



রাজনৈতিক মঞ্চ

# ONSLAUGHT ON INTELLECT AND INTELLIGENTSIA

**Nurul Islam Patwari**

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The history of freedom struggle in Bangladesh is unique in many respects. Few nation has made so great a sacrifice in so short a time in terms of blood and loss of human life. The colossal destruction wrought and the heavy damages caused to property have a few parallel in history. Such instance of perpetrating inhuman torture on innocent and unarmed people, specially the women-folk as was done in Bangladesh, is also rare. But on the historic 16th December on which the country was delivered from tyrannical army rule, the long oppressed and downtrodden people of Bangladesh just forgot, although temporarily, the untold sufferings and sacrifices in ecstasy of joy for the great victory. They saw the vision of building up Golden Bengal as dreamt of by Bangabandhu out of the ashes of ruins and destructions spread across the country.

In the midst of their rejoicings the sad news of the massacre of intellectuals by the armed Pak hordes and their agents - **Al-Badar** came as a rude shock. Hundreds of thousands of heroes will rise phoenix-like out of the martyrs' blood. So will rise the Golden Bengal rich in wealth and bedecked with flower. The ideas set by the women dishonored during the liberation struggle will inspire the hundreds of thousands of women to become heroine. The massacre of our intellectuals who represented the brain trust of our nation and the perverted way of thinking of which we had been subjected directly or indirectly during the long 25 years of colonial rule -- were

national losses which cannot easily be repaired. In fact this is the highest price we had to pay for our independence. In this respect too, the sacrifices made by the people of Bangladesh have few parallel. The premeditated massacre of intellectual after the historic 25th March is not an isolated event. This was the culmination of heinous conspiracy hatched by the colonial power after the achievement of Pakistan against Bangalee intellectuals, their culture and thinking. This conspiracy spread its tentacles over such fields as language, literature, art, education and culture.

This colonial rule continued its unremitting efforts to cripple and exterminate Bengali culture and thinking sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly and at times through communalists or agents patronized by it. Maxim Gorky says, as the rot in a fish begins from its head, the fall of a nation is caused by the degradation of her intellectuals who represent the brain trust of the nation. The Pakistani colonial rule used this sage saying as a sacrilegious instrument to exterminate Bengali culture and thinking and thereby perpetuate their exploitation and rule. They were engaged in a conspiracy to cripple and exterminate culture, education and economy of Bangladesh on the one hand and to degenerate and pervert the educationists, artists, litterateurs, journalists, lawyers, politicians associated with Bengali language and culture, etc. on the other.

This deplorable condition of the intellectuals bore out its baneful effect on our culture and thinking. As a result of the open and unabashed attack by the ruling clique as well as the ingenuity of their opportunist agents, our culture was threatened with obliteration and our thinking misguided. Those who refused to forgo their ideals, their intellect and pursuit of knowledge were impaired and consequently cultural activities were put to an abrupt end under black laws. They had to change their profession only to earn their livelihood. Many of them flew into foreign countries. As a result cultural life and pursuits of knowledge came to a standstill.

Immediately after the achievement of Pakistan in August 1947, a plan to exterminate Bengali culture and thinking was designed. At the very outset they threatened Bengali language with obliteration. From September that year it was seen that Urdu was preferred to Bengali at Government and semi-

Government levels such as offices, courts, railways, steamers, post offices, etc. In early December Urdu was recommended as the only State language of Pakistan at All Pakistan Education Conference. Mr. Dhiren Dutta, a Bangalee member, proposed Bengali to be one of the languages of the Constituent Assembly during its session on February 23, 1948. But the proposal was rejected with abhorrence. On 23rd and 24th March that year Mr. Jinnah declared unequivocally in Dacca that Urdu and Urdu only should be the State language of Pakistan. The attempt to impose Urdu at different Government levels banishing Bengali in total disregard to Bangalee's demand continued side by side with these statements and recommendations.

