্রকণ্ঠের আহবানে ভাঙার পূজারীর বেশে মৃত্যুঞ্জয়ী সংকল্প গ্রহণ করলে ১৯৭১ সালের ২৫শে মার্চের গভীর নিশিথে বাংলার প্রাণকেন্দ্র ঢাকায় নিদ্রায় মগ্ন শত শত বাঙালীর জীবনে নেমে আসে চিরনিদ্রা। শুরু হয় উন্মুক্ত তরবারি হাতে অত্যাচারীর উন্মাদ নর্তন-কুর্দন। শুধু শহর-বন্দরে নয়, গ্রামবাংলার হাজার হাজার পল্লীর হাটে-ঘাটে-মাঠে চলতে থাকে হত্যা, লুণ্ঠন, নারী হরণ ও ধর্ষণের কালো বিভীষিকা। সবুজ বাংলার অফুরন্ত শ্যামলিমা হয়ে ওঠে মুক্তিপাগল অবুঝ বাঙালীর তাজা খুনে লালে লাল।

বৌদ্ধ জম্বুদ্বীপের হতাবশিষ্ট মুষ্টিমেয় বাঙালী বৌদ্ধ সন্তানদলও অত্যাচারীর উদ্যত-কৃপাণের কবল থেকে রক্ষা পায়নি। এর চরম সংকট মুহূর্তে ঢাকার কমলাপুর বৌদ্ধবিহারের শ্রদ্ধেয় শ্রীবিশুদ্ধানন্দ মহাস্থবিরের প্রাণও কেঁধে উঠেছিল মৃত্যু-মুখোমুখী অসহায় মানুষের জন্য। বলতে দ্বিধাবোধ করব না, কমলাপুর বৌদ্ধবিহার রূপ মধুচক্রের চারিদিকে মধুলোভীদের যেসব চাঁই সর্বাধিক গুঞ্জন তুলতো, দেশের এ মৃত্যু-সঙ্কটক্ষণে পাওয়া যাচ্ছে না তাদের টিকির সন্ধানও। এ গভীর বিয়োগান্তক্ষণেও কর্মবীর বিশুদ্ধানন্দ ভেঙে নুইয়ে না পড়ে চরম পিচ্ছিল পথে দৃঢ় পদক্ষেপে যে যাত্রা শুরু করেছিলাম 'রক্তঝরা-সহযোগিতার জন্য তিনি আমার প্রতি যে ভাব ও মন নিয়ে মৈত্রীর হস্ত প্রসারিত করেছিলেন তা গ্রহণ করেছি অতীতের সব দুঃখ-বেদনাকে দুঃস্বপ্নের ছায়ার ন্যায়

ধুয়েমুছে দিয়ে; পরিস্থিতির সর্বনাশা পরিধি ও গভীরত্ব উপলব্ধি করে এবং দেশের মানুষের প্রতি তাঁর বেদনাবিহবল হৃদয়ের বাস্তব রূপ চর্মচক্ষে প্রত্যক্ষ করে।

-বিশ্বেশ্বর চৌধুরী।

রক্তঝরা দিনগুলোতে

মানব ইতিহাসের ঘৃণ্যতম অধ্যায়ের সূচনা হয়েছিল যে রাত্রিতে- হিটলার, নাদিরশাহ, তৈমুরলঙ্গ, চেংগিশ খাঁকে ছড়িয়ে পরিব্যাপ্তি ঘটেছিল যার; এক মাইলাই- এর যে ঘটনা একদিন বিশ্ববাসীকে করে দিয়েছিল স্কন্ধ- বাংলাদেশে সেরকম শত শত মাইলাই সৃষ্টকারী জঙ্গী ইয়াহিয়া সরকারের শত অপচেষ্টা ব্যর্থ করে আজ বাংলাদেশে উঠেছে নতুন সূর্য। সেই রক্তিম সূর্যের আশায় প্রাণ দিয়েছেন হাজার হাজার স্বাধীনতাকামী মানুষ; ঊষালগ্নের প্রত্যাশায় অনেকে কাজ করে গেছেন নেপথ্যে।

সুপরিকল্পিতভাবে পরিচালিত এ অধ্যায়ের শুরুতে কামান, মর্টারের শব্দে ভীতসন্ত্রস্ত আশেপাশের জনসাধারণ একমাত্র আশ্রয়স্থল হিসাবে 'কমলাপুর বৌদ্ধ মন্দির' কে বেছে নিলো। এভাবে জমা হতে লাগলো ঢাকা নগরীর বিভিন্ন সম্প্রদায়ের করে লোকেরা। আমি অস্থিরভাবে পায়চারী করতে লাগলাম. ভাবছিলাম এদের কেমন করে বাঁচাবো। এ অসহায় লোকদের মুখে হাসি ফোটাতে পারবো কিনা। পরদিন সকালবেলা (২৬শে মার্চ, '৭১ ইং) কমলাপুর রেল স্টেশন থেকে এ দিকটায় শেলিং শুরু হলো। হঠাৎ কয়েকটি এসে পড়লো আমাদের মন্দিরে সীমানায়। প্রাণ হারালো মুটে-মুজুরের ছোট্ট এক মেয়ে আর নাম না জানা দু'জন যুবক।

এদিকে দেখতে দেখতে হাজার চারেকের মতো অসহায় নারী-পুরুষ-শিশু মন্দিরে জমা হলো। কেউ কেউ আবার অধিকতর নিরাপত্তার আশায় স্থানান্তরে গমন করতে লাগলো। আমি শেষ পর্যন্ত এ সমস্ত প্রাণের নিশ্চয়াতা বিধানকল্পে ২৮শে মার্চ, '৭১ ইং তারিখে সেক্রেটারিয়েট ভবনে তদানীন্তন চীফ সেক্রেটারী ও অন্যান্য কয়েকজন উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারীর সাথে সাক্ষাৎ করতে ছুটলাম। সাথে ছিলো আমার প্রিয় শিষ্য শ্রীমান শুদ্ধানন্দ ভিক্ষু ও শ্রীমান জ্ঞানদারঞ্জন বড়ুয়া। পথে বের হয়ে যে ঢাকা নগরীর দৃশ্য পর্যবেক্ষণ করলাম তা চিরকাল স্মরণ থাকবে আমার। দেখলাম কামান-মর্টার সজ্জিত ঢাকার রাজপথে ইয়াহিয়ার সশস্ত্র বর্বর সৈন্যরা টহল দিচ্ছে, আশেপাশে বিক্ষিপ্তভাবে ছড়িয়ে আছে মানুষের অগণিত লাশ। এ ছাড়া আর কোন পাবলিক কিম্বা প্রাইভেট যানবাহন সেদিক আমার চোখে পড়েনি।

সেক্রেটারিয়েটে হোম সেক্রেটারীর কামরায় ঢুকে দেখলাম চারজন উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারী মাথায় হাত দিয়ে বসে আছেন, চিন্তা আর অবসাদে মুখ ভারাক্রান্ত। বৌদ্ধ মন্দিরে চার হাজারের মতো আর্তেও সমাগমের কথা জানিয়ে আমি তাদের নিরাপত্তা বিধানের জন্য এঁদের সাহায্য চাইলাম। উত্তরে হোম সেক্রেটারী ম্লান মুখে জবাব দিলেন, ''আমার নিজের নিরাপত্তা যেখানে অনিশ্চিত সেখানে আপনার বৌদ্ধ সমাজ কিম্বা আপনার মন্দিরে আশ্রিত লোকদের নিরাপত্তার ব্যবস্থা করি কি করে। তা ছাড়া আমার হাতে কোন ক্ষমতাও নেই। আমি নিরাশ হয়ে ফিরে এলাম তবে এক্কেবারে আশা ছাড়লাম না।

এপ্রিল মাসের ২তারিখ বেলা দশটার দিকে আমি আমার কামরায় বসে আছি। এমন সময় শুনলাম, মার্শাল ল-এর অর্ডার নিয়ে রেডিও অফিস থেকে তিনজন লোক এসেছেন, সাথে টেপ রেকর্ডার। আমার সাথে দেখা করে বললেন, ''আপনাকে একটা বিবৃতি দিতে হবে।'' একটু পরেই পুনঃ বললেন ''এর জন্যে আপনাকে কিচ্ছু ভাবতে হবে না, আমরা কয়েকটা প্রশ্ন এনেছি, আর তার সাথে এনেছি উত্তরটা। আপনি শুধু কণ্ঠটা দেবেন- এই যা।''- বলে আমার দিকে এক টুকরো কাগজ এগিয়ে দিলেন। লিপিটুকু পড়ে- আজ বলবো, আমি সেদিন এতো দুঃখের দিনেও মনে মনে না হেসে পারিনি। আজ আমার বলতে দ্বিধা নেই, যেহেতু আজ আমার মুখ বন্ধ রাখার জন্য কেউ রাইফেল কিম্বা বেয়নেট উঁচু করে ধরবে না অথবা জোর করে মিথ্যা বলাতে পারবে না; কারণ আজ আমি স্বাধীন গণতান্ত্রিক দেশের নাগরিক এবং সর্বোপরি আমার চিন্তাধারা মুক্ত। সেদিনের সে

বিবৃতির নামে অপরূপ প্রহসন পড়ে আমি বলেছিলাম, "আপনাদের এ বানানো উত্তর আমার পক্ষে উচ্চারণ করা সম্ভব হবে না। তবে হ্যাঁ, আমি প্রথম প্রশ্নের উত্তরটা দিতে পারি; সরকার যদি ইচ্ছা করেন তবে তা প্রচার করতে পারেন।" বৌদ্ধদের অবস্থা কেমন'- এরূপ এক প্রশ্নে তা জনতে চাওয়া হলে উত্তরে বলেছিলাম, "ঢাকা বৌদ্ধ মন্দিরে অবস্থানরত বৌদ্ধ এবং অন্যান্য সম্প্রদায়ের লোকের আপাততঃ ভালোই আছেন। ঢাকা শহর কিম্বা প্রদেশের অন্যান্য স্থানের লোকদের অবস্থা কেমন তা প্রদেশের বিভিন্ন স্থান ঘুরে দেখতে পারলেই বলবো। তবে সবাই ভালো ও শান্তিতে থাকুক এটাই আমি একান্তভাবে কামনা করি।" এ ছাড়া তখনকার সৃষ্ট অবস্থার জন্যে একমাত্র আওয়ামী লীগই দায়ী বলে বলাতে চেয়েছিলেন। আমি এ বলে উত্তর দিতে অস্বীকৃতি জানাই যে, আমি রাজনীতি বুঝি না, যেহেতু আমি একজন ধর্মগুরু এবং আমার সংঘ কিম্বা আমি রাজনীতির ধার-ধারি না। মানুষের কল্যাণ কামনাই আমাদের একমাত্র ব্রত।

গোলমালের প্রথম দিকে দিন পাঁচেকের মতো আমাদের টেলিফোনের লাইন কাটা ছিলো। এরপর থেকেই চাটগাঁ, পটুয়াখালী, বরিশাল, কুমিল্লা এবং আরও অন্যান্য জায়গা থেকে আমাদের কাছে বার্তা আসতে লাগলো। ঐ মুহূর্তে তারা আমার উপস্থিতির উপর বিশেষ গুরুত্ব আরোপ করছিলো। এর বেশী কিছু প্রকাশ করার মতো তখন কারো অবস্থা ছিলো না। গ্রামের অবস্থা বুঝতে আমার বেগ পেতে হলো না। ঐ সময়ে আমরা 'আকাশবাণী' থেকে প্রচারিত এক খবরে জানতে পারলাম, চট্টগ্রামের রাউজান থানার এক বৌদ্ধ বিহার গোলার আঘাতে সম্পূর্ণ বিনষ্ট হয়ে গেছে এবং একজন বৌদ্ধ ভিক্ষু মারা গেছেন। আমরা প্রায় সব সময়েই 'আকাশবাণী' আর 'স্বাধীন বাংলা বেতারকেন্দ্র' থেকে ঐ ধরনের খবর শুনতে পাচ্ছিলাম। আমার প্রাণ ছটফট করছিলো, সংশয়াপন্ন হলাম অনেকের জীবদ্দশা সম্পর্কে। দিন যেতে লাগলো, কিন্তু জনসাধারণের সাথে সাক্ষাৎ করার তেমন কোন কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা করতে পারলাম না।

এরপর হঠাৎ মে মাসের পয়লা তারিখে তদানীন্তন গভর্নর টিক্কা খান আমাকে ডেকে পাঠালেন। আমি আমার কর্মী শ্রীজ্ঞানদা রঞ্জন বড়ুয়াকে নিয়ে সাবেক গভর্নর হাউজে গিয়ে উঠলাম। গিয়ে দেখি তৎকালীন চীফ অব স্টাফ হামিদ খান আর টিক্কা খান এক ক্ষুদ্র প্রকোষ্ঠে অবস্থান করছে। হামিদ খান আমাকে বললো, "আপনাকে বিদেশে বৌদ্ধ রাষ্ট্রগুলোতে পরিভ্রমণে যেতে হবে। এখানে যে আপনারা শান্তিতে আছেন এবং যে সামান্য গণ্ডগোল বেধেছিল তা ঠিক হয়ে গেছে, এটাই বলতে হবে। আমি পাকিস্তানী বৌদ্ধদের সম্পূর্ণ নিরাপত্তার ব্যবস্থা করবো।" বৌদ্ধদের নিরাপত্তা পাবার কথা শুনে আমি আশান্বিত হলাম; কিন্তু ভাবলাম দেশে যে প্রলয় ক্রমাগত বেড়েই চলেছে সেটাকে সম্পূর্ণ উপেক্ষা করে কিভাবে একটা ডাহা মিথ্যা প্রচারণা চালাবার জন্যি বিদেশে যাবো। একটা সম্প্রদায়কে রক্ষা করার নামে কি করে একটা জাতিকে ধ্বংসের মুখে ঠেলে দেবো। বললাম, "গ্রামের লোকেরা এক্কেবারে হতাশ হয়ে পড়েছে। আমাকে কাছে পাবার জন্যি তারা আকুল আগ্রহে অপেক্ষা করছে। তারা কেউই ঘর থেকে বের হতে পারছে না। আকি দু'একদিনের মধ্যে চাটগাঁ যেতে চাই।" একটা সফরসূচী দাখিল করতে বলবো আমাকে। আমি সম্মতি জানিয়ে ফিরে এলাম।

ওখান থেকে ফেরার পর থেকেই মানসিক দুশ্চিন্তায় ভীষণভাবে ভুগছিলাম। ভাবছিলাম আমার ভবিষ্যৎ কর্মপন্থা সম্পর্কে।

ঐ রাত্রেই আড়াইটার দিকে কুকুরের ডাকে হঠাৎ আমার ঘুম ভেঙ্গে গেলো। একটু পরেই কে একজন জানালা দিয়ে আমাকে ডেকে জানালো, সে একটু টেলিফোন করতে চায়। আমার কেমন যেন একটু সন্দেহ জাগলো। তাকে জানিয়ে দিলাম, এত রাত্রে টেলিফোন দেয়া সম্ভব না। তার অনেক কাকুতি মিনুতির পরও আমি রাজী না হওয়াতে সে চলে যাচ্ছিলো। আঙ্গিনায় তাকে আমাদের কুকুরটা এমনভাবে ধরলো, আমার মনে হলো তাকে বুঝি কামড়িয়ে ছিঁড়ে ফেলেছে। আমার মনে করুণা জাগলো। থাকতে না পেরে শেষ অবধি আমি দরজা খুললাম। যেই খোলা, অমনি দরজার দু'পাশ থেকে চারজন যুবক আমাকে ধরে ফেললো। দেখলাম, তাদের কারো হাতে রিভলবার, স্টেনগান কিম্বা রাইফেল। কামরায় এনে তারা আমাকে চেয়ারে বসিয়ে খুব শক্ত করে বেঁধে রাখলো। এরি মধ্যে টেলিফোনের লাইন কেটে দিয়েছে। চিৎকার করতে বারণ করে একজন আমার দিকে

রিভলবার উঁচু করে ধরে রাখলো। চাবি নিয়ে তারা একটা স্বর্ণ-নির্মিত বুদ্ধ মুর্তি (জাপান সরকার কর্তৃক প্রদত্ত), আমার গোল্ডেন ফ্রেমের চশমা (সিংহলের জনৈকা ভদ্রমহিলা দান করেছিলেন), একটা টাইপরাইটার, শরণার্থীদের জমা স্বর্ণালংকার ও নগদ টাকাসহ মোট পনের হাজার টাকার জিনিসপত্র নিয়ে যায়। আমি অবশ্যি কর্তৃপক্ষকে ক্ষয়ক্ষতি পরিমাণসহ এ বিষয়ে অবগত করাই। সেদিন ভেবেছি আমার সরলতার সুযোগ নিয়েই তারা সর্বস্ব লুট করেছিলো।

এরপর আমার জন্মস্থান রাউজান থানার পূর্বগুজরা থেকে ৭ই মে দুখানা টেলিগ্রাম পেলাম। লেখা ছিলো,-

> MISCREANTS LOOTED TEMPLE WITH ALL THINGS YESTERDAY THREATENING BURNING WHOLE VILLAGE COME IMMEDIATELY" এবং "COME AT ONCE DONT FAIL"

এগুলো পেয়ে আমি রীতিমতো বিব্রত হয়ে পড়লাম। অনুমতি ব্যতিরেকে তখন কারো ঘর থেকে বের হবার সাধ্য ছিলো না। কারণ, এতে হয় মৃত্যু নয়তো অকথ্য নির্যাতন। আমি কর্তৃপক্ষের সাথে যোগাযোগ করে কর্মীবাহিনীর জন্য কিছু 'পরিচয় পত্র' নিয়ে চাটগাঁ যাবার ব্যবস্থা করলাম। ডাঃ পি, সি, বড়ুয়া ও শ্রীমান জ্ঞানদা রঞ্জন বড়ুয়াকে আমার কর্মীবাহিনীর অগ্রবর্তীদল হিসেবে অত্যাচারিত, নিপীড়িত মানুষের পাশে দাঁড়াবার জন্যি চাটগাঁ পাঠাই।

মে মাসের তের তারিখ অসম সাহসী মোঃ ইসহাক চৌধুরী সাহেবকে নিয়ে আমি চাটগাঁ পৌঁছলাম। চাটগাঁ তখন মৃত ও জনমানবশূণ্য। আমি কাউকে না পেয়ে শা'জাহান হোটেলে গিয়ে উঠলাম। পরে এক বিরাট কর্মীবাহিনী আমার পেছনে এসে দাঁড়ালো। ৪৬নং বৌদ্ধ মন্দির সড়কে সংঘের অফিস করে একটা সফরসূচী স্থানীয় কর্তৃপক্ষের কছে দাখিল করি এবং কর্মীবাহিনীকে নিয়ে গ্রাম থেকে গ্রামান্তরে পরিভ্রমণ শুরু করি।

ছ'তারিখে যে বৌদ্ধমন্দির লুট করেছিলো, চাটগাঁ গিয়ে জানতে পারলাম তা'স্থানীয় মুসলিম লীগের কতিপয় অসৎ কর্মীদের দিয়েই সমাধ্য হয়েছিল।

চাটগাঁ গিয়ে আমি প্রায় ৭০ হাজারের মতো 'পরিচয় পত্র' সংঘের মাধ্যমে হিন্দু-মুসলমান-বৌদ্ধ-খৃষ্টানদের মধ্যে বিলি করি। আমি পরে খবর পেয়েছি, এ পরিচয় পত্র দিয়ে অনেক বৌদ্ধ যুবক এবং হিন্দু পরিবার সামরিক শাসকদের চোখকে ফাঁকি দিয়ে সীমানা অতিক্রম করে আমাদের বন্ধুরাষ্ট্রে চলে গিয়ে মুক্তি সংগ্রামে যোদ দিয়েছিলো।

চাটগাঁয় যে সমস্ত গ্রামে যাই, তার কেবল থানার নামই উল্লেখ করছি- রাউজান, রাঙ্গুনীয়া, বোয়ালখালী, পটিয়া, সাতকানিয়া, চকরিয়া, কক্সবাজার, রামু, উখিয়া, টেকিনাফ, ফটিকছড়ি, হাটহাজারী, মীরেশরাই, সীতাকুন্ডু, মহেশখালী, আনোয়ারা, বাঁশখালী।

পার্বত্য চট্টগ্রামের রাংগামাটি, রামগড়, বান্দরবন, বোয়ালখালী, দিঘীনালা, মায়নীমুখ, কাপ্তাই, চন্দ্রঘোনা।

এছাড়া আমাদের সফরের পরবর্তী পর্যায়ে পটুয়াখালীর তালতলী, আমতলী, গলাচিপা, বরগুনা, খেপুপাড়া, কবিরাজপাড়া, নয়াপাড়া, বৈলতলী, কুয়াকাটাসহ মোট ৪২টি গ্রাম ঘুরি।

যশোহর, বরিশাল, কুমিল্লা, খুলনা, বাগেরহাট, ভোলার বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলেও ব্যাপক পরিভ্রমণ করি। টাংগাইলের শ্রী শ্রী অকুকূল ঠাকুরের 'সৎসংঘ আশ্রম' এবং মির্জাপুরের আর, পি, সাহার সংস্থাগুলো পরিদর্শন করি। আমি ও আমার কর্মীবাহিনী তিনমাস আটদিনে সবশুদ্ধ মিলিয়ে প্রায় ১২,০০০ মাইল পরিভ্রমণ করি।

আমাদের পরিক্রমার সময়সূচী বেতারে প্রচার করা হতো। আমাদের যাতায়াতের রাস্তার দু'পাশে সম্প্রদায় নির্বিশেষে যে জমায়েত আর ভিড় লক্ষ্য করেছি, তা থেকে উপলব্ধি করেছি তারা উৎপীড়ন-অত্যাচার সর্বোপরি মৃত্যুভয় থেকে রক্ষা পাবার ক্ষীণ আলোক দেখছিলো। আমার থেকে দুটো সান্ত্বনার বানী শোনার জন্যে

জনসাধারণ সব সময়েই উন্মুখ হয়ে থাকতো। এতে পরবর্তী সময়সূচী পালনে বিলম্ব ঘটতো, কিম্বা সম্ভবও হতো না।

প্রত্যেক গ্রাম এমন কি থান হিসেবে ঘটনা আর নির্যাতনের কথা উল্লেখ করলে এক বিরাট ইতিহাস রচনা করা যাবে। যা দেখছি তার একটা মোটামুটি ধারণা হিসাবে এটাই বলতে হয় যে, উৎপীড়ন, নৃশংস হত্যা, পাশবিক অত্যাচার আর নৈরাজ্যের এক নজিরবিহীন ইতিহাস পাকিস্তানের সামরিক জান্তা রেখে গেছে।

আমরা যে সমস্ত জায়গায় গেছি সে সমস্ত এলাকার লোকদের জাতি-ধর্ম-বর্ণ নির্বিশেষে সভায় আহবান জানিয়েছি; তাদের অভাব অভিযোগ নিয়েছি এবং ভবিষ্যতে যাতে তার পুনরাবৃত্তি না ঘটে সে ব্যাপারে আশা দিয়েছি। বৌদ্ধ গ্রাম ছাড়া আমরা অনেক হিন্দু ও মুসলমান গ্রামেও সভা করে তাদের সাথে মিলিত হয়েছি।

স্বচক্ষে দৃষ্ট অত্যাচারের প্রত্যেকটা বিষয়ে আমি স্থানীয় এবং কেন্দ্রীয় কর্তৃপক্ষের দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করাই এবং লিখিতভাবে তা পেশ করি। এটা স্থিরনিশ্চিত যে, আমিই আমার সংঘকে নিয়ে সর্বপ্রথম (এবং সর্বশেষও) সামরিক জান্তার রক্তচক্ষুকে উপেক্ষা করে তাদেরই ছত্রচ্ছায়ায় থেকে অকুতোভয়ে তাদের অত্যাচারের কথা তাদেরই চোখে আংগুল দিয়ে দেখিয়ে দিই। আমার সংঘের তরফ থেকে আমিই তাদের সৃষ্ট রাজাকার, মুজাহিদ, আল-বদর এমনকি নিয়মিত সৈন্যের বিরুদ্ধে নালিশ করি। এরা তথাকথিত শান্তির নামে যে অশান্তি, নৈরাজ্য ও লুটতরাজ, গ্রামের পর গ্রাম জ্বালানো, ধর্মীয় প্রতিষ্ঠান ধ্বংসকরণ, নরহত্যা, নারী অপহরণ ও ধর্ষণ এবং তল্লশীর নামে প্রকাশ্যে স্ত্রীলোকদের সম্পূর্ণ উলংগ করে দেখা- এ সমস্ত আমি জানাই। সামরিক জান্তাকে দাখিলকৃত দু'একটা চিঠির অনুলিপি উদ্ধৃত করলাম।

রাজাকার ও মুজাহিদদের বিরুদ্ধে Major General Civil Affairs কে 20th Sept 71-এ দেয়া এক চিঠির কিয়দংশ-

....While enclosing a copy of our letter of 17th instant, we beg to state that in all villages visited by us under the aforesaid Police Stations (Mirsarai & Sitakund) we could not have controlled our tears to see the shocking condition of the people including Buddhist Monks in general who have been mercilessly treated, brutally assaulted and severely beaten by the Razakars & Mujahids of the aforesaid Police Stations.....

.....Among the villages visited by us, although none is escaped from this torture, we would still like to mention the village Maiani under Mirsarai P. S. where men were brutally tortured and women were made naked in the name of the so-called investigation and operation by Razakars.....

24th Sept. 71 তারিখে রাজাকারদের বিরুদ্ধে Major General Civil Affairs কে দেয়া অপর এক চিঠির অংশবিশেষ-

Following an open declaration of Razakars in Bazar saying that the Buddhists of Aburkhil village (Raozan, Ctg.) shall be burnt alive for the cause best known to them, we were alarmed and our delegation went to the aforesaid village.....

.....When we were entering into the Main Buddhist Monastery of the aforesaid village, we could have heard the violent voices of looting by the Razakars in a corner of the village where about 14 houses were looted, inmates beaten mercilessly and five innocent persons taken.....

উক্ত ব্যাপারে রাজাকারসহ মোট ১৭ জন দুর্বৃত্তকে গ্রেফতার করে বলে খবর পাই।

মীরেশরাই থানার নিয়মিত সৈন্যের বিরুদ্ধে আমার কাছে যে টেলিগ্রাম এসে পৌঁছে তাও সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে পেশ করি। সেটা ছিল-

FORCE FROM MIRSARI BASE RAIDED BUDDHIST VILLAGE DAMDAMA TWENTY-NINTH NOVEMBER BURNT FIFTY-TWO HOUSES KILLING TWO WOUNDED MANY LOOTED PROPERTIES RAPED WOMEN BROKEN IMAGES OF LORD BUDDHA ASSAULTED MONKS.

বৌদ্ধ ছাড়া অন্যান্য সম্প্রদায়ের লোকদের যে সমস্ত অভিযোগ পাই তা সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে দাখিল করে তার কার্যকরী ব্যবস্থা নিই।

STATEMENT OF MR. ABDUL WALI, DIGHINALA, Chittagong Hill-tracts, Dated 7th Sept. 71.

.....That the Rezakars have been the cause of constant miseries of the people.

That the Razakars compelled the Businessmen and villagers to sell every commodity without price....

That the Meizus are torturing the women and brutally assaulted a number of girls. That in Dighinala Hospital many girls assaulted by the Meizus are lying in an unpleasant condition.....

পার্বত্য চট্টগ্রামের দিঘীনালায় কতিপয় গুন্ডা প্রকৃতির লোক প্রায় ২৫টি হিন্দু পরিবারকে ধর্মান্তরিত করে। শ্রী বিনোদ বিহারী চৌধুরী নামে জনৈক ভদ্রলোকের পাঠানো একখানা দরখাস্ত আমার কর্তৃপক্ষ সমীপে দাখিল করি এবং পুনঃ তাদের ধর্মে দীক্ষিত করার ব্যবস্থা করি। এছাড়া চাটগাঁ আর পটুয়াখালীর বহু হিন্দু পরিবারকেও ধর্মান্ত রকরণ থেকে রক্ষা করেছি।

প্রথম পর্যায়ে সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষ যে সমস্ত বৌদ্ধদের আটক করে তার ৪৯ জনের এক তালিকা প্রস্তুত করে তাদের কাছে পেশ করি। এদের অনেকেই উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারী এবং প্রায়ই সরকারী চাকুরে। নিখোঁজ ব্যক্তিদের ছাড়পত্র কিংবা খবরাদি দেবার জন্যে আমরা কর্তৃপক্ষ সমীপে বারবার চাপ দিই। কিন্তু শেষ পর্যন্তও তাদের কোন সন্ধান মেলেনি। তবে মার্চের পরবর্তী অধ্যায়ে রাজাকার কিম্বা মুজাহিদরা যে শত শত লোক ধরে নিয়ে গিয়েছিলো তাদের সামরিক জান্তার মরণ থাবা থেকে আমরা উদ্ধার করতে সক্ষম হই।

বিশিষ্ট সংগীত পরিচালক জনাব আলতাফ মাহমুদসহ বিল্লাহ পরিবারের নুহেল আলম বিল্লাহ, খনু, দিনু ও লিনু বিল্লাহকে সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষ ধরে নিয়ে অকথ্য নির্যাতন চালিয়েছিল। এদের পাঁচজনের মুক্তির জন্যে অশেষ প্রচেষ্টা চালানোর পর নুহেল ও তার তিনভাইকে কোন রকমে প্রাণে বাঁচিয়েছি। দুঃখের বিষয় জনাব আলতাফ মাহমুদকে সামরিক জান্তার মরণ ছোবল থেকে রক্ষা করা গেলো না।

আমার মির্জাপুর সফরকালে সমাজসেবী, জনদরদী শ্রী আর, পি, সাহা-র কন্যা জয়া-র কাছ থেকে তাঁর পিতা, ভাই, অন্যান্য কর্মচারী এবং প্রতিষ্ঠানের সামরিক বাহিনী কর্তৃক অত্যাচারের এক মর্মন্তদ কাহিনী শুনি। এদের হাত থেকে আর, পি, সাহাকে উদ্ধারের জন্যে বহু প্রচেষ্টা চালাই কিন্তু এ জনদরদীর কোন সন্ধান পেলাম না।

পটুয়াখালীতে শ্রী অবিনাশ চক্রবর্তী নামে জনৈক ভদ্রলোককে এক ধ্বংসস্তুপে দিন যাপন করতে দেখি। তাঁর তিন কন্যা মায়া, মঞ্জু ও প্রতিমা সামরিক জান্তার অত্যাচার হতে রক্ষা পাবার জন্যে পাঁচ মাস অজ্ঞাতবাস অবস্থায় ছিল। সেখান থেকে আমরা তাদের উদ্ধার করে নিয়ে আসি।

ঢাকাস্থ শ্রীরথীন্দ্র সরকার এবং শ্রীঅলোক বলকে রাজাকার এবং পাক সৈন্যেরা ধরে নিয়ে অকথ্য শারীরিক অত্যাচার চালায়। এ খবর পেয়ে তাদের সমূহ মৃত্যুর হাত থেকে ফিরিয়ে আনতে সক্ষম হই। শ্রীরথীন্দ্র সরকারকে মৃতপ্রায় অবস্থায় কিছু দিন হাসপাতালে রাখতে হয়েছিল। ডাক্তার নূরুল ইসলাম সাহেবের (ডাইরেক্টর, পোস্ট গ্র্যাজুয়েট মেডিসিন) আন্তরিক প্রচেষ্টায় সুস্থ হয়ে ওঠে।

আমাদের পরিক্রমণকালে আমি প্রত্যেক জায়গায় আশ্রয় প্রার্থীদের আশ্রয়দান এবং মুক্তিবাহিনীর কাজে যথাসাধ্য সাহায্য করতে আবালবৃদ্ধবণিতা বিশেষ করে যুব সমাজকে পরামর্শ দিয়েছি। এমন কোন বৌদ্ধ গ্রাম নেই যেখানে মুক্তিবাহিনী এবং হিন্দু পরিবার আশ্রয় গ্রহণ করেনি, এমন কি জনৈক অফিসারসহ পাঁচজন মুক্তিবাহিনী ঢাকা বৌদ্ধ মন্দিরে আশ্রয় নিয়ে তাদের কাজ চালিয়ে গিয়েছিলো।

বিগত ন'মাসে আশ্রয় প্রার্থী অনেক ছেলেমেয়ে এবং মাতৃপিতৃহীন শিশু অগ্রসার বৌদ্ধ অনাথালয়ে ভিক্ষু সুগতানন্দের তত্ত্বাবধানে আছে।

পয়লা মে তারিখে ঢাকা বৌদ্ধ মন্দির লুট হলে তদন্তের পর কর্তৃপক্ষ আমাকে আট-দশ জনের নাম দাখিল করতে বলে। আমি অসম্মতি জানালে তারা গ্রাম ঘেরাও করে জ্বালিয়ে দেবে বললো। আমি বলেছি, আমার Case-এর তদন্তের প্রয়োজন নেই। তদন্তের নামে অনর্থক কতকগুলো নিরীহ লোকের উপর অত্যাচার হোক, এ আমি কোনদিন চাইনে। এভাবে কমলাপুরের ঠাকুরপাড়া, সবুজবাগ, আহমদবাগ প্রভৃতি আমার প্রতিবেশী গ্রামের উপর পাক-সৈন্যের হামলা সব সময় প্রতিরোধ করেছি।

পরিভ্রমণকালীন ধ্বংসপ্রাপ্ত মন্দিরে যে সমস্ত মূর্তি ভগ্ন কিম্বা অক্ষত অবস্থায় দেখতে পাই তা যথাস্থানে রক্ষিত আছে। আমার সংঘ বৌদ্ধগ্রাম ও মন্দিরের ক্ষয়ক্ষতির একটা মোটামুটি ফর্দ তৈরী করে তা সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে দাখিল করে তার ক্ষতিপূরণের দাবী জানায়।

এরি মধ্যে আন্তঃ পরিভ্রমণ বন্ধ করে বিদেশে যাবার জন্যে বারবার আমার কছে চাপ পড়তে লাগলো। আমি জানিয়েছি, স্বচক্ষে দেখা এত অত্যাচারকে ধামাচাপা দিয়ে বিদেশে গিয়ে আমার পক্ষে মিথ্যা বলা কি করে সম্ভব? কিন্তু তারা সে কথায় কর্ণপাত না করে ক্রমাগত পীড়াপীড়ি শুরু করলো।

শরণ নিলাম পোস্ট গ্রাজুয়েট মেডিসিন ইন্সটিটিউটের ডাইরেক্টর প্রফেসর নুরল ইসলাম সাহেবের। হাসপাতালে ভর্তি হয়ে সাড়ে তিন মাস ডাক্তার সাহেবের চিকিৎসাধীনে থাকতে বাধ্য হলাম।

হাসপাতালে থাকা অবস্থায়ও পাঁচ-ছ'বারের মতো কর্তৃপক্ষের কাছে উপস্থিত হতে আমাকে বাধ্য করেছিলো এবং বিদেশে যাবার জন্যে নানাভাবে ভীতি প্রদর্শন করছিলো। আমি শারীরিক অনুপযুক্ততার কারণ দেখিয়ে বিদেশে শত মিথ্যা বলা থেকে এবং বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সূর্যের উন্মেষের অন্তরায় না হয়ে বাঁচলাম।

আমাকে বিদেশে পাঠিয়ে পাক-সরকার যে কাজ সমাধা করতে ব্যর্থ হলো মেজর রাজা ত্রিদিব রায়কে দিয়ে তা করিয়ে নিলো। আমার কাঁধ থেকে বোঝাটা নামাতে স্বস্থির নিঃস্বাস ফেলে আমি হাসপাতাল থেকে বের হয়ে আসলাম।

সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষ জোর করে আমার কাছ থেকে দু' টো বিবৃতি নিয়ে প্রচার করে। ন'মাসে আমার নামেও মোট তিনখানা বিবৃতি ছাপায়। কিন্তু আরেকখানা আমার খুলনা পরিভ্রমণকালীন আমার এবং আমার সংঘের সম্পূর্ণ অজ্ঞাতে ছাপানো হয়। তখন এগুলোর প্রতিবাদ করেও কোন ফল হয়নি। অধিকন্তু সামরিক জান্তা আমার উপর অধিকতর অসন্তুষ্ট ও ক্রুদ্ধ হয়।

এ ছাড়া দেশে থেকেও সামরিক জান্তার অত্যাচারের কথা বিশ্বের কাছে প্রচার করার সুযোগ পেয়েছিলাম। Kyoto, Japan-এ 'বিশ্বধর্ম ও বিশ্বশান্তি সম্মেলনে' উপস্থিত থাকাকালীন The World Conference of Religion for Peace-এর সেক্রেটারী জেনারেল Dr. Homer a. Jack-এর সাথে আমার আন্তরিকতা জন্মে। মানবতার সেবায় আমি নিয়োজিত এ খবর পেয়ে আমার সাথে দেখা করতে তিনি tourist হিসাবে একদিনের

জন্যে ঢাকায় আসেন। আমি তখন হাসপাতালে। রুদ্ধদ্বার বৈঠকে তাঁর সাথে আমার পুরো সোয়া তিন ঘন্টা আলাপ হয়। দীর্ঘকাল পরিভ্রমণে আমি স্বচক্ষে যা দেখেছি কিম্বা শুনেছি-রাজাকার, পাক-সৈন্যের অত্যাচার-অনাচার, লুটতরাজ, হত্যাযজ্ঞ, নারীহরণ ও নির্যাতন-এ সবই তাঁকে সবিস্তারে বলেছি। আমার হাসপাতালে আশ্রয় নেবার কারণ এবং এ তথ্য প্রকাশের পেছনে যে আমি, এ কথা ঘুর্ণাক্ষরেও প্রকাশ না করতে Dr. Jack কে অনুরোধ করি। অন্যথায় আমার নিশ্চিত জীবন সংশয়ের কারণ হবে বলে জানাই। তিনি আমার এ অনুরোধ রক্ষা করবেন বলে প্রতিশ্রুতি দেন।

Dr. Jack নতুন দিল্লীতে এ বিষয়ে এক আলোচনা বৈঠকে মিলিত হন। এতে বাইশটি সংস্থা এক যুক্ত স্মারকলিপি পেশ করেন। এর পর ওয়াশিংটনে পঞ্চাশটি রাষ্ট্রের প্রতিনিধির উপস্থিতিতে অনুরূপ এক বৈঠক বসে। তিনি বাংলাদেশ সম্পর্কে চারটি প্রণয়ন করেন। এগুলো-

(1) "East Bangal / Bangladesh"
(2) "Dhaka Diary"
(3) "Death in 'Golden Bangladesh
(4) "Final resolution"-International conference on Bangladesh.

