

**TRAGEDY  
OF  
ERRORS**

(EAST PAKISTAN CRISIS, 1968-1971)

WAHIDULIS  
LAHORE PAKISTAN

**TRAGEDY  
OF  
ERRORS**

(EAST PAKISTAN CRISIS, 1968-1971)

**Lt. Gen. (Retd) Kamal Matinuddin**

HI (M), S.Bt.

**WAJIDALIS  
LAHORE-PAKISTAN**

By the same author

**POWER STRUGGLE IN THE HINDUKUSH**

*(Afghanistan, 1978-1991)*



*First Edition Published 1994*

*by*

**Wajidalis (Pvt) Limited**  
*93-B, Gulberg 2, Hali Road,  
Lahore - Pakistan*

*ISBN No. 969-8031-19-7*

*Copyright © 1994 Wajidalis*

*No part of this book may be reproduced in any form by photostat, microfilm or any other means, without written permission from the publishers.*

*Typeset, Printed & Bound in Pakistan by*

**WAJIDALIS (PVT) LTD.**

*Printers House, 65 Kot Lakhpat Industrial Estate, Lahore.*

*Phone: 876715*

# Contents

	Page
Preface and Acknowledgements .....	15
Background .....	21
Geographical Characteristics .....	21
Demographic Pattern .....	23
Historical Perspective .....	25

## Chapter

1. Causes Of The Alienation Of The Eastern Wing .....	47
2. Remedial Measures Taken .....	93
3. Political Quagmire .....	115
4. Mukti Bahini - Organization, Strength And Activities .....	221
5. Military Action .....	241
6. India's Role In The Dismemberment Of Pakistan .....	273
7. Role Of Other Countries In The East Pakistan Crisis .....	303
8. Indo-Pakistan War - 1971 - Eastern Theatre .....	333
9. Naval And Air Operations (Eastern Theatre) .....	437
10. At The United Nations .....	443
11. Causes Of The Military Debacle In East Pakistan .....	457
12. Causes Of The Dismemberment Of Pakistan .....	473
13. Impact Of The Emergence Of Bangladesh On India, Bangladesh And Pakistan .....	483
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>491</b>

## Appendices

Appendix I	Awami League's Six-Points Formula. ....	494
Appendix II	Major Zia-ur-Rahman's announce- ment of the Independence of Bangladesh, March 27, 1971. ....	495
Appendix III	Proclamation of Independence of Bangladesh by the so-called Acting President of Bangladesh, April 10, 1971. ....	496



Appendix IV	Security Council Resolution 308 (1971) of 6 December, 1971 and 307 (1971) of December 21, 1971. ....	497
Appendix V	Signals exchanged between President/GHQ and Governor East Pakistan / Commander Eastern Command. ....	500
Selected Bibliography	.....	513
Index	.....	520

## List of Maps

Map 1	Map of East Pakistan.
Map 2	Deployment of Forces In and Around East Pakistan, October, 1971.
Map 3	Indian Army's Plan of Attack.
Map 4	Battle of Hilli.
Map 5	23 Brigade Operations.
Map 6	Jessore Sector, 107 Brigade Positions - 21 November, 1971.
Map 7	107 Brigade Position's - 27 November - 6 December, 1971.
Map 8	107 Brigade Position's - 6 December - 9 December, 1971.
Map 9	Battle of Khulna.
Map 10	57 Brigade Operations.
Map 11	27 Brigade Operations.
Map 12	313 and 202 (A) Brigade Operations.
Map 13	39 Divisional Operations.
Map 14	93 Brigade Operations.