Then started the move to replace Bengali script along with the heinous attempt to banish Bengali language. In December, 1948 at an All-Pak Teachers Conference the then Education Minister Fazlur Rahman proposed that Bengali alphabets should be replaced by Arabic scripts which are, in fact, Urdu scripts. In February, 1949 at a meeting of Central Education Advisory Board a proposal was adopted recommending only Arabic script for the purpose. In April, 1950 as many as 20 centers were set up all over Bangladesh at a cost of lack of rupees to advocate Arabic script in place of Bengali ones.

The design to exterminate Bengali language and script reached its culmination towards the early part of 1952. The intellectuals particularly the conscious student community took a bold stand against the design of the colonial rule. The intellectuals voiced their protest against each of the unjust moves taken by them. The students also expressed their resentment by launching strikes and staging demonstrations. As a result the Government was forced to adopt indirect method. Towards this end, they tried to foment rabid communalism and to take cover under the so called Islamic and Pakistani ideology. Taking advantage of simple religious faith of the common-people they tried to misguide them. Moreover, they tried to sow the seeds of discord among the intellectuals by bestowing high offices, wealth and patronage. Despite this, the intellectuals and student community remained united on the issue of maintaining the status of Bengali language. Consequently, when in January, 1952, Khwaja Nazimuddin declared that Urdu should be the only State language of Pakistan, which unveiled the conspiracy hatched by the ruling clique, there was

deep resentment all over the country. The students of Dacca tried heart and soul to resist it. The result was that the soil of Bangladesh was stained with the blood on 21st February on the question of establishing their cultural right.

The shock of 21st February roused the Bangalees from somnolence. Even the common people became conscious and active for maintaining the status of Bengali as their mother tongue. The ruling clique had, therefore, to withdraw measures directed against Bengali language. The ignominious defeat of Muslim League in the general election of 1954 was nothing but the impact of the general awakening witnessed among the people on 21st February. Ultimately Bengali was accepted as one of the State languages of Pakistan as it was the universal demand of the people of Bangladesh. Although officially recognized as one of the State languages it was denied its rightful status. Now, ensued the move to exterminate Bengali literature and culture.

To begin with, efforts were made to put to oblivion the Bengali nomenclature. Although Bangladesh was known as East Bengal for a long time, it was named East Pakistan in the name of Pakistani ideology and national integrity. Pressure was put to those, who in spite of the official nomenclature, called it East Bengal. Apart from this, a move was initiated to use so-called Muslim names or Pakistani names in place of Bengali ones. The names of places, shops, establishments, cinema halls, children, even in conversation and address, Urdu coinages were more in use than Bengali. The word Minister was replaced by Urdu word 'Uzir', President by 'Sadar'. In a word, in the words of Pakistanis the ruling clique became up and doing to transform the "Hindu Bangladesh" into "Muslim Bangladesh."

But this attempt to "Islamise" names on their part was not only ludicrous but also self-contradictory. In West Pakistan there was no *ramadan* (the month of fasting) vacation in schools and colleges, but this was introduced in schools and colleges in East Pakistan. Sunday was observed as closed holiday in schools and colleges in West Pakistan and Friday in East Pakistan. In West Pakistan Mohenjodaro and Taxila civilization was to be regarded as Pakistani heritage, while the relics of Hindu and Buddhist civilization was to be discarded as alien in origin. Rabindranath belonged to Bharat, while Nazrul was a Pakistani poet. Mixture of Arabic and Persian words was to be regarded as

Pakistani, whereas the use of pure Bengali words in the language was to be abhorred as alien language. The import of books from West Bengal was prohibited but that of pornographic literature from western countries was encouraged. In fact, they pursued this policy only to cripple and pervert Bengali culture.

In the field of literature conspiracy was hatched more subtly. Here, too, so-called Islamic and Pakistani ideologies were used as instruments. In the meantime, by using pressure and allurements, they created a class of opportunists and yesmen among the intellectuals and writers. They were used openly to cripple and pervert Bengali literature. Not only the original Bengali words, but also Bengali thinking was discountenanced in radio, television and other Government publicity media. These were put under the control of henchmen and opportunist class. Freedom of press was curbed and free expression of thought was gagged by enforcing black-laws. As a result literary creations by the old writers became stereotyped and lifeless. On the contrary the new generation were led astray and in some cases, became victimized of literary perversions. Instead of portraying their hopes and aspirations and sorrows and sufferings, they ran after artificiality and imitation of foreign themes and alien ideas and produced works lifeless and drab. On the contrary, the opportunist and yesman class of writers became active in stifling the normal growth of our literature and giving perverted tone.

