

THE VORTEX

**A True Story of History's Deadliest Storm,
an Unspeakable War, and Liberation**

**SCOTT CARNEY
AND JASON MIKLIAN**



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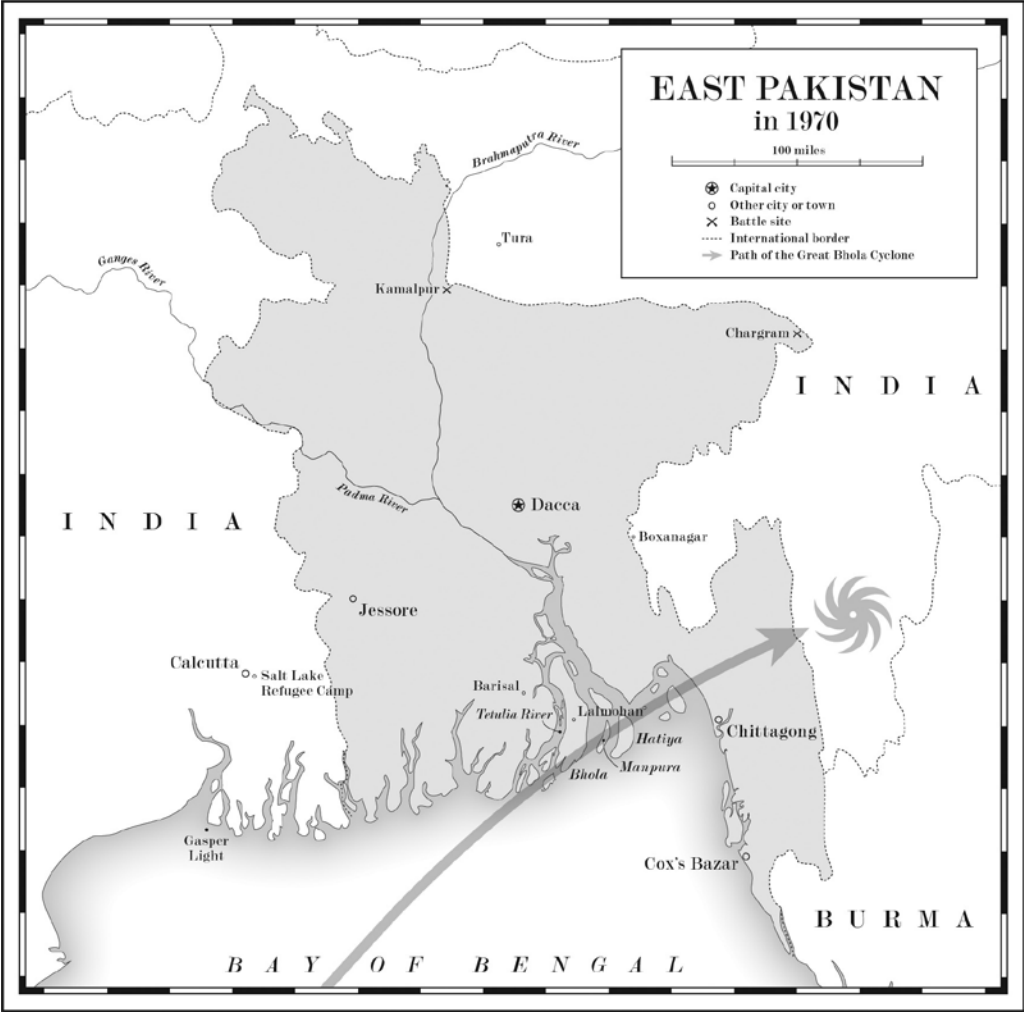
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Note on Sources

References, interviews, and sources for *The Vortex* are presented here in chronological order of their appearance, noting the relevant sentence or paragraph. An exception is in the material gathered from Hafiz Uddin Ahmad, Candy Rohde, Malik Mahmud, and Mohammad Hai. To avoid citing every sentence in places, we state that the entirety of Hai's experiences came from our interviews. Unless otherwise referenced, the entirety of Hafiz's section comes from interviews or his memoir, and Candy's from interviews and her memoir. We cross-checked these experiences by interviewing others who were at the same events or had shared experiences and we cite those accordingly. We feel confident that these narratives are truthful and consistent, to the best of their recollective abilities and our abilities as writers. We cite additional sources used in their corresponding chapters in our references.

That said, compiling events from primary and secondary sources as well as the recollection of various witnesses can make it hard to tell history in a coherent way. This is the difficult terrain of any work of narrative nonfiction. Therefore, we mark the places where we truncated timelines that took place over longer periods and instead condensed them into a matter of hours or days.

Further, in a handful of places we used composite scenes to draw out the essence of someone's experience and character more quickly instead of narrating a series of different events that occurred over several months in bits and pieces. The first and most extensive example

of this occurs in Hafiz's opening chapter. The match against the Soviets that we narrate derives from two different games (him scoring and the locker-room scene were actually from different games), and Hafiz's meeting with the army major didn't occur as a single moment at Madhusudan Dey's canteen. In fact, Hafiz can't remember a single aha moment where the major won him over. Instead, he was convinced slowly over a matter of many months. We placed it at the canteen because of its importance to Hafiz (he was indeed a regular) and as the spiritual center of Bengali student politics. This site is critical to the larger story of Operation Searchlight and Madhusudan Dey's execution by the Pakistani military. This reworking allowed us to show several different important elements of Bangladesh's history instead of writing out a long series of poorly connected vignettes. In other words, we condensed some of our witnesses' decision-making processes into their key moments. We chose to present those stories in a way not dissimilar to how we often remember the key decisions we make in our own lives. These sorts of composite scenes are rare but important in this book. We cite each instance in the endnotes so that the reader can follow our decision process along the way.

There are also inherent challenges of discovering any singular "truth" from events that happened fifty years ago between people who each have their own interpretation of what happened. For example, on Kissinger's clandestine car ride from President House to the airport on his way to China, Kissinger wrote in his memoirs that he took a blue Datsun. But the driver of the car, Pakistan foreign minister Sultan Khan, said that he took him in a red VW Beetle. For both men, the event itself was exceptionally memorable. Yet they disagreed on a detail that neither man would presumably have any reason to fabricate. In short, memories are fallible.

Of course, *The Vortex* contains more consequential details than the make and color of a car. Many had reason to give a rosy version of the past. Kissinger and Nixon each wrote memoirs, and facts in those books didn't always align with the White House Tapes or with

eyewitnesses. For example, Kissinger insisted that Yahya helped unite the United States and China out of the goodness of his heart, asking for nothing in return. This was not the case per eyewitness accounts, official documents, or other evidence, including Pakistan ambassador to the United States Agha Hilaly's talks with Kissinger. And one can assume that Kissinger and Nixon didn't "forget" the sole demand from the man responsible for their greatest foreign policy achievement. Instead, we read these memoirs with a critical eye as both Nixon and Kissinger were known for taking liberties with facts, and they stood to benefit from whitewashing a likely quid pro quo. Make no mistake, US arms and support to fight East Pakistan came in exchange for Yahya's matchmaking services. In such instances, we attempted to decipher the reasons *why* individuals might give conflicting accounts of key moments. Most times, third-party accounts corroborated one side of the story. Otherwise, we placed more faith in actors who had less to gain personally by embellishing their accounts. We note major discrepancies of relevance as appropriate in the references.

Bhutto and Niazi also wrote memoirs of 1971, and Yahya Khan's fifty-page affidavit for the Hamoodur Rahman Commission functioned as a de facto autobiography. These three documents are, as expected, quite kind to their authors at the expense of other players in the drama. All three had much to gain by blaming the other two for Pakistan's dismemberment. In order to determine the factual accuracy of their statements therein, we triangulated claims from other eyewitness accounts and memoirs written during the 1970s and 1980s by military officers in West Pakistan, also making note of each of these authors' alignments and possible prejudices. Perhaps surprisingly, Bhutto, Niazi, Tikka, and Yahya freely admitted committing egregious war crimes. Those weren't the scandalous bits as far as they were concerned. Instead, they were more preoccupied with airing dirty laundry about the personal proclivities of the others. Bhutto, Niazi, Tikka, and Yahya all called each other an incompetent drunk who was responsible for the fall of Pakistan. In many ways, they're all correct.