## List of Tables

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| Table 1  | Power Structure Between The Two Wings 1947 - 1958.  |
| Table 2  | Representation of East and West Pakistan in Ministries at the Centre - 1966.                                  |
| Table 3  | Numerical Distribution of Gazetted and Non Gazetted Officer, East and West Pakistan - 1966.                   |
| Table 4  | Candidates For Civil Services Examination in East and West Pakistan, 1949 - 1970.                             |
| Table 5  | Civil Service Officers in Influential Places, province wise, 1965 - 1970.                                     |
| Table 6  | Distribution of Senior Posts between East and West Pakistan in Ten Ministries - 1962.                         |
| Table 7  | Number of Schools and Colleges In The Two Wings, 1947 - 1969.   |
| Table 8  | Selection of Candidates For Regular Commission in the Pakistan Army from East and West Pakistan, 1966 - 1969. |
| Table 9  | Financial Contribution To The Central Exchequer - 1943.   |
| Table 10 | Distribution of Industrial Assets By Communities in Pakistan, 1959.   |
| Table 11 | Export and Import Figures of East and West Pakistan 1947 - 1967.  |
| Table 12 | Inter Wing Trade 1948 - 1970.   |
| Table 13 | Zonal Trade 1948 - 1970.  |
| Table 14 | Per Capital Income, Comparison between East and West Pakistan 1959 - 1964.                                    |



- Table 15 Net National Products, East and West Pakistan 1959 - 1964.
- Table 16 Quantum of Industrial Goods Produced in East Pakistan, 1955 - 1967.
- Table 17 Allocation of Funds to East and West Pakistan in The 4th FYP 1970 - 1975.
- Table 18 Regional Distribution of Industrial Sanctions, 1967/68.
- Table 19 Regionwise Exports, 1960 - 1968.
- Table 20 Average Wholesale Prices of Selected Commodities in East and West Pakistan 1969/70 (March).
- Table 21 Province wise List of Officers in Grade 17 and above in East and West Pakistan, 1 July, 1971.



The dismemberment of Pakistan in December 1971 has left behind wounds which have not healed to this day. There were many causes for this tragedy but contrary to what some people believe, it was not unavoidable.

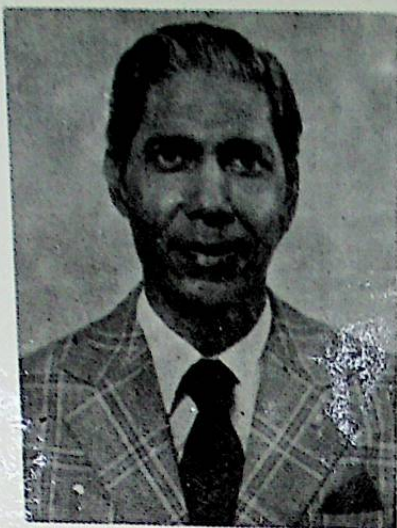
Unfortunately those in authority failed to realise the significance of the unique nature of Pakistan's geographical landscape and its distinctive demographic mosaic.

This book examines the causes for the breakup of the country and the reasons for the military debacle in the eastern wing. It is a monumental and comprehensive book on the East Pakistan crisis.

General Matin-ud-Din's painstaking research took him to Bangladesh and India where he was able to piece together the facts related by key personalities, who were prominent on the stage during the final year of a united Pakistan. His research has thrown new light on controversial issues based on a deep study of original sources, statistical data, official documents, private diaries and personal interviews.

His candid and unbiassed views on the decisions taken at different levels help to get a clear picture of the events which led to the disintegration of the House that the Quaid built.

After his authoritative work "POWER STRUGGLE IN THE HINDUKUSH" General Matin-ud-Din has produced another compelling study. It is essential reading for all students of contemporary history of the sub-continent as well as for the casual reader.



Lieutenant General Kamal Matinuddin (retired) received his higher education at the University of Lucknow before joining the Indian Military Academy in 1946. He was commissioned in the Royal Pakistan Artillery in October, 1947 and 10 years later graduated from the Canadian Army Staff College. During his 34 years of army service he held various commands, staff and instructional appointments. He commanded an infantry division and later as Director General Joint Staff he was responsible for operational planning at the highest level.

On retirement he was appointed as the Ambassador of Pakistan to Thailand and Pakistan's permanent Representative to the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok. Thereafter he took over as the Director General of the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad in which capacity he attended numerous national and international seminars on various strategic issues.

He has been the editor of the monthly Afghanistan Report, the quarterly Strategic Studies and the Co-editor of the book Beyond Afghanistan - US - Pakistan Relations, issued by the University of California, Berkeley.

He is the author of the recently published book "POWER STRUGGLE IN THE HINDUKUSH".