Rabindranath is the lifespring of our literature and culture. So a move was afoot to undermine the Bengali consciousness by vanishing him from the field of literature and thought. During the Ayub regime the Information and Broadcasting Minister Khwaja Shahabuddin and Governor Monem played a leading role in this respect. By spreading the venom of communalism the discussion and broadcast of Tagore's works and songs were prohibited. The import of books from West Bengal was also forbidden to further cripple literary activities and curb freedom of thought. Those who tried to resist this move were harassed by opportunist and communalist class of writers.

At that time some new institutions and organizations were set up to allure writers, intellectuals and to further cripple Bengali language and literature. Of them, the names of Pakistan Council, Bureau of National Reconstruction, Bengali Development Board

and Pakistan Writers' Guild stand out preeminently. The aims of Pakistan Council and BNR were to propagate Pakistani and Islamic ideology. But their secret mission was to exterminate the Bengali culture and intellect. They initiated a plan to subtly complete the brain-wash of the Bengali intellectuals and spent huge sums of money to mislead them. The Bengali Academy was set up as an aftermath of the language movement for fostering the growth and development of Bengali language and literature. But to frustrate its aims, a counter organization under the name of Central Bengali Development Board was created at an enormous cost. Subsequently another move was set afoot to further frustrate its aim by driving out the protagonists of Bengali culture, replacing them with their lackeys. Whenever Bengali Academy initiated any constructive program the counter organization under the patronage of the Government became active to frustrate it. Whenever the intellectuals made an attempt to pursue an independent line of thinking, the alternative organization came forward to set that at naught. In 1967 when History Council was formed under private initiative for the development of independent thinking a counter organization under the Government patronage was at one set up.

A still deeper conspiracy was hatched in the field of education to cripple Bangalees educationally and culturally. The educational system was reorganized on narrow communal basis in the name of Islamic State. Extensive efforts were made to 'Pakistanise' the contents, language and ideas in school and college text books. As a result, not only Tagore and other distinguished litterateurs of West Bengal were dropped, but also the talented and creative writers of this land were excluded. The language of school text book was given Pakistani grab, alien ideas and thinking were imported and subjects were drawn mainly from Arabian and West Pakistani sources. The hopes and aspirations of Bangalees were thrown to dust. Simultaneous attempts were made to curb educational expansion. For instance, as compared to 19 thousand primary schools in East Pakistan and 8,500 primary schools in West Pakistan in 1947-48 the number of primary school was reduced to 17,500 in East Pakistan and raised to 40 thousand in West Pakistan in 1968-69.

The publishers became active in publishing detective and pornographic literature. Because in the meantime the taste of a section of readers particularly innocent

students, were perverted. Thoughtful writing of high standard had no market. This created further confusion and perversion among the students. Their thinking and mental habits were stultified.

Even in the field of higher education, the attempt to curb independent thinking and to effect Islamization was continued. But there the attack on the educationists direct and indirect revealed itself in all its naked form. The Hamidur Rahman Education Commission of 1963 divested the Teachers of their freedom. Various designs were resorted to remove the pro-Bengali teachers from important posts and to replace them by yesmen. A network of espionage was set up against the educationists. Besides, the henchmen of the ruling clique used to supply malicious reports against them. Sometimes students organization patronized by the Government mounted attacks on them. Those teachers who stood firm in their principle even in the face of pressure and harassment were either removed from their posts or demoted. Moreover, they were also subjected to mounting harassment. Tired of such inhuman treatment many teachers resigned from their services while others left their motherland. This kind of harassment on teachers and degradation of education has but few examples.