এ বইগুলোতে যেসব তথ্য প্রকাশ করা হয়েছে তার অধিকাংশই আমাদের উক্ত বৈঠকেরই ফলশ্রুতি। এগুলো ছাড়া তিনি মাসিক পত্রিকা (নভেম্বর, ৭১ ইং)

'Beyond Kyoto'-এর On Visiting Dacca' তে লিখেছেন-

.....In Dacca I learned that even 100,000 human beings massacred..... the killings are continuing, with the new home guard, the Razakars, adding to the disorder. I realized how badly the eight million Hindus were treated by the West Pak Army..... I still conclude that the massacres ..... in East Pakistan must Pakistan must not be forgotten by the world community any more than those in Germany under Hitler.

.....I could not know until arriving, that the Bangladesh movement and its guerrilla army, the Mukti Bahini, has wide support among the people. Many listen to the daily Bangladesh Radio Broadcasts.....

Dr. Jack ছাড়াও আমার পরিচিত জাতিসংঘের জনৈক উচ্চপদস্থ কর্মচারীর ঢাকা থেকে থাইল্যান্ড যাবার পথে আমার সাথে দেখা হয়। থাইল্যান্ডে 'WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF BUDDHISTS' এর Headquarters কে তাঁর মাধ্যমে ঐ সমস্ত জঘন্য অত্যাচারের বিষয় অবগত করাই এবং এখানকার নিপীড়িত জনগণের দুঃখ উপশমের জন্য পাকিস্তান সরকারের উপর চাপ সৃষ্টি করার আবেদন জানাই।

এ খবর শুনে উক্ত সংঘের প্রেসিডেন্ট প্রিন্সেস পুন পিসমাই দিসকুল পাকিস্তানের সাবেক প্রেসিডেন্ট ইয়াহিয়া খানকে একখানা চিঠি দেন এবং রাষ্ট্র সংঘের সেক্রেটারী জেনারেল উথান্ট থাইল্যান্ডে পাকিস্তানী রাষ্ট্রদূত এবং আমাকে তার অনুলিপি দেন। চিঠিটা পুরো উদ্ধৃত করলাম।

General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan,
President of Pakistan
Islamabad.

15th Sept. 71

Your Excellency,

We would like to bring to your kind attention the fact there is one active Regional centre of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Dacca as per address stipulated below

which has been affiliated with our Headquarter since our organization was founded in 1950 in Ceylon.

Since there has occurred recently a state of unrest in East Pakistan, we have been in
great concern over the fate of our Regional Centre, from where any connection with it has been lost since then.

We would therefore ask of Your Excellency a favor of the information regarding the situation about the Monks and lay disciples in the above-mentioned area. And should there be any assistance on our part that we may be able to do to relieve them of their trouble, we would be obliged to do so provided your Excellency could grant us some information or connection there with.

Assuring Your Excellency of our profound regards, we remain.

Yours in the Dhamma.
Sd/-
H. S". H. Princess Poon Psmai Diskul.
President.
World Fellowship of Buddhists.

Address: W. F. B. Regional centre
Pakistan Bouddha Kristi Prachar Sangha
Buddhist Monastery, Kamalapur.
Dacca-2, East Pakistan

c. c. H. E. U Thant Secretary General U. N
H. E. The Ambassador of Pakistan, Bankok, Thailand.
W. F. B.- র Hon. Secretary General Mr. Aiem Sangkhavasi উক্ত চিঠিতে মাত্র ১৩ দিন আগেও আমায় লেখা

We are in receipt of your letter dated 18. 8. 71 and would like to express our appreciation for the humanitarian work you have been doing for your people. Yours painstaking efforts in an attempt to bring back the people to the condition of welfare and peace are sure to earn you a great merit….

অপর এক চিঠিতে তিনি লেখেন,-

Referring to your letter dated 19-06-71 we hereby offer our sympathetic feeling for the deplorable situation in your country and do appreciate your devotional attempt to relieve the sufferings of your people.

It is. we understand, an exacting task requiring much skill and patience based on a dedicated effort for humanitarian service. We pray that your Venerable be blessed with the strength of will and body to accomplish this burden.

With Metta towards all those suffering brethren-----এ সমস্ত চিঠি থেকে এটা স্পষ্টই প্রতিয়মান হয় যে বর্হিবিশ্বে এখানকার মর্মন্তুদ কাহিনী ফলপ্রসূভাবে প্রচার করতে সক্ষম হয়েছি এবং বিশ্ব-সংস্থা ঐ অবস্থায় আমার ভূমিকা উপলব্ধি করতে পেরেছে।

সামরিক কর্তৃপক্ষ আমার উপর সন্তুষ্ট নয় জেনে এবং এখানে থাকলে আমার সমূহ বিপদ ভেবে W. F. B.-এর প্রেসিডেন্ট আমাকে দেশের বাইরে নিয়ে যাবার জন্য এক উদ্যোগ গ্রহণ করে আমন্ত্রণ জানাবেন,

Ven, Visuddhananda Mahathero,
President,
Pakistan Bouddha Kristi Prachar Sangha,
Buddhis Monastery,
Kamalapur, Dacca-14,
East Pakistan,

15th Nov. '71

Your Venerable,

We are very happy to inform you that arrangements are well in hand for the International Buddhist Youth conference to be held in Bangkok from 20-24 December 1971.

In view of the fact that you have attended so many of our conferences in the past and been of so much help to us, we would like to extend an invitation to your Venerable to come to Bangkok and assist us in this endeavor by making available to us your valuable experience and guidance.

Please let us know when you can join us, so that we may finalize arrangements for your accommodation in a suitable place.

With our good wishes for a safe journey and the Blessings of the Triple Gem. May all beings be happy.

Yours in the Dhamma,
Sd/-
H.S.H. Princess Poon Pismai Diskul,
President,
World Fellowship of Buddhists

কিন্তু সামরিক সরকার আমার উপর সন্দেহ প্রকাশ করে থাইল্যান্ড যাবার অনুমতি দিলো না।

পরিশেষে মানবতার সেবা করতে গিয়ে আমার সমাজ ও অন্যান্য সম্প্রদায়ের লোকদের কাছ থেকে আমি প্রত্যক্ষ ও পরোক্ষভাবে যে অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন ও সহযোগিতা পেয়েছি তা কৃতজ্ঞতার সাথে স্মরণ করি। আমার সংঘের বিরাট কর্মীবাহিনী মৃত্যুর ঝুঁকি নিয়ে জাতির এ দুর্দিনে যে অক্লান্ত পরিশ্রম করেছে সমাজ ও দেশের কাছে তা চিরজাগরূক থাকবে বলে আমার দৃঢ়বিশ্বাস।

আমার প্রিয় শিষ্য শ্রীমান প্রিয়নন্দ মহাখের, ভিক্ষু মুদ্ধানন্দ, ভিক্ষু জিনানন্দ, ভিক্ষু সুগতানন্দ, ভিক্ষু বোধিপাল, শ্রীশাক্যবোধি মহাথের, উ-জিনিতা মহাথের, উ-নাইন্দা, উ-পন্ডিতা, ভিক্ষু অগ্রবংশ, ভিক্ষু অগ্রশ্রী, শ্রী প্রফুল্লকমল বড়ুয়া, শ্রীবসুভূতি মুৎসুদ্দী, শ্রীজ্ঞানদারঞ্জন বড়ুয়া, শ্রীব্রহ্মদত্ত বড়ুয়া, শ্রীরণজয় বড়ুয়া, শ্রীসুধেন্দু বড়ুয়া, শ্রীঅশোক বড়ুয়া, শ্রীআনন্দ প্রসাদ বড়ুয়া, শ্রীশশাংক মোহন বড়ুয়া, শ্রীসুনিল কান্তি বড়ুয়া, মোহাম্মদ ইছহাক চৌধুরী, শ্রীসুদত্ত সেবক বড়ুয়া, শ্রীতেজেন্দ্রলাল বড়ুয়া, শ্রীইন্দুভূষণ বড়ুয়া, শ্রীসুমেধ বড়ুয়া, শ্রীযতীন্দ্রলাল

বড়ুয়া, শ্রীবেণীমাধব বড়ুয়া, শ্রীবিজনবিহারী বড়ুয়া, এবং আরো অনেকে পাকসেনার রক্তচক্ষু ও বুলেটের ভয়কে উপেক্ষা করে মৃত্যুর ঝুঁকি নিয়ে এ ন'মাস দিনের পর দিন দেশের অত্যাচারিত লাঞ্ছিত মা-বোনদের পাশে গিয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে, কত শত মুক্তিবাহিনী ও দেশের তরুণ প্রাণদের পাশে সমূহ মৃত্যুর হাত থেকে ছিনিয়ে এনেছে তার ইয়ত্তা নেই। রক্তঝরা এ ন'মাসের কার্যবিবরণীতে সংঘের বিরাট কর্মীবাহিনীর কর্মতৎপরতার পূর্ণাংগ চিত্র প্রকাশের প্রস্তুতি চলছে।

আজ এ ভেবে আমার চক্ষু অশ্রুসিক্ত হয় যে, আমাদের সংঘের চাটগাঁ শাখার অফিস-ইন-চার্জ বিশিষ্ট কর্মী শ্রীমৎ জিনানন্দ ভিক্ষু, যিনি রাজাকার, মুজাহিদদের বিরুদ্ধে অনেক অভিযোগ এনেছিলেন, স্বাধীনত প্রাপ্তির ঠিক দুদিন আগে তিনি এদেরই জঘন্যতম শিকারে পরিণত হন। সংসারত্যাগী, মানবধর্মী এই নবীন ভিক্ষু গত পঁচিশে মার্চের পর থেকে মৃত্যুর পূর্ব মুহূর্ত পর্যন্ত চাটগাঁ, কুমিল্লা, নোয়াখালীর প্রতিটা উপদ্রুত গ্রামের প্রতিটা সম্প্রদায়ের আবালবৃদ্ধবনিতাকে রক্ষার জন যে অক্লান্ত ও নিঃস্বার্থ পরিশ্রম করে গেছেন তা' গভীর শ্রদ্ধার সাথে স্মরণ করছি।

আজ যে সংঘের মাধ্যমে আমি তথা আমার প্রতিষ্ঠান এবং সম্প্রদায় বর্হিবিশ্বে সুপরিচিত হয়েছে সে সংঘেরই বিশিষ্ট কর্মী, অন্যতম প্রতিষ্ঠাতা ও প্রাক্তম সাধারণ সম্পাদক শ্রীশশাংক বিমল বড়ুয়াকে (বঙ্গীশ ভিক্ষু) হানাদার পাক বাহিনীর হাতে প্রাণ দিয়েছে।

এতদসংগে আমি গভীরভাবে স্মরণ করছি স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে শত শত বিগতপ্রাণ মহান জীবনগুলো। ছাত্র-ছাত্রী, বুদ্ধিজীবী, সাংবাদিক, ডাক্তার, মুক্তিবাহিনী ও মিত্রবাহিনীর শহীদদের পারলৌকিক মংগল কামনা করছি এবং তাঁদের শোকসন্তপ্ত পরিবারের প্রতি আন্তরিক সমাবেদনা জ্ঞাপন করছি।

সবেব সত্তা সুখীতা হোন্তু।
জগতের সমস্ত প্রাণী সুখী হোক।
।।জয় বাংল।।

পরিশিষ্ট

নিখোঁজ ব্যক্তিদের তালিকা এবং রিপোর্ট

নিখোঁজ ব্যক্তিদের সম্পূর্ণ তালিকা হাতের কাছে না থাকায় ছাপাতে পারলাম না। সে জন্য আমরা দু:খিত। তদন্তের রিপোর্ট ও সাথে দিলাম

HQ SMLA SEC-4
Circuit House
Chittagong
Tele:85555
No.20/35/ML
26 June, 71

To : Ven. Visuddhananda Malialhero
T. PK, T. K. President Pakistan
Bouddha Kristi Prachar Sangha
Dacca.

Subject: **Petition/Investigation**

Your letter no. nil dated 28 May 71 refers.

A copy of enquiry report of superintendent of police is enclosed herewith for your information.

Encl-One

Sd/- Mumtaz H. Shah
Capt
SMLA
(Mumtaz Hussain Shah)

A copy of Superintendent of police letter 110 3512E dated 25 Jun 71.

I have the honor to report that I investigated the subject matter locally and ascertained from the staff of T. & T Department who were present during the occurrence i. e. on 29-04-71 that the persons mentioned in the attached petition were attended to their respective offices on 29-04-71. On the same day at 1.30 P. M. they were called by some army personnel to the circuit House but till today did not turn up to their respective offices.

During investigation, it is transpired that Mr. Dharmadarshi Barua was a time scale clerk and not telephone operator as mentioned in the petition.

It is further reported by the staff of T&T department that all the five persons were called by some army personnel from the office compound T&T not from their office room.

As regards Mr. C. R Barua Steno-typist of the Deputy Chief Accounts officers (Modernization) E. P. Railway attended to pay office station Road on 21. 4 71. From there he was called by some army personnel to the Circuit House but he did not come back to his office as yet.

On investigation it came to light that the individuals attended to their office duty regularly up to date of disturbance. Nothing could be found more adverse report against them. This for favour of your kind information.

Sd/-x x x
Y. O. S
Jafar S. I
Kotwali P. S

List of the personnel, who have been taken by the Army us 011 the date shown against the individual name.

Name & Designation	Remarks
1. Mr. S. R. Barua, M. A., P. R. A. S. Deputy Financial Adviser and Deputy Chief Accounts Officer, P. E. Railway, Chittagong.	He svas on regular duly soon after the disturbances was over. He has been taken by Army on 16-04-71 on way back to his Bunglow after office duty.
2. Mr. Pravash Kumar Barua. Sub-Assistant Engineer. Chittagong University. Chittagong.	He has been taken by Army from his residence premises 4. Serson Road. Chittagong 21.4.71
3. Mr. China Ranjan Barua, Stenographer, Modernisation Accounts. P. E. Railway. Chittagong.	He has been taken by Army when he was returning from office after his duty from Railway pay office while he was drawing his salary.
4. Mr. Sanchya Bhusan Barua, Electric Crane Fitter, Electric Deptt. Chittagong Port Trust. Chittagong.	He has been taken by Army from his office at Jetty on 21.4.71
5. Mr. Tarit Kami Barua, Telephone Operator, T & T Deptt. Chittagong.	He reported himself in the office on 21. 4. 71 according to instruction of the Martial Law Authority on that day and a security pass was issued to him by the Authority concerned and advised him to do his respective duty. From 22.4.71 he was performing his duty regularly but on 29.4.71 at about 1400 hours when he was on duty he has been taken by Army.
6. Mr. China Ranjan Barua, Office Superintendent T & T Chittagong	He has been taken from his office premises on 29.4.71
7. Mr. Dharmadarshi Barua, Tel/ Opertor, T & T Chittagong	-Do-
8. Mr. Parag Barua, Tel/ Opertor. T & T Chittagong	-Do-
9. Mr. Sudhir Ranjan Barua, Electrician. Karnafully paper Mills Ltd.. Chittagong Hill Tracts	-Do-

10. Mr. Hirandra Lai Barua, Mechanical Deptt. Karnafully paper Mills Ltd., Chandraghona, Chittagong Hill Tracs.	He has been taken on 14.4.71
11. Mr. Satya Ranjan Barua, proprietor. Motor workshop, Chandanpura, Chittagong	He has been taken from his workshop
12. Mr. Bhabesh Chandra Barua, Clerk. Workshop, Port Trust, Chittagong	He has been taken on 26.4.71
13. Mr. Nipul Kanti Barua, Elysian Building, College Road, Chittagong	He has been taken on 03.5.71
14. Mr.Subimal Barua, Tel/ Opertor, T & T Chittagong	He has been taken on 29.4.71
15. Mr. Bangish Barua, Assistant Head Master Kaptai Govt. H. E. School	He has been missing on and from 14.6.71.

সংঘ কর্তৃক ইসুকৃত পরিচয় পত্রের অনুলিপি

"NAMO TASSA"

Phone no: 244413

Pakistan Bouddha Kristi Prochar Sangha
(BUDDHIST CULTURAL ORGANISATION)
Regional Centre of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Pakistan

Head Office
BUDDHIST MONOSTERY
Kamalapur. Dacca-14
East Pakistan

Chittagong Office
30/5. ANDERKILIA.
Chittagong
East Pakistan

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Date---------

This is to Certify that Miss/Mr. ……..
Son/Daughter/Wife of Mr./ Late ……. of
Village ..... P. S.……
Dist. Chittagong is a ***Pakistani Buddist*** *by Birth.*

Authorities are requested to provide him help

Sd/
Ven. Visuddhanan Mahathero. T. pk. T. K.
President
Pakistan Bouddha Kristi Prochar Sangha
DACCA.

Seal.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ নিম্নপদস্থ পুলিশ কর্মচারী সহায়ক সংস্থার একটি আবেদন	বাংলাদেশ পুলিশ কর্মচারী সহায়ক সংস্থার	..... ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ
নিম্নপদস্থ পুলিশ কর্মচারী সহায়ক সংস্থা

স্বাধীন বাংলাদেশের নিম্নপদস্থ পুলিশ কর্মচারী ভায়েরা আমর-

উনিশ শ'সাতচল্লিশ সালের চৌদ্দই আগষ্ট ইংরেজ শাসকদের কবল থেকে স্বাধীনতা লাভের পর আমরা যে মুক্তির স্বপ্ন দেখেছিলাম, বিগত চবিবশ বছর ধরে বাংলাদেশের সাতে সাত কোটি মানুষ পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের কবলে পড়ে আমাদের সে আশা-আকাংক্ষা চিরতরে পর্যুদস্ত হতে চলেছিলো। সোনার বাংলাকে শোষণের কলোনী করে পাক শাসকচক্র আমাদের দাসত্বে পরিণত করার হীন ষড়যন্ত্রের আশ্রয় নিয়েছিলো- কতিপয় পদলেহনকারী বাঙ্গালী দালালদের সহযোগিতায়। আমরা রাজনৈতিক, অর্থনৈতিক, সাংস্কৃতিক আর সামাজিক দিক দিয়ে হয়েছিলাম পংশু আর অসহায়। ওদের শসন-শোষণ আর অত্যাচারের ষ্টীম রোলারের আঘাতে বাংলার নিরীহ সরল মানুষ হয়েছে ক্ষিপ্ত- অশান্ত। তারই মৃত্যু প্রকাশ ঘটে উনিশ শ' বায়ান্ন সালের রাষ্ট্রভাষা আন্দোলনে- যে আন্দোলনের প্রবাহে বাংলার সোনা-মাণিক-ভাইদের বুকের তাজা রক্তে রঞ্জিত হয়েছিল বাংলার পীচঢালা রাজপথ। শহীদ সালাম বরকত রফিকের লাল তাজা রক্তের বদলা শপথ নিয়েছিলো বাংলার সাতে সাত কোটি মানুষ। তারা বিনা দ্বিধায় বঙ্গবন্ধুর ডাকে সাড়া দিয়ে মরণজয়ী সংগ্রামে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছিলো পাক জংগীশাহীর বিরুদ্ধে-একাত্মতা প্রকাশ করেছিলো দেশের মুক্তির সংগ্রামে।

গত পচিশে মার্চের রাত থেকে পাক জংগীশাহী বাংলার নিরীহ নিরস্ত্র জনসাধারণের উপর যেরূপ অত্যাচার অবিচারের ষ্টীম রোলার চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে, পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে এধরনের বর্বরোচিত জঘন্য দমন নীতির নজির নেই।

বাংলার নিরীহ মানুষ আজ ক্ষিপ্ত, অশান্ত। তারা বঙ্গবন্ধুর আদর্শে উদ্বুদ্ধ মুক্তিসৈনিক পাক জংগীশাহীর বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রামরত। দশ লক্ষাধিক নরনারীর রক্তে রঞ্জিত বাংলার পদ্মা-মেঘনা-যমুনার অথৈ জলরাশি-পথে-ঘাটে আজ মানুষের হাহাকার। বর্বর পাক সৈন্যদের নরহত্যা, লুণ্ঠন, অগ্নিসংযোগ, নারীধর্ষণের করুণ কাহিনীতে পৃথিবীর মানুষ আজ স্তব্ধ, হতবাক- বিশ্ববিবেক স্তম্ভিত, নির্বাক। তবুও বাংলার মানুষ আজ দেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে দৃঢ়প্রতিজ্ঞ-ইস্পাতকঠিন চেতনায় আজ সংগ্রামমূখর।

পৃথিবীর ইতিহাসে স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলন পর্যালোচনা করলে দেখা যায়, যে দেশেই বিপ্লব সংঘটিত হয়েছে- সে দেশের সশস্ত্র বাহিনী হয় সরকারের পক্ষ সমর্থন করেছে, না হয় নীরবতার ভূমিকাই পালন করেছে। কিন্তু বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনে আমাদের (বাঙ্গালী) ইস্ট পাকিস্তানী রেজিমেন্ট, ইস্ট পাকিস্তান রাইফেলস, ইস্ট পাকিস্তান পুলিশ, মুজাহিদ ও আনসার বাহিনী জনগণের পক্ষে যেভাবে সরকার বিরোধী ভূমিকা সমর্থন করেছে- তার কোন নজির নেই। এ ধরনের বিপ্লব অনন্য- একক। এর একমাত্র কারণ, পাক জংগীশাহীর শোষণ আর অত্যাচার; অপর দিকে বঙ্গবন্ধুর আদর্শের প্রতি তাদের অকুণ্ঠ সমর্থন।

আমরা সশস্ত্র বাহিনী বিশেষ করে তথাকথিত পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের পুলিশ কর্মচারীরা ইংরেজ আমলের আইনের মাধ্যমে চবিবশ ঘন্টার জন্যে কাজ-কর্মে নিয়োজিত থেকেও আমরা ছিলাম সমাজের এক শ্রেণীর ঘৃণিত অস্পৃশ্য বীজ- পাক শাসকচক্রের ক্রীড়নক সমাজের এক শ্রেণরি অবহেলিত পদদলিত সরকারী কর্মচারী। আমরা কোনদিন মানুষের আস্থাভাজন হতে পারিনি- অথচ গাধার খাটুনি খেটেও আমরা ছিলাম অস্পৃশ্য অবহেলিত। আমরা চবিবশ ঘন্টা বিরামহীন পরিশ্রম করেও সমাজের কাছে হয়েছি লাঞ্ছিত-অবহেলিত। আমাদের দৈনন্দিন

দুঃখ-কষ্ট, অভাব-অনটন থাকা সত্ত্বেও আমরা বিরামহীন সমাজের সেবা করেছি, কিন্তু তার বিনিময়ে শুনেছি 'পুলিশ জুলুম চলবে না' পুলিশ গোষ্ঠী নিপাত যাক' শ্লোগান। কিন্তু কেন, কন এই বিড়ম্বনা, এর জন্য দায়ী কারা- সমাজ, না রাষ্ট্রব্যবস্থা? এ বিচার কি কেউ কোনদিন করেছিল? করেনি। তাই আমাদের এ বিপ্লব পাক জংগীশাহীর বিরুদ্ধে আমাদের বিক্ষোভ। বঙ্গবন্ধুর অসহযোগ আন্দোলনে আমরা একার- আর পূর্ণ সহযোগী।

আজকে সমাজ-মানুষের চিন্তাধারায় পরিবর্তন হয়েছে। আমরা বাঙ্গালী, মানুষ। সরকারী কর্মচারী হলেও খাকী পোশাকের অন্তরালে আমাদেরও একটি সবুজ মন ঘুমিয়ে আছে, তাকে জাগিয়ে দিতে অনেক সফল সম্ভাবনা আছে বলেই অসহযোগ আন্দোলনের প্রাক্কালে বঙ্গবন্ধু দেশের আভ্যন্তরীণ আইন-শৃংখলার ভার পুলিশের উপরই ন্যস্ত করেছিলেন। সেই মন্ত্রে উদ্বুদ্ধ হয়ে আমরা পূর্ব বাংলার প্রায় পয়তাল্লিশ হাজার পুলিশের কর্মচারী এ আন্দোলনে পাক জংগীশাহীর বিরুদ্ধে সশস্ত্র ভুমিকায় অবতীর্ণ হয়েছি। বঙ্গবন্ধু আমাদের যে দায়িত্ব অর্পণ করেছিলেন, আমরা সে দায়িত্ব যথাযথভাবে পালন করতে চেষ্টা করেছি- বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযুদ্ধে সে কাহিনী চিরদিন স্বর্ণাক্ষরে লিখিত হবে। (এ ব্যাপারে বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযুদ্ধে পুলিশের ভূমিকা শীর্ষক প্রবন্ধ- যা দৈনিক যুগান্তরের গত পনেরোই অক্টোবর সংখ্যায় প্রকাশিত- প্রণিধানযোগ্য।

আজ বাংলাদেশ স্বাধীন ও গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী রাষ্ট্ররূপে স্বীকৃত। আমরা পুলিশ কর্মচারী, অতীতের দুঃখ-দৈন্য ভুলে গিয়ে জনগণের সাথে একাত্ম হয়ে দেশ গঠনের কাজে আত্মনিয়োগ করার দৃঢ়সংকল্প গ্রহণ করবো। ইংরেজ আমালের শোষণরূপ আইন যন্ত্রকে পালটে নিয়ে জনগণের একত্মতাই হবে আমাদের কাম্য। আমরা হবো প্রকৃতই জনগণের বন্ধু আর সেবক এবং সেই ভাবধারার পরিপ্রেক্ষিতেই রচিত হতে হবে আমাদের শাসন ব্যবস্থা। আমাদের দিয়েই হবে তার সার্থক রূপায়ন। এ আশা নিয়েই আমাদের অতীত ধ্যান-ধারণার পরিবর্তন হওয়া বাঞ্ছনীয়।

পাক বাহিনীর অত্যাচারে প্রাণের ভয়ে আমাদের প্রায় দু'হাজার পুলিশ কর্মচারী আশ্রয় নিয়েছেন পশ্চিমবংগ, আসাম, ত্রিপুরা, মেঘালয়ের বিভিন্ন স্থানে। আরও অসংখ্য পুলিশ কর্মচারী রয়েছেন পাক অধিকৃত এলাকায়। আমরা আজ আত্মীয়-স্বজন, বন্ধু-বান্ধব, স্ত্রী-পুত, ছেলে-মেয়েদের সাথে সম্পর্কচ্যুত, তবুও আমরা বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে প্রত্যক্ষ সংগ্রামমুখর- অতীতকে ভুলে গিয়ে আমরা অনাগত ভবিষ্যতের সফল সংগ্রামে নিয়োজিত।

চলমান জীবনে যে-কোন কাজে সংগঠনের গুরুত্ব অপরিসীম। আমাদের অগণিত পুলিশ কর্মচারীরা আজও ছড়িয়ে আছে অধিকৃত এলাকায় এবং ভারতের বিভিন্ন স্থানে। ওদের অভাব-অভিযোগ, দুঃখ-দৈণ্য অবর্ণনীয়- এ জন্যে আমরা বিশেষ করে বাংলাদেশের নিম্নপদস্থ পুলিশ কর্মচারীরা আমাদের ভাইদের দুঃখ-কষ্ট অভাব-অভিযোগের সাথে একাত্ম হতে চাই। আর তাদের ভবিষ্যৎ কর্মপন্থার জন্য দরকার একটি সহায়ক সংস্থা। বাংলাদেশের নিম্নপদস্থ পুলিশ কর্মচারীদের দৈনন্দিন অভাব-অভিযোগ, দুঃখ-দৈন্য মোচনের জন্য একটি সংগঠনের প্রয়োজনীয়তা অনস্বীকার্য। আর এজন্যই আমরা একটি সংস্থার অভাব উপলব্ধি করছি- আশা করি এ ব্যাপারে আপনাদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিত অবশ্যই পাবো।

এ ব্যাপারে আপনাদের পক্ষে আমি বাংলাদেশের পুলিশ প্রধানের অনুমতি চেয়ে আবেদন পেশ করেছি নিয়ম-শৃংখলা ও আইনানুগভাবে আমরা আমাদের অভাব-অভিযোগ সংশ্লিষ্ট কর্তৃপক্ষ ও বাংলাদেশ সরকারের কাছে পেশ করার দৃঢ়সংকল্প নিয়েই আমরা আমাদের লক্ষ্য পথে এগিয়ে যাবো- আপনাদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতাই আমাদের কাম্য। জয় বাংলা।

বাংলাদেশ নিম্নপদস্থ পুলিশ কর্মচারীদের পক্ষে-
(স্বাক্ষর) এ, কে, মকবুল আহমদ
(প্রাক্তন) ভারপ্রাপ্ত পুলিশ কর্মচারী, মেহেরপুর থানা,
কুষ্টিয়া, বাংলাদেশ।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সিনেটর এডওয়ার্ড কেনেডীর প্রতি বাংলাদেশের বুদ্ধিজীবি, শিক্ষক, চলচ্চিত্র শিল্পী ও কুশলী এবং ক্রীড়াবিদদের আবেদন	স্বাধীন বাংলা বেতার কেন্দ্রের দলিল	..... ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL TO SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY

We were not surprised when we saw you taking up the cause of the people of Bangladesh following the noble tradition of your great brothers John and Robert Kennedy. Your forthright denouncement of the Nazi-style campaign of genocide against the Bengali nation and the policy of appeasement as is being pursued by the U. S. President. Richard Nixon, clearly brought consolation for the entire people of Bangladesh. The nation has now overcome the shock of a sudden massacre campaign and is pledged to win freedom from one of history's crudest colonialisms.

Our cause is just and our victory shall mean the victory for justice and democracy-the ideals that you and the American people cherish most. But this victory is being delayed and the suffering of the people is being enhanced by American military and economic aid to Islamabad generals who are brutally suppressing the democratic aspirations of the people.

You have rushed to India to see for yourself the shocking plight of nearly eight million refugees who have fled from Yahya's guns to find minimum safety here. You may also witness the condition of seventy million others who could not flee. They are virtual refugees in their own country were sudden brutal death haunts them constantly. Already a million men, women and children have been methodically decimated. Gestapo- style raids daily pick up hundreds never to be heard of again. The economy of the region has been destroyed irreparably by senseless destruction of commercial and trading centers. Since March 25 Pakistani soldiers were let loose to commit murder, rape, loot and arson at will. Today, after four long months, there has been no let up in this gruesome orgy. And to crown it all has come the declaration of the trial by military court on 11 August 1971 of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the unchallenged and democratically elected leader of Bangladesh. General Yahya did not even hesitate to pronounce the verdict in advance. The great leader is certain to face murder by firing squad unless superior powers restrain the general and his accomplices.

Such a reign of terror can only help to aggravate the refugee problem by unbelievable proportions. But the way the world is proposing to cope with this horrifying tragedy calls for an immediate censure. Finding relief material for ever widening flow of refugees without removing the real cause of the exodus is in itself, becomes a self-defeating process. As every day passes the world moves a step nearer to an international bloodbath over the issue. Yet the dangers could be adverted so easily simply by U. S. refusal to prop up the economically and militarily bankrupt regime of Islamabad. We are sure that American taxpayers, if correctly informed about the tragedy, would be least inclined to foot the hill for Pakistani junta's massacre campaign in Bangladesh.

We appeal to you, your party and the American people to do everything in your power to force the U. S. Administration to reverse its present policy, recognise the People's Republic of Bangladesh and secure the safety and release of its President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

Signatories:

A. R. Mallick
Syed Ali Ahsan
K. Sarwar Murshid
Zahir Raihan
Qamrul Hasan
Ranesh Dashgupta
Faiz Ahmed
Alamgir Kabir
Hasan Imam
Wahidul Huq
Ashraf Ali Chowdhury
M. A. Khair
Kama Lohani
Brojen Das
Sadeq Khan
Belayet Hussain
Mustafa Monwar
Anupam Sen
Motilal Paul
Moudud Ahmed
Quamruzzaman
Farukh Khalil
Dewar Mohammad Ahmed

Ajoy Kumar Roy
Golam Morshed
Anwaruzzaman
Mazharul Islam
Shamsul Alam Sayed
Musharraf Hussain
Rashbehari Ghosh
Anisuzzaman
A. A. Ziauddin Ahmed
Kabori Chowdhury
Narayan Ghosh
Chittaranjan Chowdhury
Khashru Noman
Samar Das
Subhas Dutta
Abdul Jabbar Khan
Udayan Chowdhury
Raju Ahmed
Sumita Devi
Chitta Bordhan
and

Zafar Iqval.

On behalf of

Bangladesh Liberation Council of the Intelligentsia,
Bangladesh Teachers Association.
Bangladesh Film Artists & Technicians Association
Bangladesh Sports Association.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি গঠিত বাংলাদেশ আর্কাইভস কমিটি সংক্রান্ত তথ্য	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতি	১ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION
SPECIAL CIRCULAR

Dated 1-7-71

To,

Dear Sir,

Sub: BANGLADESH ARCHIVES

A Bangladesh Archives Committee has been constituted by the Bangladesh Teachers' Association for collection, preservation and record of all important publications, reports, developments, memoranda, documents, happenings, projects, programs, photographs, films and broadcasts concerning Bangladesh.

Professor Syed Ali Ahsan is the Chairman of the Committee and Mr. Sadeq Khan has been appointed Secretary. Arrangements have been made for safe custody and security cataloguing of records.

Materials may be donated in three categories: Confidential, Special, and General. It has been specifically stipulated that confidential materials may be sealed and stored without the contents being known to any archive official, for future reference strictly in accordance with the directions of the donors. Unsealed, the confidential materials would be kept in strict secrecy and will need the permission of the donors to be consulted. Special materials may be consulted by courtesy of the-Archive Committee, but will need the permission of the donors to be quoted. General Materials may be consulted or quoted by courtesy of the Archive Committee. You are requested to kindly cooperate with this committee by donating your materials for archives 'and by assisting in other ways in the notings and efforts of this committee for documentation of events and association of ideas in connection with Bangladesh movement.