Regarding Mujib, eyewitness accounts, including those by his close friend, the veteran journalist Anthony Mascarenhas, painted the portrait of a man trying to straddle two worlds. Like many politicians, he was prone to telling everyone what they wanted to hear. This created inconsistencies about what Mujib actually stood for. For example, there is considerable confusion over when he sought independence for Bangladesh: before the elections, after Operation Searchlight, or somewhere in between. This is complicated by the fact that he is now celebrated as the country's George Washington, and the government has passed laws forbidding questioning the official (and occasionally sanitized) version of Mujib's beliefs and actions during the period between 1966 and 1971. Indeed, in October 2018, Bangladesh adopted a new law that makes it illegal to defame "the Liberation War, the spirit of the Liberation War, the father of the nation, national anthem, or national flag," punishable with up to life in prison. Despite this, enough eyewitness accounts exist, through memoirs and survivors that we interviewed, that we are confident that the Mujib presented here strikes close to the heart of this complex and revered individual.

We also drew upon video and audio recordings and transcripts to better triangulate the "truth" of key events. We drew upon archival data from many audiovisual outlets, including the BBC, Associated Press, Agence France Presse, Radio Pakistan, and US State Department. We thank the Nixon Library in particular for their prodigious help with obscure audio, video, and photographic materials. Such material helped us better determine which accounts were truest to the mannerisms, temperaments, and personal styles of Nixon, Yahya, and Mujib.

Reiterating that all events in the preceding pages happened, we wanted to capture the emotional spirit of certain events and confer the dramatic experiences of what people thought and felt in the moment. For example, the Bengali language is incredibly rich, lyrical, and poetic. But in practical terms, direct translations often result in odd turns of phrase that don't make any sense to non-Bengali speakers. Therefore, while each dialogue in *The Vortex* represents a real discussion that took

place, and is usually expressed verbatim (for example, between Yahya and Nixon), we employed a limited degree of paraphrase in places or made educated guesses about what might have been said in simple conversations between main characters in settings where the characters themselves did not remember the exact dialogue. Some conversations between Hai and Malik and Jon and Candy have been extrapolated where there are no concrete recordings. In such situations we used our research, interviews, and secondary accounts to build a profile of the most likely actions and words that each character would employ. The same principles guide the way we described physical gestures and descriptions where no good records exist.

In addition, we asked interviewees about their feelings during events. Recall of such memories can be hard, and people often dissociate what they did with how they felt. We were mindful when discussing thoughts and feelings, and to the best of our abilities conveyed the essence of these moments. In support, we conducted multiple interviews, asking some of the same questions, not only to help our sources articulate thoughts and feelings but also to build trust so that they felt comfortable enough to tell difficult, painful, or perhaps even embarrassing details about their own lives.

We also recognize our own positionality and worked to counteract power imbalances and address ethical concerns during our interviews. We have conducted hundreds of interviews of vulnerable people around the world over the previous decade, and building a legitimate rapport means employing empathy and patience. Our role as white male American researchers entering Bangladeshi households constituted a visible power imbalance. We took care to discuss up front the purpose of our project and address expectations, did not pay for interviews or information, allowed interviewees to end the interview at any time, and operated under standard principles of informed consent. For our major informants, conducting interviews repeatedly over a three-year period allowed us to achieve a depth of understanding of their experiences, and showed interviewees our intentions and motivations

to get the details right.

Lest it go without saying, we have done our best to navigate this incredibly complex material and present it in an intelligible way, but that does not mean that our best is perfect or without errors. Any decision to interpret interviews, research materials, fifty-year-old memories, and timelines necessarily inserts our own biases into the manuscript. We hope that future historians will read this work in its appropriate context and realize that we are just one of many voices presenting an account of this troubled period.

A deeper ethical challenge lay in discussing and presenting Mukti Bahini activities. Bangladesh has no statute of limitations on murder. The *razakar* Tonir's murder can still be prosecuted, and other *razakars* have risen to positions of political prominence in the years since the conflict. A long-delayed truth and reconciliation committee is still not operational, making it difficult for villages to move beyond crimes committed fifty years ago. Thus, to protect our sources but still deliver material that is true to the spirit of the events of the war, we changed two details so as to guard against possible incrimination of our sources. These details do not alter the essence of the events as presented in *The Vortex* whatsoever.

Notes

PROLOGUE: BLACKOUT

It was November 11 Captain T. Rajlkumar of the Indian Merchant Navy described the navigational challenges in the 1970s as well as his memories of the *Mahajagmitra* and its crew. Further information on the disappearance of the ship appeared in the Lok Sabha proceedings of November 20, 1970 (219.6), as well as from an assessment of the disaster, the timeline, and radio messages as reported in H. N. Sen, “Missing of MV ‘*Mahajagmitra*’: Report of Court on Formal Investigation,” *Oceanite* (1971): 34–44.

Barring radio contact Buys Ballot’s law, and the process of turning your back to the wind, was first described to us by Captain T. Rajlkumar. See also Training Division U.S. Navy, Bureau of Aeronautics, *Aerology for Pilots* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1943), 43.

Das also noted that Sen, “Missing of MV ‘*Mahajagmitra*,’” 39.

Perhaps he told her It is not possible to know exactly what Machado said to his wife when the *Mahajagmitra* was in its final hours, as only a few official radio transmissions survive. But he would likely have attempted to comfort her in their last moments. We also calculated that Nesari would have ordered his crew to secure the ship under storm conditions. We filled out these details with the help of interviews with Captain T. Rajlkumar, who served in the Indian Merchant Navy at the time, to understand typical protocols, orders, and actions likely taken or mandated in such situations.

The forty-eight-member crew The discussion of what to do when abandoning a ship stems from Rajlkumar and the instructional sailing manual by C. H. Cooter, *Master and His Ship* (London: Maritime Press Limited, 1962), 222–27.

1: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Thirty thousand fans erupted We reconstructed plays from Hafiz’s accounts of two different matches: one where he scored against the Soviets, the other a game against another Bengali team, which he recounted during author interviews on August 31, 2019, and February 2, 2020. Unfortunately, no official records exist of these matches aside from the scores. Most facts in this chapter come from a series of interviews with Hafiz. To convey important

information about the history of Pakistan and Hafiz's career before the war, we condensed the timeline.

“Why don't they” In author interview, February 24, 2020, Hafiz described how the crowd did not cheer the West Pakistani players and their bafflement that the crowd only reacted to Hafiz as being a star.

Back on Hafiz's home Karen C. McNamara, Laura Olson, and Md. Ashiqur Rahman, “Insecure hope: the challenges faced by urban slum dwellers in Bhola Slum, Bangladesh. Migration and Development,” *Migration and Development* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1–15.

“Madhur Café” Hafiz's meetings with the major occurred over the course of two years in multiple locations around Dacca. The content of the discussion between the major and Hafiz is a faithful re-creation of their dialogues based on Hafiz's memories. However, as far as we are aware, they didn't hold any meetings at Madhur Café. We located the scene at the café because Hafiz was a frequent patron. Still, Hafiz noted to us that it would be very unlikely that an officer in uniform would ever show up there since it was so notoriously political. The café was a central hub for the student movement. We chose to write this composite scene at this site because it, and its patron, played an important role in Operation Searchlight. See Authors' Note for additional discussion.

Hafiz caught sight The banyan tree at Dacca University continues to be a central location for political gatherings, and scenes like this were common since the university's founding in 1921. While Hafiz would have seen events like this frequently, and he expressed the sentiments we describe in this chapter toward the student leaders at the time, this particular scene is a composite of multiple events that occurred over years.

It didn't take a PhD There is no one canonical source for the history of Bangladesh specifically or South Asia in general. However, a good overview can be found in Willem van Schendel, *A History of Bangladesh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

The New York Times Sydney Shanberg, “The Bengalis and the Punjabis: Nation Split by Geography, Hate,” *New York Times*, December 4, 1970: A10.