Thus Pakistani colonial power continued their nefarious design to exterminate the Bengali thinking from fields such as arts, politics, economy, administration, etc. There was also continued effort to push into the background paintings, music and folk festivals and forge a mood of Pakistani ideology. The distinguished artists of international fame were neglected, ignored and harassed in various ways. A campaign was launched to dub the Bengali New Year Day festival, Season festival, cultivation of folk art and music as alien to Pak ideology. The designing plan which was continued for two decades to turn Bangladesh into a colonial market and to reduce the Bangalees to second class citizens in the field of politics, economy and administration has now become the common subject of history. Even in this field continued efforts were made to eliminate the leading people by putting them behind the bar or by subjecting them to oppression and harassment and to misguide them through intimidation and various allurements.

Efforts continued unabated to degenerate and misguide the Bengali intellectuals and other leading people up

to the historic 25th March. They had to suffer from imprisonment, harassment and torture in all its brutal form. There is no denying that vile attempts were made to kill the intellectuals. It may not be out of place here to mention the mysterious death of Shahid Suhrawardy in a hotel of Beirut in December 1963 and that of Mr. Tafazzal Hossain (a.k.a Manik Mia) in a hotel of Rawalpindi on 31st May, 1969. These two talented sons of Bangladesh had to undergo inhuman sufferings and ignominy at the hands of Pakistani rulers. People believe that these two illustrious sons of Bangladesh fell victims to the deep conspiracy hatched by the ruling clique.

Before I embark on discussion about the premeditated massacre of intellectuals in Bangladesh after 25th March, let me quote here an excerpt from the statement issued by the Steering Committee of International Committee on the University Emergency on 22nd April, 1972:

"It was obvious that the university had been a major target. A premeditated massacre appears to have been conducted from a master list of victims prepared possibly as early as last fall. That list presumably contained the names and addresses of leading teachers and students as well as artists, musicians and writers associated with Bengali literature and culture."

"The mass murder apparently proceeded on schedule; senior professors were brought out in the open and shot. Their families, including women and children, were also killed. The sudden attack obviously sought the extermination of the intellectual class, particularly the bearers of Bengali culture and a large part of its audience."

The world scholars have rightly described the plan and program designed by the Pak Army to exterminate the Bengali intellectuals. The Pakistan army launched an attack specially on the University Halls, residences of educationists and intellectuals and several Newspaper offices on March 25 at about 23:00 hours. According to an estimate they brutally murdered 340 students of the Jugannath Hall alone. The students of Sgt. Zahurul Huq Hall (former Iqbal Hall) gave stiff resistance. In this heroic fight about 200 students had to lose their lives. The intellectuals were then cruelly murdered. According to reports published in the Newspapers, in the beginning of this onslaught 10 University teachers were killed in the University campus alone.

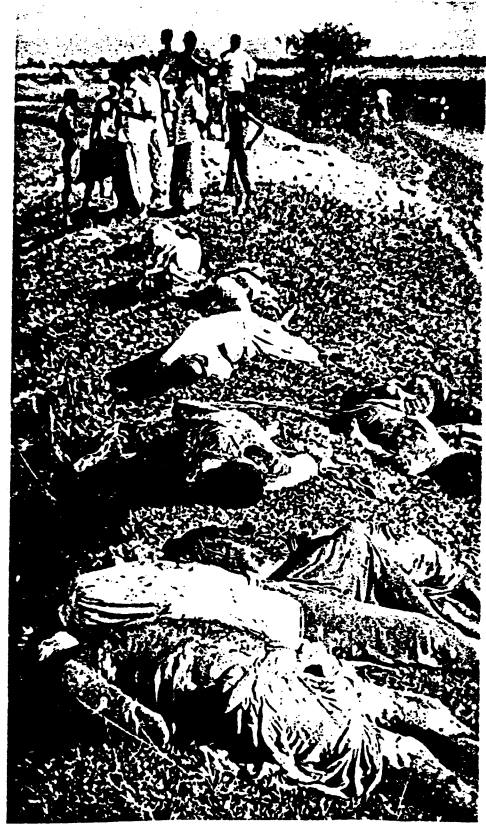
The massacre of intellectuals continued all over Bangladesh. In every township, particularly those places where there was Pak Army Camp intellectuals were hounded, brought out from their houses and shot.