Thanking you.

Yours truly
(Quamruzzaman)
MNA-in-charge
Educational Affairs
Govt. of the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh,
and Executive Vice-President of Bangladesh
Teachers' Association.

শরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ বিজ্ঞান শিক্ষা সম্পর্কিত আলোচনা সভাসমূহের কার্যবিবরণী	বাংলাদেশ শিক্ষক সমিতির দলিল	২৫ নভেম্বর এবং ২ ও ৩ ডিসেম্বর, ১৯৭১

SCIENCE EDUCATION IN BANGLADESH

1.

A meeting was held with Mr. Z. Rahim in chair at 11, Sooterkin Street, Calcutta-I3 on the 25th November, 1971.

The following matters were discussed:

(1)Problems of education, in particular science education in Bangladesh.

(2)Objective of scientific education with special emphasis to the utilization of resources of Bangladesh for the maximum economic growth.

3) Methodology of Scientific education.

Items (1) and (2) were discussed fairly thoroughly. However, in the discussion it was realized that still more thinking was necessary to obtain the right pattern of scientific education which would best serve the objective as outlined in item (2)

Item (3) which naturally follow items (1) and (2) Was not discussed seriously.

The members were requested to think over the matters more seriously and express
their views very briefly in the next meeting so that an overall orientation of scientific education in Bangladesh could be found out.

The meeting was adjourned and it was resolved that the next meeting would be held at 12 noon on the 2nd December 1971 at 11. Sooterkin street to continue discussion.

The following members were present in the meeting:
1. Mr. P. K. Chakraborty
2. Mr. S. K. Bhaltachaijee
3. Dr. M. A.Saleh
4. Mr. C. R. Guha-Roy
5. Dr. A. Rahman
6. Mr. K. K. Roy
7. Mr. S. Alam
8. Mr. A. Das
9. Mr. K.M. Saha
10.Mr. S. K. Mukjiapadhaya
11. Mr. D. Sharma
12. Mr. N. C. Datta-Banik.

Zillur Rahim
25/11/71

* এই দলিলটি যথাসয়ে হাতে না আসায় তারিখের ধারাবাহিকতা রক্ষা করা সম্ভব হয়নি।

2.

A meeting was held on the 2nd December, 1971 at II, sooterkin St., Cal-13 with Professor R. Huq in the chair.

It was decided in the meeting that work of the scheme would be divided primarily into two phases, namely. Phase (1) Planning of courses of scientific studies with the objective of utilization of country's resources for economic development, and Phase (2) Writing of scientific books in Bengali.

It was further decided chat concentration would be given to work out planning of scientific studies as in Phase (1).

Scientists were advised to frame detailed plan of studies in the elementary levels of schools in the first place through discussion amongst themselves, so that comprehensive/courses of studies comprising different disciplines of science could be designed.

The meeting was adjourned and it was resolved that the next meeting could be held on the 13th December, 1971.

The following members were present in the meeting:

1. Dr. A. K.Roy
2. Mr. Sham sui Alam
3. Mr. S. K. Mukhapadhyay
4. Dr. A. Rabmatl
5. Mr. S. Ahmed
6. Mr. P. K. Chakraborty
7. Mr. K. B. Chakraborty
8. Mr. S. K.Saha
9. Dr. A. Quader
10. Mr. K. M. Saba
11. Mr. S.K. Bhattacharjee
12. Mr. K. K. Roy
13. Mr.N.C. Dutta-Banik
14. Mr. C. R. Guha Roy
15. Dr. A. Saleh
16. Mr. D. Sharma.
17. Mr. A: Das
18. Mr. Z. Rahim.

Sd/-

3.

A meeting was held on the 13th December, 1971 at 11. Sooterkin St., Cal-13 with Professor R. Huq in the chair.

The experts of the different branches of science placed in the meeting outlines of curriculum and syllabus of the science courses for the elementary and secondary classes of schools. These were thoroughly examined and discussed and the experts were requested to prepare syllabus for Class I to VIII and submit them in their final form on the next meeting to be held on the 16th Dec., 1971.

The following members were present in the meeting:

1. Dr. A Saleh
2. Mr. D. Sharma
3. Mr. A. Das
4. Mr. K.K.Roy
5. Mr. P. K. Chakraborty
6. Mr. S.K. Saba
7. Mr.Z. Rahim
8. Mr. S. Ahmed.
9. Dr. A. Rahman
10. Mr. S. K. Bhattachrjee
11. Dr. A. Quader.
12. Mr. N. C. Dutta-Banik
13. Mr. S. K. Mukhapadhyay
14. Mr. K. M. Saha.
15. Mr. K. B. Chakraborty.

Sd/------
13. 12.71

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশকে সমর্থন এবং স্বীকৃতির জন্য সরকারকে রাজী করানোর অনুরোধ জানিয়ে বৃটিশ জনগণের প্রতি আহবান	এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

S O S

BANGLADESH

DEAR PEOPLES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The People of '*Bangladesh*' arc being massacred in a *'Nazi like'* manner. Their only crime-They wan ted-freedom and equality!

Brutal and powerful as the West Pakistani butchers are: They have failed to subjugate the freedom loving people of '*Bangladesh*'.

They have bombarded our universities, our student hostels; our houses and even our hospitals!!

They have committed a crime, which is both un-pardonable and unparalleled in human history.

The Bengalis have fought back with courage faith, and their bows & arrows; knives and bamboo sticks against modern Tasks, Sabre Jets, Artillery, Machine Guns and Bazookas!

IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY—please come to the help of Bangladesh.

We believe that the freedom loving peoples of Great Britain can help us and we implore them to come forward now with all the moral and material support that they can muster.

MAKE YOUR GOVERNMENT RECOGNISE AND SUPPORT BANGLADESH' NOW!!

BANGLADESH ACTION COMMITTEE
52, Wordsworth Road.
Small Heath.
Birmingham 10.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানী ব্যাংক ও বীমা কোম্পানীতে টাকা না রাখার জন্য প্রবাসী বাঙালীদের প্রতি আহবান	এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

পাকিস্তানের শব দাফন

পাকিস্তানের অর্থনীতি খতম। আসুন এবারে আমরা সবাই মিলে তার কাফন তৈরীর কাজে লেগে যাই।

গত তেইশ বছর ধরে ওরা আমাদের শোষণ করে এসেছে এবং আমাদের টাকায় বন্দুক কিনে আজ আমাদের বুকে মারছে। ওদের ব্যাংকে অথবা ইন্সিওরেন্স কোম্পানীতে টাকা দেয়া মানেই তাদের বন্দুক কিনতে সাহায্য করা। অতএব আসুন, আমরা ওগুলোকে বর্জন করে আমাদের মুক্তিসংগ্রামকে আর এক ধাপ এগিয়ে দেই।

১। দেশে পরিবারের কাছে টাকা পাঠাতে বিকল্প ব্যবস্থা গ্রহণ করুন।

২। অবিলম্বে নিম্নলিখিত পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী ব্যাংকের একাউন্ট বন্ধ করুন এবং পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানী ইন্সিওরেন্স কোম্পানীর পলিসি 'সারেন্ডার' করুন।

ব্যাংকঃ ন্যাশনাল ব্যাংক অব পাকিস্তান। হাবিব ব্যাংক লিমিটেড। ইউনাইটেড ব্যাংক লিমিটেড। স্ট্যান্ডার্ড ওভারসিজ ব্যাংক অব পাকিস্তান। কমার্স ব্যাংক। মুসলিম কমার্শিয়াল ব্যাংক লিমিটেড।

ইন্সিওরেন্সঃ ইস্টার্ণ ফেডারেল ইউনিয়ন ইন্সিওরেন্স কোং। আদমজী ইন্সিওরেন্স কোং। হাবিব ইন্সিওরেন্স কোং। মুসলিম ইন্সিওরেন্স কোং।

পিপলস রিপাবলিক অব বাংলাদেশ ইন ইউ-কে, বেজওয়াটার ব্রাঞ্চ-এর সৌজন্যে।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ব্রাডফোর্ডের বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদের ২৫শে এপ্রিল অনুষ্ঠিত সভার প্রস্তাবাবলী	এ্যাকশন কমিটির প্রচারপত্র	২৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH SANGRAM PARISHAD (BRADFORD)
9 Cornwall Terrace
Bradford BD8 7JT

২৫শে এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

অদ্য রবিবার ২৫শে এপ্রিল স্থানীয় টেক্সটাইল হলে বিকাল তিন ঘটিকার সময় ব্রাডফোর্ড বাংলাদেশ সংগ্রাম পরিষদের এক কাউন্সিল মিটিং অনুষ্ঠিত হয়। সংগ্রাম পরিষদের একজিকিউটিভ কমিটির সদস্যরা সুষ্ঠুভাবে সংগ্রাম পরিষদের কার্যাবলী পরিচালনা করতে না পারায় ও নানারূপ মতানৈক্যের সৃষ্টি হওয়ায় উপস্থিত কাউন্সিল সদস্যগণ সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে নিম্নলিখিত ব্যাক্তিগণের হতে পরিষদের দায়িত্বভার অর্পণ করেন এবং নতুন কমিটি না হওয়া পর্যন্ত তারা পরিষদের সকল কাজ চালিয়ে যাবে। আজ থেকে পুরাতন একজিকিউটিভ কমিটির সকল সদস্যকে তাদের সকল প্রকার দায়িত্বভার থেকে মুক্তি দেয় হলো।

উক্ত কমিটি এ সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে নিম্নলিখিত সিদ্ধান্ত নেয়া হয়ঃ

1) আজ পর্যন্ত পরিষদের নামে যে সমস্ত চাঁদা নেয় হয়েছে তা ফিরিয়ে দেয়া হবে।

2) ইয়র্কশায়ার ও অন্যান্য সংস্থাতে যারা পরিষদের পক্ষে প্রতিনিধিত্ব করছিলেন তাদের আর প্রতিনিধিত্বের ক্ষমতা থাকবে না।

3) একজিকিউটিভ কমিটির পুরনো সদস্যরা নতুন একজিকিউটিভ কমিটিতে অবশ্যই সদস্য হতে পারবেন না।

4) ইয়র্কশায়ারসহ অন্যান্য সংস্থাতে প্রতিনিধিত্ব করার জন্য নতুন একজিকিউটিভ কমিটি নতুন প্রতিনিধি নিযুক্ত করবে এবং সকল সংস্থাকে লিখিতভাবে জানিয়ে দেবে।

5) নতুন একজিকিউটিভ কমিটি গঠন না হওয়া পর্যন্ত সংগ্রাম পরিষদদের কোন কাজ নিম্নলিখিত ব্যাক্তিগণের লিখিত পত্র ব্যতিরেকে হতে পারবে না।

6) আগামী রবিবার পরিষদের নতুন একজিকিউটিভ কমিটি গঠন করা হবে। স্থান ও সময় পরে জানানো হবে।

কাউন্সিলের পক্ষ থেকে নির্বাচিত সদস্যবৃন্দ (স্বাক্ষর)ঃ

১। এম, খান
২। নূরুল ইসলাম চৌধুরী
৩। হাজী আসাব আলী
৪। এস, আবেদীন
৫। এন, উল্লাহ
৬। আবদুস সোবহান
৭। মোঃ আজিজুর রহমান
৮। সায়িফউদ্দিন আহমদ
৯। নূরউদ্দিন
১০। আলতাব আলী
১১। সুনফর আলী
১২। সোহরাব আ
১৩। আনাম খান
১৪। বসির উদ্দিন
১৫। মজলিস আলী

(সীলমোহর)
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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে রচিত বাংলাদেশের কবিগান	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন (ল্যাংকারশায়ার ও পার্শ্ববর্তী এলাকা) প্রকাশিত পুস্তিকা	মে, ১৯৭১

বাংলার এ দুর্দিনে যার অপার উৎসাহে এই ক্ষুদ্র কবিগান লেখা সম্ভব হলো, তিনি আর কেউ নন- তিনি আমার প্রতিবেশী ও পরম শুভাকাংক্ষী বন্ধুবর মাষ্টার এ, আজিজ। তারই সহযোগিতায় কবিগানটি উৎসর্গ করলাম রকেট যুগের অগ্নিপুরুষ, বঙ্গজননীর বীর সন্তান স্বাধীন বাংলার স্রষ্টা বঙ্গবন্ধু শেখ মুজিবুর রহমান সাহেবকে...

''আমাকে বন্দী করো, আমাকে হত্যা করো-
এতে আমার দুঃখ নেই; কিন্তু আমার দেশবাসীর
উপর অত্যাচার কোরো না।'' মুজিব-

বাংলাদেশের কবিগান

-কবি আবদুর রহমান খান রচিত

চিল শকুনে মানুষ খায় হায়রে সোনার বাংলায়
হুকুম দিল এহিয়ায় খুন করিতে।। (ধুয়া)

উনিশ সাত চল্লিশ সনে, হিন্দু আর মুসলমানে
সোনার ভারত স্বাধীন আনে বৃটিশ রাজ হতে
দুই ধর্ম দুই জাতি পাক-ভারত হলো স্থিতি
গেল ভাই বাংলার শক্তি দুই ভাগেতে।।

পূর্ব-পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের শাসন করে খান পাঠান
বাঙ্গালীরা ভাই জানে ভাব ভক্তিতে
পূর্ব বাংলার ফল ফসল তাদেরে খাওয়াইয়া সকল
বাংলার মানুষ হল দুর্বল এ জগতে।।

ধর্মের নাকে জুয়া খেলা লুটলোরে সোনার বাংলা
তেইশ বছরের দুঃখ জ্বালা পারি না সহিতে,
কি বলিব দুঃখের কাহিনী দুই নয়নে ঝরে পানি
দেশে যত হয় আমদানী তাদের ভাগ্যেতে।।

পাট তামাক চা আমরা ফলাই, গো মহিষের চামড়া খল
মোদের ভগ্যে সকলই ছাই খাই, তাদের হাতে
দুঃখের উপর দুঃখ ভারী, কড়াক্রান্তি হিসাব করি
দিতে হ'ল খাজনার কড়ি অফিস আদালতে।।
বলছি গত বন্যার কথা, হঠাৎ এল ঘূর্ণিবার্তা।
হারায়াছি ভগ্নি ভ্রাতা পানি না ভুলিতে,
হাতিয়া সন্দ্বীপের অধিবাসী একশ পঁচিশ হাজারের বেশী
জলের স্রোতে গেল ভাসি নদী নালাতে।।

ভোলা ও পটুয়াখালি হয়ে গেছে মানুষ খালি
মায়ে ছেলে গলাগলি ভাসা পানিতে
নোয়াখালী ও বরিশালে মানুষের লাশ খালে বিলে
মাংস খাইল কাক শৃগালে পাইলাম দেখিতে।।

মানুষ পশু সারি সারি ভাসল জলে মরি-মরি
সোনার বাংলার নরনারী কাঁদছে শোকেতে
ওদের কান্দনের সুর শুনল কি সরকার বাহাদুর
বল মোদের কিয়া কসুর চাই জানিতে।

ডুবল মাঠের পাট ধান্য ঘরে নাই কারো মুষ্টি অন্ন
কি আছে বাংগালীর জন্য জীবন রাখিতে
বাংলাদেশের কয়টি জেলা চিটাগাং ঢাকা কুমিল্ল
বারে বারে বন্যার ঠেলা আছে ভুগিতে।।

মানপুরাতে মরছে মানুষ আহার বিনে হইয়া বেহুঁশ
পশ্চিমারা খায় কাঁঠাল কোষ ময়দার রুটিতে
বড় কষ্টে দিন কাটাই ডাইল ভাত খাইতে না পাই
তৈল বিনা জটারে লাগাই বধূর চুলেতে।।

নায্য দাবী চাইলে মোরা বহে মোদের রক্তধারা
কারো হাতে শিকলকড়া ভরে জেলেতে
বাংলার যুবক বি-এ পাশ দেশে কাটে ঘোড়ার ঘাস
কেউ টানেরে মরা লাশ চৌকিদারীতে।।

উনিশ আটান্ন সনে আইয়ুব বসেন সিংহাসনে
ইস্কান্দার মির্জা যায় বৃটেনে প্রাণের ভয়েতে
কামান গোলার ভয় দেখাইয়া রক্ত মোদের খায় চুষিয়া
বাংলার মানুষ চুপ করিয়া রইল ঘরেতে।।
শোনেন দেশের ইতিকথা দেশে আনল চেয়ারম্যান প্রথা
ভাঙ্গিল বাংগালীর মাথা ভোট না দিতে
সংখ্যায় আমরা অনেক বেশী দুঃখের ভিতর ফুটে হাসি
বানাইতে চায় মানুষ ডাক্তারী মতে।।

শেরে বাংলা সুহরাওর্দী বাংলার শোকে কাঁদি কাঁদি
দুঃখ পাইল জন্মবধি অন্যায় শক্তিতে।
রেখে গেল প্রেমসিন্ধু শেখ মুজিব বঙ্গবন্ধু
জাগিল বাংগালী পঙ্গু তাহার ডাকেতে।।

স্ট্রাইক হল কলেজ স্কুল ছাত্রছাত্রী তুলল রোল
বাংগালীরা আঁখি খোল সংগ্রাম চালাইতে

ভয় পেয়ে বীর আয়ুব খানে এহিয়াকে ডেকে আনে
বসাইল নিজাসনে স্বার্থ রখিতে।।

নেতা যেজন পিতা বটে হয় না নেতা বটে চটে
নেতা হয়ে গণভোটে স্বাধীন দেশেতে
হইল দেশে ভোটাভোটি বাংগালীরা সপ্তকোটি
ভোট দিয়াছে মানুষ খাঁটি মুজিবের হাতে।।

শেখ মুজিবের হ'ল জয় পাঞ্জানী পাঠানের ভয়
বাংলার বুকে হ'ল উদয় চন্দ্র নিশিথে
মুজিব হবেন রাষ্ট্রশ্রেষ্ঠ পাঞ্জাবীদের মনে কষ্ট
কি ভাবে হয় শ্রেষ্ট নষ্ট ভাবে কমজাতে।।

কলকৌশলে তিন মাস গেল দুটি তারিখ বাতিল হল
বাংলার মানুষ জেগে উঠল বাঁচার দাবীতে
মোদের এত রোনাজারী দেখ এহিয়ার ছলচাতুরি
কারফিউ আইন জারি করি দলি ঢাকাতে।।

বঙ্গবন্ধু বল্লেন তবে এবার বাংলা স্বাধীন হবে
বাংলার মানুষ কাঁদবে কত পেটের ক্ষুধাতে
আছে হাড় নাই মাংস সব নিয়াছে রাবন কংস
হায়রে অসুরের ধ্বংস মানব সুরেতে।।

যখন ভুট্টো এহিয়ায় মিলে ঢাকায় যায় মিটিং-এর ছলে
আশায় ভাষায় কথা বলে শর্ত সন্ধিতে
পাঠান পাঞ্জাবী সত্তর হাজার বংগসাগর দিচ্ছেরে পারি
কেউ জানে না সংবাদটি তার বাংলার মাটিতে।।

ভুট্টো এহিয়া পাজি কথা বলে আজিবাজি
পৌঁছিল যাইয়া করাচী পশ্চিম দেশেতে
দেশে গিয়ে দিল ভাষণ শেখ মুজিব রাষ্ট্র দুশমন
সাত কোটি বাংগালীর মন তখন জ্বলে গোস্বাতে।।

শেখ মুজিবের স্বপ্নধ্যান সাত কোটি বাংগালীর প্রাণ
বৃদ্ধলোক হইয়াছে জোয়ান শত্রুনাশিতে
কেঁপে ওঠে ঢাকার সিটি কেউ লইলরে হস্তে লাঠি
চায় ওরা শান্তি সৃষ্টি অশান্তি দেশেতে।।

তখন উঠল বাংলার জয় পতাকা চারিদিকে তার স্বর্ণমাখা
ভিতরে বংগের চিত্র আঁকা বাংলা কালিতে
আহা কি বিচিত্র নিশান জানিয়া কোন কবির ধ্যান
এই নিশানের গাহিব গান বাঁচলে ধরাতে।।

চোরের মতন রাত বারটায় দুশমন সৈন্য গেল ঢাকায়
গান মেশিন ট্যাংক বন্দুক চালায় ঘুমের ঘরেতে
ঘরে ঘরে আগুন দিল ঢাক শহর ছাই করিল
লক্ষাধিক মানুষ মরিল কামানের গোলাতে।।

ভাংলো ঢাকার ইউনিভার্সিটি ছাত্র মারল কোটি কোটি
রাংগা হোল ঢাকার মাটি মানুষের রক্তে
রোকেয়া ইকবাল হলে তিনদিন ভরা আগুন জ্বলে
নাশিল শিক্ষা সমূহে গোলাম বানাইতে।।

হাকিম মোক্তার ব্যারিষ্টার প্রফেসার আর লেকচারার
মারে কত বিজ্ঞ ডাক্তার অগ্নি অস্ত্রেতে
হত্যাযজ্ঞ অবশেষে ছড়ে পড়ে সারা দেশে
শহর বন্দর ভরল লাশে চিটাগাংগেতে।।

বিদেশী সাংবাদিক যারা তাদেরে করিয় তাড়া
মিটাইল সাধ পুরাপুরি মনের খুশিতে
হোস্টেল বোর্ডিং দিয়ে হানা চালাইল হায় জিনাকিনা
কবিতার ছন্দ চলে না এসব লিখিতে।।

হসপিটাল ফার্মেসী যত ভাঙল ঢাকায় শত শত
সৃষ্টি নতুন ইতিবৃত্ত বংগ ভুমিতে
রেডক্রস দিল ফিরাইয়া পাষাণ নিষ্ঠুর ইয়াহিয়া
গেল ভাই কারবালা হইয়া ঢাকার বুকেতে।।

যেমন এজিদ সীমার মারোয়ান, এহিয়া ভুট্টো টিক্কা খান
বধিতে বাংগালী সন্তান নামল রণেতে
জয়নাল আবেদীন হবেই রাজা উড়াও স্বাধীন বঙ্গধ্বজা
ঠিক রাখ ভাই নামাজ রোজা ইমানের সাথে।।

কচি কচি ছেলেমেয়ে বাঁধিল পাষাণ কোন হৃদয়ে
শিশুর লাগি কাঁদে মায়ে বসি রাস্তাতে
লক্ষ লক্ষ নরনারী চলে গেল গৃহ ছাড়ি
বনজঙ্গল পাড়ি দিয়া স্বাধীন ভারতে।।

ধন্যরে ভাই ভারতবাসী, তোরাই মোদের প্রতিবেশী
তোরাই ফুটাইলি হাসি- মায়ের মুখেতে,
থাকবো তোদের চিরঋণী, লিখবো ভাই ভারতের কাহিনী
উঠবে যখন দিনমণি, ভাঙ্গা ঘরেহে।।

কুমিল্লার শ্রী ধীরেন দত্ত, গুলিতে হইলেন নিহত,
কাঁদছে মানুষ শত শত সারা বাংলাতে

শুটিং, লুটিং, বার্ণিং, হত্যা বলবো কত মৃত্যুর কথা
নত নয় বাংগালীর মাথা থাকবে উঁচুতে।।

রংপুরের মশিউর রহমান, হয়ে গেলেন শহীদ কুরবান
সিলেটে ফরিদ দেওয়ান অনেক মতে।
ছিল ওরা দেশের বাতি, থাকবে অমর ওদের খ্যাতি
ফিরে যদি বাংলার জ্যোতি, আল্লার কৃপাতে।।

সারা বঙ্গে পড়ল সাড়া, বুকটান করিয়া দাঁড়া
লড়তে হবে গুলি ভরা বন্দুকের সাথে।
বাংলার পুলিশ, ই পি আর, হেরি দুঃখ বঙ্গ মা'র,
রণ করিতে হ'ল তৈয়ার আনন্দ চিত্তে।।

রাখতে হবে বাংলা স্বাধীন, থাকলে ধরার আসমান জমিন
বলেছেন মন্ত্রী তাজউদ্দীন, বাংলা হতে,
মৌলানা ভাসানীর বাড়ী, উঠছেরে শহীদের ধ্বনি
বিলাইয়া দে জিন্দেগানী, আল্লার রাহেতে।।

ওরা দিল বীরের পরিচয়, জয় জয় বাংলা জয়,
শত্রুসৈন্যের পরাজয় রণ ক্ষেত্রেতে,
শত্রুসেনা রণ ছাড়ি, উঠল রে আকাশে উড়ি
প্লেন হতে বোমার ঝড়ি লাগে ফেলিতে।।

বাংলাদেশের জেলায় জেলায় কাপুরুষরা বোমা ফেলায়
কুষ্টিয়া ও চুয়াডাংগায় ভীষণ জোরেতে,
হায়রে মোদের অস্ত্র নাই, মরবে কি বাংগালী সিপাই
ভাই মরিলে কাঁদবেরে মায় পুত্র শোকেতে।।

দিনাজপুরে আবদুর রবে বীরত্ব দেখায় সগৌরবে
বংগ মা তোর জয় হবে স্বাধীন জঙ্গেতে,
শ্রীহট্টে মেজর ওসমান, রাখিতে স্বাধীন জন্মস্থান
চালাইল যুদ্ধ অভিযান নানান জেলাতে।।

ইউনুস আলী চীপ এডভাইজার আরেক সন্তান বঙ্গ মা'র
পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানে হাজার হাজার আছেন বন্দীতে।
ওরা যদি থাকতো মুক্ত, দেখতে মা তুই শত্রুর রক্ত
আদায় করতো তোমার শর্ত ভীম পদাঘাতে।।

বোশেখ মাসের পাকা ধান, মাঠে মাঠে হইল বিরাট
কৃষক শ্রমিক লড়িতে যান, পাছে বৃদ্ধ পিতা হাঁকে
শত্রুমাররে লাখে শোভা নাই এতে।।

এই মতন হাজার ভাই সভার নাম জানা নাই
ওদের কাছে সালাম জানাই বিলাত হইতে,
নছিব মন্দ ঘরের বার, মোরা হেথায় আমি হাজার
পাইলাম ভাগ শহীদ সুধার কলির যুগেতে।।

যেথায় যত বংগবাসী দেশের লাগি হও উদাসী
কে দোষী কে নির্দেষী দেখরে শেষেতে,
ছাড় হিংসা দলাদলি ঐক্য দাঁড়াও মাথা তুলি,
মাকে ডাক 'মা' বলি আও একতাতে।।

মিনতি বিশ্বের মহাশক্তি, বাংলাদেশের চাই স্বীকৃতি
সাত কোটি মানুষের শান্তি, চাই কমনওয়েলথে,
শুন মা ইংলন্ডের রাণী, তোমার কাছে এই বাণী,
দাও ফিরাইয়া চিন্তামণি, সিরাজ বাংলাতে।।

গানটি আমার রক্তলেখা, উর্ধ্বে তোর জয় পতাকা,
মায়ের অঙ্গে রক্ত মাখা, বাংলা ভাষাতে।
বলছে কথা এ রহমান, এবার মোদের শেষ রক্তদান,
জয় বাংলার জয় গান, গাওরে খুশীতে।।

প্রকাশনায়ঃ বাংলাদেশ এসোসিয়েশন (ল্যাংকাশায়ার ও পার্শ্ববর্তী এলাকা) ৩৩৬, স্টকপোর্ট রোড, ম্যানচেস্টার।

প্রকাশক কর্তৃক সর্বস্বত্ব সংরক্ষিত।

লেখক বৃটেনে কর্মরত একজন সাধারণ শ্রমিক। ১৯৭১ সনের ৮ মে ম্যাঞ্চেস্টারে অনুষ্ঠিত জনসভায় গানটি পরিবেশিত হয়। এই সভায় বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী উপস্থিত ছিলেন।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের উদ্দেশ্য ও কার্যাবলী সম্পর্কে প্রতিবেদন	লন্ডনস্থ বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	জুন, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY

59, Seymour House
Tavistock Place
LONDON WCI
Phone 837-4542

AN INTRODUCTION

The Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society in U.K. is an organisation of the writers, poets, painters, musicians, signers, teachers, students, scientists, journalists, and all others from Bangladesh engaged in cultural activities and are staying overseas for one reason or the others.

The object of the Society is to support the liberation struggle of the people of Bangladesh, to project the cultural basis of our nationalism to impress upon the world opinion the inevitability of the independence of Bangladesh, and particularly to establish close contact with and obtain support from the progressive and freedom-loving intellectuals of the world in favor of the struggle against the worst kind of dictatorship and colonialism in Bangladesh.

It is the duty of the Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society to build up and sustain a zeal and a determination among the people to preserve the cultural heritage of Bangladesh and destroy the peoples culture.

It is urged upon all patriotic citizens of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh to participate in the activities of the Society. In order to achieve the above objectives the Society will endeavor to arrange lectures, seminars, symposia, debates, musical soirees, patriotic dramas, organise special exhibitions of paintings, photographs and films, publish appropriate journals; and sponsor cultural delegations from Bangladesh for better dissemination of the peoples culture of our country.

Citizens of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh are requested to contact the above address.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH.

Munni Rahman
General Secretary

Enamul Haque
President

JUNE 1971

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদ প্রচারিত স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের গান (বাংলা ও ইংরেজী)	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের প্রচারপত্র	জুন, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY
London.

1.
Where the land is pure and air is fresh
That is Bangladesh-..
Where the rivers flow through the fields to sea
Where the sky is blue and cloud milky
Where all birds can sing
in winter and spring
through storms and rains
in ever happiness
That is Bangladesh.
Where the farmers and workers all fight serfdom
Wherein blood is spilled to build freedom
Where we resist all fascists
and fight colonialists
and crush all enemies
in ever readiness.
That is Bangladesh.
Lyric & Tune: Enamul Haque Bangali

2.
Listen my friend will you listen
1 am a Bangladeshi citizen
My head is burning
My heart is aching
Still my soul goes singing on.

My mother's nose-ring has been stolen
My home and hearth have all been broken

I lost my love-bird lost my orchard
Still I have not become a coward
My rivers are there
My boats are all there
I shall sail now everywhere.
Lyric: Enamul Haque Bangali
Tune: Bengali Traditional (adopted)

স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের গান

১.
এসো দেশের ভাই এক সাথে সবাই
এসো ভেদাভেদ ভুলে এবার করব যে লড়াই।।
যেখানে কণ্ঠভরা ছিল গান আর গোলাভরা ছিল ধান হে
যেখানে শিশুর মুখের হাসি দেখে জুড়াত সব মায়ের প্রাণ হে
আজ সেই দেশেতে ঘরে বাইরে কোথাও শান্তি নাই।

অত্যাচারী হত্যাকারী নরপিশাচের আক্রমণে।
বর্বর বিদেশী যত শোষকের ঘৃণ্য আচরণে।
যেখানে শহরে বন্দরে গ্রামে উঠেছে আজ সংগ্রামের ঢেউ
যেখানে ছেলেবুড়ো মা বোনেরা মৃত্যুকে আর ভয় করে না কেউ
সেই বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা আনব যে আমরাই।।

বাংগালী জাগে বাংগালী জাগে বাংগালী জগে
লড়াই-এর ময়দানে ছুটে কে যাবি চল আগে।।

মাতৃভূমি কাঁদেরে ভাই জন্মভূমি কাঁদে বাংলাদেশ কাঁদে
লড়াই লড়াই লড়াই কর পা দিও না ফাঁদে।।

২.
মুক্তি যদি পেতে চাও হেইও হেইও হেইও
অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও হেইও হেইও হেইও
বুক ফুলিয়ে এগিয়ে যাও হেইও হেইও হেইও
মুক্তি ফৌজ নাম লেখাও হেইও হেইও হেইও
যার বুকে আছে দেশের টান হেইও হেইও হেইও
সে দিতে পারে নিজের প্রাণ হেইও হেইও হেইও
সাবাস বাংলার মজুর কিষাণ হেইও হেইও হেইও
সাবাস বাংলার নওজোয়ান হেইও হেইও হেইও
সব বেদনার হবে শেষ হেইও হেইও হেইও
স্বাধীন হবে বাংলাদেশ হেইও হেইও হেইও
মুক্তি যদি পেতে চাও হেইও হেইও হেইও
অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও হেইও হেইও হেইও।।

কথা ও সুরারোপ- এনামুল হক

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ-গণ সংস্কৃতি সংসদের কর্মকর্তাদের নামের তালিকা	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	জুন, ১৯৭১

BANGALDESH PEOPLES COULTURAL SOCIETY

List of office bearers and executive committee members :

1	President	Mr. Enamul Hoque, 33 Abbey Road, Oxford 0865 46837
2	Vice Presidents	Mr. Shafiqur Rahman, 146 Cheviot Gardens N.W. 2 4558031
3		Mr. Eazle Lohani, 93 Chippenham R.d.W. 9 Mr. Sahidud Dahar, 79 Chiltern Ways, Northampton
5	General Secretary	Mrs. Munni Rahman, 59 Seymour House, Tavistock PI WCI 837 4542
6	Joint Secretaries	Mr. Mahmud Hasan, 40 Longridge Rd, SW5 373 9675
7		Mr. Jakiuddin Ahmed, 37 Bellawye St. SW 12.
8	Organising Secy	Mr. Bulbul Mahmud, 89 Colvill Rd, E 11,556 0845
9	Treasurer	Mr. Anis Ahmed, 2 Temperley Rd, S.W. 12. 572 5720
10	Members	Mrs. Lulu Bilkis Banu, 27 Courtfield Grdns, SW5 373 7241
11		Mrs. Zebunnessa Khair, 96 Aderbrook Rd, SW 12.673 4197
12		Mr. Ahmed Hossain Joardar, 16 Samfoin Rd. SW 17.
13		Mr. Abdur Rouf, 2 Temperley Rd. SW 12.673 5720
14		Mr.A Rouf, 66/A Hanbury St. E. 1.247 1469
15		Mr.Mesbah Uddin Ahmed, 129 Haverstock Hill NW 2.722 2962
16		Mr. Nazrul Islam, 134 Himley Rd, SW17
17		Mr. A Razzak Syed, 111 Westbourne Park Rd, W2
18		Mr. Ziaur Rahman Khan. 16 Pirbright Rd. SW 12. 874 4296
19		Dr. Hujjat Ali Pramanik, 2 Putney High St, SW 15 788 1476

Note : New members may be co-opted and the organisation will have correspondi all over U.K.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনে বাংলাদেশ মিশন প্রতিষ্ঠা প্রসঙ্গে নীতিগত সম্মতি জানিয়ে মুজিবনগর থেকে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর প্রধান সহযোগীর চিঠি	ডঃ এনামুল হককে লিখিত চিঠি	৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

D.O. No. 210

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
Mujibnagar
July 8, 1971

Mr. Enamul Huq,
33 Abbey Road.
Oxford. U. K.

Dear Mr. Huq,

I received your letter dated 18th May '71 which you kindly sent through Mr. Chesworth. I have carefully gone through your various proposals. The Govt. have no objection in principle with regard to opening of Bangladesh Centre or Bangladesh Mission in England. We are sending necessary instructions and advise to Mr. Justice Chowdhury and his Steering Committee. This indeed will help to exchange our news and views. I personally feel that the need is too greet for such an office and if this be agreed by the Steering Committee, certainly we will welcome such effort.

With regard to Mr. Pasha. I have never met him. I don't know if he has come to Calcutta. As far as we are concerned we would like to coordinate all our activities through the Steering Committee. At this moment we are discussing the details with Mr. Bhuia who is now on his visit here.

With regard to the Philatelic, the designs have been approved. If you have other designs in hand please go ahead and send them for our approval. There is no harm in having more. With regard to publications, our Calcutta Mission has not been able to publish any news bulletin as yet. We very much look towards our London Office for bringing out a good publication immediately, at least in form of a News Bulletin.

Please show this letter to Mr. Justice Chowdhury and have his concurrence in all your activities which you propose to do. Convey my best regards to Mr. Justice Chowdhury and other friends in Britain.