2: AGHA MUHAMMAD YAHYA KHAN

Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan This opening scene is a composite based on facts at hand from the period. To note what we mean by “composite” in our citations, here we have evidence that the call happened, and the details are evidence-based (for example, his favorite cigarette brand, the things on his desk, and the decor of the room), and we made educated assumptions about

other parts of this night. For example, we are confident—but not completely positive—that he was alone, and we assume that he smoked and had a drink at that particular time, given that he was a chain-smoker and drank Black Dog most every night. Key sources include Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974); G. W. Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: Hurst, 1974); Marie Gillespie, “Bangladesh, 1971 and the BBC World Service: Witness Seminar” (London: Open University and BBC, 2009); and author interview in 2019 with the scholar and Yahya’s personal acquaintance Shuja Nawaz, as well as archival photographs of the President House interior under Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, and Z. Ali Bhutto, among others.

He could accomplish Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 19–22; Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 42–44.

Let them come Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 148; and author interview with Shuja Nawaz.

So he made Yahya “Man in the News: Martial Pakistani Chief Agha Muhammad Khan,” *New York Times*, May 25, 1971.

The window of opportunity Details and quotes from this scene from A. H. Amin, “The Anatomy of Indo-Pak Wars: A Strategic and Operational Analysis,” *Defence Journal* (August 2011); Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 207–14; author interview with Shuja Nawaz; B. A. R. Siddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan: The Rise and Fall of a Soldier, 1947–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2020).

India got even cozier See Robert H. Donaldson, *Soviet Policy Toward India: Ideology and Strategy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974).

He handpicked eighty thousand Shaikh Aziz, “Autocracy: Absolute Power,” *Dawn*, October 23, 2011.

Yahya never wanted General (Ret’d) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court at Lahore, re: Writ Petition No. 1649 of 1978 (Lahore: Lahore High Court, 1974), Point 7.

My prime duty Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 55.

Bengali-speaking East Pakistan Musa Sadik, ed., *Bangladesh Wins Freedom* (Dhaka: Mowla, 2009), 198. See also Shaikh Maqsood Ali, *From East Bengal to Bangladesh: Dynamics and Perspective* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2nd edition, 2017); A. M. A. Muhith, *Bangladesh: Emergence of a Nation* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 3rd edition, 2014) 106–7, 120–30.

Yahya said that Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 95–97.

The convincing display Siddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan*, 18–19.

Yahya's heavy British See Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 41–42; Gary Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 7.

His critics called it Nawaz, *Crossed Swords*.

Historian Gary Bass Bass, *The Blood Telegram*, 7.

He felt they were “Good Soldier Yahya Khan,” *Time*, August 2, 1971; and Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 41.

So he twisted Author interview with Shuja Nawaz, October 2019.

3: CANDY ROHDE

Candy Rohde squeezed In the chapters with Candy Rohde, we draw extensively from her self-published memoir, Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), in addition to interviews with her husband, Jon Rohde, and friends from the period. We cite such additional sources accordingly, and note that *Catalyst* is the primary source for Candy's chapters unless otherwise specified.

It had to be This is a composite scene that aims to portray what Old Dacca was like in 1968, and how Candy experienced it. We know that she loved going to this market and saw most of these scenes in the market, but we cannot confirm if she saw these exact things on this day. For example, she did not offer a detailed story about the time she got lost in a market while seeking a particular jeweler; we crafted this scene by incorporating details from author interviews with Candy, Jon Rohde (July 2020), Martha Chen (January 2020), Runi Khan (January 2020), Stephen Baldwin (December 2019), and others who frequented Shankar Bazaar during that time. Our aim was to bring out the essence of those trips as dutifully as possible. Another educated guess was that the hawkers in an old bazaar would find watching her as amusing in 1970 as many do in 2000 or even in 2020. Color from eyewitness account was found in Nadeem F. Paracha, “The Pakistan Zeitgeists: A Nation Through the Ages,” *Dawn*, May 29, 2014. Old Dacca images are drawn from, among others, “Old Photos Bring Back Sweet Memories of Dhaka,” *Complete World News* (2016).

She made a mental note Rohde, *Catalyst*, and author interview with Jon Rohde.

Candy made her way Author interview with Jon Rohde.

Her sinewy driver slapped Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 7. Likewise with the bazaar scene, we don't know exactly which rickshaw Candy took on this particular day, she'd likely taken dozens, if

not hundreds, during her time in the city. We picked a representative model (per Payne), and what many considered representative artwork of the time on such rickshaws.

As she gazed out Rohde, *Catalyst*, and author interview with Jon Rohde.

Raised in the middle Rohde, *Catalyst*, and Cornelia Rohde *Pleached Poetry*, available at thepoetryplatform.wordpress.com.

She'd even started designing Author interview with Jon Rohde.

Candy's mind snapped back Color from this scene from Rohde, *Catalyst*; Stephen C. Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials: Dark and Light Life in a Large Outside World* (Online: iUniverse, 2009), 210; and author interview with Stephen Baldwin.

Children with protruding bellies Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1977), 3.

The price included Payne, *Massacre*, 7.

Their sparse home had Author interview with Jon Rohde.

4: YAHYA KHAN

on the airport tarmac Details in the following scenes of Nixon's visit come from archival Associated Press film footage, as collated by Footage Farm, documentary file footage numbers 221733, 221094, and 221362.

Pakistan was the final stop F. S. Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head: The Secret Channel Between the US and China Through Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press Pakistan, 2000), 2.

Nixon and Yahya sat together Images of the event provided by the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum and *ibid.*, image #3.

Inside was something precious Author interview with Shuja Nawaz.

Twenty years had passed Richard Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 1990), 341, 369–70.

In exchange, Nixon promised Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 333–34.

He said yes immediately Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 3.

Crystal candelabras, giant bowls Dinner details from Footage Farm and Associated Press, and file photos courtesy of the Nixon Library and White House Correspondents Association.

After some speechwriter-induced Quotes from the Yahya and Nixon speeches taken from White House Correspondents' Association, "Yahya speech to Richard Nixon, gala dinner," 1969, file number SR P 690804–R.

Ali was Yahya's ultimate Author interview with Shuja Nawaz.

He wrote in his diary H. R. Haldeman, *The Haldeman Diaries: Inside the Nixon White House* (Santa Monica: Sony, 1994).

yellow lilies were Srinath Raghavan, *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 14.

He wrote CHINESE CONNECTION Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, xvi.

5: NEIL FRANK

Each image covered Data on ESSA-8 in this paragraph taken from NASA, “ESSA: Environmental Science Services Administration Satellite Program,” informational flyer (2013).

Frank unspooled a finger’s Author interview with Neil Frank.

The NHC was a strange Biographical information in this chapter from author interviews with Neil Frank, and William Kellar, “Houston History Profile, Dr. Neil Frank,” *Houston History* 5, no. 3 (2008): 40–41; Kansas Historical Society, “Dr. Neil Frank,” *Kansapedia* (2016).

Everyone in Miami knew Robert C. Sheets, “The National Hurricane Center: Past, Present, and Future,” *Weather and Forecasting* 5, no. 2 (1990): 185–231.

The deadliest hurricane to hit Eric Larson, *Isaac’s Storm* (New York: Vintage, 2011).

In 1737 and again Death tolls and dates taken from the India National Cyclone Mitigation Project available at <http://ncrmp.gov.in/ncrmp/AnnIIB.html>, and Lt. Col. J. E. Gastrell and Henry F. Blanford, *Report on the Calcutta Cyclone of 1864* (Calcutta: Cutter Orphan Military Press, 1866).

Dunn directed them to For details of the development of the warning system, see Gordon Dunn, “The Tropical Cyclone Problem in East Pakistan,” *Monthly Weather Review* (March 1962): 83–86; Neil Frank and S. A. Husain, “The Deadliest Tropical Cyclone in History?,” *Bulletin American Meteorological Society* 52, no. 6 (1971): 438–45.