After the first onslaught the intellectuals took to heels for fear of life. As a result there was dislocation of work in offices, institutions, etc. Moreover, there was widespread criticism all over the world about their brutal deeds. They had to stop extermination of intellectuals temporarily. They changed their *modus operandi*. Outwardly they showed liberalness so that their preys might not get out of their hands. It may be recalled that Yahya Khan declared in August that he would grant General Amnesty to all. But there were two objectives behind this. First, to hoodwink the world public opinion, secondly, to ensure easy "catches of preys." In fact the intellectuals who could not cross over to India and took shelter in villages or safe places were deceived by Yahya's false promises and ultimately they resumed their duties. Of course, there were others, who hard pressed by circumstances, just to earn their livelihood, had to resume their duties.

But the killing of the intellectuals continued. It continued secretly. Besides, the movements and activities of every intellectual were watched upon. A list of Bangalee intellectuals was prepared during Non-cooperation Movement. But that was not the final list. The final list was perhaps prepared after March 25. A diary of one of the Al-Badar leaders contained a list of intellectuals on a page, dated 9th April. This list was not perhaps finalized by that time, additions and alterations were being made.

Pak Army hordes could not even imagine that they would have to suffer defeat. So they delayed the execution of the scheme although finalized earlier. Even on 3rd December when the Allied Forces made combined attack, they failed to apprehend danger. Even in the face of ignominious defeat, they did not give in at the advent on US 7-Fleet in the Bay of Bengal. They thought that there was no hurry about killing the intellectuals as these preys were already in their clasp. In the meantime, the rabid communalists - Al-Badar were directed to choose and kill. During the war when it raged in fury Maj. Gen. Rao Farman Ali, the main schemer of the massacre of Bangalee intellectuals was eager to surrender. About that time Al-Badar became active for the first time

and began abducting intellectuals. When bombs were thrown on the Government House (at present, Banga Bhaban) Malik Cabinet resigned. With this the hopes of the Pak Army were thrown to dust. In fact, the massacre of intellectuals began from this time and continued even after Independence was achieved. Because some think that Al-Badars were responsible for the mysterious murder of Zahir Raihan at Mirpur and Prof. Humayun Kabir. The brutal assassins went into operation rather hurriedly because they could not even imagine that the allied forces would be able to liberate Bangladesh in so short time. Simultaneously they grew concerned about the security of their lives. If they could continue this operation undisturbed, many more valuable lives would have come to abrupt end.



Scene of rackless massacre of Intellectuals

As in March, so in December was the large scale killings of intellectuals all over the country. Educationists, scientists, intellectuals, litterateurs, journalists, artists, lawyers, doctors, political leaders, high ranking officers - none would escape from their cruel clutch. Their design was to exterminate intellectuals.

The list of names of martyr intellectuals is yet to be finalized. On the basis of whatever information is available at the moment, a list has however been prepared. This list is appended:

**NAMES OF UNIVERSITY TEACHERS**

**Dacca University:**

A. N. M. Munier Choudhury  
Dr. G. C. Dev  
Mufazzal Haider Chowdhury  
Anwar Pasha  
Jyotirmoy Guha Thakurata  
Abdul Muqtadir  
S. M. Rashidul Hassan  
Dr. A. N. M. Faizul Mahi  
Fazlur Rahman Khan  
A. N. M. Maniruzzaman  
Dr. Serajul Haque Khan  
Dr. Shahadat Ali  
Dr. M. A. Khair  
A. R. Khan Khadim  
Muhammad Sadeque  
Sharafat Ali  
Ghiasuddin Ahmed  
Ananda Payan

**Rajshahi University:**

Prof. Qayyum  
Habibur Rahman  
Sree Sukha Ranjan Samadder

**NAMES OF M.C.As**

Mashiur Rahman  
Amjad Hossain  
Aminuddin  
Nazmul Haque Sarker  
Abdul Haque  
Dr. Zikrul Haque  
Syed Anwar Ali  
A. K. Sarder

**NAMES OF JOURNALISTS**

Sirajuddin Hossain  
Shahidulla Kaiser  
Khondakar Abu Taleb  
Nizamuddin Ahmed  
A. N. M. Ghulam Mustafa  
Shahid Saber  
Sk. Abdul Mannan (Ladu)  
Nazmul Haque  
M. Akhter  
Abul Bashar  
Chisty Helalur Rahman  
Shibsadan Chakravarty  
Selina Akhter