With kindest regards,

I remain.
Yours sincerely.
(Rahmat Ali)
Principle Aide to the Prime Minister.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসে বাংলাদেশের বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় গঠনের প্রস্তবসহ বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে লিখিত চিঠি	ওয়ার্লড ইউনিভার্সিটি সার্ভিসের পক্ষে এ্যাসোসিয়েট এক্সিকিউটিভ সেক্রেটারীর চিঠি	৮ জুলাই ১৯৭১

World University Service
20 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y. 10018.

July 8, 1971

Justice A. S. Chowdhury
11 Goring Street
London EC 3, England.

Dear Justice Chowdhury,

It was a privilege to have met with you during your brief visit to New York in connection with focusing U. N. and IJ. S. attention on the grim drama being enacted in Bangladesh.

I am writing this letter to propose an idea, and will deeply appreciate your response.

As you know. World University Service is committed to the assistance of students and scholars around the world, particularly when the university community is seriously affected, as in the case of the current Pakistani crisis. I think that the establishment of a University-In-Exile for those students and scholars who have fled from East Pakistan will not only dramatize the tragedy, but also serve as an oasis for those who have been persecuted. In a larger and more universal sense, it will also serve as a symbol of hope for others in the world who may have experienced the same kind of suffocation that totalitarian governments often impose on intellectuals.

If the Bangladesh University-In-Exile, located probably in West Bengal or any other part of India, sounds feasible, then a plan could be drawn up to secure substantial assistance from a major Foundation in the United States to give shape and substance tc this concept.

We feel that an outright appeal for funds to aid the refugees will not have much success with major foundations, since they do not look upon themselves as relief agencies, but rather as development agents that can effect social change.

Before I venture to draw up any plans to send to you for your comments and suggestions, I would like to get your reaction to the idea as such. I am sending copies of

this letter to several people, as you can see, and will keep you posted about their reactions.

With all my best.

Sincerely yours.
K. B. Rao
Associate Executive Secretary,

cc Mr. S. Chidambaranathan
Dr. Harry D. Gidconese
Mr. Enamul Haque
Mr. Jamshed Khan
Dr. A. R. Mallick
Mr. Leon O. Marion
Dr. Glen T. Nygreen
Mr. Leonard Sussman

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনের হাইডপার্কের সমাবেশে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর ভাষণের বিবরণী	লন্ডনস্থ এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৮ জুন, ১৯৭১

"Joy Bangla-Joy Bangla"

We have assembled here to put an appeal to the people of Great Britain and to the people of the world to convey our message to them that butcher Yahya Khan of West Pakistan is continuing an unabated programme of genocide on Bangladesh. And it is the duty of all the freedom loving people of the world to condemn him and to stop him continuing with his programme of genocide. Today we have here we are going with a procession after this meeting is over to the Chinese Embassy and to the American Embassy with our appeal to them to stop their Aid to Yahya Khan and his brutal regime. I will request you all to raise your voice against this tyrranian oppression and to raise your voice with us so that the government of the world particularly Govt. of the people's Republic of China and America stop aid and recognize Bangladesh. And I can only say to you that top stop this genocide is the only way to recognize Bangladesh. And there is no other way out. So, I would request you to raise yoyr slogan with me, "Recognize, Recognize"-"Bangladesh, Bangladesh." "Recognize, Recognize"- "Bangladesh, Bangladesh," "Love live, Long live"-"Bangladesh, Bangladesh." "Long live, long live"- "Bangladesh, Bangladesh." Thank you, I would now request our special representative of the Govt. of Bangladesh Hon'ble Mr. Justice Choudhury to come upon the stage and to say few words to you. Thank you very much.

Clapping and Slogans: Joy Bangla!

Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury

"Friends and fellow citizens of independent Bangladesh, I convey to you on behalf of the Govt. of Bangladesh, their sense of gratitude and the warm Sympathy and support at this hour of our grim struggle.

Clapping-----

You are aware, ladies and gentlemen, that we have been trying by constitutional means to put an end to the political domination and economic exploitation which we have suffered in silence for the last twenty three years. But you are also aware, ladies and gentlemen, how the army junta of Yahya Khan stopped the attainment of our goal by constitutional means. And on the twenty-fifth March a. midnight they let loose the army on the unarmed civil population of Bangladesh and committed and are still committing genocide on the people of Bangladesh. In the wake of this massacre, went up the spontaneous cry of independence (Shame! Shame ! ------) and the seventy five million people declared themselves independent of Yaha Khan's administration.

-Clapping--------

We are now engage in grim struggle to thwart the invading army of Yahya Khan. (Clapping .....Joy Bangla).

In that grief…….(Mike failed) grim struggle, we expect the support and sympathy of the peoples of the world. The agony in one part of the world must reach the peoples of all other parts. And we are particularly grateful to the British nation, to the British Press, Radio and Television for their profound sympathy with us at this hour of our peril. (Clapping……..)

We have only one part of the work today that is to thwart this invading army of Yahya Khan. (Clapping……) and to make the lives of the people of the seventyfive million Bengalees free from their attack, free from their rape- (Slogan…….Joy Bangla…….) you are aware that their troops burning the villages, committing rapes, killing children, and the genocide is going on. Will not the conscience of the world rise even at this! (appeal to the people and its governments of the world to condemn in most unmistakable term that the Yahya Khan's administration. I appeal to the governments of the world that no economic aid should be given to the government of West Pakistan. (Clapping…..)

You must all realize that there is no government of Pakistan to whom you can give aid. Yahya Khan himself has killed Pakistan. What exists today is only the government of West Pakistan. (Shame ! Shame !) And that government should not be given any economic aid to kill the unarmed population of Bangladesh. That is my one prayer to the government of the world. No arms supply should be given to kill the children, men and women of Bangladesh-who are determined to achieve independence and thwart the invading army. They rely on their own strength but at the same time they appeal to the people and to the government of the world that no aid should be given nor arms supply should be made available to Yahya Khan for killing the unarmed population of Bangladesh. Now, ladies and gentlemen, another false propaganda is being carried that the people of Bangladesh do not want independence. My fellow citizens of Bangladesh, I will request you, those of you who are determined to thwart the invading army and those of you who want independence of Bangladesh to raise your hands in support of the demands of Bangladesh. (Slogan: Joy Bangla ..... ….)

It *is* known to everybody that England is a land of freethinking and free expression. It is therefore, clear to everybody that you have raised your' hands willingly and nobody could compel you to raise your hand. You are the representative of Bangladesh abroad. Each one of you is a representative. And to your Bangladesh has made it known that the demand for independence is a demand of the seventy-five million people of Bangladesh (Clapping). It is not this demand of the miscreants as Yahya Khan uses to call the people of' Bangladesh. We arc, ladies and gentlemen, determined to face the invading army. We are determined to establish the rule of law in Bangladesh. And in that struggle we want the support, sympathy and cooperation of all concerned.

Now, my fellow citizens of Bangladesh, I have a special direction to communicate to you in the name of the Government of Bangladesh..

(Joy Bangla ...)

This procession-which will be taken immediately after this meeting, is not a procession of protest. It is a mark with an appeal to the few great powers the People's Republic of China, our closest neighbor and to the United States of America. Our appeal to them is to stop arms supply to Yahya Khan. Our appeal to them is to slop economic aid to Yahya Khan's army administration. The Govt. of Bangladesh, requests the citizens of Bangladesh to maintain peace and discipline in this appeal march and make it plain to the People of Great Britain who have been very hospitable as that we are a disciplined nation. (Clapping--------)

Our march should be a very peaceful one. There should not be any offensive slogans. There should not be any different sect shall to be two embassies of the to great countries. We fervently hope that the people of the United States of America and China will rise in our favor and stop giving any arms supply to Yahya Khan. (Clapping .....)

With that prayer, with that appeal the citizens of Bangladesh will go to the two nations of the two great countries in London. (Clapping.....)

I am told that our enemies are also active and they might send some people who will get mixed up with the people who are going on behalf of the Govt. of Bangladesh and shall be prostrate to these missions. I make it plain that those who engage themselves in their activities, they are enemies to the cause of Bangladesh, And that for their mischievous activities the Govt. of Bangladesh will have no responsibility and they will have no protection from the Govt. of Bangladesh. (Clapping.....)

I will, therefore, again appeal to you, my fellow countrymen , that at all costs you will maintain peace and discipline. You know, we are continuing in this liberation movement, here in a foreign country and the British Govt. has been very hospitable to us, the British Govt. has allowed as continue with this movement as I have told you it is a land where freedom of speech, freedom of movement is there. (Clapping…..).

In this march of appeal you will also exhibit that you appreciate the great hospitality of the British Govt. and the British nation and do not by your action abuse that great hospitality. I, therefore, appeal to you, my fellow countrymen, in the name of the Govt. of Bangladesh and fellow countrymen of Bangladesh within Bangladesh that you and by your conduct demonstrate to the people of Great Britain that we are a disciplined honorable nation. (Clapping and Slogan I Joy Bangla…)

I thank you, ladies & gentlemen, who have assembled here to how your sympathy and support for our great cause, I convey to all of you the gratitude of the Govt. of Bangladesh. That day is not far off when Her majesty's Govt. and the Head of the Commonwealth will recognize the reality and give recognition to the Govt. of Bangladesh. (Clapping……)

I am firmly convinced in my mind that days are not far off when Bangladesh will sit in the Commonwealth of nations as a happy member of the Commonwealth. (Clapping)

I appeal to you, my fellow countrymen, to maintain your determination, your courage, your sacrifice and your unity. Success must be ours. Inshallah, we shall march forward in the path of peace and progress and an achievement. We shall frame a

Constitution which will guarantee freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of oxpression-we will look forward to a democratic socialist Govt. in which all men will he equal. Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Buddhists and members of our other religions-we shall all live in peace and amity. (Clapping)

Our accredited leader Sheikh Mujib has been the harbinger of a new faith, ambassador of a new hope and that hope is to create state in which all will be equel-all will be free and nobody will be oppressed. (Clapping and Slogan)

Ladies and Gentlemen. Sheikh Mujib is still in prison and many other political leaders who have refused to sign the most dishonorable document that has been forced on them. We want release of Sheikh Mujib. We want release of all political prisoners. We are prepared for all sacrifices, nobody can stop us from getting the release of the political prisoners. (Clapping & Slogans : Joy Bangla……)

Ladies and Gentlemen. There are other distinguished speakers. They will address you briefly. But before you start on your march of appeal. I will address again a few words in Bengali. After which, I shall request you to proceed with your procession. I shall come back to speak to you in Bengali at the conclusion of this meeting.

Thank you ladies and gentlemen. (Clapping….)

বক্তৃতার শেষাংশ-

ভাই ও বোনেরা, আজকে আমরা এখানে সমবেত হয়েছি মুক্তকণ্ঠে একতাবদ্ধভাবে ঘোষণা করতে যে, বাংলার সাড়ে সাত কোটি মানুষ ইয়াহিয়া খানের হানাদার সৈন্যদের হটিয়ে দেওয়ার জন্য বদ্ধপরিকর।

-Clapping-

আমরা এখানে সমবেত হয়েছি সমস্ত দুনিয়াকে জানিয়ে দিতে যে, আমরা একতাবদ্ধভাবে স্বাধীনতা ঘোষণা করেছি এবং ইনশাল্লাহ সেই স্বাধীনতা আমরা রক্ষা করবো। -Clapping and Slogan: Joy Bangla.

আজকের এই শোভাযাত্রা সম্বন্ধে বাংলাদেশ সরকারের সাথে আমার সরাসরি কথা হয়েছে। বাংলাদেশের মন্ত্রীমন্ডলী আমাদের জানিয়েছেন যে, আমাদের এই শোভাযাত্রা আবেদনের শোভাযাত্রা-এটা বিক্ষোভের মিছিল হন। আমাকে জানিয়েছেন যে, আমি যেন তাদের হয়ে আপনাদের অনুরোধ করি যে, সর্ব অবস্থায় আপনারা শান্তি ও শৃঙ্খলা রক্ষা করে বাংলাদেশের জনসাধারণ এবং বাংলাদেশ সরকারের সম্মান বৃদ্ধি করবেন। -Clapping-

আপনারা চীনা দূতাবাস এবং অ্যামেরিকান দূতাবাসে যাবেন এই আবেদন নিয়ে যেন তারা ইয়াহিয়া খানকে কোনরূপ সাহায্য না করেন; কিন্তু কোনরূপ শ্লোগানের দ্বারা বা কোনরূপ ব্যবহারের দ্বারা আপনারা তাদের প্রতি কোনরূপ অসম্মান প্রদর্শন করবেন না। -Clapping-

পাকিস্তান হাই কমিশনের লোক আমাদের প্রসাশনের মধ্যে যোগ দিয়ে তাদের প্রতি অশোভন এবং অসৌজন্যপূর্ণ ব্যবহার করে আমাদের দায়ী করবার, দোষী করবার চেষ্টা করবে। তাদের থেকে আপনারা হুঁশিয়ার থাকবেন। -Clapping-

এবং তাদের এই কাজের জন্য আমরা কোনরূপ দায়ী থাকবো না। আমাদের প্রধানমন্ত্রী জনাব তাজউদ্দিন সাহেব দ্ব্যর্থহীন ভাষায় আমাকে বলেছেন-"Our aim is goodwill for everybody, ill will for none."

-Clapping-

আপনারা এই কথাটি মনে রাখবেন। আমি বাংলাদেশ সরকারের পক্ষ থেকে আপনাদের কাছে এই আবেদন জানাচ্ছি। আপনারা এই শোভাযাত্রায় যাবার সময় আমরা যে কয়েকটি শ্লোগান অনেক ভেবে-চিন্তে ঠিক করেছি, আশা করি, মাত্র সেই কয়েকটি বলে যাচ্ছি আমাদের স্বেচ্ছাসেবকরা বলবেন- "Recognize, Recognize."

আপনারা বলবেন- "Bangladesh, Bangladesh"
আমাদের স্বেচ্ছাসেবকরা বলবেন "Long live, Long live"
আপনারা বলবেন, "Sheikh Mujib, Sheikh Mujib"
আমাদের সেচ্ছাসেবকরা বলবেন "Long live Mukti Fouz"
আপনারা বলবেন "Long live Mukti Fouz"
তারপরে আর একটা শ্লোগন হবে "Stop, Stop"
আপনারা বলবেন "Genocide, Genocide"
আর একটা হবে, "Stop aid to"
আপনারা বলবেন ''ইয়াহিয়া খান''।
ঃআপনাদের মনে থাকবে, আপনাদের সকলের?
ঃ''হাঁ''
ঃআচ্ছা।
আমি আর একবার বলছি "Recognize, Recognize"
জবাবঃ ''বাংলাদেশ''।
জনাব চৌধুরীঃ ''বাংলাদেশ''।
জনাব চৌধুরীঃ "Long live, Long live"
জবাবঃ "Sheikh Mujib, Sheikh Mujib"
জনাব চৌধুরীঃ "Long live Mukti Fouz"
জবাবঃ "Long live Mukti Fouz"
জনাব চৌধুরীঃ "Stop Stop"
জবাবঃ "Genocide, Genocide"
জনাব চৌধুরীঃ "Stop aid to"
জবাবঃ ''ইয়াহিয়া খান''।

জনাব চৌধুরীঃ আপনাদের অশেষ ধন্যবাদ। আপনারা যে কষ্ট করে এখানে সমবেত হয়েছেন তার জন্য বাংলাদেশ সরাকারের পক্ষ থেকে বাংলাদেশের আপনাদের ভাই ও বোনদের পক্ষ থেকে আমি আপনাদের শুকরিয়া আদায় করছি। এখন আপনারা শান্তি ও শৃঙ্খলাপূর্ণভাবে মিছিলে যোগ দিন। আসসালামো আলায়কুম।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
আন্দোলনের কতিপয় দিক সম্পর্কে মুজিবনগর সরকারের বর্হিবিশ্ব প্রচার বিভাগের মওদুদ আহমদের প্রতি স্টীয়ারিং কমিটির আবায়কের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

Mr. Maudud Ahmed
External Publicity Division,
People's Republic of Bangladesh Mission,
9, Circus Avenue
Calcutta-I7. 27th July 1971.

Dear Mr. Ahmed.

Clippings are being dispatched from our Press and Information Department regularly from the 12th of July, 71 and which should have reached you in time. As requested the copies of publications which we are receiving from different sources and also from our publication department will be sent to you from now onward.

I have already handed over the manuscript to printing press which is on the process of being produced in a booklet form. I think it is a very late stage for stopping. In any case, I will send the manuscript back as soon as it is released from the printers.

I have been working in the line which I committed to you and Mr. Huda and hope that arrangements will be made very soon.

Since my return from Bangladesh I had been terribly busy with the organizational problems facing the Steering Committee. That's why I could not get in touch with you; for which I must be apologized. The programme with 'Panorama' was very well planned. It was a moral boost and also stimulus for the Bengalees here in U. K.

I hope the copies of Jivan Thekey Neya' are ready. I should therefore be very muci
interested in getting a copy. Kindly advise me how to proceed about it and how soon can we get it.

Convey my kindest regards to Mr. Zahir Raihan, Mr. Alamgir Kabir, Mr. Belayat Hussain and other members of the Liberation Council and also to the members of the staff of the Mission with profound regards.

Yours sincerely,
(Azizul Hoque Bhuia)
Convener.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
স্টীয়ারিং কমিটির প্রতি একটি কনভেনশন কমিটি গঠনের আহবান সম্পর্কিত প্রবাসী নেতৃবৃন্দের বৈঠকের সিদান্তসমূহ	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৩০ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

This informal meeting held between some leaders of the Bengali community and Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury on 30th July 1971 at the Steering Committee office resolves to request the Steering Committee to set up a Convention Committee with 4 representatives from 4 units and representatives from the Steering Committee, totaling 6 members. This informal meeting further requests the Steering Committee to entrust the Convention Committee with responsibility of arranging for a convention of all committees to elect the Central Action Committee or Council and to reorganise the movement for the liberation of Bangladesh. The Convention Committee shall prepare a draft constitution to present at the Convention for final approval and adoption. This informal meeting finally requests the Steering Committee to act with utmost speed on this matter.

Signatures

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনে আয়োজিত বাংলাদেশের স্বীকৃতি মিছিলের কর্মসূচী-পুস্তিকা	এ্যাকশন বাংলাদেশ, লন্ডন প্রকাশিত পুস্তিকা	১ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

STOP GENOCIDE RECOGNISE BANGLADESH — Souvenir Programme — STOP GENOCIDE RECOGNISE BANGLADESH

STOP GENOCIDE
RECOGNISE BANGLADESH RALLY
Sunday, 1st August 1971

STOP GENOCIDE RECOGNISE BANGLADESH — STOP GENOCIDE RECOGNISE BANGLADESH

PROGRAMME :

2.00 Music	Manesh Chandra the Indian sitae player together with Madhukar Kothara on Tabla.
2.15 Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury	Former justice of Dacca High Court and Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University. At present Special Representative of Bangladesh abroad.
2.30	Eye witness tape.
2.35 Reg Prentice. M.P	One of the 4 M.P.S who visited both West Pakistan and Bangladesh.
2.50 Rev. Kenyon Wright	Lived 15 years in West Bengal. Recent visitor to refugee camps in India and crossed to Bangladesh. Director of Urban Studies at Coventry Cathedral.
3.00 John Stonehouse. M.P.	Made two visits to refugee camps in India, and a visit to Bangladesh. Moved the motion signed by 210 M.P.s calling for the recognition of Bangladesh.
3.15 Lord Brockway	One of the first people to condemn the atrocities committed by the Pakistan army.
3.25	Sheikh Mujibur Rahman tape.
3.30Tom Williams O. C., M. P.	Defended Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in earlier political trial.
3.45 Music	Bangladesh People's Cultural Society
4.25 Mrs. Lulu Banu	Bengali lady studying here.
4.35 David Kossoff	Stage, film and television actor.

4.40 Rev. Roger Crosthwaite	Youth Director of the Church Missionary Society.
4.45 Lady Gifford	Co-sponsored and chaired meeting called to discuss charge of Genocide against Pakistan.
4.50 Bob Edwards. M. P.	General Secretary of Chemical Workers Union.
4.55 Simon Hebditch	Political Vice-Chairman. National League of Young Liberals.
5.00 Nirmal Singh	A Sikh worker from Luton.
5.05 Paul Connett	Spokesman for Action Bangladesh.
	Music.

March lo 10 Downing Street to deliver letter to Mr. Heath (see copy) and then on to Speakers Corner.

(This programme is subject to last minute changes.)

Copy of letter to be delivered to MR. HEATH today.

Dear Mr. Heath,

We bring this message to you from the thousands v ho attended the Bangladesh Rally in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 1st August. 1971.

Whilst we all applaud your decision not to send further economic aid to Pakistan until a political settlement is reached in East Bengal, it is clear that this act alone has not deterred the Pakistan military regime from its mad attempt to suppress militarily the democratic will of the 75 million Bengali people.

We therefore appeal to you to take the following positive steps to stop Pakistan's genocide of the Bengali people.

Firstly we ask you to honor Britain's commitment to International Law by bringing Pakistan's military action against the unarmed Bengali people before the United Nations Security Council as a contravention of the U. N. Genocide Convention Article II. Subsections (a), (b) and (c). (Britain added her name to the Convention in 1970.)

Secondly we ask you to use your influence with the American government to get them to discontinue their arms shipments to West Pakistan.

Thirdly we ask you to recognize the provisional government of the Republic of Bangladesh since it is clear that this is the only peaceful and diplomatic method left to bring the West Pakistan regime to its senses. For if the ultimate objective of the brutal policies of this regime is to win the allegiance of the Bengali people, as they claim, they lost the War on March 25: the day they began it. An army of 70.000 cannot hope to hold down 75 million people indefinitely. An independent Bangladesh is merely a matter of time. This is the reality and it is up to the onlooking nations to recognize it before more lives arc lost. To do otherwise is to endorse the notion that the principle of self-determination comes only from the barrel of a gun.

We ask these things not only in the name of the 100,000 Bengali residents of Great Britain, whose friends and families are being terrorized and slaughtered, but also in the name of every human being, because if this policy of genocide is allowed to continue unopposed it will change the kind of world we live in.

Finally. Mr. Heath, we ask you to do these things because Britain bears a special responsibility to the Indian sub-continent in this matter since it was Britain who played a major part in the establishment of Pakistan some 23 years ago. If India is forced to go to war in order to solve the massive problem confronting her, Britain will share the blame if we have failed to take these elementary steps.

Whilst we appreciate any government's reluctance to sanction further 'fragmentation' we hope that you agree that the physical elimination and suppression of peoples, if accepted, will endanger our planet far more than the realistic rearrangement of arbitrary boundaries in response to the clearly expressed will of the people who live within them.

Yours sincerely,

Over 200 Members of Parliament have signed the following motion in the House of Commons. They include eleven Privy Councilors and over thirty former Ministers.

GENOCIDE IN EAST BENGAL
and the
RECOGNITION OF BANGLADESH

"That this House believes that the widespread murder of civilians and the atrocities on a massive scale by the Pakistan Army in East Bengal, contrary to the United Nations Convention on Genocide signed by Pakistan itself, confirms that the military Government of Pakistan has forfeited all rights to rule East Bengal, following its wanton refusal to accept the democratic will of people expressed in the election of December 1970.

"Therefore believes that the United Nations Security Council must be called urgently to consider the situation both as a threat to International peace and as a contravention of the Genocide Convention; and further believes that until order is restored under United Nations supervision the provisional Government of Bangladesh should be recognized as the vehicle for the expression of self-determination by the people of East Bengal"

I enclose £ towards further work on behalf of the people of Bangladesh.
To:
ACTION BANGLADESH
34 Stratford Villas
London, N. W. 1.
Tel. 485 2889 and 267 4200

Chorus of Bengali Song:

"BREAK THE BARRIER"

Bengali Script

বাঁধ ভেংগে দাও। বাঁধ ভেংগে দাও। বাঁধ ভেঙগে দাও।
ভাং... ... ... গো (দু'বার)
বন্দী প্রাণ মন হউক উধাও। বন্দী প্রাণ মন হউক উধাও।
ধা ... . ও (একবার)

Transliteration in Roman Script:
BADH BHENGE DAO, BADH BHENGE DAO, BADH BHENGE DAO
BHAN--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- NGO (*twice)*
DHA--- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- --- O (*once)*

English Translation:
Break the barrier, Break the barrier, Break the barrier, Break.
Let the imprisoned soul fly away.

"এরপরে আর যদি একটা গুলি চলে, আর যদি আমার লোককে হত্যা করা হয়, তোমাদের কাছ আমার অনুরোধ রইল-প্রত্যেক ঘরে ঘরে দুর্গ গড়ে তোলা যখন রক্ত দিয়েছি তখন আরও দেব-এদেশের মানুষকে মুক্ত করে ছাড়ব ইনশাআল্লাহ। এবারের সংগ্রাম আমাদের মুক্তির সংগ্রাম-এবারের সংগ্রাম স্বাধীনতার সংগ্রাম।

জয় বাংলা। "

-শেখ মুজিব।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে পাকিস্তান হাই কমিশনের বাঙালী কূটনীতিক মহিউদ্দিন আহমদের বাংলাদেশের প্রতি আনুগত্য জ্ঞাপনোপলক্ষে আয়োজিত সভার বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ গ্রেট বৃটেনের দলিলপত্র	৩ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH STUDENTS ACTION COMMITTEE IN GREAT BRITAIN
34 Gamage Building
120 Hoi born, LONDON ECI
Phone 01-405 5917

Ref. Date-: 3-8-71

Dear Friends.

Amidst this national hardship, this is an occasion when we feel happy to invite you to attend a meeting arranged in honor of Mr. Mohiuddin Ahmed, a Bengali Diplomat to the Pakistan High Commission in the UK, who has declared his loyalty and allegiance to the Government of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh and expressed his desire to serve the people and Government of Bangladesh in any capacity. The meeting is to be held at Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square, Holborn, London, on Sunday, 8th August at 2.00 p.m.

Mr. Justice A. S. Chowdhury, Special Representative of the Government of Bangladesh will grace the occasion with his presence. We invite two of your representatives to join us in expressing our admiration for his courageous act.

A.Z. M. Hossain

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ট্রাফালগা স্কোয়ারে প্রদত্ত ১লা আগস্টের ভাষণ সম্বলিত পুস্তিকা প্রকাশের ব্যাপারে আবু সাইদ চৌধূরীকে লিখিত চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	৪ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশ গণসংস্কৃতি সংসদ

BANGLADESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY
59. Seymour House
Tavistock Place
LONDON WCT
Phone 837-4542

August 4, 1971

Justice A. S. Chowdhury
Special Envoy of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh
11, Goring Street, London, BC 3.

Respected Sir,

Apropos my discussion with you I shall request you to kindly instruct your office to print and circulate the text of your speech delivered in the Trafalgar Square on August I. I have a feeling that it will help project the views of the Government of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh in a very useful way as it contains the most up to-date analysis of the situation and explains the objectives of the liberation struggle in Bangladesh. Perhaps the text may be available with Paul Connet of Action Bangladesh (in his tape recorder).

Assuring you of our very best cooperation.

With kindest regards.

Yours sincerely.
Enamul Haque
President
Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের রাষ্ট্রপতি শেখ মুজিবর রহমানের বিচারের বিরুদ্ধে বৃটেনের পত্রপত্রিকায় প্রতিবাদ প্রকাশনরি আহবান	বাংলাদেশ ছাত্র সংগ্রাম পরিষদ গ্রেট বৃটেনের দলিলপত্র	১৩ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH STUDENTS ACTION COMMITTEE IN GREAT BRITAIN
35 Gamage Building
120 Hoi born, LONDON, EC 1
Phone 01-405 5917 Date: 12-8-1971
The President/Secretary/Convenor,

Dear Sir/Madam,

You know that the President of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman is being illegally held in West Pakistan. Yahya Khan's Military Junta has conspired to execute him and put up a cover story that he will be tried in Military Tribunal in camera.

We should warn in public and in black and white about the consequences of this trial.

We got to appeal to the World to try and secure the release of our President.

With this view in mind we have planned to insert a full page display Advertisement in the Times in its 16th August, 1971 issue.

We propose that the said Advertisement should be inserted with the names and addresses of all Bangladesh Action Committee in this country. We also propose that all Action Committee should jointly meet the costs of £2600.00 (Two thousand and six hundred pounds) only.

The proposed Advertisement will also reply to the so called Pakistan Solidarity Front's Advertisement published in the Times recently.

We further propose each committee should contribute a sum of £30.00 (Pounds Thirty only) at least, towards the costs. If your committee would agree to the above proposal, please, phone at once and confirm (Office 01-405-5917, evening 01-673-5720) and send your contribution to Bangladesh Students' Action Committee at your earliest convenience.

We have discussed with the Bangladesh Government's Special Representative. Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury about the project.

JOI BANGLA.

A. Z. M. Hossain
Convenor.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব ইল্যান্ড অঞ্চলের পক্ষে কনভেনশনের জন্য প্রতিনিধি নির্বাচনের প্রতিক্রিয়া সম্বলিত একটি চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২২ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

ACTION COMMITTEE FOR
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.
Enfield Unit
370. LINCOLN ROAD, ENFIELD, MIDDLESEX

August 22, 1971

The Convener
Steering Committee of
The Action Committee for
The people's Republic of Bangladesh In U. K.
11, Goring Street
London. E. C. 3

Dear Sir.

We wonder at the news that Mr. Gaus Khan. President of London Action Committee Unit has been selected Representative of Action Committee Units for Bangladesh in South East England Region. As he has neither been elected democratically nor he represents the majority Action Units of this Region which work so tirelessly to raise funds (the most vital factor in our struggle) for Bangladesh, we like most of them would not want to come under the shade of such umbrella.

So, with the majority, we raise our voice to represent ourselves directly, fairly and democratically to the Central Action Committee which would truly reflect the image of our nation and which would lead us undauntedly in this struggle-field.

Yours sincerely.
Md. Shahidur Rahman Khan.
For Action Committee for the People's
Republic of Bangladesh in U. K., Enfield Unit.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনস্থ মুকুল এণ্টারপ্রাইজের উদ্যোগে আয়োজিত সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠান 'জয় বাংলার' প্রচারপত্র	প্রচারপত্র	২৮ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

MUKOOL ENTERPRISE
PRESENTS

JOI BANGLA (Variety Performance)
EMINENT ARTISTS WILL PARTICIPATE
THE FUNCTION IN DANCES. SONGS AND MUSICS.
PLACE-YORK HALL, BETHNAL GREEN, LONDON E. 2.
Nearest TUBE Station BETHNAL GREEN
"CENTRAL LINE-
DATE-SATURDAY 28th August 1971
TIME-3 p. m. (Doors Open 2.30 p. m.)
HONOURABLE GUESTS INVITED:
JUSTICE A. S. CHOWDHURY
PETER SHORE (MP)
Rt. Hon. B. J. STONE HOUSE (MP)
BRUCE DOUGLAS MANN (MP)
PAUL CONNETT
LADY GIFFORD & OTHERS.
Avoid disappointment and get your tickets early.

Office:
67. BRICK LANE.
LONDON, E. 1
01-247 0968

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনে আয়োজিত বাংলাদেশ সাংস্কৃতিক কর্মী সম্মেলনের বিজ্ঞপ্তি	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY
59, Seymour House
Tavistock Place
LONDON WCI
Phone 837-4542

1st September 1971

CONFERENCE ON PEOPLES CULTURE OF BANGLADESH

Dear Friend,

For the first time in the United Kingdom, a Conference on the peoples culture of Bangladesh has been convened in London on Saturday, the 18th September, 1971 under the auspices of the Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society (previously scheduled to be held on 21st August). Writers, poets, painters, journalists, musicians, singers, teachers, students, scientists and all others engaged in cultural activities are invited to attend the- Conference as delegates and participants. The conference would deliberate on ways and means to obtain support for the liberation struggle of the peoples of Bangladesh, to project the cultural basis of our nationalism, to impress upon the world opinion the inevitability of the independence of Bangladesh, and particularly to establish close contact with the progressive and freedom-loving intellectuals of the world in favor of the struggle against the worst kind of dictatorship and colonialism in Bangladesh.

We would request upon the Bangladesh Action Committees and Associations of all Cities and Regions in the United Kingdom to nominate large numbers of delegates to the conference and send their names in advance to the above address by the 14th September 1971.

Besides the delegates from the U. K., Professor A. R. Mallick, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Chittagong and the Roving Ambassador of the Peoples Republic of Bangladesh, and. Mr. Zahir Raihan, the renowned litterateur and Film Director of Bangladesh have been invited to attend the conference as the representatives of the Bangladesh Liberation Council of the Intelligentsia in Bangladesh, has kindly consented to inaugurate the Conference.

The following is the tentative programme:
Date: Sunday, the 19th September, 1971

Place: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W. C. 1. (tube: Holborn)
Inauguration & Discussion: 10 am to 1 pm
Revolutionary Dance Drama & Musical Soiree: 2.30 pm to 5 pm
We hope you will be able to send delegates and shall be grateful if you would forward their names at your very earliest.

Joi Bangla.

Yours fraternally,
Munni Rahman (Mrs.)
General Secretary.

To discharge the expenses at least £ 1.00 conference fee for each delegate may kindly be forwarded at the above address.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের কার্যক্রম সম্পর্কিত প্রতিবেদন	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	১০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY
59, Seymour House
Tavistock Place
LONDON WCI
Phone 837-4542 September 10, 1971

Actions to be taken:
Publicity:
1. Janomot
2. Bangladesh
3. Leaflets:
   a. La Continental Cinema
   b. La Palesium
   c. Brick Lane
   d. Hassel St.
   e. Commercial Rd.,
   f. Holloway Road, Bachoo's shop
   g……
   i…….
   j…….
   k……

Rehearsal :
1. Friday, September 10-Boys dance at Mardyl St.
2. Saturday, September 11-Full rehearsal, inform all singers, dancers, musicians.
3. Sunday, Bangladesh Bhaban

Mike:
1. Send a Cheque for £15.0() to M. Lightfoot of Stage Sound, 14, Langley St. WC2 before, Sunday the 12th September.
2. Contact caretaker of the hall, if he can install; pay him tips.
3. Contact Mr. Khair's son for arrangement of the amplification.

Stage:

1. Bulbul and Rouf to confer and decide as (o the design.
2. Can be supplemented by artificial plants, bamboo stipes etc..

Lighting Effects:

1. 2 persons must be in charge. I on the balcony, the other on the switch panel.
2. Another one with the lighting effect machine.
3. Contact the hall keeper immediately to see what he needs to install. Ask him to close shutter so that day light can be controlled. Pay him tips.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
লন্ডনে ১৮ ও ১৯ সেপ্টেম্বরে বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদ আয়োজিত সাংস্কৃতি অনুষ্ঠানের প্রচারপত্র	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	১৩ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশের মুক্তি সংগ্রামের বিপ্লবী আলেখ্য

অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও

(নৃত্যনাট্য)

ও গীতিবিচিত্রা

উদ্বোধন করবেনঃ

জনাব আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী

বক্তৃতা করবেনঃ (সদ্য বাংলাদেশ থেকে প্রত্যাগত)

মিঃ পিটার শোর, এমপি

(চিত্র পরিচালক ও প্রযোজক। বিশেষ আমন্ত্রণে বাংলাদেশ থেকে আসছেন।

স্থানঃ **কনওয়ে হল,** রেড লায়ন স্কোয়ার, হোবর্ন।

সময়ঃ **শনিবার ও রবিবার**

১৮ ও ১৯শে সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১, বেলাঃ ২-১৫ মিনিট।

প্রবেশ মূল্যঃ ১ পাউন্ড মাত্র।

অবিলম্বে টিকিট সংগ্রহ করুন অথবা যোগাযোগ করুনঃ

বাংদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদ
৫৯ সিমোর হাউস
ট্যাভিস্টক প্লেস, ডব্লিউসি-১
ফোনঃ ৮৩৭-৪৫৪২।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
জাতিসংঘে প্রতিনিধি দলের নেতৃত্ব করার উদ্দেশ্যে নিউইয়র্ক যাত্রার বার্তাসহ বিচারপতি আবুসাঈদ চৌধুরীর প্রতি মুজিবনগর থেকে প্রেরিত টেলিগ্রাম	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২১ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

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CALCUTTA 23 20 1940
URGENT BANGLADESH LONDON 2W

FOR JUSTICE ABU SAYEED CHOWDHURY FOREIGN MINISTER UNABLE TO COME, KINDLY PROCEED TO NEW YORK TO LEAD DELEGATION.