The potential military applications Jack Schafer, “Schooling Ross Douthat in Conspiracy Theory,” *Slate*, March 22, 2010.

6: YAHYA KHAN AND GENERAL RANI

And right now General Rani Details on General Rani’s life are sparse; our primary two sources for this scene are Ayesha Nasir, *Night of the General* (Karachi: Newline, 2002); and Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974).

She knew above all Nasir, *Night of the General*.

But halfway to her This scene of Rani, the Shah, and Yahya derives from the memoir of former police superintendent Muhamad Chaudry in Sardar

Muhammad Chaudry, *The Ultimate Crime: Eyewitness to Power Games* (Karachi: Quami, 1997).

Rani herself put it Nasir, *Night of the General*.

By 1965, Rani was Ibid.

Yahya started to import Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 64.

Rani played matron Ibid., 82.

As she explained Nasir, *Night of the General*.

When Ayub first hired Stephen C. Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials: Dark and Light Life in a Large Outside World* (Online: iUniverse, 2009), 208.

Like other planned capitals Markus Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 169–75, 197, 235; and Orestes Yakas, *Islamabad: The Birth of a Capital* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001).

The true miracle was Daechsel, *Islamabad and the Politics of International Development in Pakistan*; Yakas, *Islamabad*; and Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 22–23.

This doubled or even Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 41.

Here, cloaked and bearded men Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials*, 208–9.

One peg of whiskey We note that our sourcing is limited on several personal Yahya moments where we reference Berindranath as a primary source, given that there is limited or at times no other information available. We add a caveat that while Berindranath's analysis carries authoritative weight from his employment of dozens of archival sources from West Pakistan, there may be discrepancies in historical records based on the exact details of such events. Berindranath was a prolific Indian journalist who covered the Islamic world and worked extensively in Pakistan. As an Indian writing just after the war, his writings may be biased. Still, while we have been unable to secure several of his Pakistani primary sources, those we have located align with his analyses. We also note that Yahya never publicly disputed the events depicted in Berindranath's account. We have done our best to adhere to the most likely interpretations of these events. On his progression and timeline of Yahya's increased drinking habits, see Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 24.

In Karachi, he was Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 34–36.

It was a great Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials*, 209.

By now, everyone knew Payne, *Massacre*, 32.

7: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Hafiz lofted Pakistan's This chapter comes entirely from Hafiz's personal accounts of his time in Tehran but is a composite of two different times that he went to Iran to play football—once in April 1969, when he met Ravi Shankar, and then again September 1970.

8: MOHAMMAD HAI

Mohammad Abdul Hai's All of the primary information about Hai comes from multiple author interviews with him over three years. In addition to his firsthand account, we triangulated and/or fact-checked his accounts where possible to ensure that his narrative was truthful and consistent. We cite other sources in support (marked in his chapters where relevant, both other interviews and archival or secondary material). This supplementary research also helped fill gaps where Hai did not remember specific details on events from fifty years ago, in particular colors, food, conversations, activities, and so forth.

Fishermen told stories Author interview with Hai, 2019. See also "Species Profile: Wallago Attu," *Seriously Fish*, available at <https://www.seriouslyfish.com/species/wallago-attu/>, and on the Animal Planet show *River Monsters*, on the episodes "Asian Slayer" and "Malaysian Lake Monster."

At Manpura High School We have opted to use the pseudonym Malik. The next two paragraphs are from author interview with Malik, November 2019.

Nobody knew what that From Hai and also author interview Mostafizur, September 2019.

A second warning See also "East Pakistan: The Politics of Catastrophe," *Time*, December 7, 1970; "A warning—*moha bipod shonket* (big danger coming)—was broadcast, but someone forgot to include a code number indicating the force of the expected storm."

This hodgepodge of systems World Bank, *Note on the Experience of a World Bank Mission During the Recent Cyclone in East Pakistan* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1971).

9: CANDY ROHDE

One day before landfall We have condensed the timeline of this chapter. The consulate event happened about six months before Bhola. It has been placed here instead to better present Candy's transition, and better describe

and present her frustrations, to maintain chronological continuity. Author interview with Jon Rohde, July 2020.

Even after living Author interview with Runi Khan, January 2020.

They'd weave past Stephen C. Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials: Dark and Light Life in a Large Outside World* (Online: iUniverse, 2009), 213.

There was even Author interview with Ali Ahmed Ziauddin, February 26, 2020.

In an attempt to Typical photos of the period can be seen at <https://twitter.com/LandOfBengal/status/580440277451669504>.

Expats gave their kids Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials*, 211.

Then he motioned to Author interview with Jon Rohde.

The British were jealous Ibid. This scene represents the type of conversations that happened at these kinds of parties. In author interviews with Jon Rohde and Stephen Baldwin (another regular at such events) they didn't remember the entirety of any specific conversation but did remember the details as supplied in this scene. Supplemental material includes memoirs by individuals such as then-deputy consul Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002).

In the last year Author interview with Jon Rohde, and Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 26–27.

These people welcomed Author interview with Martha Chen, January 2020, and Runi Khan, January 2020.

Candy and Jon earned Author interviews with Martha Chen, Runi Khan, and Stephen C. Baldwin, January 2020.

Candy loved flying kites Author interview with Jon Rohde, January 2020.

They played endless games Rohde, *Catalyst*, 46.

10: MOHAMMAD HAI

Hai jumped out of bed All details in this chapter taken from author interviews with Hai unless otherwise stated.

In the span of Additional cyclone landfall and weather details on the following two pages come from eyewitness survivor accounts on Monpura: author interviews with Mohammad Mostafizur Rahman, October 2019, and Mohammad Shahjahan, October 2019.

11: CANDY ROHDE

A newly planted tree Faruq Aziz Khan, *Spring 1971* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2014), 36.

The few Bengalis who Stephen C. Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials: Dark and Light Life in a Large Outside World* (Online: iUniverse, 2009), 217.

Marty was right behind Author interview with Martha Chen.

She read it out loud Details of this meeting and day's events from Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform), 2014; and author interviews with Jon Rohde, Martha Chen, and Runi Khan.

12: MOHAMMAD HAI

Bodies of animals and "Pakistan: When the Demon Struck," *Time*, November 30, 1970.

A dead woman hung Author interview with Mostafizur Rahman, October 2019.

They ate tree roots Author interview with Abdul Latif, October 2019.

Some raved with madness "Pakistan: When the Demon Struck."

13: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Hafiz motioned to the boatman The description of the journey from Jessore to Bhola comes from several author interviews with Hafiz, supplemented by details added from other eyewitnesses, including Nayeem Wada and Mohammad Hai. Most cyclone survivors we spoke with on Bhola and Manpura recounted similar scenes. Few press images exist of the direct aftermath of the cyclone, but the photo archives of the Liberation War Museum, Getty Images, and Drik Picture Library in Dhaka have limited examples.

14: YAHYA KHAN

"It doesn't look so bad" Yahya was overheard to make these comments in passing; see Archer K. Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (New Delhi: University Press Limited, 2002). See also Khadim Hussain Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country: East Pakistan 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 38.

Gripping an ice-cold beer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 77. On the in-flight drinking, Yahya's lack of empathy, and the airplane model, see Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*, 38, and B. A. R. Siddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan: The Rise and Fall of a Soldier, 1947–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2020), 46.

He drew the aluminum Brian Barron, “Age of Dictators: Lessons of the Past,” *BBC News*, November 21, 1998. Barron was on the helicopter with Yahya that day.

He’d arrived in Dacca Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 77.

After landing, a boozy Ibid., and Nuran Nabi and Mush Nabi, *Bullets of ’71: A Freedom Fighter’s Story* (Dhaka: Shahitya Prakash, 2012), 127.

He threw an impossibly Details of this scene from, among others, *Peking Review* 13, no. 47 (November 20, 1970): 4–9; and William Barnds, “China’s Relations with Pakistan: Durability Amidst Discontinuity.” *China Quarterly* 63 (1975): 463–89.

He missed, slamming into “Key Polish Official Is Killed by Truck at Karachi Airport,” *New York Times*, November 2, 1970, A1.