**NAMES OF PHYSICIANS**

Md. Fazle Rabbi  
Abdul Alim Chowdhury  
Shamsuddin Ahmed  
Azharul Haque  
Humayun Kabir  
Sulaiman Khan  
Kaiser Uddin  
Mansur Ali  
Ghulam Murtaza  
Hafez Uddin Khan  
Jahangir  
Abdul Jabbar  
S. K. Lal  
Hem Chandra Basak  
Kazi Obaidul Haq  
Mrs. Ayesaha Bedoura  
Chowdhury  
Al-Haj Mamtazuddin  
Hashimoy Hazra  
Naren Ghose  
Zikrul Haq  
Shamsul Haq  
M. Rahman  
A. Gafur  
Mansur Ali  
S. K. Sen  
Mafizuddin  
Amulya Kumar Chakravarty  
Atiqur Rahman  
Ghulam Sarwar  
R. C. Das  
Mihir Kumar Sen  
Saleh Ahmed  
Anil Kumar Sinha  
Sunil Chandra Sarma  
A. K. M. Ghulam Mustafa  
Maqbul Ahmed  
Enamul Haque  
Mansur (Kanu)  
Ashraf Ali Talukdar  
Lt.-Ziaur Rahman  
Lt.-Col. Jahangir  
Badiul Alam  
Lt.-Col. Hai  
Maj. Rezaur Rahman  
Maj. Nazmul Islam  
Asadul Haq  
Nazir Uddin  
Lt. Nurul Islam  
Kazal Bhadra  
Mansur Uddin

**OTHERS**

Zahir Raihan (Litterateur)  
Purnendu Dastidar (Litterateur)  
Ferdous Dowla (Litterateur)  
Indu Saha (Litterateur)  
Meherunnessa (Litterateur)  
Altaf Mahmud (Artist)  
Danbir Ranada Prasad Saha (R. P. Saha)  
Jogesh Chandra Ghose (Ayurved Shastri)  
Dhirendra Nath Dutta (Political Leader)  
Shamsuzzaman (Chief Engineer)  
Mahbub Ahmed (Govt. Officer)  
Khurshid Alam (Engineer)  
Nazrul Islam (Engineer)  
Muzammel Haq Chowdhury (Engineer)  
Mohsin Ali (Engineer)  
Mujibul Haq (Govt. Officer)



**Districtwise List of Martyr Education-ists (except University teachers) and Lawyers**

Districts and Divisions	Educationists		Lawyers	
	Primary	Seco- ndary	College	
1	2	3	4	5
Dacca ..	37	8	10	6
Faridpur ..	27	12	4	2
Tangail ..	20	7	2	—
Mymensingh ..	46	28	1	2
Dacca Division	130	55	17	10
Chittagong ..	39	16	7	1
Chittagong Hill Tracts.	9	4	1	1
Sylhet ..	19	7	—	2
Comilla ..	45	33	1	4
Noakhali ..	26	13	4	2
Chittagong Division	138	73	13	10
Khulna ..	48	15	2	2
Jessore ..	55	31	5	4
Barisal ..	50	21	4	—
Patuakhali ..	3	1	—	—
Kushtia ..	28	13	4	—
Khulna Division	184	81	15	6
Rajshahj ..	39	8	3	5
Rangpur ..	41	22	9	4
Dinajpur ..	50	10	1	2
Bogra ..	14	12	—	2
Pabna ..	43	9	1	2
Rajshahi Division	187	61	14	15
Bangladesh	639	270	59	41

(1) Total No. of Educationists (other than Universities) .. .. 968  
 (2) Total No. of University teachers.. .. 21  
 Grand total .. 989

**PROBAHO**

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**প্রবাহ**

[ একটি ত্রৈমাসিক পত্রিকা ]

প্রথম বর্ষ, দ্বিতীয় সংখ্যা  
নভেম্বর, '৯০ - জানুয়ারী, '৯১

জনতার  
বিজয়



বিজয় দিবস সংখ্যা