-ALAM

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মুক্তিযুদ্ধের ছয়মাস উপলক্ষে লন্ডনের সাপ্তাহিক 'জনমত'এর আবেদন	সাপ্তাহিক 'জনমত' -এর বিজ্ঞাপন	২০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

সাপ্তাহিক জনমত

৩০৩ বিক্সটন রোড, লন্ডন দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিম ৯। ফোন ০১-৬৭৩৫৭২০

শ্রদ্ধেয় আহবায়ক। সম্পাদক। স্বত্বধিকারী

.....

.....

আমরা আনন্দের সংগে ঘোষণা করছি যে, আগামী ২ শে সেপ্টেম্বর বাংলাদেশের মুক্তিযুদ্ধের ছয় মাস পপূর্তি উপলক্ষে 'সাপ্তাহিক জনমত'-এর ৩য় বর্ষ ৩৩তম সংখ্যা বর্ধিত কলেবরে বিশেষ সংখ্যা হিসাবে প্রকাশিত হবে। এই বিশেষ সংখ্যায় বাংলাদেশ ও ভারত থেকে পাঠান ছাড়াও প্রবাসী বাংগালীদের পাঠানো গল্প, প্রবন্ধ, রচনা, কবিতা ইত্যাদি প্রকাশিত হবে। বাংলাদেশের প্রখ্যাত নেতাদের এ উপলক্ষে পাঠানো বিশেষ বাণীও প্রকাশিত হবে।

এই প্রসঙ্গ আমরা উল্লেখ করতে চাই যে, 'জনমত'-এর আর্থিক সংকটের কথা আপনারে অজানা নয়। আমরা বিশ্বস করি যে, মুক্তসংগ্রামের সঙ্গে প্রচারের মাধ্যমে অংগাংগিভাবে জড়িত। তাই আমাদের পরিকল্পনা থালেও আর্থিক সংকট আমাদেরকে যথেষ্ট দমিয়ে দেয়।

তাই আপনাদের কাছে অনুরোধ, আলোচ্য সংখ্যার 'জনমত'-এ আপনারা বিজ্ঞাপন আকারে পৃষ্ঠাংশ নিয়ে আমাদেরকে পরোক্ষভাবে সহযোগিতা জানাতে পারেন। শুধু তাই না, বিজ্ঞাপনে আপনাদের কার্যাবলীর একটা ক্ষুদ্র বিবরণ জনসমক্ষে তুলে ধরতে পারেন অথবা যুদ্ধরত মুক্তিযোদ্ধকে সংগ্রামী অভিনন্দন জানাতে পারেন।

আমাদের বিজ্ঞাপনের হার। পূর্ণ পৃষ্ঠা ৪০ পাউন্ড। । আধ পৃষ্ঠা । । এক-চতুর্থাংশ পৃষ্ঠা ১০ পাউন্ড মাত্র।

আমরা আনন্দের সংগে জানাচ্ছি যে, বিলেতের বেশ কয়েকটি সংগ্রাম পরিষদ ইতিমধ্যেই আমাদের এই বিশেষ সংখ্যার প্রচেষ্টাকে অভিনন্দন জানিয়ে সর্বতোভবে সহযোগিতা করার আশ্বাস দিয়েছেন। আশা করি আপনাদের সহযোগিতা পাব।

ইতি। । সাপ্তাহিক জনমত

বিজ্ঞাপনের জন্য নীচের কুপনটি পূরণ করে আজই পাঠিয়ে দিনঃ

বিজ্ঞাপনের বিভাগে, সাপ্তাহিক জনমত, বিক্সটন রোড, লন্ডন, দক্ষিণ-পশ্চিম ৯

এই সংগে পাঠান লেখাগুলো দিয়ে আমাদের পূর্ণ এক পৃষ্ঠা । আধ পৃষ্ঠা। এক-চতুর্থাংশ পৃষ্ঠা বিজ্ঞাপনের বিশেষ সংখ্যায় ছাপাবেন। এর সংগে ৪০ পাউন্ড। ২০ পাউন্ড। ১০ পাউন্ড এর চেক। পোষ্টাল অর্ডার পাঠালাম।

নাম.....

ঠিকানা.....

ফোন.....স্বাক্ষর.....

আপনারা চাইলে আপনার বিজ্ঞাপনে কি লিখতে হবে আমরা এ ব্যাপারে সাহায্য করতে পারি।

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শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনের এনফিল্ড এ্যাকশন কমিটির পক্ষে চাঁদা আদায়ের রশিদ বই সংক্রান্ত অভিযোগসহ বাংলাদেশ ফান্ডের ট্রাস্টী জন স্টোনহাউস এমপি-কে লিখিত চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	২৭ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

ACTION BANGLADESH COM Mil TEE
239. Nags Head Road.
Ponders End. Enfield.
7.9.71

Mr. John Stonehousc, M. P.
House of Commons,
Westminster, London, S. W. I.

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned wish to bring to your notice the following facts for your kind perusal.

On Sunday the 8th of August, 1971 we met at 195, Nags Head Road. Enfield, Middlesex, and resolved unanimously to form a Committee under the title "Action Bangladesh Committee-Enfield" with a view of conducting our activities in an organized and disciplined manner. It was resolved that Mr. Abdul Karim Convenor of (239. Nags Head Road, Enfield, Middlesex.) be given the responsibility of making all sorts of contact with the members of the public and other bodies.

Accordingly, the Convenor got in touch with the Steering Committee of the Action Committee for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in U. K. for receipt book for collection to the Bangladesh Fund to which you are a Trustee. The receipt books No. 9901991 and 992 serial No. from 24726-24765224776-24800 were issued on 16. 8. 71. collection went ahead smoothly. On the 23rd August, a total sum of £308.00 being the proceeds of the collection was deposited with the Steering Committee which was acknowledged by Mr. M. M. Haque for and on behalf of the Steering Committee.

We were promised further issue of receipt books but all in vain now we are being told that the receipt books will no longer be issued, we insisted that the decision of the Steering Committee be confirmed in writing, but without any success.

We tried to get in touch with Justice Abu Sayeed Choudhury but the Steering Committee is a stumbling block which is difficult to surmount.

We would like to urge upon you as a Trustee to do the needful so that we are supplied with the receipt books in order that we could carry on collection for the

Bangladesh Fund. Wet the under mentioned members are keen to contribute to Bangladesh Fund and any artificial barriers should be dismantled in order to frustrate any designs to obstruct the flow of money to the Bangladesh Fund.

We should be grateful if you would be kind enough to address our Convenor for all communications.

Your faithfully.
Lutfur Rahman

RT. HON
JOHN STONEHOUSE
B Sc. (Bcon.). M P.
Tel. 01-834 0922.

20.Gillingham Street.
London. S.W.I.
7th October. 1971

Dear Aziz,

1 shall be glad if you would look into the problem raised in the enclosed letter from the Bangladesh Committee in Enfield.

Yours Ever
Sd/-

Mr. M.A.H. Bhuia
Bangladesh Steering Committee
11 Goring Street,
London. E.C.3.
Encl

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ম্যাঞ্চেস্টারে সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠান করারা আমন্ত্রণ জানিয়ে বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের প্রতি চিঠি	বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন ল্যাংকাশায়ারের দলিলপত্র	৩০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH ASSOCIATION
Lancashire and Adjacent Counties

A. Matin.
Chairman.
Latif Ahmed.
General Secretary.

336, Stockport Road,
Manchester 13.
Tel. 061-273 3422

Date 30th Sept. 1971

Mrs. M. Rahman
General Secretary
BANGLADESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY
59 Saymour House
London W. C. 1

Dear Madam,

Pursuant to a resolution of our Executive Committee I have much pleasure to invite your Society to stage a cultural performance at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester on the 16th October'71.

We shall bear all the expenses required for arranging the function. And half of the proceeds of sale of tickets shall be deposited to the fund of Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society.

We hope you will be able to accept our invitation and shall be grateful if you would confirm at your very earliest.

Yours in solidarity,
Zahirul H. Chowdhury
For General Secretary.

Copy to the President of
The Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
‘মৌলভীবাজার এ্যাসোসিয়েশন’ নাম দিয়ে কতিপয় ব্যক্তির ক্ষতিকর কার্যকলাপের প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে বৃটেনে প্রবাসী মৌলভীবাজারের অধিবাসীদের চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

The Convention Committee of the Action Committee,
11. Goring Street,
London. EC3

Dear Sirs,

We the undersigned persons who come from the Moulvibazar Subdivision of Sylhet District of Bangladesh and now residing in U. K. would like to draw your attention to the fact that a few self-styled leader, of our locality, now staying in London, are purporting to represent the 'people of Moulvibazar in U. K. by setting up an organisation under the name of "Moulvibazar Association" with some ulterior motives. We understand I the so- called Moulvibazar Association remitted some money to India in the name of helping the refugees' a few months ago and subsequently put up a huge publicity in the press in this country, as well as. in India. This sort of cheap publicity caused an awful damage in promoting a national feeling among all Bengali people in U. K. and, we feel, it created doubts and misunderstanding in the minds of other Bengali brethren about the activities of people from Moulvibazar.

On the other hand, we believe that the above-mentioned publicity also placated the
name of Moulvibazar to the notice of the barbarous Yahya regime in Bangladesh, as a result of which, they picked on Moulvibazar and heavily bombed the area and persecuted our brothers and sisters indiscriminately.

This sort of parochialism is indeed most regrettable which, we apprehend, will create further misunderstanding in the minds of freedom loving people of Bangladesh and discourage our brothers from Moulvibazar in U. K. to participate more actively in our movement.

Hope you will no doubt give due consideration to this matter and see that no parochial slogan is encouraged.

Dated, London
1st October, 1971.

Yours faithfully,
.....
(Signatures of 56 persons)

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামকে সমর্থন এবং 'বাংলাদেশ রিলিফ ফান্ডে' চাঁদা প্রদানের জন্য ছাত্র সমাজকে উদ্বুদ্ধ করার আবেদন জানিয়ে বৃটেনের সকল শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রধানদের উদ্দেশ্যে লিখিত চিঠি	ইউনাইটেড এ্যাকশন, বাংলাদেশের দলিলপত্র	১২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

MUST A MILLION CHILDREN DIE?
The Road From Bangladesh

The President 12 October 1971

AN APPEAL

Dear Sir,

1. In East Bengal, the world is witnessing a holocaust unmatched since Hitler-and 'witnessing' is the operative word. While a million or more of innocent men. women and children have been killed as a result of the Army action, and millions have fled, and world has done little but to look on in paralyzed horror, sighing for the victims and offering the survivors among them alms but taking no effective measures to ameliorate even the incontrovertibly international aspect of the tragedy: the forced flight of over 9, 000.000 (the equivalent of the combined populations of Sweden and New Zealand or the equivalent of the population of London!) terrorized Bengali refugees to India. There is no end to the terror, there is no end to the human trail, and this situation has been going on since March when the Army action began. The latest figures are that at least 40,000 refugees a week are still crossing the borders. The tragedy is appalling and indescribable, so we have had to seek the help of the "Sunday Times" and the "Daily Telegraph" and enclose some pictures of the human miseries as seen, by their own reporters in June and. as recently as, in September. Multiply these pictures a million fold and try to imagine the sheer size of the tragedy in West Bengal refugee camps and on the roads from Bangladesh.

2. The situation inside East Bengal is worse. Army action still continues; villages are still being burned: thousands are still leaving. We have now a civil war in Bangladesh which is reminiscent of the early stages of the Vietnam War. The war has prevented sowing or rice seeds in many areas; the food-distribution and the communication systems remain disrupted which, faced with guerilla action, the Pakistan Army *is* unable to restore. The *fateful result* of this is that there is now a very real threat of a famine which unless some action is taken in time, could become the greatest human disaster yet in the history of mankind. Experts are predicting up to 40,000,000 people could perish starting this November unless something is done swiftly by the world community.

3. We write to you now urging you to do something to help the people who face a famine before it is too late. British people have done a great deal for the suffering

millions around the world. We believe that in the present crisis in Bengal, you are in a special position to do something. Before we put our specific proposals, we ought to give you some of the more serious reports and comments in the press pointing to the gravity of the situation :

a. Mr. Reg Prentice M.P., was a member of the Parliamentary delegation which recently visited both Pakistan and India to study the present crisis. In the New Statesman of 16th July 1971. he wrote

> " ...As we drove up the road...we drove past thousands of new refugees crowding the road on either side. They just kept coming, for mile after mile, people of all ages carrying their cooking pots and little bundles of possessions. Young children were carrying babies a few weeks old. Some people were lying helplessly in the ditches...and so it goes on-sometimes as many as 1,000.000 new refugees a day reaching India.

b. Mother Theresa, 69, the missionary who runs a village in India for three hundred lepers, winner of the pope's Peace Prize earlier this year, said on arrival in London on 24th September-

> "Reports from East Pakistan indicated that the shooting of refugees appears to have begun again".

This means that the human trail is not ending, not yet.

c. The Pope called an urgent meeting on 25th September of Roman Catholic relief officials to discuss the "steady worsening" in the living condition of civil war survivors in East Pakistan. The Pope's announcement came after the Catholic relief organization Caritas International said that East Pakistan faced a disastrous famine unless the world governments provide help within the next few weeks.

d. Lincoln C. Chen and Jon E. Rhode of Harvard Medical School have written-

> "The critical period lies immediately ahead. The similarities between the famine of 1943 with present trends in East Pakistan are striking. The malnourished state of the 7.5 million refugees (now 9 millions) who have fled into India attests the deteriorating situation within East Pakistan. Reliable estimates project that the current food shortage will affect approximately 25 million people: the landless laborer, the deficit fanner, craftsman, factory worker and urban poor. The number that will die of starvation is unknown."

e. Mr. Peter Shore, M. P., a former Labor Cabinet Minister, has just returned from a visit to India-East Pakistan border. He wrote in the Sunday Times of 5th September-

> "The prospects for famine are grim...No one can tell what the East Bengal gross food deficit amounts to... The urgency of all this cannot be over stressed... India has so far absorbed 8 million people from East Pakistan. They are not refugees from hunger. They the refugees from oppression and fear. If hunger takes an increasing grip in East

Pakistan in the months ahead, yet another tide of refugees will flow across the border."

f. Describing the appalling conditions in the refugee camps in West Bengal Nicholas Tomalin of the Sunday Times wrote under the caption 'Must a million children die"? (Sunday Times 26th September)-

"By the end of each week people have long since finished their ration supplies (of 200 grams of rice). They are desperate. So to get their food earlier next day they queue all night, squatting under black umbrellas in long lines fenced in with bamboo. They looked like penned cattle……

"I saw one of them (a child) return to my next door rent. His hungry family awaited him for it Was six days since they had collected their rations-and their food had run out. He was only five, he scarcely knew what was happening, and he was an obedient member of his family. So he saw his brass pot of milk taken from him and shared round six people. Father took the largest gulp, brothers and sisters drank greedily. For the little boy all that was left was a large table-spoonful of milk...This

small incident multiplied a million fold. Presents worst potential disaster of all...these children need massive supplementary feeding if they are to survive."

4. Sir, we can go on giving you quotes but, we are sure, you already know enough. We now write to you seeking your help and moral support. We ask you to do whatever you can to provide relief and succor to the suffering millions in both East and West Bengal (please see pictures). The problem is of enormous magnitude but the aid far has been scanty. For the sake of humanity, in conscience. We, each one of us. should and must do all we can.

PROGRAMME FOR ACTION

Our appeal to you: Please organise any effort within your University Polytechnic College / Institution to raise money for "United Action Bangladesh Relief Fund". You may like to:

(a) Hold a dance or any other function to raise money;
(b) Observe "Help Bangladesh Week" and ask people for donations;
(c) Observe a day's fast and let students donate that day's expenses towards feeding of hungry millions;
(d) Ask willing students to fill in Banker's Orders for a regular contribution;
(e) Explore other means to raise money;
(f) Ask your Government and other world governments to rush aid.

We will of course be too ready to co-operate with you and be of any assistance to you, and if necessary, to arrange for one of us to come and talk to you.

6. United Action-Bangladesh has established the relief fund for the specific purpose of relief and help to the suffering millions. The name of the fund is "United Action-

Bangladesh Relief Fund". Its Bankers are :

National Westminster Bank Limited,
43 Kingsway. London WC2B 6TN.
Ale No. 01533118
Bank Code No. 01-04-78

Please send your contributions direct to this account. Cheques should be made payable to "United Action-Bangladesh Relief Fund" and crossed "A/c Payee only".

The Trustees of the Fund are;
(1)Rt. Rev. Trevor Huddleston, Bishop of Stepney;
(2)Lady Gifford;
(3)Rt. Hon. Richard Crossman, M. P.;
(4)Mr. S. I. Aziz, A. M. B. I. M.

We are Sir,

Yours faithfully.
1.Md. A. Samad Khan
2.R. U. Ahamed
3.Md. Abdur Rob
4.A. Matlib
5……
6.A. H. Joarder
for United Action-Bangladesh

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
যুদ্ধকালে বৃটেনের বিভিন্ন শহরে মঞ্চায়িত নৃত্যনাট্য 'অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও' -এর পাণ্ডুলিপি	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	(রচনাকাল) আগস্ট, ১৯৭১

।। অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও ।।

রচনা ও সুরারোপঃ এনামুল হক

[বৃষ্টির শব্দ। মেঘের গর্জন।]

কিষাণীরা ।। বরষা নেমেছে যেন বন্যাধারা
মেঘেরা ডাকিছে যেন বাজে নাকাড়া ।।
রিমঝিম রিমঝিম ঝরো ঝরো সারাদিন
পড়িছে আকাশ ভেঙ্গে বৃষ্টি বিরামহীন
শ্যামল পৃথিবী হোলো আত্মহারা ।।

বিজুলী চমক দেয় জোনাকীরা ঝলসায়
বউ কথা কও পাখী এলো বুঝি জলসায়
ভরে দিক গানে প্রাণ শ্রাবণ ধারা ।।

[ভীষণ মেঘের গজীন। আরো বৃষ্টি। বন্যা।]

কিষাণ। । হায় হায় এইবার আমাদের কি হবে উপায়
ফসলের সব ক্ষেত ডুবে গেল বরষার ।।
মাঠে ছিল পাকা ধান যত
স্রোতে সব হোয়ে অবনত
আমাদের রেখে গেল কঠিন ক্ষুধার তাড়নায় ।।

কিষাণী ।। তবুও আসবে জোতদের
চাইবে ধানের ভাগ তার
কি করে ঠেকাব তাকে আশা দেব কোন ভরসায় ।।

[ভীষণ মেঘের গজীন। ঢুলীর প্রবেশ।]

ঢুলী ।। টাক ডুমা ডুম বাদ্যি বাজে শোনো স্বদেশ বাসী
পঁচিশ টাকায় বিক্রি হবে পাঁটশ টাকার খাসি ।।

কিষাণ ।। বাজার বেজায় সস্তা দেখি বলত ভাই খুলে
এমন ভাবে দাও বুঝিয়ে যাই ন যেনা ভুলে ।।

ঢুলী ।। দেশের যত সমস্যা ভাই উঠছে কেবল জমে
তাই দেখে সব খান সাহেবদের ঘুমটা যাচ্ছে কমে
সৈন্য-সেনা আর আমলা মিলে পাকাচ্ছে এক জোট
ভুয়া পেটে নাচতে নাচতে দিতে হবে ভোট ।।

কিষাণ ।। বল কি হে ভোট দিয়ে কি পেটের ক্ষুধা যাবে ।।

ঢুলী ।। ওই ভোটটা দিলেই গরম গরম পেটের খাবার পাবে
টাক ডুমা ডুম বদ্যি বাজে শোনো স্বদেশ বাসী
পঁচিশ টাকায় বিক্রি হবে পাঁচশ টাকার খাসি ।।

[ঢুলীর প্রস্থান। ছাত্র ও যুবক দলের প্রবেশ।]

যুবক দল ।। নৌকার দলে ভোট দে সবে ভাই
নৌকার দলে ভোট না দিলে বাংলার বাঁচবার উপায় নাই ।।

এক ছাত্র ।। দেশ শাসনের কেতাব নাই
হিসাব করে লিখবে সবাই
তাইত তোমার ভোটটা চাই
নৌকার দলে ভোট দে সবে ভাই ।।

সকলে ।। জয় বাংলা ।। জয় বাংলা ।।
(যুবকদলের প্রস্থান।)

[গোলাগুলির শব্দ। ঢুলীর প্রবেশ।]

ঢুলী ।। টাক ডুমাডুম টাক ডুমাডুম টাক ডুমাডুম ডুম
মার খেয়ে সব মরতে হবে জঙ্গী লাটের হুকুম
বাংলাদেশের থাকবে শুধু নফর চাকর দাসী
পাঁচশ টাকায় কিনতে হবে পঁচিশ টাকার খাসি
ও মিয়া ভাই কি করি উপায় কিসে বাঁচাই প্রাণ
পশুর মত আসছে তেড়ে পাঞ্জাবী আর পাঠান ।।

কিষাণ ।। কেমন কথা আইন মত সবাই দিলাম ভোট
তাতেও দেখি খান সাহেবের বেজায় গরম চোট ।।

ঢুলী ।। খান সাহেবদের মাথা মোটা ধার ধারে না কারো
সারা জীবন শিক্ষা তাদের খুন কর আর মারো
শাসন করে শোষণ করে নেইক কোনোই দায়
সহজে কি কেউ সে ক্ষমতা ছেড়ে মরতে চায় ।।

কিষাণী ।। হায় বাঙ্গালী হায় বাঙ্গালী
বুকের তাজা রক্ত দিয়ে দেশ বাঙ্গালী

ঘুম কি এবার ভাঙ্গবে রে তোর
রাত কেটে ঐ আসল যে ভোর
আরো রক্ত দিতে যে বাংলাদেশ আজ কাঙালি ।।

[ঢুলীর প্রস্থান। ভীষণ গোলাগুলির শব্দ।]

কিষাণ ।। সহসা শুনি যে কোথাও বাজিছে যুদ্ধের কোলাহল
শিরায় শোণিতে জাগিছে হিংসার দাবানল
যুদ্ধের হুঙ্কার আমি তুচ্ছ করি
অন্যায় শক্তিকে আমি ব্যর্থ করি
মৃত্যুকে করি যে রূদ্ধ মৃত্যু দিয়ে
হিংস্রকে করি যে স্তব্ধ বজ্র দিয়ে
জীবনের সৈনিক আমি অন্যায়ের সাথে মোর দ্বন্দ্ব
জীবন সার্থক হোক সত্য জেনে সেইত আনন্দ ।।

সকলে ।। শক্তির যে করে অপব্যবহার
শক্তির হাতে তার হবে সংহার।
শৃংখল পায়ে পায়ে পরায়ে
পশ্চাতে যে টানে জড়ায়ে
বিশ্বের ঘৃণা তারে দহে বারবার
তাই তার প্রতিকার জন্মের অধিকার ।।

কিষাণী ।। এবারে উঠেছে ঢেউ
ঘরে বসে নেই কেউ
স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে
চলবেই অবিরাম ।।

সকলে ।। শরীরের কোষে কোষে
প্রতিবাদ জ্বলে রোষে
আছে যারা পরাধীন
তাদের নতুন দিন ।।

[মুক্তিফৌজের পোশাক পরে কয়েকজনের প্রবেশ।]

কিষাণী ।। কি যে উল্লাসে জাগে দিকে দিকে
স্বাধীনতা নাম বুকে লিখে লিখে
তাপিত হাজার প্রাণ
প্রলয়ের মত সারা দিনক্ষণ
বিদেশী প্রভুর সব আয়োজন

ভেঙ্গে করে খান খান।।

কিষাণ।। স্বাধীনতা বলবার
স্বাধীনতা চলবার
লিখবার গাইবার বাঁচাবার
ভাগ্যকে ভাঙতে
হাসতে কি কাঁদতে
চাই সব করবার অধিকার।।

সকলে।। জন্মভুমি ওগো বাংলাদেশ
তোমার ব্যথার করব যে শেষ
খামারে অথাবা যত কারখানা কলে
আর কারো দাস হোয়ে খাটি দলে দলে
মনে হয় এইবার সব উঠি ফুসে
করেছে যেমন ওই চীনে আর রুশে।।

কিষাণ।। হে-
মার জোয়ানো হেঁইও
জোরসে টানো হেঁইও
সাবাস জোয়ান হেঁইও
হও আগুয়ান হেঁইও

সকলে।। সাবধানে বাই
আমরা সবাই
মজুর কিষাণ
বাঁচাই পরাণ

কিষাণ।। পেটের চানে হেঁইও
সবাই জানে হেঁইও

সকলে।। হেঁইও রে হেঁইও
হেঁইও রে হেঁইও

কিষাণ ও কিষাণী। কারখানাতে খেত খামারে
শহর গাঁয়ে আর পাহাড়ে
বেলা অবেলা সকল বেলা
টানছি বোঝা ঠেলছি ঠেলা
মহাজনের মেশিন চালাই
সাহেব সুবার বাড়ী বানাই

সকলে ।। এই কপালে কিছুই নাই
আমরা মজুর পথে বেড়াই
আমরা খাটি ফসল ফলাই
তাইত গানে আগুন ছড়াই

কিষাণ ।। হে-
নয়া জামানা হেঁইও
দেয় নিশানা হেঁইও
সাবাস জোয়ান হেঁইও
হও আগুয়ান হেঁইও
সকলে ।। সাবধানে ভাই
আমরা সবাই
মজুর কিষাণ
বাঁচাই পরাণ
কিষাণ ।। পেটের টানে হেঁইও
সবাই জানে হেঁইও
সকলে ।। হেঁইও রে হেঁইও
হেঁইও রে হেঁইও
কিষাণ ও কিষাণী ।। রাতের শেষে সূর্য যেমন
আলোয় ভরায় সারা ভুবন
আসবে আসবে সেই দুদিন
আসবে সমাজ শোষণীয়
আসবে আসবে সেই স্বরাজ
সাম্যবাদের শ্রমিক রাজ
সকলে ।। এসো মজুর কিষাণ ভাই
এবার সবাই করব লড়াই
সবার মুক্তি অবশেষে
আসবে আসবে বাংলাদেশে
কিষাণ ।। হে-
মুক্তি যদি পেতে চাও হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
বুক ফুলিয়ে এগিয়ে যাও হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও

মুক্তি ফৌজে নাম লেখাও হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
যার বুকে আছে দেশের টান হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
সে দিতে পারে নিজের প্রাণ হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
সাবাস বাংলার মজুর কিষাণ হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
সাবাস বাংলার নওজোয়ান হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
সব বেদনার হবে শেষ হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
স্বাধীন হবে বাংলাদেশ হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
মুক্ত যদি পেতে চাও হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও
অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও হেঁইও হেঁইও হেঁইও ।।

রচনা কালঃ আগস্ট, ১৯৭১ । যুদ্ধকালে ইংল্যান্ডের বিভিন্ন শহরে মঞ্চায়িত।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬ই অক্টোবর ম্যাঞ্জেস্টারে অনুষ্ঠিতব্য সাংস্কৃতিক অনুষ্ঠানের পোস্টার	বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	১২ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

বাংলাদেশের

স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামের বিপ্লবী আলেখ্য

অস্ত্র হাতে তুলে নাও

(নৃত্যনাট্য)

ও গীতিবিচিত্রা

পরিবেশনায়ঃ

বাংলাদেশ গণসংস্কৃতি সংসদ

BANGLADESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY, LONDON

শনিবারঃ ১৬ই অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

স্থানঃ ফ্রি ট্রেড হল, ম্যানটেস্টার

সময়ঃ দুপুর দেড়টা

প্রবেশপত্রের জন্য যোগাযোগের ঠিকানাঃ

বাংলাদেশ এ্যাসোসিয়েশন

ল্যাংকাশায়ার ও পার্শ্ববর্তী এলাকা

৩৩৬ স্টকপোর্ট রোড, ম্যানটেস্টার

ফোনঃ ০৬১-২৭৩ ৩৪২২

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রেরিত চাঁদার রসিদ চেয়ে লিবিয়া থেকে বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীকে লেখা চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১৭ অক্টোবর, ১৯৭১

AL-MAARJ HOSPITAL
AL-MARJ (BRACE), LIBYA
17.10.71

জনাব চৌধুরী সাহেব,

আমার সালাম নেবেন। অনেকদিন পূর্বে আপনার কাছে চিঠি লিখে জানিয়েছিলাম যে আমি এবং ডাঃ মোঃ আবদুস সালাম ১০০ স্টার্লিং পাউন্ড বাংলাদেশ ফান্ডে পাঠিয়েছি। ব্যাংকের পক্ষ থেকে ১০০ পাউন্ডের রসিদ পেয়েছি। কিন্তু আপনাদের কাছ থেকে রসিদ পেলাম না। রসিদের কোন প্রয়োজন ছিল না; কিন্তু যেহেতু মাহবুব পেয়েছেন বাংলাদেশ গভর্নমেন্টের পক্ষ থেকে সেহেতু আমাদেরও দরকার এবং বিশেষ করে আমার আবদুর রহমান ও ডাঃ নূরুল আলম চৌধুরী প্রত্যেকে ৫০ পাউন্ড করে পাঠিয়েছেন। তারাও রসিদ পাননি। এ ব্যাপারে একটু ত্বরান্বিত না হলে অসুবিধা আছে। রসিদ তাড়াতাড়ি দিলে টাকা সংগ্রহও তাড়াতাড়ি হবে।

আপনাদের কাছ থেকে কাগজপত্র রীতিমত পাচ্ছি, সেজন্য আপনাদের সকলকে জানাই মোবারকবাদ। আরবীতে অনুদিত বইপত্র পাঠাতে পারলে খুব ভাল হয়। কোন ব্যাপারেই আমরা চেষ্টার ত্রুটি করছি না।

... হাসপাতালে ডিউটি করছি আর চিঠি লিখছি। একই চিন্তা-কিভাবে আমাদের দুঃখ-দুর্দশা ঘুচবে এবং আমাদের সন্তান-সন্ততিরা মুক্ত হাওয়ায় শ্বস-প্রশ্বাস গ্রহণ করবে, স্বাধীনভাবে চিন্তা করবে, কথা বলবে। ঐ দিনের প্রতীক্ষায় রইলাম যেদিন পরম আল্লাহতালা জালিমের শাস্তি দিয়ে নিপরাধ জনসাধারণকে শান্তির নিঃশ্বাস ফেলতে দেবেন.....। **জয় বাংলা**

ডাঃ এ, কে, এম, আবদুল হাফিজ

Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury
11, Goring St.. London EC 3 U.K.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
দক্ষিণ ইংল্যান্ড ও আঞ্চলিক এ্যাকশন কমিটির সম্পর্কে মতানৈক্যের প্রশ্নে আয়োজিত সভায় উপস্থিতির জন্য কনভেনশন কমিটির আহবায়কের বিজ্ঞপ্তি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	১ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

CONVENTION COMMITTEE OF THE ACTION COMMITTEE
FOR THE PEOPLE S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN U. K.
11 GORING STREET, London EC 3.

November I. 1971.

The President/Secretary,
Dear Friends,

As per the resolution of the Convention Committee at a meeting held on 22nd October, 1971. arising out of objections raised by several local Committees to the conduct, validity and bonafide of South England Regional Committee, you are requested to send two representatives from your Committee to the meeting of all the Committees of South England Region to be held on Sunday. 7th November. 1971 at Lady Margaret Church Hall. Lady Margaret Road, Kentish Town N. W. 5 (Kentish Town Tube Station), at 2 P.M.

Only authorized representatives will be allowed into the meeting on presentation of the admission cards supplied herewith.

Yours fraternally.
(M. A. H. BHUIA)
Convenor.

On behalf of the Convention Committee comprising of the following members:
I. Mr. M. A. H. Bhuia 2. Mr. Sk. A. Mannan 3. Mr. Gous Khan
4. Mr. M. A. Matin 5. Mr. Arab Ali 6. Mr. A. M. Tarafdar

ADMIT ONE

I, _____ have been duly authorised by----------
___Committee to be present at the meeting called by the Convenor of the Convention Committee to be held on Sunday 31st October, 1971.

Convenor,
Convention Committee.

Signature of the President/Secretary
of _____

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ওল্ডহ্যামে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ ইয়োথ লীগের সংগৃহীত অর্থ সদ্ব্যবহারের উপদেশ কামনা করে স্টীয়ারিং কমিটিকে লিখিত চিঠি	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	৪ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

JOY BANGLA
BANGLADESH YOUTH LEAGUE

11 TIN STREET
OLDHAM
LANCS.
Telephone:061-624 3189 Date, the 4th Nov, 1971.

To

The Steering Committee of the Action Committee for the Peoples' Republic of Bangladesh in United Kingdom.

জনাব,

আমি বাংলাদেশ 'তরূণ লীগের' পক্ষ থেকে আপনাদের মারফতে মাননীয় বিচারপতি চৌধুরী সাহেবের উপদেশ কামনা করছি। আমাদের 'তরূণ লীগ' তহবিলে এ পর্যন্ত প্রায় বারো শত পাউন্ড জমা হয়েছে। আমাদের প্রত্যেকের ইচ্ছা উক্ত পাউন্ডগুলি আমাদের বীর সেনানী মুক্তিবাহিনীর জন্য গরম কাপড় খরিদার্থে ব্যবহার করা হোক।

আশা করি বিচারপতি সাহেব এ বিষয়ে নিশ্চয় আনন্দিত হবেন।

তাই আমাদের পয়সাগুলি কিভাবে তিনির হাতে পৌঁছাবো, আপনারা অতি সত্বর আমাদেরে উপদেশ দান করিবেন।

আমাদের সংগ্রামী সালাম রইল।

ইতি
Bangladesh Youth League
Oldham,
Lancs.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
প্রবাসে একটি সাংস্কৃতিক কেন্দ্র প্রতিষ্ঠার প্রস্তাব সংবলিত বিচারপতি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরীর কাছে গণ-সংস্কৃত সংসদের পক্ষে পেশকৃত গোপন প্রতিবেদন	গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	১৫ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

Confidential

15-11-71

Exclusive to Justice A. S. Chowdhury

This note favors the proposition to immediately establish a Bangladesh cultural centre in London. It will be an organisation with a 3 member management committee consisting of:

1. Justice Chowdhury
2. Honorary Director of the centre
3. One representative of the Steering Committee or its successor Comminee.

It will be financed by the Steering Committee and other private sources. It has every possibility of being self-sufficient. At the moment one room either at 11. Goring street or in the Bangladesh Mission will house the centre.

The centre will lie headed by the Director. Only one Assistant and a part time Typist - cum-Clerk will be the paid employees. All others will be recruited on the basis of voluntary service.

The general aim of (lie centre is to canyon the freedom struggle of Bangladesh in a different arena with a different kind of weapon. The centre would endeavor to project the cultural basis of our nationalism to show the inevitability of the independence of Bangladesh, to establish and sustain liaison with supporters of Bangladesh among foreign nationals, to project the rich cultural heritage of Bangladesh in order to attract public attention towards the positive aspect and soundness of Bangladesh nationhood, to publish sophisticated literature that would be appreciated by the intelligentsia, to invite eminent citizens of the world to participate in discussions on aspects of Bangladesh, to sponsor- exhibitions of photographs, paintings, films, posters etc. on Bangladesh, to create a library and a documentation centre containing books, journals, newspapers, films, slides, records, maps, charts etc. to work as the research cell for the Bangladesh Mission, Central Action Committee or any other such authority, to arrange for the celebration of the Shahid Day (21st February), Independence Day (20th March), Bengali New Years Day (14th April), Tagore Birth Day (Bill May), Nazrul Birth Day (26th May) and such other national anniversaries in a befitting manner etc.

It is about six months that the Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society has been actively pursuing a programme on the above line of creating mass awareness among the Bangladesh citizens in U. K. In course of its activities it has derived at collaborating with

all other organizations with similar objectives, such as the Steering Committee, the Students Action Committee, the Women's Action Committee. Action Bangladesh, etc. But the Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society is an assembly of heterogeneous elements and is naturally bound to submit to the and strains of its compositional weakness. Also being a voluntary Society it cannot implementing serious programme and has no funds at its command. It can at best be helpful in carrying out same work of popular nature (c. g. patriotic music, dance recital etc.) assigned by the centre.