He waved a telegram No official sources indicate exactly how Yahya received the news on that day; this was our best approximation based on typical usage of communications to him at that time. Siddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan*, 46, confirms the timing of Yahya’s notification.

The press knew that Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 77.

He refused to declare David Loshak, *Pakistan Crisis* (London: Heinemann, 1971).

Abandoned by Yahya Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 89–90.

15: CANDY ROHDE

“But it’s the only one” This conversation was reconstructed based on memories of the scene. Neither Jon Rohde nor Martha Chen remembered the exact language (and Candy’s book, *Catalyst*, does not go into detail on the event), but they did remember a quick conversation taking place.

Too much of a hassle On this being East Pakistan’s only helicopter and officials refusing to use it for anything other than moving officials around, see Archer K. Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (New Delhi: University Press Limited, 2002), 80.

Camaraderie with any woman “Pakistan: HELP for Manpura,” *Newsweek*, January 4, 1971: 25.

“What do you need?” Author interview with Martha Chen.

In addition to their “Pakistan: HELP for Manpura.”

The officials set up Details of the meeting with the Pakistani and USAID officials on the following pages were as recounted in author interview with Martha Chen.

16: NEIL FRANK

Seven days after Information in this chapter is from author interviews with Neil Frank unless otherwise noted.

A day earlier Frank does not remember how exactly he heard the news, but he was an avid reader of the *New York Times*, and the most relevant story of that week was about Manpura.

Economists estimated that Neil Frank and S. A. Husain, “The Deadliest Tropical Cyclone in History?,” *Bulletin American Meteorological Society* 52, no. 6 (1971): 438–45.

In what must pass Details of the service life of the ITOS 1 and ESSA-8 satellites are on the NASA website at <https://nssdc.gsfc.nasa.gov/nmc/spacecraft/display.action?id=1970-008A>.

17: MOHAMMAD HAI

“Come, come quickly!” This is a reconstructed conversation as neither Hai nor Malik remember their exact dialogue leading up to the visit. Hai was doing this sort of work but did not remember if he was doing it on this morning. His memories of the day were understandably filled completely by what came after Mujib arrived, not before.

He smiled for the first Hai said it was the first time he remembered something positive after Bhola.

After all, when the “Pakistan: When the Demon Struck,” *Time*, November 30, 1970.

Scanning the horizon This was the only line that Hai remembered verbatim from Mujib’s speech.

Hundreds of people surrounded Author interview with Mostafizur Rahman.

It was nothing much Author interview with Malik Mahmud.

Mujib grabbed his tailored Ibid.

A couple shopkeepers Author interview with Hai, and details from author interview with Ahmed Fuad, January 2019.

One father peered into “Pakistan: When the Demon Struck.”

The crowd was so thick Author interview with Mostafizur Rahman; see also photos and documentation of airdrops at “Bhola Cyclone (1970)—International Aid” (London: Worldwide, 2021), available at <http://www.londoni.co/index.php/history/25-history-of-bangladesh/1970-bhola-cyclone/317-bhola-cyclone-1970-international-aid-history-of-bangladesh>.

Malik thought it looked Author interview with Malik; event corroborated in author interview with Rahman.

The fifty-pound rice bags Additional information in Rehman Sobhan, *Milestones to Bangladesh* (Collected Works of Rehman Sobhan, Volume 2) (Dhaka: Centre for Policy Dialogue, 2007).

Ignoring the bodies Author interview with Rahman.

The pilot whisked him “East Pakistan: The Politics of Catastrophe,” *Time*, December 7, 1971.

18: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD AND YAHYA KHAN

Hafiz stood on a large This story appears in Munawar Hafiz, ed., *Bangladesh 1971: Dreadful Experiences* (Dhaka: Shahitya Prakash, 2017), and in Hafiz’s recollections to the authors in 2019 by e-mail and in several telephone conversations. In the cases where there were some discrepancies between his writings and his personal recounting, we chose to favor what he told us in interviews. Pieces of dialogue are quoted here verbatim, except for minor corrections to syntax.

In accordance with All details in this paragraph on communications derived from F. S. Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head: The Secret Channel Between the US and China Through Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 29–49.

He had his public Ibid., 44; B. A. R. Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame. An Onlooker’s Journal, 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 44–49.

Stripped naked by the cyclone Footage of the meeting between Yahya and Hafiz exists in the BBC archives and on YouTube at the 1:30 mark, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DHWjrulnAao>. While Hafiz is not visible in this clip, someone who is likely Jalil appears in a group shot behind Yahya.

19: CANDY ROHDE

“Hello?” This conversation is reconstructed, as the exact discussion is lost to time. Candy remembered being incredulous. Details from the day’s events in this chapter are as recounted by author interviews with Candy Rohde and Jon Rohde, unless otherwise noted.

She even managed Author interview with Martha Chen.

He ordered Dacca’s consul Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 90–92.

Somewhere out on the delta Additional details on the boat trip from Hatiya to Manpura from author interview with Stephen C. Baldwin.

20: MOHAMMAD HAI

On Bhola island “East Pakistan: The Politics of Catastrophe,” *Time*, December 7, 1970.

When reporters asked Yahya “Good Soldier Yahya Khan,” *Time*, August 2, 1971.

Mujib said that there “Mujibur Rahman Warns Against Bid to Frustrate Elections: Remarks Made at a Press Conference at Dacca on November 26, 1970,” *Morning News*, November 27, 1970.

Designed to be simple The government of Bangladesh provides an overview at “Six-point Programme,” in Banglapedia, 2021, available at: http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php/Six-point_Programme.

He was about to drop David Ludden, “Forgotten Heroes,” *Frontline* 20, no. 15 (July 19–August 1, 2003).

He said the relief efforts “President Yahya Khan Touring Flood Relief Operation,” Associated Press, November 26, 1970, available on YouTube. See also Sydney Schanberg, “Yahya Concedes ‘Slips’ in Relief but He Defends Government Against Charges,” *New York Times*, November 28, 1970.

21: JON ROHDE, MOHAMMAD HAI, AND CANDY ROHDE

In the other direction Details from Jon Rohde and Hai’s meeting and other events in this chapter come from author interviews with Hai and Jon Rohde, with additional details from Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014); “Pakistan: HELP for Manpura,” *Newsweek*, January 4, 1971; and Stephen C. Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials: Dark and Light Life in a Large Outside World* (Online: iUniverse, 2009), 218–20.

“How’s the smell today?” This note is a composit of two letters that Candy sent Jon; see Rohde, *Catalyst*, pp. 107–110.

The Americans dumped bacon Author interview with Mostafizur Rahman.

corrupt landowners Rodhe, *Catalyst*, pp. 328–34; author interview with Malik, author interview with Hai, author interview with Latif; Father Timm, *Forty Years in Bangladesh, Memoirs of Father Timm*. Dhaka: UDA, 1995, 141–42.

Finally, the Germans arrived Details about this meeting from author interviews with Martha Chen, Jon Rohde, and Runi Khan, and in Rohde, *Catalyst*.

22: NEIL FRANK

The concierge saluted The make and model of the vehicle is an educated guess, based on the predominance of chauffeur-driven vehicles for foreigners that were used at the time.

Everyone in the country Author interview with Neil Frank.

Preliminary estimates showed Neil Frank and S. A. Husain, “The Deadliest Tropical Cyclone in History?,” *Bulletin American Meteorological Society* 52, no. 6 (1971): 438–45.

The general led Frank recounted this scene during several author interviews. He recalled the general specifically saying, “This cyclone solved about half a million of our problems,” and asking repeatedly for C-130 aircraft. He remembers the overall tone and topics of the conversation but did not recall exact language. Minor details are based on his memories and common mannerisms of various Pakistani generals we and others have met in similar circumstances.

23: YAHYA KHAN AND ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

“After these elections” Yahya interview taken from “An Interview with Pakistani President Khan,” Associated Press, December 1, 1970; available on YouTube.

Some of his generals Muntasir Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals and the Liberation War of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Somoy, 2000), 56.

Or better yet M. A. Khan, *Generals in Politics: Pakistan 1958–1982* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1983), 28.