Finally, it is not too much to expect that the centre would be treated, by virtue of its nature of work, as a rallying point of Bangladesh citizens of all opinions and would likely to a permanent institution even after the struggle for freedom has been successfully won. This, in its expanded form, would be treated as a legacy of the freedom movement of Bengalees in United Kingdom.

In order to understand the utility of an institution like the Bangladesh Cultural Centre, we may point out same inadequacies as far as organizational situation in London is concerned. The following are illustrative examples and are not aimed at complaining against anyone.

(i) During the last seven months Justice Chowdhury has met many eminent politicians, diplomats, journalists, and useful citizens in Europe and America. As far as it is known, such meetings have not been followed up by subsequent occasional polite and personal correspondence. Mere mailing of printed bulletin to their addresses can hardly be a substitute. The centre can take care of sustaining such contracts under the general guidance of Justice Choudhury.

(ii) The Steering Committee or its successor committee will, because of its objectives, be always bouy in politically organizing the Bangladesh citizens in U. K. by arranging meetings, processions, etc. Their main occupation would be to procure funds and keep us engaged and united in our struggle for freedom. One should not expect them to be able to undertake directly the sophisticated works outlined earlier in this note.

(iii) The same may be the case for the diplomats who have recently expressed their allegiance to Bangladesh. Without any reflection on their otherwise competence, they arc trained bureaucrats who can hardly take initiative on their own to handle cultural activities to promote a revolutionary struggle. This can be illustrated by a recent example. Mr. Hasnein Beikal, the editor of the Al-Ahram of Egypt and the most influential man of letters in the Arab world, was in London in October. It was reported in the newspapers also. But it appears that no one took initiative in arranging a meeting with him for Justice Chowdhury. What a great miss!

(iv) Even a pro-Pakistan newspaper like the Dawn of Karachi published in the beginning of November the news of bomb explosion in Dacca DIT television tower, in National Press Trust Morning News building, and the closure of Karnaphuli Paper Mills, the biggest in Asia, due to guerilla activities. These

Were indeed more remarkable news items than the stereotyped border incursions. Regrettably none of these items got mention in either of the Bengali bi-weekly or the English fortnightly, officially published from London. Indeed the creation of such a centre would always, with their continued research activities, be helpful to the Press Section of the Mission so that balanced and useful information are circulated.

(v) Andre Malraux, the eminent French intellectual has offered his support for and active collaboration with the Bangladesh struggle. It is not known whether any authority or individual, on behalf of Bangladesh, has exploited his offer. The Bangladesh Centre would have taken up the case and would have put him in contact with the government at Mujibnagar and used him for propaganda purpose in an appropriate way.

(vi) It has been a proven practice to publish suitably designed posters with lucid, slogans to keep up the tempo of any struggle. The Bangladesh Cultural Centre would immediately bring out several posters in Bengali (and also in English and French) for permanent display in Bengali restaurants, offices, and in public premises like libraries, museums, railway stations, air-ports, post-offices etc.

(vii) It is noticed with great satisfaction that the entire mass of the Bengalees, majority of them are though illiterate, have supported the cause of an independent Bangladesh. The spirit so far has been excellent. But the danger is even greater if this mass is not educated through practical measures the new basis of our nationhood, i. e., the secular character of Bangladesh in place of the religious hypocrisy of Pakistan. Mere slogans would hardly remove this well-nourished prejudice. The enemies of Bangladesh can easily fight on this ground even without using their guns, unless immediate efforts are made to take simultaneous measures to clearly demonstrate that the new stale of Bangladesh will create a society which will neither exploit nor interfere with the religion of the masses. The confidence of the people in this matter must be built up in right earnest. The Cultural Centre will have to work very hard in this respect.

(viii) Nobody knows how long it may take to finally liberate the occupied Bangladesh, and fully. Meanwhile the centre may handle the cases of all students of Bangladesh in U. K. and guide all enquiries in matters of higher studies in U. K. It can even procure scholarships, stipends, fellowships for suitable candidates from different sources.

(ix) Immediate measure should be taken to collect books and journals on ancient as well as current history, literature, art. politics, economics, sociology of Bangladesh-both in English and Bengali-for the Centre Library. We must develop our immigrant community in U. K. as a well-informed group of people who know about themselves, who are readers and not talkers only. We must know our culture in the broadest sense of the term.

(x) It is not necessary to go on listing what could have been done and what could be done. It is never too late to begin. Once the Centre is established it can start thinking itself and can provoke ideas and seek advise from others.

Financial implications (for first six months)

Salary of a full-time Assistant
@ £ 100 per month..... £ 600
Salary of a part-time Clerk-cum-Typist
@ £ 30 per month------- £180
Stationeries & Contingencies Conveyances etc. £ 600

(six months)
Total= £ 13.80
All activities expenses would be borne by the Steering Committee.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ঈদের ফেতরাসহ মুক্তিযোদ্ধাদের অন্যান্য সাহায্যের জন বাংলাদেশ মহিলা সমিতির আবেদন	বৃটেনে বাংলাদেশ মহিলা সমিতির প্রচারপত্র	১৬ নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১

BANGLADESH WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

103 Ledbury Road, London, W.11.
Telephone: 01 727 6578
Ref: 2/R.
Date: 16ই নভেম্বর, ১৯৭১ ।

সুধী,

পবিত্র ঈদ সমাগমে প্রতিটি দেশপ্রাণ বাংগালীর মন স্বভাবতঃই ভারাক্রান্ত। দেশ ও জাতি আজ ঘোরতর দুর্যোগের সম্মুখীন। ইয়াহিয়ার নীতি ও ধর্মজ্ঞান বিবর্জিত নৃশংস সেনাবাহিনীর অত্যাচারে জর্জরিত। অত্যাচারী এজিদ বাহিনী বাংগারী জাতির নাম পৃথিবী থেকে মুছে ফেলতে বদ্ধপরিকর। দেশের এই সঙ্কটে আমাদের একমাত্র ভরসাস্থল মরণজয়ী জেহাদেরত মুক্তিবাহিনীর ভাইরা। বাংলা ও বাংগালীকে তারা বাঁচাবেই-প্রয়োজন হলে তাদের জীবনের বিনিময়ে। আমাদের ঈদ ব্যর্থ হবে যদি পবিত্র দিনে তাদের প্রতি আমাদে কর্তব্য ভুলে যাই।

তাই যুক্তরাজ্যস্থ বাংলাদেশ মহিলা সমিতি সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে এবারের ফেতরার পয়সা সংগ্রহ করে মুক্তিবাহিনীর কাপড়-চোপড় ও প্রয়োজনীয় অন্যান্য জিনিস খরিদ করার জন্য পাঠিয়ে দেবে। এ ব্যাপারে আমরা অনুরোধ করছি আপনাদের আমরিক সহযোগিতা।

আসুন ভাই-বোনেরা, এবারের ফেতরার পয়সা মুক্তিবাহিনীর নামে বাংলাদেশ মহিলা সমিতির কাছে পাঠিয়ে দিয়ে জেহাদে শরীফ হোন। দানের দ্বারা দেশের প্রতি আপনার গুরূদায়িত্বের ভার কিছুটা লাঘব করুন। আপনার ঈদ সার্থক ও পবিত্রতার হোক।

জয় বাংলা।

নিবেদিকা

মিসেস বকশ

(কনভেনর)

একটি জরূরী আবেদন

সোনার বাংলার মানুষ আজ হানাদার বাহিনীর নৃশংস হত্যালীলার শিকার। তারা আজ অন্নহীন বস্ত্রীহীন। এখন শীতকাল। মুক্তিবাহিনীরা খোলা জায়গায় কাজে ব্যস্ত। শরণার্থীরা শীতবস্ত্রের প্রয়োজনীয়তা উপলব্ধি করে এগিয়ে আসুন। দেশ স্বাধীন যাঁরা করছেন তাদের সাহায্য করাই দেশের কাজ করা। যে যা পারেন নতুন বা পুরানো কিন্তু পরিষ্কার জাম্পার, সোয়েটার, কার্ডিগান, পুলওভার, প্যান্ট ও গলাবন্দ দিয়ে সাহায্য করুন। এর আগে মে মাসে আমরা 'ওয়ার অন ওয়ান্ট' এর মাধ্যমে মুক্তিবাহিনীদের জন্য ৪০০ সার্ট ও প্যান্ট পাঠিয়েছি। আপনাদের সাহয্য পেলে এবারও পারব ইনশাআল্লাহ। আপনার সংগ্রহ করা কাপড়গুলি নীচের ঠিকানায় আগামী ১৩ ও ২০শে নভেম্বর শনিবার বেলা ২-৪টার মধ্যে পৌঁছে দিন।

1. World service Trust,
27 Delancey St.
London N.W.1
(Off Camden High Street,
Camden Town).

2. 58 Berwick Street,
London W.1,
Oxford Circular

বাংলাদেশের মহিলা সমিতি সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে এবারের ফেতার পয়সা সংগ্রহ করে সেটা মুক্তি বাহিনীর জন্যে খরচ করবে। এই সংকল্প রূপায়নের জন্য চাই আপনাদের সক্রিয় সহযোগিতা।

দেশ আজ ইয়াহিয়া-সৈন্যের অত্যাচারে ধ্বংস কবলিত। বাংলাদেশে আজ জীবন ধারণ করাই দুর্বিষহ। জাতি আজ জীবন-মরণ সমস্যার সম্মুখীন। আপনার-আমরা ভাই বোনেরা জীবন পণ করে ঝাঁপিয়ে পড়েছে দেশকে শত্রুমুক্ত করতে। আপনারা কি মনে করেন না যে যারা মানুষ বাঁচানোর ব্রতে নেমেছেন তাঁদের সাহায্য করাই ধর্মের কাজ ও বাংরার মানুষকে বাঁচানোই আজ বাংলার মানুষের মহান কর্তব্য ও দায়িত্ব?

আপনার বন্ধু-বান্ধাব ও আত্মীয়-স্বজনকে বলুন এবারের ফেতরার পয়সা মুক্ত বাহিনীর জন্য খরচ করতে এবং নিজেরাও ফেতরার পয়সা মুক্তিবাহিনীর নামে বাংলাদেশ মহিলা সমিতিতে জমা দিন।

-জয় বাংলা-

বাংলাদেশ মহিলা সমিতি , ১০৩ লেডবেরী রেডি, লন্ডন পশ্চিম ১১।

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনকে সমর্থন ও সহযোগিতার আহবান জানিয়ে বৃটেনের লিবারেল পার্টির ১৯৭১ সনের কনফারেন্সে আগত প্রতিনিধিদের উদ্দেশ্যে প্রচারিত আবেদন	এ্যাকশন কমিটির দলিলপত্র	.... ১৯৭১

AN APPEAL FROM THE PEOPLE OF BANGLADESH
to the
DELEGATES ATTENDING THE LIBERAL PARTY CONFERENCE, 1971,
at
SCARBOROUGH.

Dear Delegate,

You must be aware of the great human tragedy which has been inflicted on the people of Bangladesh by West Pakistan's fascist army Junta. The army launched its massive and ruthless campaign of terror against the people of Bangladesh by indiscriminate killing, plundering, burning and raping on 25th March for no other sin but exercising their democratic rights by voting for a Party and a mandate of their choice; for no other reason but to deny our people the fruits of their democratic expression in the first ever held General Election in December. 1970. The manner in which the army committed its acts of atrocities and brutalities has been confirmed by many independent witnesses and journalists, as Genocide. According to the latest newspaper reports the army continues to commit Genocide against our civilian people. Due to the presence of this alien army on our soil, all aspects of life, civilian, administrative, educational, cultural, and economic remain disrupted. An acute famine of unprecedented dimension which at least would directly affect 25 million people is sure to occur very soon unless the invading army is made to withdraw. Moreover, the 8 million people so far driven out of their country by army terror will never dare return unless the army leaves Bangladesh.

Faced with a war of extermination and absolute political suppression people of Bangladesh have taken up arms in defense of themselves, their land, their dignity, their honor and their inherent and inalienable democratic rights. If we are sad because of the plight of our people, we are proud of the valiant fight our people have put up in defense of freedom, democracy and justice.

We know the Liberal Party to be a bold and forward looking political party which never hesitates to stand firmly by a just cause in any part of the world. We know too, when the West Pakistani army cracked down on our people, your party was the first to condemn inequivocably the army action in Bangladesh. You, as a member of an enlightened party will appreciate that the people of Bangladesh after all these events will never cease its struggle against Yahia's fascist army till they have won complete independence.

We, on behalf of the people of Bangladesh, must fervently appeal to you to adopt the following resolution at your party conference this year, that:

1. The invading Army should stop committing Genocide and withdraw from Bangladesh forthwith.

2. The British Government and all other civilized governments are urged to take the Bangladesh issue to the United Nations and raise the question of Genocide under the 'Genocide Convention'.

3. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the undisputed leader of Bangladesh should at once be released from his unlawful captivity in West Pakistan.

4. The British Government should not resume economic aid and bring influence to bear on all other aid giving countries to do same till the withdrawal of the repressive army from Bangladesh. Furthermore, the Government should try to persuade all countries particularly the U. S. from giving any form of military assistance to the West Pakistani Army.

5. The British Government and all other civilized nations are urged to give acceptance to an existing reality by recognizing Bangladesh as a free and sovereign state.

Long live the friendship between the people of the U. K. and Bangladesh. JOT BANGLA.

Steering Committee of the Action
Committees for The People's
Republic of Bangladesh.
11 Goring Street,
London, E. C. 3.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বৃটেনে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদে সভাপতি ডঃ এনামুল হকের চিঠিপত্র ও যোগাযোগ	গণ-সংস্কৃতি সংসদের দলিলপত্র	তারিখ..... ১৯৭১

Abul Saaduddin,
Ethnomusicology,
University of California,
7 June, 1971.

Dear Enam,

It was a delight to talk to you over the phone. It sounds incredible, doesn't it? I am so glad to know that you are out of the country. You also realize, I am sure, how fortunate you must have been. Your various background (including wearing 'Mujib coat' in the T. V.) must have made you eligible for the military's selective list which they had guarded for a long time! I don't know why, but I had an uncanny feeling about you without knowing that you were at Oxford, and I also told Dr. Davidson about it. I was trying to visualize how you might have been dragged out of your Museum residence on March 26, the most shameful date in our history, and thought that the greatest tragedy might have befallen you. We Must pray to God that things have been different in your case. I have every trust on you and believe that you are in a much better situation to render service to the hopeless people who have been mournfully looking forward to those who are in a position to do so.

I just returned from a meeting of the American League of Bangladesh, Los Angeles and I feel ashamed to tell you what happened there. The Sylheti group (who form the manpower, not the brain-power) was looking for an opportunity to create disruptions because they did not have any office in the Organisation. 1 did not know earlier that they had a sinister motive to put us to embarrassment and that exactly what happened. Instead of discussing anything about the present situation in Bangladesh they demanded to look into our accounts as if we were a bunch of cheats. I was so mad that I quit the meeting out of disgust and in protest. One fellow was so mad that he hit me outside the building and called me son of a bitch. He posted that he could "fix me". Only if he could fix Yahya Khan instead of this stupid Saaduddin! No wonder 17 horsemen conquered Bengal and even today Yahya's stupid soldiers can overlord on us! Tagore, indeed, was a seer !

সাত কোটি সন্তানের হে মুগ্ধ জননী
রেখেছ বাঙালী করে, মানুষ কর নি!”

I heard that same kind of things were happening in England too. What do you think about the whole situation? How can the destructive and wasteful energy could be better utilized? These are serious matters and that is why I am writing these things to you so that you can give serious thought to it and find out a way that will save us from perpetual

submission and humiliation. I think I have some idea about your ultimate goal in life and here is the most opportune moment. We have to do something. As a student of history and the field where you can tread so well, you already know how one can "seize the time". Are you thinking seriously about anything? If I had money I would have immediately gone to Cuba. I was in Red China when the Red Guards had enjoyed the supreme power and I have seen with my own eyes how a revolution can be created and made to survive. I already contacted some Israeli groups and one Trotskite group also asked me to talk to them and brief them as to what could be done to change the situation. Do you have any specific instructions or suggestions in this regard?

Please inform me immediately about your coming plans and schedules. It is too bad that you people could not be brought to the West Coast colleges on speaking engagements during the Spring Quarter. I am not quite sure whether Summer time is appropriate for such ... professional teachers who come to get credits for their higher degrees. However, try to persuade Justice Choudhury to come to the West Coast, especially Berkeley and U. C. L. A. to give talks. American public in general are very ignorant of world problems (as much as we are about Colombian or Finnish politics).

Please send some photographs of the atrocities and mass killings we may blow them up to a large size to impress the Americans for they "love" to see these kind of things. Their passion and sympathy can be easily aroused with such technique. Try to contact some British reporters and people who may have some pictures. What about "Janomat"?

I think it would be a good idea to write to Davidson personally and appeal to him to do something for us through the U. C. L. A. Your writing from London or Oxford will be more effective than my meeting him here. Please also write to Basham in Australia for he will be very pleased to receive your letter. Let him know who you are-the title 'Curator' will arouse much curiosity in him. Both the addresses are given below.

What reports do you have of Mujibur Rahman? I personally think that he is dead by now-killed. The fact that the military did not bring him before the public to effectively destroy the morale of Bengalees during the days when Mujib's "voice" was 'broadcast' over clandestine radio itself was a definite proof that he was not alive at that time. Can you think of some kind of effective ploy to prove that he is not alive? I was thinking of making a story to be published in the Newspaper (in a letter) telling that he was killed giving the "actual" circumstances which would be convincing enough for the American public. **The only way to "disprove" my contention would be with Yahya Khan to publicly refute it along with his presenting Mujib "alive" before the American** reporters. We have to take enough pains to prove that the released photograph of Mujib is a very old one, perhaps pre-1966 when he was being tried on a treason-conspiracy. Do not discuss the matter with others, but let me know how we can do it very effectively. History will guide you-remember the burning of Reichstag by Hitler and putting the blame on the communists.

I know you are extremely preoccupied. But you can dictate a letter to your wonderful secretary and she will do the rest of it very efficiently.

-ইনু

A. Kabir
C/o. P. C. Roy
49/4. Hindustan Park
Calcutta-29.

28. 8.71.

Dear Mr. Haq.

Received your telephone message. We are all set to send a rep. (or two) as per your capacity to issue tickets. We are against holding a photo exhibition on Mukti Bahini-It's a grave security risk. But the documentary film titled "Bangladesh War of National Liberation" (Part one) is complete. This Part has been devoted to genocide and in explaining the true nature of the movement. I think you will like the approach. The second Part-"Birth of A Nation"-and the rest 4 of the 6-part film-would be ready within next 6-8 weeks. Each pan will run for 20 minutes. Please, if you can, arrange for distribution in U. K., Europe and USA-on TV and film theatres. The proceeds would enable us to go for bigger projects. If we can send our rep. to the cultural meet in London he will carry the film.

The problem with sending reps is that few of us have passports to travel. Special travel documents can be arranged only if you send an official invitation (on letterhead and all that) along with the tickets. Please send-this is most important-the invitation letters immediately otherwise none of the persons you mentioned would be able to go....

With best regards
ALAMGIR

INCA 018 CALCUTTA CIRCUS AVENUE 18 6 1005
Z0094 YR0084X BLB389 CBA0017 CS/3/6 GBLB CO

ENAMUL HAQ 33 ABBEY ROAD OXFORD
UNABLE TO ATTEND FOR TRIP CEYLON ZAHIR WOULD GO
IF EVERYTHING ALRIGHT.

MALLICK

---

18 Sept. 1971

ZCZC ZR0542X C CKA861 CS372/16
GBLB CO INCA 018

CALCUTTA CIRCUS AVENUE 18 16 1930

ENAMUL HUQ 59 SEYMOUR HOUSE TAVISTOCK PLACE

LONDON WC 1

REACHING EIGHTEENTH AFTERNOON FLIGHT NUMBER 582
ATTEND AIRPORT.

ZAHIR RAEHAN

A.R. Mallick
17 Sunelain Nohar Avenue
Calcutta 14, India.

২৫-৯-৭১

প্রিয় এনামুল হক,

তোমার টেলিগ্রাম ও এর মধ্যে লেখা চিঠি পেয়েছি। তোমার টেলিগ্রাম পেয়ে আমার তখন লন্ডন যাওয়া সম্ভব নয় দেখে জহির রায়হানকে যেতে বলেছিলাম এবং তোমাকে জানাতে বলেছিলাম। জহির এখান থেকে দিল্লি পর্যন্ত গিয়েছে জানি-তবে সেখান থেকে কোন সুবিধামত ফ্লাইট পায়নি বলে শুনেছি। এখান থেকে ফরমালিটি করতে সময় লেগেছে তার ফলে সম্ভবতঃ তোমাদের সেমিনারের তারিখ অনুযায়ী তার বিলাতে পৌঁছা সম্ভব হবে বলে মনে হয় না। সুতরাং শেষ পযন্ত যে কি করবে জানি না। আমি দিল্লিতে ছিলাম। পরশু এসেছি। শুনেছ বোধ হয় আমার New York যাবার কথা। সব ঠিক হয়েছে। হয়ত ৩/৪ দিন মধ্যে রওনা হাব। যাবার পথে হয়ত তোমাদের সাথে দেখা করা সম্ভব নাও হতে পারে। তবে ফেরার পথে অবশ্য দেখা করে আসব।

.....পরে তোমাকে চিঠি দেব New York পৌছে। প্রীতি ও শুভেচ্ছা রইল।

আজিজুর রহমান মল্লিক

162/23, Lake hardens.
Cal-45.
September 27.71

Dear Mr. Haq,

I am sure you all must have been extremely disappointed by Zahir's failure to reach London for the Cultural Conference. Let me tell you that he is not to be blamed. He tried his best. But everything was left undone until the last moment. The ticket arrived too late. The money you sent for his Delhi ticket arrived at Air India only a day before-they were sitting on it for two days. Zahir could get "Certificate of Identity" on September 17 after showing the tickets etc. There was no time to argue with the British who quite promptly marked his certificate (i. e. his travel document) with rejection of entry certificate because nowhere in your letter you say that you would look after him in

London and that he would not have to feed himself by begging. Anyway, it was still suggested that he should go to London where, at the airport, you could come and guarantee to British Immigration authorities about his upkeep during his stay in London.

Then came the final hurdle. The Aeroflaut ticket you sent made a journey via Moscow imperative. Because of the hurry the Aeroftuat office in Calcutta could not guarantee a seat on the flight from Moscow to London. However they suggested that Zahir should fly to Moscow anyway-and that it is most unlikely that he would have trouble to get a seat on the next plane to London. But they cleanly forgot to inform Zahir that without a confirmed seat from Moscow Soviet Union authorities do not allow transit passengers unless they have valid Soviet visa. This fact was revealed at Delhi airport where the Aeroflaut officials refused Zahir to board the plane because he hadn't a transit visa. I was there too-I had gone to Delhi to attend J. P. Narayan's international conference on Bangladesh. It was already too late. The next day, 19th-was a Sunday and the Soviet embassy in Delhi was closed. Moreover there was no plane before 20th. So I advised Zahir not to waste the ticket-as he could not attend your conference.

When the formalities were proving extremely difficult to overcome we had thought of sending somebody else with passport and all that. But it could not be done because you had sent the non-endorseable ticket in Zahir's name.

Anyway I think Zahir should still make the trip-perhaps next month. Perhaps you could use his presence at another meet on Bangladesh.

Can you fix up something for late October or early November?

Now another serious matter. One of our friends would be sent from here on a very
important mission to London-for two or three weeks. Even I may be selected for the job although I'm not keen to leave Calcutta right now. It is essential that you arrange his return passage (one way-the outgoing passage would be provided by Bangladesh government. Again, while in London he will have to be put up-lodging and food. Can you help? You must not ask any question about his mission or its nature. Nor should anybody else know-nobody except the minimum one or two about why he is in London. Let me know if you could be depended upon?

How did the conference go? Send me report for publication here. We also need a correspondent for weekly 'People'. Can you suggest a name?

Yours truly,
Alamgir.

QUAMRUL HASSAN

C/O, Mo, Khaled choudhury
2/1 A Nort Range
Calcutta-17
28-9-71

প্রিয় এনামুল,

বহু তত্ত্ব-তল্লাশির পর তোমার ঠিকানা পেলাম আশা করেছিলাম তোমার কাছ থেকেই আগে চিঠি পাব। আমি কলকাতায় এসেছি গত এপ্রিল মাসের তারিখে। সেই থেকেই তোমার সাথে যোগাযোগ করার চেষ্টা করছিলাম। যাই হোক, বহু কথা জমা হয়ে আছে। এখানকার এই পরিবেশে সেসব চিন্তায় কোন বাস্তব রূপ দিতে পারব বলে মনে হয় না। আওয়ামী লীগের সভ্যদের মানসিকতা তো জানই। তবুও ধৈর্য ধরে কাজ করে যাচ্ছি। ব্যক্তিগতভাবেও নিশ্চিন্তে নাই, কারণ আমি একলাই কলকাতায় এসেছি। তোমার ভাবী এবং রত্না এখনও ঢাকাতেই আছে। এই ছয়মাসের মধ্যে মাত্র দুবার যোগাযোগ রক্ষা করতে পেরেছি। বিশেষ অবস্থায় পড়েই তোমার ভাবী এখনও ঢাকায় পড়ে আছে। কখন যে কোন বিপদ আসে সেই চিন্তাতে মাঝে মাঝে খুবই বিভ্রান্ত হয়ে পড়ি। গতমাসে আলভী (শিল্পী) ঢাকায় গিয়েছিল কিন্তু সে আর সংবাদ নিয়ে ফিরে আসতে পারল না। সে ধরা পড়ে গেছে পাক সেনাদের হাতে। অবশ্য ঢাকায় পৌঁছানোর কয়েকদিন পরে। আলতাফ মাহমুদ এর বাড়ী থেকে।

আলতাফ মাহমুদ ধরা পড়েছে আগেই এবং ওর উপর অনুমানুষিক অত্যাচার হয়েছে সংবাদ পেয়েছি। তাকে বোধ হয় জীবিত অবস্থায় আমরা দেখতে পাবো না। জানি না তুমি এ সংবাদ পেয়েছো কিনা। যাক এরকম নংবাদের তো শেষ নাই। এবার আমাদের কথা বলি।

এর মধ্যে আমরা বাংলাদেশের শিল্পীরা Painting Exhibition করেছিলাম। নতুন, দেবদাস, স্বপন চৌধুরী, মুস্তফা মনোয়ার, কাজী গিয়াস এবং আরও অনেকে-প্রায় কুড়িজন কলকতায় আছে। নানান অসুবিধার মধ্যে সকলকে ছবি আঁকতে হয়েছে। মোটামুটি প্রদর্শনী ভালই হয়েছিল। বাংলাদেশ সরকারের প্রচার দফতরের পক্ষ থেকে আরও কাজ করছি। Poster আকছি। কিন্তু আমি যেভাবে কাজ করতে চাই তা এই পরিবেশে সম্ভব নয়। তোমাদের মাঝখানে যেতে পারলে খুব ভাল হত। অনেকেই তো গেল বিদেশে। শিল্পীদের মধ্যে কেউই যায়নি অথচ Painting এর মধ্যে অনেক কিছু করার আছে। তাছাড়া London এর মত জায়গায় গেলে বিভিন্ন মাধ্যমের কাজ সুযোগ পাওয়া যাবে ফলে Painting এবং Poster সবই করা সম্ভব। প্রচুর কাজ করার রয়েছে।

আমার মনে হয় তুমি আবু সাঈদ চৌধুরী সাহেবের সাথে আলোচনা করে আমকে নিয়ে যাওয়ার আয়োজন করতে পারো। তোমাদের কাছে একবার যেতে পারলে ইউরোপের বিভিন্ন স্থানে প্রদর্শনীর মধ্য দিয়ে আন্দোলন চালিয়ে যেতে পারবো। তোমাদের পরিকল্পনার বিস্তারিত কিছুই জানি না। আমার চিঠি পাওয়ার সাথে সাথেই তোমাদের পরিকল্পনার বিস্তারিত বিবরণ জানিও।

.....রোজী (আমাদের মেয়ে) সুইজারল্যান্ডে আছে। .....করাচী থেকে ওকে পালাতে হয়েছে। এখানে আসার পর আমেরিকা থেকে 'নেনুর চিঠি পেয়েছিলাম। সে কিছু একটা করতে চায় আমাকে নিয়ে গিয়ে। কিন্তু আমি প্রথমে তোমাদের কাছে যেতে চাই। তোমরা বাংলাদেশ সরকারের তরফ থেকে আমাকে নিয়ে যেতে চেষ্টা করলেই সুবিধা হবে বলে আমার মনে হয়, আমি বাংলাদেশ সরকারের সাথেই সংযুক্ত। তুমি আমার আন্তরিক শুভেচ্ছা নিও। উত্তরের অপেক্ষায় দিন গুনতে থাকবো।

ইতি-

কামরুল ভাই

SHAHRIAR KABIR
66/6 Gorakkhabisi Rd.
Dumdum, Cal-28,
Tel 57378
India.

এনাম ভাই,

আপনার টেলিগ্রাম পেয়েছি। আপনার স্বাগত বার্তার জন্য ধন্যবাদ। আমি অত্যন্ত উদ্বিগ্ন ছিলাম লন্ডনে কিভাবে প্রদর্শনীর আয়োজন সম্ভব। পুস্তক-পুস্তিকা অবশ্যই আনছি। এ ছাড়া উভয় বাংলার শিল্পীদের আঁকা ছবি, পোস্টার আলোকচিত্র ইত্যাদিও সঙ্গে থাকছে। জহির রায়হান 'stop' নামে যে প্রামাণ্য চিত্রটি তুলছেন সেজন্যে কদিন অপেক্ষা করছি। ওটাই সঙ্গে করে আনছি।

কিছু সরকারী অনুমোদনের ব্যাপারে আমাকে এ মাসের ২৩/২৪ তারিখ পর্যন্ত কোলকাতা থাকতে হচ্ছে। আপনি এ সময়ের ভেতর আপনাদের সোসাইটির পক্ষ থেকে আমাকে একটি আমন্ত্রণ লিপি পাঠান।

প্রদর্শনীর জন্য যে জিনিসগুলো অপরিহার্য তারও উল্লেখ করবেন। তাতে আমার ইউ-কের ভিসা পেতে সুবিধা হবে।

জাফর ভাই (সিকান্দার আবু জাফর) সম্প্রতি কোলকাতা এসেছেন। তার একটা বিবৃতি বাংলাদেশ সরকার পুস্তিকাকারে ছাপছে। ওটার ইংরেজীতে অনুবাদ করে আপনাদের পক্ষে কি ছাপানো সম্ভব হবে? বিবৃতিটি অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ এবং প্রামান্য, এতে কোন সন্দেহ নেই।

তিনি বাংলাদেশের সাম্প্রতিক ঘটনাবলীর ওপর একটি প্রমাণ্য চিত্র নির্মানের কথা ভাবছেন। একটি পত্রিকা নিয়মিত প্রকাশের ইচ্ছাও তার আছে। তবে আর্থিক কোন সাহায্য এখানে পাচ্ছেন না। আপনারা কি তাঁকে কোন সাহায্য করতে পারেন? আপনার চিঠি অথবা ফোনের অপেক্ষা করছি।

শ্রদ্ধান্তে

শাহরিয়ার

BANGALDESH PEOPLES CULTURAL SOCIETY
59. Seymour House. Tavistock. LONDON
17th October. 1971

Mr. Shahriar Kabir
66/6 Gorakkhabosi Road
Dumdum. Calcutta-28
India.

Dear Mr. Shahriar Kabir.

Thank you very much for your letter of 8lh October 1971

Further to our cable dated 28th September indicating our initial agreement I do write to confirm chat as proposed by you the Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society will organize in London the exhibition of paintings, posters, photographs and films made on the theme of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh.

We would advise you that you should come along with the exhibits and it may be necessary on your part to stay here for a couple of weeks. We shall also appreciate if you kindly bring select books and journals, mainly poetical works and drama of recent times, related to the same theme.

We would further suggest that you will contact Messrs Sikander Abu Jafar, Quamrul Hassan. Zahir Raihan and Alamgir Kabir for their advice and collaboration in this project as we were having correspondence with them for arranging similar programmes in U.K.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Yours sincerely.
Enamu I Haque
President.

তথ্য, প্রচার ও বেতার দপ্তর
গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলঅদেশ সরকার
মুজিবনগর
আমার ঠিকানা-75B, Linton street
Calcutta-14
26-10-71

স্নেহের এনামুল,

তোমার ১৩/১০ তারিখে লেখা চিঠিখানি আমি বেশ কয়েকদিন আগেই পেয়েছি। তোমার টেলিগ্রাম আমি পাই নাই। আশা করছি তোমার ভাবীর কাছ থেকেও এবার চিঠি পেয়ে যাবো। তোমার চিঠি পড়ে খুব বেশী আশ্চর্য হই নাই। আমিরুল, জহির বা কবীর কেউই তোমার কথা আমার কাছে এতটুকু ঈঙ্গিতেও জানায় নাই। একবার শুনেছিলাম জহির লন্ডন যাচ্ছে এবং শেষ পর্যন্ত যাওয়া হলনা এর মূলে যে তোমার প্রচেস্টা ছিল তা আমি জানতে পারি নাই। তোমার চিঠি পাওয়ার পর জহিরের সাথে আমার সাক্ষাৎ হয় নাই। সমস্ত পরিস্থিতি জেনেও মন শক্ত করে যেতে হবে।

স্ট্যাম্প প্রকাশ করার ব্যাপারে এমন একটা গোপন ভাব চলছিল যা আমার কাছে খুবই অস্বস্তিকর লাগছিল স্টোনহাউসের সাথে আমারও একদিন আলাপ হয়েছিলো এখানে কিন্তু এসব সমদ্ধে কোন আলোচনাই ভদ্রলোক করেনি। আর বাংলাদেশ সরকারের শীর্ষে যারা অবস্থিত তাদরে সাংস্কৃতিক চিন্তা এবং রুচিবোধ তোমার কাছে অপরিচিত নয়; অতএব এ নিয়ে চিন্তা না করাই ভালো। বাংলাদেশের প্রতীক এবং পতাকা দুটোই অবশ্য পরিবর্তনীয়। এসব পরে হবে।

তোমার বাংলাদেশ গণ-সংস্কৃতি প্যাডের মানচিত্রটিও খুব ভালো হয় নাই, তাই আমি মানচিত্রটি নতুন করে এঁকে পাঠালাম। ছেপে নিও। আমি আপাতত বাংলাদেশ সরকারের ভিজাইন বিভাগের দায়িত্ব নিয়েছি। দেবদাস, নিতুন, নাসির, প্রাণেশ মন্ডল, এরা কাজ করছে। এর মধ্যে অনেকগুলি Poster তৈরী করেছি। ইংরেজীতেও হচ্ছে। তোমার কাছে পাঠাবো।

সংস্কৃতির ক্ষেত্রে আমাদের প্রচুর কাজ করার রয়েছে। 'সামরিক জুন্তা' এবার বিশেষভাবে আমাদের মত লোকদের ভীষণ পোষণ করছে। এর অন্তনিহিত কারণ বুঝতে পারলে সাংস্কৃতিক আন্দোলনের তাৎপর্যও বুঝতে পারত কর্তাব্যক্তিরা।

আমি, দেবদাস এবং জহির লন্ডণে পৌঁছতে পারলে আমাদের আন্দোলন জোরদার হবেই। বাংলার সংস্কৃতির রূপ কি এবং এই দীর্ঘদিনের সংগ্রামের ক্ষেত্রে তার প্রবলতা যে কতখানি ছিল তা বোঝাবার সময় এসেছে। আজ কলকাতায় বসে বুঝতে পারছি আমরাই আজ সত্যিকারের বাঙ্গালী। আমাদের সন্তানেরা আজ অগ্রগামী। পশ্চিম বাংলার সাংস্কৃতিক ক্ষেত্র মোটেই সংস্কারমুক্ত নয় এবং এখানকার হিন্দুরা আরও হিন্দু এবং মুসলমানরা আরও মুসলমান হয়ে বসে আছে। অথচ ব্রতচারীর মত একটি বাঙালী জাতীয়তাবাদী আন্দোলনের জন্ম এখান থেকেই-ব্রতচারীরও সেই প্রীতি নেই। এখানকার পুরাতন ব্রতচারীরা আমাকে পেয়ে খুবই উৎসাহিত এবং সমস্ত দায়িত্ব আমার উপর দিতে চায়। তাহলে বুঝতেই পারছ এরা কোথায় গিয়ে পড়েছে। যাক সাক্ষাতে সব আলোচনা এবং কর্মপন্থা বেছে নেওয়া যাবে।

আমি লিনোকাট করছি। উবায়েদ কলকাতায় আসছে কয়েকদিনের জন্য। তার হাতে লিনোকাটের একটি সেই পাঠিয়ে দিয়ো। এখানে যে সেট পাওয়া গেছে তাতে ভালো কাজ হয় ন। আমি যাওয়ার সময় অন্ততঃ ২০/২৫ টি লিনো বাংলাদেশের ঘটনার উপর নিয়ে যেতে পারব।

এব্যাপারে উবায়েদকেও লিখেছি। রশীদের সাথে নিশ্চয় তোমার যোগাযোগ ঘটেছে। তাকেও চিঠি লিখতে বলবে।

আমেরিকা থেকে হেনুও আমাকে চিঠি দিয়েছিলো, সেখানে গিয়ে Exhibition করার জন্য। আগে তোমাদের কাছে যাই, তারপর দেখা যাবে। যাক মোট কথা হতাশ হলে চরবে না তোমরা কবে পর্যন্ত টিকেট পাঠাতে পারবে জানিও। আমি এখন থেকে ব্যবস্থা নেওয়ার আয়োজন করছি।

আমি এবং বদরুল একসাথে আছি। নতুন ঠিকানাতেই যোগাযোগ করবে এবার থেকে।

জুলেখা এবং বাচ্চাদেরকে আমার স্নেহাশীষ দিও। তোমাদের কুশল কামনা করি।

ইতি
কামরূল ভাই

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৩৭ এ, পাম এভিন্যু
কলকাতা-১৯
৫/২২/৭১

শ্রদ্ধেয় এনামুল হক সাহেব,

.....আমাদের প্রযোজিত গীতি-নকশা 'বির্বতনের ইতিকথা' ও নাটক 'রক্তশপথ' আপনাদের আগ্রহ সৃষ্টি করেছে জেনে আমরা আনন্দিত ও উৎসাহিত হয়েছি। আমি সমর দাস, নারায়ণ, ঘোষ ও সুভাষ দত্তের সাথে এ নিয়ে আলোচনা করেছি। টেপ করে উক্ত নাটক ও গীতি-নকশা পাঠান সম্ভব।

আমার মনে হয় সেই সাথে একটি ছোট্ট নায়ক-গায়িকার টিম ও দুজন পরিচালক গেলে ভাল হয়। এ বিষয়ে আপনার মতামত জানালে বাধিত হব।

আশা করি আপনাদের সোসাইটির কাজ ভালভাবে অগ্রসর হচ্ছে। সভ্যদের প্রীতি ও শুভেচ্ছা বলবেন।

-আবদুল জববার খাঁ
আহবায়ক, প্রোগ্রাম কমিটি,
বাংলাদেশ চলচিত্র শিল্পী ও কুশলী সমিতি।

56/6 Gorakshabasi Rd,
Dumdum, Cal-28
Tel-573781
১৩/১১/৭১

এনাম ভাই,

আপনার চিঠির জবাব অনেক আগেই দেয়া উচিত ছিলো। অনিবার্য কারণবশত আমাকে বেশকিছু দিন সীমান্ত এলাকায় কাটাতে হয়েছিল বলে লিখতে পারিনি। এ জন্যে আমি লজ্জিত। প্রদর্শনীর ব্যাপারে আপনাকে বিস্তারিত জানাচ্ছি।

এ প্রদর্শনীর জন্য আমি উভয় বাংলার শিল্পীদের আঁকা ছবি সংগ্রহ করেছি। বাংলাদেশের শিল্পীদের মধ্যে উল্লেখযোগ্য যারা কোলকাতায় এসেছেন এরা হচ্ছেন কামরুল হাসান-মুস্তাফা মনোয়ার, দেবদাস চক্রবর্তী, নিতুন কুন্ডু ও প্রাণেশ মন্ডল। এ ছাড়া আছেন ধীরেন সোম, স্বপন চৌধুরী গিয়াসউদ্দিন, নাসিরউদ্দিন, শেখর, রঞ্জিত নিয়োগী এরা।

সব মিলিয়ে সতেরটা তৈলচিত্র (বেশ বড় সাইজের), চৌদ্দটা জলরং, ড্রইং এবং মিশ্রমাধ্যমের ছবি রয়েছে। ভারতীয় শিল্পীদের বাংলাদেশের উপর আঁকা গোটা চল্লিশেক ছবি রয়েছে। পোষ্টার তিরিশটা। আলোকচিত্র এখনো সংগ্রহ করছি। ৬০/৭০ টার মতো সংগ্রহ করতে পারবো। আর বাংলাদেশের উপর যেসব বই (কবিতা, প্রবন্ধ) বেরিয়েছে, আনছি। নাটকের ব্যাপারে আপনি উৎসাহ দেখিয়েছেন। মুক্তিযুদ্ধের উপর বেশকিছু নাটক লেখা হয়েছে। এ ছাড়া বিভিন্ন প্রচার পুস্তিকা তো রয়েছেই। কিছু রেকর্ড বেরিয়েছে বাংলাদেশের ওপর। ওগুলো এবং আমাদের শিল্পীদের গানের টেপ আনছি। জহির রায়হানের প্রামাণ্য চিত্রগুলো যদি সংগ্রহ করা সম্ভব হয় আনবো।

এবার আমি আপনার সঙ্গে একটা গুরুত্বপূর্ণ প্রসঙ্গে আলোচনা করতে চাই। এ প্রদর্শনীর ব্যাপারে আপনারা কতোখানি উৎসাহিত জানি না। বাংলাদেশ সরকার এ ব্যাপারে যথেষ্ট উৎসাহিত। বেসরকারীভাবে অবশ্য যতোখানি সম্ভব করবেন। আপনি চিঠিতে লিখেছেন সিকান্দার আবু জাফর এবং অন্যান্যদের সাথে আলাপ করার জন্যে আপনারাও এ ধরনের অনুষ্ঠান করতে আগ্রহী। আপনারা প্রত্যক্ষভাবে উদ্যোগী হলে আরো ব্যাপক আকারে পৃথিবীর বিভিন্ন দেশে এ প্রদর্শনী হতে পারে।

প্রাথমিক পর্যায়ে আয়েজনের জন্যে একটা ফান্ডের প্রয়োজন। আর্থক স্বচ্ছন্দের ওপর প্রদর্শনীর স্বচ্ছল প্রদর্শন করছে। অবশ্য পরে প্রদর্শনীর ছবি এবং বিভিন্ন পুস্তক (যা প্রদর্শনী কর্তৃপক্ষ ছাপবে যার বিষয়বস্তু সঙ্গে করে আনছি।) বিক্রি করে প্রদর্শনীর খরচের টাকা তুলেও যথেষ্ট উদ্বৃত্ত থাকবে যা স্বচ্ছন্দে মুক্তিসংগ্রামের জন্যে খরচ করা যেতে পারে। এ প্রদর্শনীর ব্যাপারে আমাদের মিশন যথেষ্ট আগ্রহশীল।

আপনারা যদি এই প্রদর্শনীর গুরুত্ব উপলব্ধি করে এর সম্পূর্ণ ভার নিতে রাজী হন, এ চিঠি পাওয়া মাত্র লিখে জানাবে। তাহলে সেভাবে ব্যবস্থা করবো। এ মাসের শেষ সপ্তাহে যাচ্ছি। জাফর ভাইয়ের সংগে কথা বলেছি। আলমগীর কবির আপনার কোন চিঠি পাননি। জহির রায়হান বলেছেন ওকে চিঠি দিতে। জাফর ভাই আপনাকে খুব শীগগিরই লিখবেন। শ্রদ্ধা জানবেন।

-শাহরিয়ার

'অভিযান'
বাংলাদেশ সাপ্তাহিক সংবাদপত্র, ঢাকা
সম্পাদকঃ শিকদার আবু জাফর
অস্থায়ী ঠিকানাঃ
৮৪/৯, রিপন স্ট্রীট কলকাতা-১৬
২৪-১১-৭১

এনামুল,

.....৬ সেপ্টেম্বর কলকাতায় আসার পর থেকে ক্রমানুগত অসুস্থ থাকছি (Acute Bronchitis Azthma)। .....এখানে একেবারে চুপ করে বসে না থেকে সাপ্তাহিক সংবাদপত্র বার করেছি একখানা। কপি পাঠালাম। অন্যান্য সংখ্যা প্রকাশের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে পাঠাবো। তোমরা কাজে লাগিও এবং পত্রিকার জন্যে আগ্রহ ও অর্থ সাহায্য সংগ্রহ করে পাঠিও।

ঢাকা থেকে প্রকাশিত আমার অভিযোগ শীর্ষক বিবৃতি বাংলাদেশ সরকার প্রকাশ করেছেন। তারও দুকপি তোমাকে পাঠালাম। প্রয়োজনমত ব্যবহার কোরো।

.....এখানকার সর্বাধুনিক হাসপাতালের শ্বাস বিশেষজ্ঞ আমাকে পরীক্ষা করে জানিয়েছেন। আমাকে কিছুটা সুস্থ করে তোলা সম্ভব। .....কিন্তু খরচ হবে কমপক্ষে দেড় হাজার টাকা। আপাতত সে টাকার ব্যবস্থা নেই, অতএব চিকি□সার প্রশ্ন এখন আসে না। কিন্তু সংগ্রাম চলবেই।

.....আমাদের পত্রিকায় ব্যবহার করা সম্ভব এ রকম তথ্যাদি এবং পত্র-পত্রিকা যদি পাঠাতে খুবই উপকৃত হবো। .....

-সিকান্দার আবু জাফর

.....

From THE MASTER

St CROSS COLLEGE OXFORD
POSTCODE OXI 3TU
TELEPHONE 43182
25 October 1971

E. Haque Esq.
33 Abbey Road
OXFORD.
My dear Haque

Professor Sir William Coldstream has now taken up with the British Council the question of helping Mr. Hassan (Quamrul Hasan). Unfortunately, as far as I can see, he didn't put the question in the right way and he seems to have asked for£700 for a return fare. The British Council replied that Mr. Hassan would have to have a specific reason for coming, for instance a scholarship to make a special study in England. Even so, they said, it would be unlikely that a man of fifty would be considered.

That's the bad news, but I don't think an is lost. The British Council did say that you should write to Mr. Gerald Forte-mentioning that this was Professor Coldstream's

suggestion-explaining the situation and making any further suggestions you have in mind. I urge you to do so now. You would then explain of course that only £250 would be for the return fare and the rest for several month's subsistence for Mr. Hassan. Mr. Gerald Forte, British Council, 373 Euston Road, London N. W. I.

Yours sincerely
(Dr. W. E. Van Heyningen)

…….

Alamgir Kabir
49/4, Hindusthan Park
Calcutta-29
8-8-71

Dear Mr. Huq,

..... The reply was delayed because both Dr. Mallick and Zahir were out of

Calcutta. I was not surprised to hear about the divisions. Things becoming a little bitter now here so far as unity is concerned. A rumour about an all-party National Liberation is very much in the air. On top, Bangladesh is expected receive recognition any day. The war is going very well. Two Pak divisions are either wiped out or put out of action this is factual. Our casualty rate is very low because of the nature of the war as being fought now. Casualty ratio is 150 : 1 all over Bangladesh. But our casualty figure is likely to go up when we go for positional warfare. At the moment about 40% of the total area is in our control-100% area open to our action at will. Even Dacca city belongs to our boys at night when army personnel take shelter in the Cantonment. Tikka, too, has shifted there. Navy is about to go into action. Air Force is also ready to hit as soon as India recognizes and we have a defence treaty with them. The morale of our boys is fantastic; in fact, sector commanders are finding it difficult to hold them back. I think, at the moment this is what matters most.

Meanwhile, I whole-heartedly agree to your proposal re: International publicity and lobbying. Bangladesh Govt, is too slow in everything and is not using Dr. Mallick properly. Your information about his tour of England is wrong. Please do one thing. Send two tickets-one each for Dr. Mallick and Zahir Raihan. We shall then get him out of India any way we can. From England please send him to America. He'll be a more efficient man than Abu Sayeed Chowdhury. Zahir is willing to go-but may have to cancel the programme as he has film commitments. In that case, another Liberation Council representative would be sent to attend your Aug. 21 rally. We shall also send a documentary film on the liberation struggle in English-that has been made by Zahir and is expected to be ready on 15th Aug. Liberation Council has already organised a musical squad with Wahidul Haq as in charge. They have given several performances and have proved successful. They'll now be touring Makti Bahini Camps.

With best regards-

Alamgir

Dr. Enamul Haque
President
Bangladesh Peoples Cultural Society
33, Abbey Road, OXFORD, U. K.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইংল্যান্ডে গঠিত বাংলাদেশ ফান্ড ও এ্যাকশন কমিটিসমূহের স্টীয়ারিং কমিটির আয় ও ব্যয়ের হিসাব	বাংলাদেশ ফান্ডের ট্রাস্টী বোর্ড	৩০ সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

REPORTS AND ACCOUNTS
OF
BANGLADESH FUND AND STEERING COMMITTEE
OF THE ACTION COMMITTEES
FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN THE UNITED KINGDOM BANGLADESH FUND
REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES

1.INTRODUCTION :

Just after 25th March, 1971, many Action Committees were formed to help liberation of Bangladesh in all possible ways. These Committees started collection of funds for the liberation movement. Most of these Committees felt the need of a co-ordinating body to run the movement. A Convention of these Committees was held in April, 1971, at COVENTRY. A Steering Committee of the Action Committees for the People's Republic of Bangladesh was formed at the meeting. Subsequently a fund known as the Bangladesh Fund was created with a Board of Trustees for its operation and management.

2.OBJECTS:

(a) To manage the funds collected and co-ordinated through the Steering Committee of the Action Committees for the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

(b) To utilize these funds tor the movement in such manner as the Trustees may think fit and under such conditions as existing at that time.

3.TRUSTEES:

The Trustees of the Fund arc:
1. Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury,
2. Rt. Hon. John Stonehouse, M. P., and
3. Mr. Donald Chesworth.

4.BANKERS:

The fol lowing are the bankers of the Trust:

1.Hambros Bank, 41, Bishopsgate, London E. C. 3, and.
2.National Westminster Bank, Caxton House, London S. W. I.

5.AUDITOR :

Quazi Muzibur Rahman, A. C. A., was appointed Auditor of the Fund by the Board of Trustees.

6. SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS:

		£	£
(a) Total collections		--- --- --- ---	4, 12,083.26
Deduct:			
Direct expenses ... …	11,430.00		
Steering Committee ...	21,782.o5		
Transferred to the Government of Bangladesh		3, 76,568.05	4, 09,780.05
		----------	----------
			2,303.21

(b) The above receipt includes a sum of £1,00,000.00 approximately, which was received after the 31st December, 1971. This indicates that a large amount of collection was retained by different Committees and Associations without depositing them into Bangladesh Fund and only after repeated reminders by the Board of Trustees they deposited the amounts to Bangladesh Fund.

1,335 Receipt Books were issued to different committees of which 47% were returned by 28th February, 1972 and 81% of these Receipt Books were returned by 31st July, 1972. These explain the delay in the publication of this report.

(c) Gross collection is a total amount of £4,12,083.26 of which an amount of £33,212.05 only has been spent for the movement. A sum of £3, 76,568.00 has already been transferred to the Government of Bangladesh and the remaining balance £2,303.21 will be transferred to the Government of Bangladesh and the account will be closed. Moreover, if any further amount is deposited in the said account before its actual closure, that amount will also be transferred to the Government of Bangladesh and a Public announcement to that effect will be made. After the closure of the account, any such deposit can be made to the High Commission for the Republic of Bangladesh in U. K., who will transfer the amount to the Government of Bangladesh.

(d)An amount of £11, 430.00 has been shown in the statement as direct expenditure from the Bangladesh Fund, the details of which are as follows :

	£
Contribution to Committees..	2,200.00
legal expenses for the trial of Bangabandhu	3,250.00
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman	2,191.22
Delegation expenses	2,807.50
Advertising campaign	968.78
Materials to Mukti Bahini..	12.50
Bank charges . .	----------
	11,430.00

ABU SAYEED CHOWDHURY
JOHN STONEHOUSE
DONALD CHESWORTH
Members,
Board of Trustees,
Bangladesh Fund,

P. S. *The Balance of £ 2,303.21 has been transferred to the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh after preparation of this report.*

I have prepared the annexed Statement of Receipts and Payments from the books and records of the Bangladesh Fund and from the information obtained as far as practicable from Action Committees. I certify that this Statement is in agreement with the books and records of the Bangladesh Fund.

In my opinion, the annexed Statement gives a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Bangladesh Fund subject to the reservations made in Schedule Nol. I also certify that the expenses incurred were within the terms of the Trust.

I am thankful to Mr. M. A, L. Matin, Director of Audit and Accounts, Bangladesh High Commission in the U. K. for his help in preparation and compilation of this report.

The 30th September, 1972.

QUAZIMUZIBUR RAHMAN
Chartered Accountant,
164, Broomwood Road,
London S. W. 11

BANGLADESH FUND
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR THE PERIOD
FROM 24th APRIL, 1971 TO 30th SEPTEMBER. 1972.

			£
Subscriptions and Donations Received (Schedule 1)			4,06,856.20
Col lection from Stamps Auction ..			450.13
Bank interest received			4.776.93
			4, 12.083.26
Deduct payment:			
Steering Committee	21,782.05		
Contribution to Committees	2,200.00		
Legal expenses for the trial of Banga bandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman...	3,250.00		
Delegation expenses...	21,91.22		
Advertising campaign	2,807.50		
Materials to MuktiBahini	968.78		
Bank charges	12.50		
		33,212.05	
		3, 78,871.21	
Deduct;			
Transfer to the Government of Bangladesh	3.76.568.00		
Balance	2.303.21		
Represented by			
Balance at Bank	2,303.21		

Notes (1) Amounts transferred to Bangladesh Fund as shown in the schedule No. 1 of this statement may not agree with the remittances as per the accounts of Action Committees remitted funds to Bangladesh Fund Account directly and it was not always possible to identify all of them.

(2) 1335 Receipt Books were issued to Action Committees of which 153 are still outstanding.

(3) The anuexed schedules from part of the Accounts.

(4) The audit fee is estimated at £5,500.00 and this amount is not charged in the account. The auditor has waived his claim.

ABU SAYEED CHOWDHURY
John Stonehouse
Donald Chesworth
Members,
Board of Trustees,
Bangladesh Fund.

BANGLADESH FUND
Summery Schedule No. 1

		Transferred to Bangladesh fund		Remittances to Mujibnagar		Expenses of Committees		Balance	
		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
London and South-West Region	Page No. 6	43,271.30		103.60		687.78		--	
	Page No. 7	24554.55		500.00		270.50		307.00	
	Page No. 8	37091.97		500.00		926.59		4132.08	
	Page No. 9	14052.36				2825.45			
	Page No. 10	13080.62		...		28.00		...	
			132050.80		1103.60		4738.32		4439.08
Midland Region	Page No. 11	96150.09				8887.05		199.65	
	Page No. 12	20462.81				790.72		...	
Yorkshire Region	Page No. 13		48748.74		3000.0		1.895.46		688.00
Manchester Region	Page No. 14		48871.13		32.80		1254.59		445.21
Steering Committee's collection									
and Committees outside U.K.	Page No. 14		26768.02		...		...		...
Direct and Unclassified Remittances			33803.91		...		...		...
			406856.20		4136.40		17566.14		5771.94

BANGLADESH FUND
SCHEDULE No. 1

1	Collection total 2	Transferred to Bangladesh Fund 3	Remittance to Mujibnagar 4	Expenses 5	Balance 6	No. of Receipt Books not Received 7	Remarks 8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
London an South- West Region							
Enfield Action Committee 370, Lincoln Road, Enfield	5,536.20	5,536.20				1	One Receipt Book reported lost
Uxbridge Action Committee, 10, Mill Avenue, Uxbridge	735.00	735.00	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 26 Chatham Hill, Kent	1,798.65	531.27	103.60	163.78			
Bangladesh Action Committee 58, Stockes Croft, Bristol.	3,709.00	3,562.00	-	147.00	-	-	
Bangladesh Action Committee 103, Ledbury Road, London, W.11	3,677.35	3,677.35	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Relief Committee, Hessel Street, London, E.1.	11,356.00	11,229.00	-	127.00	-	-	
Bangladesh Action Committee 68, Streatham High Road, S.W.16.	250.00	250.00	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh People's Society, 45, St. Peter Street, Croydon.	119.00	119.00	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Action Committee 5, Victoria Road, Swindon.	1,355.20	1,355.20	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Committee, 15, Queens Road, Brighton.	2,585.58	2,335.58	-	250.00			
Bangladesh Samiti, 27, Fawcett Road, Southsea.	1,516.00	1,516.00	-	-	-	-	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£		
Bangladesh Action Committee.	2,415.00	2,415.00	-	-	-	-	
125, St. Helen Street, Ipswich			-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Action Committee,	25.20	25.20	-	-	-	-	
77, Belgrove Road, Welling Kent.							
St. Albans Aid Committee,	8,683.50	8,683.50	-	-	-	-	
56 Stanhope Road,, St. Albans.							
Bangladesh Action Committee,	60.00	60.00	-	-	-	-	
16, Onslow Road, Southampton,							
Bangla Fashion,	100.00	100.00	-	-	-	-	
169, Bricklane, London, E.1							
M. Rahman,	141.00	141.00	-	-	-	-	
14, Conway Road, London., S.E 18							
North and North-West Action Committee,	1608.60	729.00	503.00	209.60	170.00	1	Reported Lost
33, Dagmar Road, London, N. 22							
Darleston Action Committee,	243.00	243.00	-	-	-	-	
76, Stoke Newington Road, London, N. 16							

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
Women's Association, Luton.	164.90	164.90	-	60.94	-	-	
Bangladesh Worker's Association			-	-	84.00	-	
11. Gladstone Avenue, London, E.12	234.00	234.00	-	-	-	-	The Cheque for £84.00 returned by Bank for want of fund
Bengali Association							
74, Prince of wales Road, Norwich.	104.00	104.00	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Cultural Association.							
Tottenham Street, London, W.1	140.00	140.00	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Mission,							
24, Pembridge Gardens, London w.2.	1,120.35	1,120.35	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Action Committee,							
60, Outerfield Road, Middlesex.	881.00	881.00	503.00	209.60	170.00	-	
Bangladesh Juba Sangha.							
85, York Street, London, W.1.	800.00	800.00	-	-	-	-	
N. Huq and Co.							
50, Hansbury Street, London, E.I.	170.00	170.00	-		-		
Yusuf Ali,							
14 Betty Street, London, E.I.	197.00	197.00	-		-		
A. Rakib							
15, New Road, London, E.I.	588.50	588.50	-		25.00	-	
M. Rahman,	4,401.70	4,401.70	-		28.00	-	Two cheques bounced from Bank Total amount £28.00
Widegate Street, London, E.I.							
Bangladesh Association, Bletchely.	8,099.00	8,099.00	-		-		
Bedford Committee,							
98, Foster Hill Road, Bedford.	3,293.00	3,293.00	-		-		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
Bangladesh Relief Committee 5, Fordham Street, London, E.1. Bengali Association, 17, Hills Road, Cambridge.							Reported Lost. Reminders sent but no response. Balance relates to association Fund and not transferable to Bangladesh Fund.
Luton Action Committee 5, Kenilworth Road, London.							As per Steering Committee's Receipt Books there is a shortage of £182.67 No proper books of Accounts were maintained by the Committee and 25 Receipt Books were sent to mr. B. Uddin who reported that these were not received.
Dr. M. H. Joarder, Backenham Hospital, Kent Moulvi Bazar Janaseva Samity, 172, Wardour Street, London W.1.							The person is in Bangladesh. 3 books reported lost and 2 books issued to mr. Mahmud Ali of Hereford Road and Kaptan Mia of Westbourne Grove, London W. 2 Who have not returned the books.
Bangladesh Action Committee, South Wales							6 Receipt Books are outstanding. Remittance to Bangladesh Fund also includes the fund collected for East Bangal Cyclone victims.
Bangladesh Relief Fund Committee, 11, Groung Street, London	Not Known	-	-	-	-	1	Several reminders issued but no response. This committee collected funds by way of selling ties, etc. but no account produced and no amount remitted to Bangladesh Fund.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
London Committee, 58, Berwich Street, London, W.I.	12,663.20	10,002.36	---	2660.84	--- - - - - - - - -	56 - - - - - - - -	268 Steering Committee's Receipt Books were originally supplied to the Committee. 125 were transferred to other Committees. Against the balance of 143, 10 were returned to the High Commission by the individual collectors and 77 by London Committee leaving a balance of 56 books which are still outstanding collectors who did not return the Receipt books has been supplied by the London Committee to the High Commission in London. From the audited statement of accounts of the Committee it appears that. £2,902.84 were spent by the Committee out of the Collection of £12, 663.20. Expenditure also includes the cost includes the cost of one duplicator machine of the said London Committee valued at £120.00 and contribution to Operation Omega £ 120.00, London Committee members travelling to India £610.00
Council for the people's Republic of Bangladesh 58, Berwich Street, London, W.I.	4,214.61	4,050.00	- -	164.61	- -	180	The Council printed 1,000 Receipt Books out of which Mr. Taiyabur Rahman returned 765

Bangladesh Relief Committee, 67, Brick Lane, London, E.I.	Not Known	1,495.00	28.00	Receipt Books London Action Committee accounted for 20 Books, and 35 unused Receipt Books were returned by sundry collectors. Excepting 180 Receipt Books, all collections have been fully accounted for. The expenditure of the committee is £164.61. A list of collectors who did not deposit money nor the Receipt Books has been supplied by the Committee to High Commission for Bangladesh.
Bangladesh Survival Committee, 5, Derby Road, West Croydon.	,,	3,207.00		18 Action Committee's Receipt Books not returned of which 2 reported lost.
Bangladesh Action Committee, 10, Cowley Mill Road, Middlesex.	,,	692.00		No account produced. Several reminders issued for return of Books but no response.
Bangladesh Action Committee, Exeter.	,,	425.00		
Bangladesh Action Committee, Bournemouth.	,,	865.00		
Bangladesh Medical Association	,,	1,325.00		Account not produced.
Bangladesh Action Committee, Islington.	,,	4,575.37		Account not produced. Collections were made by Committee's own Receipt book. Account not produced for audit. It is reported that a sum of £954-74is lying in Committee's Bank Account.
Bangladesh Action Committee, New port.	,,	200.00		Account not produced.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
Sangram Parisad, Southhall, Middx,	,,	296.25					Account not produced.
Midland Region.							
Bangladesh Action Committee, 93, Statford Road, Birmingham	73,363.97	65,567.97	---	7,688.46	107.46	---	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 21, Bradder Street, Mansfield.	474.50	459.50	---	15.00	---	---	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 53, Church Street Halesowen,	1,866.10	1,866	---	---	---	---	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 6, Avington Road, Leicestrr.	5,463.50	5,251.60	---	211.90	---	---	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 74, Wylds Lane, Worcester.	2,212.00	1,806.20	---	386.80	19.00	---	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 40, Cresent, Coventry.	7,226.12	7,101.12	---	125.00	---	---	
Bangladesh Action and relief Committee, 94, Park Lane, Tipton.	380.00	380.00	---	---	---	---	
Bangladesh welfare Anociation 14, Parry Street, Wednesbury.	6,120.60	6,120.60	---	---	---	---	
A. Bangladesh Action Committee, Wednesbury.	2,365.00	2,365.00	---	---	---	---	Report sent to Steering Committee office by ordinary mail but these were not received. It is also reported that no fund has been collected through these books
Bangladesh Action Committee, 150, New John Street, Worcester.	363.00	310.00	---	---	---	---	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 34, Emerson Road, Dorset.	---	---	---	---	---	4	
Bangladesh Action Committee, 72, Coventry Street, Kidderminster.	---	5,402.00	4,922.00	---	459.89	20.11	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
Bangladesh Action Committee 1, Morely Street, Loughborugh	3,805.00	3,100.00		---	705.00	---	£ 310.00 included in expenses but this Amount is donated to Birmingham Action Committee.
Bangladesh Action Committee, 7, Marefair, Northampton	4,984.44	4898.72		---	85.72	---	
Bangladesh Action Committee Nottingham	Not Known	1,770.00	---	---	---	---	No account produced.
Bangladesh Relief and Action Committee, 19, Mossley Road, Birmingham	,,	9,894.09	---	---	---	---	No account produced Statement produced showing amounts transferred to Bangladesh Fund.
Bangladesh Women's Association, 52, Wandsworth Road, Midland	,,	800.00	---	---	---	---	No account produced. A cheque for £155.00 which was dishonoured by bank. They were requested to re-issue the cheque by not response.
Yorkshire Region							
Liberation Front 10, Leicester Grove, Leeds.	7,001.00	6,299.00	---	702.50	---	3	
Sangram Parisad, 94, High Street Clackheaton	900.00	900.00	---	---	---	---	
Mukti Sangram Committee, 45, Kingshill Road, Huddersfield.	560.00	525.00	---	35.00	---	---	Reported lost.
Bangladesh Action Committee, 42, Victoria Street Middlesborugh.	4,618.00	4,098.53	---	519.47	---	---	
.Bangladesh Action Committee, 9, Cornwall Terrnce, Bradford	3,062.00	2,560.00	---	502.09	---	---	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
Bangladesh Sangram Parishad,			---	---	---	---	
3, Scarborough Street, Southborough	823.53	823.53					
Bangladesh Action Committee,							
27, Lister Lane, Halifax.	2,327.00	1,744.00	---	---	583.00	---	
Bangladesh Liberation Front,							
25, Holker Street, Keighley.	3,455.00	3,455.00	---	---	---	---	
Bangladesh Mukti Sangram Committee,							
42, Victoria Street, Teeside.	550.00	550.00	---	---	---	---	
Bradford Sangram Parisad,							
10, Cornwall Road, Bradford.	17,636.00	14,500.00	3,000.00	136.40	---	---	One receipt book of the Action Committee issued to Mr. Afroze Bakht of Foxtone St. Bradford, who failed to return the receipt book even after repreated request.
Bangladesh Action Committee,	Not						
6, Thompson Road, Sheffield.	Known	6,736.68	---	---	---	9	Books were issued to Mr. M. Chowdhury Several reminders issued but not response.
Bangladesh Action Committee,							
33, St. Peg Lane, Clackheation.	,,	852.00	---	---	---	5	These books were issued to Mr. Bari. Reminder issued but no response.
Bangladesh Action Committee,							
10, Clerk Street, Scunthrope.	5,560.00	---	---	---	---	10	Reminders issued but no response
Bradford Popular Front,							
86, Under cliff Street, Bradford-3,	250.00	145.00	---	---	105.00	---	
Manchester and Adjoining Place.							
Manchester Action Committee,							
151, Oxford Road, Manchester, 13.	Not	42.100.00	---	---	---	27	27 Receipt Books reported lost. No account produced Used Manchester Action Committee's own Receipt Books for collection
	Known						

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	£	£	£	£	£	£	
East Bengal Association 45, Cavendish Place, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.	1,994.00	1,994.00	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Association ---Crescent, Glasgow N..10	3,851.75	2,300.00	32.80	1,254.59	264.59	-	
Bangladesh Action Committee 105, Bold Street, Liverpool, 1.	180.85	-	-	180.15	-	-	No account produced for audit. Audited Account produced.
Action Committee Oldham, Lancs	1,573.39	-	-	-	-	-	This Committee used its receipt Books for collection
Rochdale Committee Rochdale	904.44	-	-	-	-	-	
Committee outside United Kingdom							
Bangladesh Club P.O. Box 10, Bahrain.	Not Known	1,497.57	-	-	-	2	Reported no collection made through our receipt books.
Bangladesh Education Centre,							
P.O. Box 152, Doha Quarter	,,	3,100.29	-	-	-	-	
P.O. Box 656, Libya	,,	2,382.42	-	-	-	-	
P.O. Box 363, Saudi Arabia-	,,	4,002.37	-	-	-	-	
P.O. Box 155, Muscat, Oman-	,,	184.00	-	-	-	-	
P.O. Box 641, Dubai-	,,	4,791.01	-	-	-	-	
Other Foreign Countries-	,,	386.05	-	-	-	-	
P.O. Box 181, Abu Dabi-	,,	6,557.46	-	-	-	-	
Bangladesh Samity, Al-Ain-	,,	1,369.49	-	-	-	-	
Steering Committee's Office Collection	,,	2,497.36	-	-	-	-	

ECEIPT BOOKS OF BANGLADESH FUND NOT YET RECEIVED

		Book Outstanding	Remarks
1.	London Action Committee-(Redisti ibuted to the following Collection by London Action Committee):		
(a)	Mr. Gauranga Saha Roy, 41, Tantallon Road,I London, S.W. 12.	1	
(b)	Ator Ali Khan, 40, Maple Street, London, W. 1.	1	
(c)	Mr. Sirajul Haque, 38, Arthur Deakin House, London, E.I.	6	
(d)	Mr. Harun-ur-Rashid, 23, renter's Avenue, London, N.W.4.	17	
(e)	Mr. S. Rahman, 27, Clifton Road, Southend on Sea.	10	
(f)	Mr. A. Khair, 7A, Dorset Street, London. W. I	1	
(g)	Mr. Abdul Ahad, 10, Kingston Hill, London.	1	
(h)	Mr. Shaista Miah, 275, Old Brompton Road, London, S.W.5.	1	
(i)	Mr. Abul Hussain, 113. Brick Lane, London, E. 1	1	
(j)	Mr. Abdul Khalique, Maharaja Restaurant, 50, Queensway, London, W.2.	2	
(k)	Mr. Nesar Ali, 4, Portland Road, London, S.E.25.	3	
(l)	Mr. Fazlu Miah, 19, Sale Place, London, W.2.	1	
(m)	Mr. Goyas Miah, 50, Brick Lane, London, E. 1	1	
(n)	Huji Nasimullah, 24, Chiksand place, London, E.l	1	
(o)	Mr. Amjad Ali, 21, Irene House, London, E.l. Mr. A.London,	1	
(q)	London Committee could not account for	7	Reported lost.
2.	Enfield Committeem	1	Reported lost.
3.	Luton Committee	25	Reported not received.
4.	Relief Committee, Fordham Street, London, E. 1	I	Reported lost.
5.	Uxbridge Committee I	I	
6.	Uxbridge Committee II	3	
7.	Dr. M.A. Joarder, Beckenham Hospital, Kenl	1	

8.	Moulvi Bazar Jana Seba Samity	3	Reported lost.
9.	Bridgend Committee, Cardiff	6	
LO.	Mr. H. Rashid, 11, Goring Street	1	
11.	Dorset Committee	4	Reoported sent by ordinary post but not received at office
12.	Sheffield Committee	9	
13.	Halifax Sangram Parishad	1	
14.	Scunthorpe Committee	10	
15.	Manchester Committee	27	
16.	Cleakheaton Committee	4	
		Total 153	

ANALYSIS OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF ACTION COMMITTERS

Student Action Committee, U.K	1,200.00
Bangladesh Liberation Council, Mujibangar	1,000.00
	Total : 2.200.00

STEERING COMMITTEE

1.OBJECTS :

(1) To co-ordinate the activities of the Action Committees in U.K.
(2) To send material and moral help to Mukti Bahini and to send help to suffering people of Bangladesh.
(3) To achieve independence of Bangladesh and liberate Bangladesh from occupation Army.
(4) To organize meeting, rallies, etc. and to create public opinion outside Bangladesh.
(5) To sent delegates to different countries and world body to advocate the right cause of the people of Bangladesh.
(6) To co-ordinate the collection fo funds from the Action Committees.