Why couldn’t they be Oriana Fallaci, *Interview with History* (Rome: Rizzoli/Liveright, 1976), 15.

He thought that a G. W. Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: Hurst, 1974), 77.

He thought that reading Fallaci, *Interview with History*, 2–3.

He organized against Ibid., 12; and Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 42.

He married his first Fallaci, *Interview with History*, 12.

As an Italian journalist Ibid., 2–3.

Three weeks before Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 28–29.

24: MOHAMMAD HAI AND YAHYA KHAN

A golden dawn broke All details from Hai's portions of this chapter are taken from author interviews with Hai, unless otherwise noted.

Malik wasn't upset Author interview with Malik, November 2019.

Yahya's advisers claimed Shuja Nawaz, *Crossed Swords: Pakistan, Its Army, and the Wars Within* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 260.

"Pakistan is saved!" G. W. Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: Hurst, 1974), 102.

His own thumb still Ralph Blumenthal, "Bengali and Leftist Parties Lead in Pakistani Election," *New York Times*, December 8, 1970.

Just after breakfast Nuran Nabi and Mush Nabi, *Bullets of '71: A Freedom Fighter's Story* (Dhaka: Shahitya Prakash, 2012), 137.

He read through it Author interview with Shuja Nawaz.

Foreign reporters rushed Ibid.

Malik thought it was Author interview with Malik, November 2019.

To get his mind off Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1248–49.

"What in the devil's name" Arshad Sami Khan, *Three Presidents and an Aide* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2008), 130–31.

With General Rani Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 149.

Rani came up with Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 79.

"I don't see what" General (Ret'd) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court at Lahore, re: Writ Petition No. 1649 (Lahore: Lahore High Court, 1974), Point 41.

"Don't think I'm a" The exact exchange is lost to time, but longtime acquaintance Nawaz surmised that he would make such a comment with the British-English aphorism in reply. Author interview with Shuja Nawaz.

"You are simply" Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court, Point 9. He also had a habit of calling Bhutto a "power-hungry devil" on occasion.

Despite all the promises Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 29; see also Zufikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy* (Islamabad: PPP Publications, 1971), 49.

Even Yahya's advisers did Muntassir Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals and the Liberation War of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Somoy, 2000), 56.

INTERMISSION: YAHYA KHAN AND TIKKA KHAN

A fit and trim Lieutenant Many details of Yahya's military record during this period are lost. We have done our best to estimate particular details like the

make and model of the tanks used, weather, precise location of operations, and others from time-appropriate sources, which include Satyen Basu, *A Doctor in the Army*, self-published memoir, 1960; M. G. Syed Ali Hamid, "Prisoners of Aversa," *Friday Times*, February 9, 2019; B. A. R. Siddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan: The Rise and Fall of a Soldier, 1947–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2020); Shuja Nawaz, "The Sage of Yahya Khan," *Friday Times*, January 24, 2021. Additional details of the battle where Yahya was captured are available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Gazala/.

Yahya's tank Agha Humayun Amin, *Pakistan Army Since 1965* (Lahore: Defence Journal Publications, 2000).

Yahya already stood out Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 19–34.

The Nazis imprisoned Yahya Details of Yahya's POW camp are primarily from fellow POW Satyen Basu in his self-published memoir, *A Doctor in the Army*, 34–55.

As it turned out Yasmin Khan, *India at War: The Subcontinent and the Second World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 76–78.

Yahya met a fellow See K. C. Sagar, *The War of the Twins* (New Delhi: Northern Book Centre, 1997), 57–62.

Given their officer status Hamid, "Prisoners of Aversa."

He especially loved pulping *Sainik Samachar: The Pictorial Weekly of the Armed Forces* 25 (1978): 23.

Where Yahya was a Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 159–60, 179.

So Tikka hatched an Hamid, "Prisoners of Aversa."

The camp commandant told Shaukat Riza, *The Pakistan Army War of 1965* (Karachi: Natraj, 2018).

Eventually, Yahya and Tikka The exact location of Yahya's interment and where they crossed over to the front lines is a matter of some dispute. While most sources place him in camp PG 63 in Aversa for the entire period, including eyewitness sources (Basu, *A Doctor in the Army*; Hamid, "Prisoners of Aversa"), one reputable source (Nawaz, "The Sage of Yahya Khan") believes that his first escape attempt was in Libya, just before they were sent to Italy. All sources, however, agree on the circumstances that led to his capture and journey by foot back to the Allied lines in southern Italy.

So he raced to Sagar, *The War of the Twins*, 57.

The heavy-handed tactics S. Sareen, *Balochistan: Forgotten War, Forsaken People*

(New Delhi: Vivekananda Foundation, 2017), 36. See also Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 44–45.

25: YAHYA KHAN

He told Mujib Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 12.

He wrote Yahya that G. W. Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: Hurst, 1974), 85.

He tried convincing Anthony Mascarenhas, *Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), 5.

They hammered out Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 151.

“It’s going to be” Ibid.

He told his counterpart Ibid., 89.

Yahya left for Islamabad Khadim Hussain Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country: East Pakistan 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 41.

Safely tucked away Several scholars and eyewitness accounts are combined for the Larkarna scene: Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 34; Zufikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy* (Islamabad: PPP Publications, 1971), 20–23; Muntassir Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals and the Liberation War of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Somoy, 2000), 160; Choudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 152; B. A. R. Siddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan: The Rise and Fall of a Soldier, 1947–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2020), 54–55. See also S. A. Karim, *Triumph and Tragedy* (New Delhi: University Press Limited, 2009), 172–76; Mohammed Asghar Khan, *Generals in Politics: Pakistan 1958–1982* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1983), 28; Inam Ahmed and Shakhawat Liton, “Genocide Plot Conceived at Duck Shooting Trip,” *Daily Star*, December 4, 2015; R. Chowdhury, “Bangladesh: The Road to 1971: Birth Pangs of a Nation,” *South Asia Journal*, March 27, 2019. Much of the exact language derives from events as depicted by these sources.

“Yahya, what if we” General (Ret’d) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court at Lahore, re: Writ Petition No. 1649 (Lahore: Lahore High Court, 1974), Point 1, Point 22.

The name didn’t mean Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*, 73.

He gave Tikka a special Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 216; author interview with Lieutenant Colonel Quazi Sajjad Ali Zahir Bir Protik, February 2020.

The soldiers first received Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 179.

The imams said that Ibid., 179, 216; author interview with Lieutenant Colonel Quazi Sajjad Ali Zahir Bir Protik.

Tikka and the imams See Haskar Papers, Subject File 168, B. R. Patel to I. G. Patel, June 18, 1971, in Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 363–64n60; Siddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan*, 67; Choudhury *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 155; author interview with Lieutenant Colonel Quazi Sajjad Ali Zahir Bir Protik.

“Kill three million” Payne, *Massacre*, 50; Philip Hensher, “The War Bangladesh Can Never Forget,” *The Independent*, February 19, 2013.

Then, to eliminate any Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 150.

26: MOHAMMAD HAI AND SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

Like a hive mind On the story of the rat infestation, see Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 283–85.

The army gave almost Author interview with Jon Rohde. The BBC no longer has the video in their archives, and Jon accidentally give the master tape to Goodwill when cleaning out some old junk, along with other keepsakes. If anyone in the Boston area finds it, he’d love to have it back.

Bhutto refused to return On the escalating tensions, see Kamal Hossain, *Bangladesh: Quest for Freedom and Justice* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2016), 73–87, and Keesing’s Contemporary Archives research report 9 (1971), 108, for Bhutto’s February 17 statement.

In response to the “Mujib strongly condemns firing—Bangladesh cannot be suppressed as colony any more”; see Mujibur Rahman, press statement, March 2, 1971, in Musa Sadik, ed., *Bangladesh Wins Freedom* (Dhaka: Mowla, 2009), 115–17.

In Dacca, one million Estimates of the crowd size reach as high as two million. See Asif Muztaba Hassan, “What makes the 7th March speech one of the best?,” *Daily Star*, March 7, 2021.

“My brothers” The full text of Mujib’s March 7 speech is available from UNESCO’s Memory of the World International Register, and audio is available on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZsQfqlkayJ4>.

27: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

As far as the West Pakistan The entirety of this chapter comes from author interviews with Hafiz, August 2019, with clarifications made to the text over the following years.

28: TIKKA KHAN

As choruses of *Joi Bangla!* Khadim Hussain Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country: East Pakistan 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 64.

Unaware of the passenger's Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 46.

He begged Yahya not Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*, 56–57.

For the sake of appearances Ibid.; Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 50–51.

The governor penned Muntassir Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals and the Liberation War of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Somoy, 2000), 66.

“We cannot let it” “Press Conference,” *Pakistan Observer*, March 2, 1971.

Tikka rushed from the Dacca airport Details of Tikka's arrival and first full day of quotes in Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 50–56, unless otherwise noted.

“The Awami League has” Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals*, 67, 154.

“I want the land” International Crimes Tribunal, ICT-BD Case No. 06 OF 2011 ICT-1 (Dhaka: International Crimes Tribunal, Old High Court Building, Government of Bangladesh, 2011), 48, Point 78.

The ecstatic president ordered Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 59–60, notes that Yahya tells Tikka twice to prepare, once on March 7 and again on March 17.

29: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

His team's loss All events in this chapter come from Hafiz Uddin Ahmed, *Bloodshed '71* (Dhaka: Shahitto Prokash Books, 1997), and author interviews with Hafiz and T.J. (Abul Hasmem).

That brutal sixteen-day Higgins, David R., *M48 Patton vs Centurion: Indo-Pakistan War 1965* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2016).

30: YAHYA KHAN, TIKKA KHAN, SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN, AND ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

“YAYHA IS WELCOME” Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 60.

He twisted the paper This particular action is based on Yahya's customary reaction to similar slights.

And in the car behind Khadim Hussain Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country: East Pakistan 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 22–23.

“The abuses hurled” General (Ret'd) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court at Lahore, re: Writ Petition No. 1649 (Lahore: Lahore High Court, 1974), Point 26.

It was the flag Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 189.

Yahya thought it looked Malcolm W. Browne, “New Separatist Demands Threaten Ailing Pakistan,” *New York Times*, February 27, 1972. See also Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 33–35.

The motorcade lurched down Muntassir Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals and the Liberation War of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Somoy, 2000), 133.

Even when they pulled Nuran Nabi and Mush Nabi, *Bullets of ’71: A Freedom Fighter’s Story* (Dhaka: Shahitya Prakash, 2012), 160.

One perplexed adviser said Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 60.

That night at headquarters Several details of this meeting taken from Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court, Point 27.

“The bastard is not” Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 62.

He drew a map Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court, 46, Points 27 and 28.

He circled the entrance Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 199.

“You can get ready” Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 62.

Yahya fired the commander Faruq Aziz Khan, *Spring 1971* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2014), 69.

He briefed the command Kamal Hossain, *Bangladesh: Quest for Freedom and Justice* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2013), 100–101.

Bhutto told Mujib that Zufikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy* (Islamabad: PPP Publications, 1971), 31.

Bhutto politely declined Mujib’s Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*, 72.

Bhutto’s plane made Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy*, 35.

But unlike Tikka and Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court, Point 13.

Yahya would later yell Ibid.

Employees and guests jeered Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy*, 35–36.

It vanished once Bhutto Nabi and Nabi, *Bullets of ’71*, 160.

Up in the room Henry Bradsher, “East Pakistan in Agony after the Storm,” *Evening Star* (March 1971): 28–29.

There would be no Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 63.

The next day Ibid., 68.

“I’m here to reach” Oriana Fallaci, *Interview with History* (Rome: Rizzoli/Liveright, 1976), 9.

Bhutto interjected, annoyed Ibid., 9.

“If you refuse” Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 39.

Yahya ran through Hossain, *Bangladesh*, 91–102.

Mujib bit the tip Pierre Bois, “Interview with Yahya Khan,” *Le Figaro*, September 8, 1971.

He needed to get G. W. Chaudhary, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: Hurst, 1974), 165.

“Mujib, my friend!” About the details and conversation of this meeting, Bhutto and Yahya mostly align in their own written accounts; see Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy*, 36–39, and Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court, Point 17.

He agreed to keep Hamoodur Rahman Commission, “Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report,” Government of Pakistan, unpublished report, 1972, 63.

He complained that Fallaci, *Interview with History*, 10.

Kept waiting for so long All details from this paragraph are from Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 67, unless otherwise noted.

The Soviet consulate Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 192.

Mujib awoke on the B. A. R. Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: Endgame*, 69–71.

“It is tonight” Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 71.

“Let’s give them” Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: Endgame*, 40.

“Very well!” Bois, “Interview with Yahya Khan.”

As the sun set Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 72.

Months of secret planning Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*, 80.

He rounded up the Khan, *Spring 1971*, 33.

Mujib was still Hossain, *Bangladesh*, 103.

A single unmarked plane Khan, *Spring 1971*, 46.

He called Mujib Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 25.

The spy said Yahya Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 69–70.

Bhutto feigned surprise Payne, *Massacre*, 26; Khan, *Spring 1971*, 47.

“The 75 million people” For the full text of Mujib’s radio address, along with an analysis, see Mashuqur Rahman and Mahbubur Rahman Jalal, “Swadhin Bangla Betar Kendro and Bangladesh’s Declaration of Independence,” *Daily Star*, November 25, 2014. Also see Chaudhury, *The Last Days of United Pakistan*, 186.

Then he turned off Sadik Musa, “I Arrested Sheikh Mujibur Rahman for His Declaration of Independence,” in *Bangladesh Wins Freedom* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2000), 44.

31: CANDY ROHDE AND JON ROHDE

It felt like a giant The Operation Searchlight scene and conversations in this chapter are from details given in Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent

Publishing Platform, 2014), 292–300, and author interview with Jon Rohde, unless otherwise noted.

It was too anguished This is a partial composite as Jon didn't remember this specific scream, but others who lived in the neighborhood recounted similar events (for example, author interview with Stephen C. Baldwin).

The moon and stars Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 76.

32: YAHYA KHAN AND TIKKA KHAN

On their way out Muntassir Mamoon, 2002. *Media and the Liberation War of Bangladesh*, Vol. 2 (Dhaka: Centre for Bangladesh Studies), 149.

As field general Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 45.

An Awami League spy As in Musa Sadik, ed., *Bangladesh Wins Freedom* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2000), 150–54. The military communication that follows is abridged and edited for clarity from the longer verbatim transcript. In addition, code words and some military slang have been replaced with more specific and direct language for clarity.

He even sent up Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 283–84.

Mujib was just so General (Ret'd) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court at Lahore, re: Writ Petition No. 1649 (Lahore: Lahore High Court, 1974), Point 18.

It took army rocket Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 75.

Even Yahya's press secretary B. A. R. Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame*, 111.

Yahya was pretty sure Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 75–76.

Four soldiers handcuffed Mujib Payne, *Massacre*, 26.

An American Chaffee tank Simon Dring, "How Dacca Paid for a United Pakistan," *Daily Telegraph*, March 30, 1971. Also Payne, *Massacre*, 16.

They gunned him down Payne, *Massacre*, 17.

Throughout the executions Willem van Schendel, *A History of Bangladesh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 162; Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 135.

Tikka emptied out the Anthony Mascarenhas, "Genocide," *Sunday Times*, Special Edition, June 13, 1971.

Another unit raided Musa, ed., "Genocide in Dhaka: A Tragic Episode in Human History," in *Bangladesh Wins Freedom*, 160.

Tanks surrounded the hotel Oriana Fallaci, *Interview with History* (Rome: Rizzoli/Liveright, 1976), 4, 11.

The captain in charge Payne, *Massacre*, 21.

Snacking on room-service Details of the scene of Bhutto at the InterContinental are from Fallaci, *Interview with History*; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy* (Islamabad: PPP Publications, 1971), 42; Mamoon, *Media and the Liberation War of Bangladesh*, 26; and author interview with Ali Ahmed Ziauddin.

A couple hours Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 77.