2.COMPOSITON :

The Resolution constituting the Steering Committee provided that it would act in accordance with the advise of Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chowdhury.

The following gentlemen worked as members of the steering Committee throughout the liberation movement:

(1) Mr. Azizul Hoque Bhuia. Convenor.
(2) Mr. Sheikh Abdul Manan. Member.

(3)Mr. Shamsur Rahman, Member, and

(4)Mr. Kabir Chowdhury, Member.

3.OFFICE

The Committee's Office was situated at 11, Goring Street, London, E.C.3,

4.BANKER :

Lolyds Bangk Ltd. Cheapside, London, E.C.4.

5.AUDITOR :

Quazi Mujibur Rahman, A.C.A., was appointed Auditor of the Committee by the members.

6.ACTIVITIES :

(1) The Committee co-ordinated and controlled the Bangladesh liberation movement in U.K.

(2) Delegates and observers were sent to different countries to explain the liberation movement and to draw support and to create public opinion in our favour.

(3) Meetings, rallies and demonstrations were held to create public opinion in U.K.

(4) Co-ordinated collection for Bangladesh Fund by different Action Committees in U.K.

(5) Published "Sangbad parikroma" a Bi-weekly News letter, to keep the Bangalee community living in U.K. upto-date with liberation movement news.

(6) Published "Bangladesh Today", an English Weekly, to explain our movement to the people outside Bangladesh.

7. SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE

Office Expenses:	£	£
Rent, Rates, Light and Heal	1,056.04	
Entertainment	270.86	
Volunteers expenses	1,900.47	
Printing, postages and stationery	698.63	
General expenses	131.58	
		4,057.58
Publicity Expenses:		
Publicity, rallies and meetings	4,288.76	
Publication and booklets	462.59	
Advertising campaign	1,486.58	
Telephone and Telegrams	1,187.58	
Travelling expenses	940.07	
		8,365.02
		3,055.11

Delegation Expenses
Mukti Bahini:

Materials to Mukti Bahini	3137.68	
Expenses for delegates from Bangladesh	1,220.73	
		4358.41
Contribution of Committees		1,583.
Fixtures, Fittings and Furniture		362.10
		21.782.05

Md. Azizul Hoquc Bhuia
Sheikh Abdul Miinnan
Sliamsur Rahman

For and on behalf of the Steering
Committee of the Action Committees for the
People's Republic of Bangladesh in U.K.

I have examind the annexed Statement which is, in my opinion in agreement with the books and records of the Committee and I certify that the Statement gives a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Committee.

Quazi Muzibur Rahman
Chartered Accountant.
164. Broomwood Road,
London, S.W.ll.

The 30th September, 1972

STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE ACTION COMMITTEES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Statement of Receipts and payments for the period from 16lh April. 1971 to 30th September, 1972.

	£	£	£	£
Contribution from Bangladesh Fund				21,782.05
Deduct-Payments-				
Rent, Rates, Lighr and Heat		10,56.04		
Telephone and Telegrams		1,187.58		
Publicity, Meeting and Rally		4,288.76		
Publications and booklets, etc.		462.59		
Delegation Expenses		3,055.11		
Travelling Expenses	1,140.07			
Less-Contribution by Lanca-	200.00	940.07		

Shire Committee

Volunteer's Expenses	1,900.47	
Postage. Printing and Stationery	698.63	
Advertising	1,486.02	
Entertainment	270.86	
General Expenses	131.58	15,477.71
Materials to Mukti Bahini	3,137.68	
Expenses tor Delegation from Bangladesh	1,220.73	
Contributions to Action Committees	1,583.83	
Furniture, Fixtures and Fittings	362.10	6,304.34
		21,782.05
Balance - - -		-Nil

Notes : All properties have been transferred to High Commission for the People's Republic of Bangladesh in the United Kingdom.

Md. Azizul Hoque Bhuia
Sheikh Abdul Mannaii
Shamsnr Rahman

For and on behalf of the Steering Committee
of the Action Committees for the People's
Republic of Bangladesh in U.K.

ANALYSIS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO ACTION COMMITTEE

	£
Student Action Committee - - -	765.00
Action Bangladesh - - -	250.00
Operation Omega - - -	100.00
Sundry Contribution - - -	25.83
Bangladesh Action Committee in Holland - - -	300.00
Bangladesh Action Committee in Sweden - - -	75.00
Enfield Action Committee - - -	68.00
Total-	1,583.83

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে আবুল এইচ, সাদউদ্দিনের চিঠিপত্র	ব্যক্তিগত চিঠিপত্র	এপ্রিল-মে, ১৯৭১

ETHNOM USICOLOGY
University of California.
LOS ANGELES-90024
April 27, 1971

Dear Mr. Senator,

We are speechless and dumbfounded at this hour of peril when the Pakistani military is pursuing a systematic plan of annihiliating all local leadership from Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) and is perpetrating gruesome actrocities on the defenseless people of my country. My brothers and sisters have been subjected to savage butchery committed by the bloodthirsty West Pakistani Millitary and all voices of protest inside Bangladesh have been stifled.

It is very shocking that no one in the U. S. Government has raised any voice of protest against the massacres nor has anyone condemned the brutal killings of innocent civilians including professors, engineers, doctors, lawyers, political leaders and students, by the Pakistani Millitary with arms supplied by your country. What a pity! President Nixon found Charles Manson guilty of murders, but he carefully preferred not to hear evil, see evil and speak evil as regards the happenings in Bangladesh. America's silence has become shameful now!

Please raise your voice to protest against the Pakistani Military's arrogance of power so that many lives may be saved in Bangladesh. If we cannot have a government of the people, for the people and by the people, must we then believe that political power can be achieved only through the barrels of guns? There is no denying that we will .. in freedom. **Bangladesh has come to be a reality.**

If the report of Red China's ultimate objective to wipe out all the moderate forces in favour of the extreme elements in Bangladesh is true (Vide Los Angeles Times; Thursday, April 22. 1971), then the United States will have to be the real loser in the long run. But at the same time we want to make it absolutely clear to you that we do not want your military involvement or intervention.

Please, Mr. Senator, we implore you to exert your influences to stop all aid to Pakistan-both military and economic. We in Bangladesh may have to starve but we will achieve freedom. Please also see that no educational scholarships and grants under U. S.

Exchange Programs are given to any Pakistani this year as a mark of your strong disapproval of the ruthless killings by the Pakistani Military Government. It may help bring the Pakistani Generals to their senses.

With my personal regards to you.

Yours sincerely.
(Abul H. Saaduddin)

35 Liberal Senators
both Democrats & Republicans
U. S. Senate
Capitol Hills.
WASHINGTON D C

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505 Gayley Avenue. 401
LOS ANGELES.
Clifornia-90024
May 6, 1971.

The President,
Indiana University,
BLOOMINGTON, Indiana-47405

Dear Mr. President,

As an alumnus of Indiana University (1964) I have taken the liberty to write to you personally to draw your attention to the abominable atrocities still being committed by the West Pakistani Military on the unarmed civilian population of my country (formerly East Pakistan), which was recently forced to declare independence and the establishment of a newly formed Government of Bangladesh (Bengal).

Meagre reports coming out of Pakistan as a result of the most effective military censorship do not reach most Americans but nevertheless, there is no denying that the military brutality has been of a very high magnitude. Professors of Dacca University has been killed in the most gruesome manner in some cases, with their entire family. The following partial list of the victims will suffice to covince you of the legitimacy of my statement. Perhaps some of your professors in the School of Business Administration might have known these unfortunate professors personally while they were teaching at Dacca University. If you had any chance of getting first-hand reports from any American evacuee from Dacca or Chittagong, all my statements will seem to you as nothing but understatements.

In view of the ruthless butchery committed by the Pakistani Military (95% of both officers and enlisted men are West Pakistani; Bengali officers, and not many in number, are never promoted beyond the rank of Lieutenant Colonel) on the Bengali populace of Bangladesh, I fervently appeal to you to express your strong vocal condemnation and

indignation at the Pakistani Military Government's utter lack of respect for precious human lives of our people.

Indiana University maintains program of co-operation with both the Punjab University in West Pakistan (Education) and Dacca University (Business Administration). I urge you Mr. President to prevail on the members of the Board of Trustees and also the other officers and Deans of the Indiana University to suspend officially all kinds of cooperation with the Punjub University for an indefinite period with immediate effect as a mark of your strong protest and revulsion against the West Pakistani Mi I itary junta's most heinous barbarity. Please make sure that not a single West Pakistani scholar or official in the ruthless government gets any scholarship or grant from your University this year. Suspension of co-operation with Dacca University does not arise for obvious reasons.

It is a pity as well as shocking that the U. S. State Department called these current unfortunate events and happenings in Bangladesh as "internal matters" of Pakistan ! Perhaps I shall do justice to myself in thinking that Hitler's "final solution of the Jewish problem" inside Germany was indeed Nazi Germany's "internal matters" too?

I suppose there is no Bengali student at your University at present. 1 felt that when silence becomes shameful one has to speak out, and hence my sending this letter to you.

With my personal regards and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
(Abul H. Saadudin)
Teaching Assistant,
Institute of Ethnomusicology
U. C. L. A.

Mr. Abul Saaduddin
Ethnomusicology
University of California
Los Angeles. California 90024

UNITED STATES SENATOR
Committee on
Labour and Public Welfare
Washington, D. C. 20513
May 20, 1971

Dear Mr. Saaduddin;

Thank you very much for your letter and the enclosed material concerning the situation in East Pakistan.

The events which have occurred in your country in past months are indeed tragic. They warrant our attention and concern.

As you may know there is legislation in the Senate to cease arms shipments to Pakistan and I will certainly support this important measure when it reaches the Senate Floor.

I was pleased to learn that the United Nations is considering emergency aid to the unfortunate victims in East Pakistan and trust this aid is forthcoming.

I am glad you took the time to contact me on this important issue. I assure you it will continue to receive my commitment and concern. I will certainly support measures in the Senate designed to alleviate the terrible plight confronting your people.

Sincerely.
Alan Cranston
California.

UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on Foreign Relations
Washington. D. C. 20510
May 21, 1971

Dear Friend :

Thank you for your communication regarding the tragic situation in Pakistan. I appreciate your taking the time to write.

You will be interested to know that the Committee on Foreign Relations on May C approved a resolution calling for the suspension of military assistance to East Pakistan until the conflict is resolved and the normal distribution of relief supplies is undertaken. Because of your concern about this situation, I thought you might be interested in reading the Committees report on S. Con. Res. 21. A copy is enclosed.

I regret the necessity of resorting to a form letter, but my mail has been so heavy on this subject that I find it impossible to provide an individual response.

Sincerely yours,
J. W. Fulbright
Chairman.

UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on the Judiciary
Washington, D. C. 20510
May 24, 1971

Mr. Abul H. Saaduddin
505 Gay ley Avenue 401
Los Angeles, California 90024

Dear Mr. Saaduddin,

Thank you for taking the time to share your views with me.

The use of American arms and other military material in the Pakistani Civil War has troubled me deeply. Although there is little which the United States can do to prevent American weapons already in the hands of the Pakistanis from being used, we can make it abundantly clear that no more military supplies will be forthcoming. In order to advise the President of my feelings on this matter, I have cosponsored S. Con. fees. 21 which provides that all American military assistance to Pakistan should be suspended until the conflict in East Pakistan is resolved and that all licenses for military sales to Pakistan should be suspended pending the termination of the terrible conflict. We all hope and pray that the people of East Pakistan will be spared any future natural or man-made disasters.

It was good to hear from you, and I hope you will always feel free to let me have your views on issues facing our country.

Sincerely,
Birch Bayh
United States Senator,
Indiana.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে প্রবাসী, বাঙালীদের প্রচারিত 'টু এ্যাপিলস'	এ, এম, মুহিত সংকলিত 'Thoughts in Exile'	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

TWO APPEALS

March 28. 1971

Background

Only four months ago the people of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) experienced the greatest natural disaster of modern limes when a cyclone hit the coastal areas. The utter apathy and criminal negligence of the military regime was witnessed by the whole world at that time. To-day the same military junta are enacting the greatest man-made human tragedy of modern era.

A wholesale massacre of defenceless people by the army with machine guns and bombs has been going on for the past three days. Hospitals have been bombed, population centers razed to the ground, unarmed people mowed down in the streets- this is the picture that has been given to the world press by foreign correspondents present in Dacca when the carnage began. It is a measure of the horrible intention of the military that they have found it necessary to expel I the foreign correspondents at gun point. What is taking place is a massacre without parallel in modem history.

The people of Bangladesh are being systematically killed, because they have committed the crime of demanding that the military junta led by General Yahya hand over power to the elected representatives of the people. This promise was solemnly made by General Yahya when he illegally usurped power and was repeated before the General Assembly of the United Nations on October last year. The events of this month have made it clear, if there any doubt, that the military junta have no desire to abdicate power to the people, or loosen their colonial grip over Bangladesh. They are determined that Bangladesh should continue to remain a colony and captive market for West Pakistan, even if it means decimating the population.

The people of Bangladesh are no less determined to break themselves loose from a forced union with their oppressors from West Pakistan.

Let there be no doubt as to the outcome of this contest of wills. They are equipped with modern weapons, we are equipped with invincible faith in our cause. They are mercenaries, we are freedom fighters. They are few, we are many. They are morally corroded. We are morally strong. They may win a few battles, but we will win the war.

Appeal to the people and Government of the United States

The struggle that is now going on in Bangladesh, is part of the general world-wide movement for liberation from colonial domination. It is no different from the struggle that the American People waged against their distant rulers two centuries ago. Like the British colonies in America, East Pakistan is being bled white in the interests of alien

rulers thousand miles away. Like you, we are having to pay taxes to a distant government indifferent to our welfare, without any right of representation. Like you, we have decided to exercise our right of self determination. Like you, we will prevail, no matter what the cost.

Knowing the great traditions of the American People, the people of Bangladesh have no doubt, that the American Government and people will do their best to arrest the monstruous genocide in Bangladesh. Time, however, is of essence. If innocent human beings have to be saved the time for action is now.

In the name of humanity we appeal to you to use your influence as a world power to stop the indiscriminate killing of thousands of innocent civilians.

You can help us by not helping our oppressors. We beg of you not to give any assistance, military or economic, to the Yahya regime.

You can help us by recognizing the newly-formed provisional Government of Bangladesh. We implore you to recognize this democratic government immediately.

Appeal to the peoples and governments of the world

The struggle that is now going on in Bangladesh is part of the general world-wide movement for liberation from colonial domination. East Pakistan is being bled white in the interests of alien rulers thousand miles away. We are having to pay taxes to a distant government indifferent to our welfare, without any right of representation. We have decided to exercise our right of self determination and we will prevail, no matter what the cost.

The people of Bangladesh have no doubt, that your Government and people will do their best to arrest the monstruous genocide in Bangladesh. Time, however, is of essence. If innocent human beings have to be saved the time for action is now.

In the name of humanity we appeal to you to use your influence to stop the indiscriminate killing of thousands of innocent civilians.

You can help us by not helping our oppressors. We beg of you to impose sanctions against the fascist Yahya regime.

You can help us by recognizing the newly-formed provisional Government of Bangladesh. We implore you to recognize this democratic government immediately.

-By the Bengali Community of U. S. A.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের ওয়াশিংটন দূতাবাসে বাঙালি কূটনীতিকের প্রতি অত্যাচারের বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদলিপি	এ, এম, মুহিত সংকলিত 'Thoughts in Exile'	১৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

A NOTE OF PROTEST
By Messrs M. F. Ban, Muhid Cliowdhury and Mostaque Ahmed.

May 19, 1971

We have followed with great concern and dismay the actions of the Government of Pakistan in East Pakistan since March 25, 1971. We are appalled at the cold-blooded murder of tens of thousands of innocent and defenceless Bengalis and the brutal suppression of the democratic movement for autonomy. The atrocities committed by the west Pakistani army against the civilian population of East Pakistan and the apparent intention of the Government to continue this inhumane course of action render our continued association with that Government repugnant to our sense of dignity and moral propriety.

This attitude of denigration toward the Bengalis by the Government of Pakistan was further evidenced by the summary, unjustified firing of Mr. A. R. Khan, an Assistant Education Officer in the Embassy on 17th of May 1971 for his having attended the hearings of the United States House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Sub-committee of Asian and Pacific Affairs regarding the East Pakistan situation on May 11, 1971. The session attended by Mr. Khan was open to all members of the public and Mr. Khan was there only as a spectator. He made no statement of any nature nor was his presence especially notable. The same session was also attended by Mr. Akram Zaki, a Counsellor of the Embassy of Pakistan along with other West Pakistanis.

The Embassy's seizure of this occurrence as a pretext to fire Mr. Khan for alleged "misconduct" makes explicitly obvious the intention of the Government of Pakistan to extend its persecution of Bengalis even to those employed by that Government here in the United States.

We consider it both humiliating and discriminating that a Bengali employee should be fired while his compatriots from West Pakistan are not penalized for the same offence, if that indeed is an offence.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের প্রেসিডেন্টের উদ্দেশ্যে বাঙালী কূটনীতিক এ, এম, মুহিতের স্মারকলিপি	এ, এম, মুহিত সংকলিত 'Thoughts in Exile'	১৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

MEMORIAL TO PRESIDENT YAHYA KHAN
A. M. A. Muhith

July 21, 1971

Almost fifteen years back I was appointed to the Civil Service of Pakistan by the President of the country and it is with a heavy heart that I am giving notice of my dissociation with the government of Pakistan as it is constituted now.

As a young man of 22, I joined the Civil Service of Pakistan with high hopes for myself and my country. Pakistan was the dreamland of my adolescent years-the fulfillment of a revolt by Muslims of India against civic and economic exploitation and religious and cultural subjugation by the more advanced majority community. Civil Service appeared to me to provide not only a decent means of living but also a vehicle for serving the poor people of my country. To the best or my knowledge I tried to serve my country with loyalty and dedication which was recognized at various stages of my career. I was called upon to shoulder responsibilities in positions of trust and confidence, I enjoyed my busy but brief term as a Deputy Secretary to the Government of East Pakistan, General Azam Khan. I considered it a privilege to work as Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet for almost three years under President Ayub Khan and then for a short period under you. I was also given the civil award of Tamigha-e-Pakistan in 1966.

In the course of my service with the government which I have spent evenly between East and West Pakistan, I have like many others of my colleagues after found that justice was not being done to the cause of East Pakistan and the Bengalis were being discriminated against. It cannot be denied that we did not live up to the ideals on which Pakistan was founded-exploitation of one community by another and one region by another continued to flourish, equal opportunity never became available to citizens irrespective of class, language and domicile, democ rati sat ion of society and political institutions was deliberately and constantly hindered. But the situation never seemed totally hopeless. Participation by Bengalis in civil administration was gradually though agonisingly slowly increasing. Your good self held out the hope of their participation in political decision-making and there was every reason to believe that it would come tine. Acceleration in economic development was receiving attention even though not without grudge from many quarters. It appeared that the exploitative design of many of our compatriots from West Pakistan was at last on its way out. In our system party politics is not the cup of tea for a civil servant but what I am referring to is not a mater of party politics, it is the question of welfare of the majority of our people, it is an issue which has become very basic to our existence as a nation.

The recent events in Pakistan, as you have said it yourself, are a source of great anxiety and agony for the whole country and for the Bengalis in particular. Just when the country was on the threshold of a democratic era it appears that the fabric of the society and the basis of nationhood have been brutally shattered. Those of us who are outside the country have been observing the developments in East Pakistan political situation since December last in silent anguish. Even after the massive support that the demand for autonomy as reflected in the Six Point Programme received in East Pakistan, it was not heeded to by the powers that be in Pakistani. Instead you chose to lose the initiative by agreeing to postpone the Assembly session and allowing separatist sentiments to secure the upper hand. However, hopes for Pakistan were revived when you began negotiations in the middle of March. But such hopes were totally the news of the brutal military crack-down was received. Not till the lapse of almost a day the full significance and the objective of the military strike could be known. From than onward the information supplied through government channels was in such conflict with that received through all other sources that it was difficult to come to a correct appreciation of the situation. With the passage of lime the vast Iragedy in unfolding itself in full splendour. The belated announcement of the conspiracy was as unconvincing as a similar attempt made three years back {the infamous Agartala conspiracy case). All that appeared true is that the vested interests that dominate Pakistan could not be reconciled to ending exploitation and surrendering power to people; a military solution of a political crisis was being atlempted.

A dying man catches at a straw and I was, like many others of my countrymen, trying to find a ray of hope even through the darkest clouds. 1 have been hoping to see the lunatic course of military operation halted. I have been hoping that you would take steps to disengage the army from East Pakistan. I have been praying that you would at last come to terms with people's representatives and allow the Bengalis the right of self determination (a principle for which our country has been crying its voice hoarse throughout). But as regrettable as it may be not a single sane or rational move has so far been made by your government. Your long awaited announcement of 28th June has been a dismal disappointment that way. This statement leaves no room for any hope or optimism. On the other hand all over action of the government seems to be directed towards intensifying the reign of terror in the country, establishing a colonial rule in East Pakistan suppressing all civic rights there and finally destroying the economy of both wings of Pakistan.

Though it has been claimed that a small group of misguided people attempted to disintegrate the country, punishment is being meted out indiscriminately to all Bangladesh. On one pretext or another Bangalis are being killed and properties are being destroyed. Clearance of shanty towns, reprisals against sniping or acts of sabotage, prevention of sabotage to communication network, pursuit of miscreants and such other pretexts represent only a small sample. Your government is following an unholy mission of eliminating the Hindus in East Pakistan on the basis or an insulting insinuation that 64 million Bengali Muslims are being misguided by a more 8 million down-trodden residue of the Bengali Hindu community who did not have the willingness or means to take refuge in India over the last 22 years. For over three months now a mindless military

operation is going on which has rendered the event of staying alive as the greatest luxury in East Pakistan. Government instead of ensuring security of life and property of its citizens has taken upon itself the task of decimation of the country and the destruction of its people. Patriotic citizens have been driven into a foreign country which has never been friendly to us before. Citizens are being forced to die of disease and starvation both inside and outside the borders of East Pakistan. Your government has made the flow of information from as well as to Pakistan (both East and West wings) so difficult that there is no escape from the conclusion that you are afraid of skeletons in the cupboard. There is indeed, a complete reign of terror in the country and in East Pakistan such a situation is only heightened by mystery and atrocities that beggar description.

Though it is being widely circulated that power will shortly be restored to people, an attempt is being made to set up a colonial Rile in East Pakistan. Transfer of officials, both high and petty, from the West to run the Government in East Pakistan, relocation of non- Bengalis in strategic points in East Pakistan, importation of labour from the West to run the ports, airfields, factories and communication network in East Pakistan are steps which only a wild colonial power can contemplate. All Bengalis are suspect under your government. People in responsible positions are either being eased out or rendered ineffective. The relationship between Bengali and non-Bengali officials is taking a form worse than the relationship that existed in olden days between British officials and their native colleagues. People in East Pakistan, usually so vocal, under the pressure of your military stranglehold have become dazed and muted. They have to speak like parrots and write 011 the dotted lines for the sake of their skin.

Your government has adopted a course of action which is not only bleeding East Pakistan white but also destroying West Pakistan in the bargain. In East Pakistan cities remain largely deserted; lines of communication, out of economic activities, at a standstill; civil administration, vastly out of gear; and the youth of the nation, in hiding. Procurement of food grains has been very low (only 600,000 tons have been shipped in since September 1970). Supplies of essential items have been virtually at a halt since February 1971 and harvesting as well as sowing have been poor. All this presents a spectre of immediate misery in East Pakistan which is beyond human comprehension. At the rate at which insurgency is gaining momentum, there is no hope for any mitigation of this cotastrophe. The effects of East Pakistan situation are very deep on West Pakistan. West Pakistan has lost a good and large market. She is being asked finance the military operation in the East. Economic and millitary assistance from the outside world have been lost. The country has been thrown into a state of utter bankruptcy.

The government of Pakistan which is headed by you has lost all its claim to legitimacy by suppressing the elected representatives of the people. You have declared the most popular party in the country as "forever banned." Many leaders representing the people in both the wings of the country have taken to flight on account of your threats. The brutality with which massacre is being committed under your order and human habitations are being destroyed as well as the ruthless suppression of dissent in both parts of the country have rendered the claims of your government to place in the civilized world totally untenable. Your pre-emptive strike of March 25, has sown the seeds of a

war of liberation in East Pakistan and your forces there are treated as occupation forces. The savagery with which the strike has been made has engendered hatred of West Pakistanis among Bengalis and the rifl between the two wings now is top deep to be repaired. In fact, the basis of nationhood has been buried under mutual hafted and fear. It is not at an far-fetched to think that the epitaph of Pakistan has been written in the mangograve of Meherpur. Your government in the eyes of the world stand guilty of the crimes of genocide and dismemberment of the Pakistani nation.

Your government has also caused grave harm in many other ways. It has defiled Islam by killing innocent people or at least being the cause of their death and by destroying human habitations including places of worship. The crisis in East Pakistan threatens the security of 65 million Muslims living in India. The course of action adopted by your government has escalated a war situation between India and Pakistan. It has driven East Pakistan into the arms of India-a disservice which just cannot be forgiven. On top of everything you have set in the process of class war in East Pakistan-a social jolt which may affect the stability of entire South Asia for a long time.

Under these circumstances, in your quiet moment you will appreciate yourself that it is not possible for me to be associated with your government any more. I have waited long enough to see one rational move by your government. I am essentially not made of a native official under colonial masters. I have always chosen to state my views without fear but such a situation does not exist anymore in Pakistan. As such I am afraid, at this stage I have to be content with living abroad. In clear conscience I cannot go back to take my rightful place as a civil servant as long as your military stranglehold continues in East Pakistan. It looks abundantly clear now that the cause of Bangladesh alone will free the country (its both wings) from the oppressive, illegitimate and savage usurpation of power that has now taken place in Pakistan. I have no option therefore, but to support the cause of Bangladesh and affirm my loyalty to that cause. I can assure you, Sir, that I am expressing the sentiments of every same civil servant working under you who are afraid to speak out on account of the reign of terror that obtains in the country.

I would like to conclude with a personal prayer for you. I would like to believe that you are a man of sincere intentions but have become victim of galloping circumstances. I would, therefore, hope that you would soon shake off the evil influences or else dissociate yourself from the current tragedy. May Allah show you the path of righteous- ness and you find time to seek forgiveness for the sins for which perhaps you are unwittingly responsible.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাকিস্তানের সরকারী চাকুরী ত্যাগ করে বাংলাদেশের প্রতি আনুগত্য জ্ঞাপনের কারণ সংবলিত বাঙালি কূটনীতিক এ, এম, এ, মুহিতের বিবৃতি	এ, এম, মুহিত সংকলিত 'Thoughts in Exile'	২৭ জুলাই, ১৯৭১

WHY I QUIT

July 27, 1971.

The question that I would try to answer this evening in "What made me dissociate myself from the government of Pakistan and espouse the cause of Bangladesh." Since March 25, I have been deferring this decision in the hope that President Yahya Khan would make a proper move for a peaceful settlement of the crisis. No ground exists for such a hope anymore and so it becomes impossible to go on working for a self destructive government.

I must admit, however, that fifteen years of service with the government of my country, which was the dreamland of my adolescent years, could not be lightly brushed aside. 1 had also fond memories and associations, such as one of working for President Yahya himself.

The questions that agitate me about the government that is now in power in Pakistan are those relating to its legitimacy, its colonial ambitions, its savagery, its political and economic blunders, and its utter lack of humanitarian concern.

President Yahya used to call his government a caretaker government waiting to hand over power to people's representatives. Now he has suppressed people's representatives elected in the most free and fair elections ever held in the country, he has banned the most popular political party in the country for even and he has indicated that material law will not be lifted in the foreseeable future. Thus his government now has lost all claims to legitimacy.

Instead of guaranteeing the security of lives and property of its citizens, the government of Pakistan has made the fact of "staying alive" the greatest luxury in East Pakistan. Atrocities that this government is committing in East Pakistan, the frenzy with which it is driving Bangaiees out of the country and the suppression that it is making of dissent in both wings of the country, not only forfeit the right of this government to a place in a civilized world but also make it responsible for dismemberment of the country.

The government is desperately trying to establish a colony in East Pakistan through a reign of terror and a massive transfer of officials and labourers from the West. For a poor country with many other problems in hand such an attempt is sheer madness.

The government has embarked on a dangerous course of action which it is pursuing relentlessly. It is very frightening because it is so mindless. It has not only escalated a war situation in South Asia but also sown the seeds of violent social upheaval in that area. It is bleeding East Pakistan white and at the same time runing the economy of West Pakistan too.

In East Pakistan today the extent of human misery is simply incomprehensible. Leaving aside the death toll and destruction of property on account of army strikes, the spectre of famine is horrifying. Total disruption of communication network coupled with the gripping sense of terror has virtually halted all economic activities and movement of foodgrains and other necessities.

Despite the flight of seven million refugees, starvation in scattered pockets in East Pakistan now is unquestionable. Against a food gap of 2.3 million tons during last fiscal year only 1.3 million tons could be imported. And also movement of food stocks within the country from surplus to deficit areas remained suspended since March.

Prospects in the immediate future are bleaker still. The most optimistic estimate places production this year at 30% less than normal meaning a deficite of 3.5 million tons. Even if the refugees do not return, it will be necessary to ship 2.5 million tons of foodgrains into East Pakistan between now and June 1972. The internal transportation system with all possible addition of river vessels cannot handle more than 100,000 tons a month even if acts of insurgency remain at the low level of last month. This, however, is contrary to facts; there is evidence of intensification of such activities. I cannot visualize how foodgrains in excess of 1.2 million tons can be supplied to East Pakistan during the current year under present conditions. If hungry millions are to be saved the first essential condition is restoration of peace in East Pakistan. I mean genuine peace and not the silence imposed by guns and bayonets. The second condition is involvement of the entire population in a crash program for food distribution. None of these conditions, I am afraid, can be met as long as Pakistan government's military stronghold continues in East Pakistan, as long as Bangalee people nurture their sullen fear and resentment and as long as they continue to fight either directly or through sabotage and non-cooperation.

In 1943 Bengal had the worst famine in its history. Transport system was out of gear due to war and shortage of food amounted to 6%. That famine took a toll of between 2.5 to 5 million lives. This time the death toll is going to be multiplied by three times. This means in the next 3 months some 7.4 to 15 million people will starve.

I do not intend to sound like a prophet of doom. I believe the position can be redeemed. The world should not sit by in impotent anguish and witness the destruction of a people. It is dangerous to allow the Bangalee people to be totally brutalised. It is still more dangerous to permit madness in political behaviour.

Let me conclude by appealing to the conscience of the world to raise its voice effectively against Pakistan's madness.

- A. M. A. Muhith

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
পাক সামরিক জান্তার অধীন গভর্নর মালিকের নিকট জনাব মুহিতের চিঠি	এ, এম, মুহিত সংকলিত 'Thoughts in Exile'	সেপ্টেম্বর, ১৯৭১

A LETTER TO GOVERNOR MALIK

September, 1971

You have asked for creation of an open society where issues will be settled by force of argument. Do you honestly believe that there is any possibility of such a course of action in West Pakistan or Bangladesh as long as Yahya's hordes arc not totally annihilated? That was what the country was wanting to do when Bhutto joined in the conspiracy of Yahya's gang to thwart the process altogether. I am surprised that you should say that after having been dismissed like a domestic servant on February 21 when the real shift of power to the hawks took place. How can you now try to remove 'suspicions'?

You are asking for rebuilding the economy and the society & to forgive & forget the past. For whom do you rebuild the economy? For your masters from West Pakistan and the Biharis whom we chose to give shelter when they were homeless? How can you forgive and forget when no family is there in Bangladesh who have not suffered death and destruction in the hands of Yahya's gangsters? Much less of it caused the partition of India. I feel like quoting you that we are "compelled to seek a separate homeland after we found our very existence threatened in United Pakistan." It is indeed a repetition of history and I lived through that also.

For God's sake do not talk of Indian conspiracy and their involvement in the creation of present troubles. Any time Bangalis get a chance to assert their will the hand of India is discovered. Your masters also had the nauseating temerity to accuse Sher-e-Bangla of complicity in Indian conspiracy. I have personally heard such accusations against Mr. Nurul Amin whose concern for Pakistan's solidarity is much more than that of any West Pakistani.

You have talked of national suicide for the Bangalis. Fortunately that is not the case this time. Pakistan was broken up by Yahya-Bhutto axis on March 25 and you cannot put it together again because a river of blood and 'scorched earth' is between the two regions now. Incidentally the destruction of Pakistan was caused by people who had no involvement in the Pakistan movement, who made no sacrifices for Pakistan but enjoyed rich dividends out of its creation. The Punjab did little for Pakistan but got the most benefits. Yahya and his generals have never worked for Pakistan so it was easy on their conscience to destroy the country. Bhutto was an Indian citizen as late as 1952. so it is only natural that personal lust for power should be more important to him than Pakistan's survival. I derive some satisfaction in the fact that Pakistan was not destroyed by those who worked for its creation.

You have given the assurance as the Governor to help rehabilitation of refugees and have claimed that minorities are good citizens. I am not sure about your authority and brief. I was told by Pakistanis that every Hindu was an enemy and they had caused all the trouble, they misled Bangalee Muslims. I took it as an insult on the intelligence of Bangali Muslims and you will notice that in my letter to Yahya I protested against such stupid insinuation. It looks that your speech is for international consumption and so any amount of untruth does not really matter. You are talking of arrangements with India for taking care of minority problem. May I remind you that you are for getting your history; you are talking of a situation when there were communal riots in both countries. This time it is not communal riots, it is deliberate policy of genocide by an organized government against Bengalis and specially Bangali Hindus.

You have talked of the futility of terrorist movement. You are forgetting that this is not a terrorist movement, it is a war of liberation. In dealing with civilised Britain who were governed by a democratic parliament, you could rely on constitutional methods to gain your objectives. Even then you had non-cooperation, civil disobedience movement (Punjab & Assam 1946-47) and Direct Action. Today you are dealing with a dictatorial military regime, the tactics have to be different. You are dealing with uncivilized, uneducated and unpatriotic vested interests of West Pakistan.

You have emphasised the food crisis but have followed the brief closely in maintaining that transportation and not food availability is the problem. When we were shouting about food crisis Yahya retorted sharply that godowns were bursting with stocks. But now it turns out that you cannot get as much food in the country as is required. You have spoken of plans to import 2.3 m tons. From my direct experience I can tell you that with the "goodwill" of the West Pakistan Government you will never reach a target anywhere near it. Do you know how much of 2.3 m tons planned for import last year was actually imported? It was only 1.1 m tons. You know better to be hoodwinked by your very dishonest masters who lack integrity in every respect.

You have promised test relief works, financial help to returnees and reconstruction. Do you really believe you will have either the currency notes (printed money) or the real resources? The experience of last November is otherwise. Even resources transferred from abroad did not reach Bangladesh. The relationship of the two regions was founded so much on exploitation of Bangladesh that deceit, outright lies and crooked maneouvers really did not bother West Pakistan. Do you believe that your speech and decision to serve them will change all that?

You are talking of a development programme of Rs. 279 million in Bangladesh. 1 am amazed that you should men tion it. Those who framed the budget, even they are under no illusion about this exercise in fantasy.

Your dream of a united, powerful and proud Pakistan is so absurd and your wish on restoration of power to the people is so pretentious that I could not help touching on them too. Pakistani ruling junta is a horde of barbarians, they cannot put up a civilised image anymore. They are also not in a mood to return power to the people. Just read through Yahya's speech of June 28 and analyse his activities since then including his choice of stooges for Bangladesh.

You are an elderly person and have been very close to me. I have used rough language because it pains me so much to find you performing such a heinous role in the winter of your life. Yahya dispensed with your services in February against your saner suggestion. How can you believe in the intentions or capability of this man who is either gone mad or has been entrapped in a mad circle? There is no way out for Pakistan anymore. Ever)' mother in Bangladesh is distressed, every young man is a revolutionary, every soul secretly harbours the idea of liberation from the ruthless occupation of your masters. That liberation is coming soon and that alone will teach this mad junta the lesson of its life. That alone will liberate West Pakistan as well. You are a non-entity in this process and the sooner you have this realisation the better it is for you and for the country.

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