A colonel confided that Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame*, 91, 110.

Much of the rank and file Ibid., 97.

One officer announced Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 78.

One man bragged Schendel, *A History of Bangladesh*, 163.

Platoons of heavily armed Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 198.

In the first twelve hours Hamoodur Rahman Commission, “Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report,” Government of Pakistan, unpublished report, 1972, 33.

Bhutto’s own calculations Fallaci, *Interview with History*, 6–7.

The president had slept Srinath Raghavan, *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 186.

Ever the admirer Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court, 47, Point 29B.

Just three Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 199.

The official story was Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame*, 101–3.

Nixon wished Yahya well Transcript of phone conversation between Nixon and Kissinger, March 29, 1971, US Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, FRUS E-7 Doc 1971, 35–36.

33: CANDY ROHDE AND JON ROHDE

That same morning All scenes in this chapter are from Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 292–302, and author interview with Jon Rohde, unless otherwise specified.

They traced the military’s See also Nuran Nabi and Mush Nabi, *Bullets of ’71: A Freedom Fighter’s Story* (Dhaka: Shahitya Prakash, 2012), 171.

The couple dashed behind Additional detail of street scenes from *ibid.*, 173–74, which gives a similar eyewitness account of the razing of Shankar Bazaar, and from B. A. R. Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame. An Onlooker’s Journal, 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 91–94.

Down the road David Loshak, *Pakistan Crisis* (London: Heinemann, 1971).

He then heard Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 205–6.

“Any door that wasn’t” Rohde, *Catalyst*, 299.

The faculty housing hosted Stephen C. Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials: Dark and Light Life in a Large Outside World* (Online: iUniverse, 2009), 231–32.

She insisted that they This is a partial reconstruction, as Jon couldn’t remember where exactly the needle was on the gauge but he did recollect that they didn’t have much fuel left.

But it was strongest Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials*, 230.

They fired indiscriminately G. W. Chaudhary, *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (London: Hurst, 1974), 186, 184.

By the time Candy and Jon Author interview with Martha Chen.

Then they poured gasoline Dan Coggin, “Dacca: City of the Dead,” *Time*, May 3, 1971.

Bodies and half bodies Author interview with Martha Chen.

Pundits marveled at how Siddiqi, *East Pakistan*, 114.

As his voice rose Syed Badrul Ahsan, “March 26, 1971 . . . and After,” bcnews24.com, March 26, 2015.

He scrambled jets to Siddiqi, *East Pakistan*, 107, 118.

34: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Hafiz and his men Events in this chapter are from author interviews with Hafiz in 2018, as well as his memoir, *Bloodshed ’71* (Dhaka: Shahitto Prokash Books, 1997), in which he relates the events in Jessore and which was translated from Bengali by the authors. Where there are discrepancies, the authors erred on the side of using the in-person transcripts. Most of the dialogue comes directly from *Bloodshed ’71*, with only minor changes for clarity or to correct grammar. T.J. sat in on one of these interviews and helped fill in details from his own actions that day, supplemented by follow-up communications with the authors’ research assistant Md. Reza Lenin.

Today, whether he survived T.J. offered a terse description of his tactics while firing from the culvert in author interview with T.J.

“This is Swadhin Bangla” Zia’s declaration is technically the second of two radio broadcasts announcing Bangladesh’s independence. “Bangabondhu Mujibur Rahman” is an honorific for Sheikh Mujib. See <https://www.virtualbangladesh.com/the-basics/history-of-bangladesh/independence/history-war-independence/the-declaration-of-independence/>.

35: CANDY ROHDE, JON ROHDE, AND RICHARD NIXON

“Goddamnit, Henry!” Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 213. See also Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014).

Kissinger reminded Nixon details from the following two paragraphs from Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1513–514. Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 211–15. Also see Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), Chapter 4, “Selective Genocide” subheading for further discussion.

they’d pretend Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram*, 83–87, 103–112.

Then they’d find some Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1513–514.

For his part Letter from Zhou Enlai to Yahya Khan, in *Pakistan Horizon* no. 2 (1971): 153–54. See also M. Ali, “China’s Diplomacy During the Indo-Pakistan Par, 1971–72,” *Pakistan Horizon* 25 no. 1 (1972): 53–62.

Yeager thought it was Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 288.

Jon watched from his All details about the Rohdes in this chapter are from Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014), 292–302, and author interview with Jon Rohde, unless otherwise specified.

Nobody was willing to risk Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 201.

He crumpled up the Stephen C. Baldwin, *Shadows Over Sundials: Dark and Light Life in a Large Outside World* (Online: iUniverse, 2009), 232.

No one got to leave Author interview with Martha Chen.

A massive lightning storm Ibid.

Guards rushed them into Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 234–35.

Jon, Candy, Marty, and Ibid., 234–41, and author interview with Martha Chen.

When they landed six Author interview with Martha Chen.

The ambassador and his wife Ibid.

“It’s too late now” Jon Rohde, “Women in the Bangladesh Liberation Struggle,” in A. M. A. Muhith, ed., *American Response to Bangladesh Liberation War* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 1996), 453.

All around the pool Author interview with Martha Chen.

“The law of the jungle” The letter was read on May 11, 1971, into the Record of the U.S Senate, and titled “Recent Events in East Pakistan.”

Disturbed, Kissinger told Bass, *The Blood Telegram*, 117.

She packed the letter Jon Rohde, “Women in the Bangladesh Liberation Struggle.”

36: MOHAMMAD HAI

Nine men grunted softly Details in this chapter are from author interviews with Hai, unless otherwise noted.

Malik had an uncle Author interview with Abdul Latif.

Eventually, Malik convinced his Author interview with Malik, November 2019.
and the chairman’s son For an extensive discussion of the graft committed by him and his cronies (and HELP’s eventual recognition of this), see Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst*, 328–40.

The city was a pastiche Author interview with Ziauddin.

Then he heard something This conversation is reconstructed from author interview with Hai. Details of the fund-raising and planning come from author interview with Malik, who remembered the details of this time better than Hai did.

With more troops landing Shamsul Bari, “News from Inside Bangladesh,” in Bari (ed), *Bangladesh War of Independence: Documents (Part IV)–Mujibnagar: Activities of Expatriate Bengalis*. Dhaka: Government of Bangladesh 22.

The teen posse sat Hai recalls singing the anthem. Anthem lyrics as translated in B. A. R. Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame. An Onlooker’s Journal, 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 146.

37: YAHYA KHAN, TIKKA KHAN, AND A. A. K. NIAZI

Muddy tire tracks Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 282–83; and Associated Press file footage of Tikka’s swearing-in available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_p6ivAV6HGo.

It made him feel Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 44.

Only the Chinese delegation Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 283.

The judge signed the handover “Bangladesh Leader Says 15,000 Pak Soldiers Killed Since March 25,” *Statesman*, May 16, 1971.

The dozen drivers Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 283.

The policy said that Malcolm Browne, “Pakistanis Will Impose Collective Fines in East,” *New York Times*, November 10, 1971.

In a speech to promote “Tikka Kahn’s Appeal,” *Dawn*, April 19, 1971.

The Associated Press reported “West Pakistan Hits Rebels,” Associated Press, April 11, 1971.

But the *New York Times* Benjamin Welles, “U.S. Continues Aid to Pakistan Army,” *New York Times*, April 10 1971, A1.

Bhutto remained a loyal Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *The Great Tragedy* (Islamabad: PPP Publications, 1971), 43.

They told *Time* magazine Dan Coggin, “Pakistan: Round 1 to the West,” *Time*, April 12, 1971, pp. 23–24.

Tikka joined in Muntassir Mamoon, *Media and the Liberation War of Bangladesh*, 158.

Yahya and Bhutto started Oriana Fallaci, *Interview with History* (Rome: Rizzoli/Liveright, 1976), 8.

“All Normal in the East” Coggin, “Pakistan: Round 1 to the West.”

“LIQUIDATED” Willem van Schendel, *A History of Bangladesh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 168.

Yahya promised that he “Interview with Yahya Khan,” Associated Press, 1971 [exact date unknown], available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GjNEaH-bYQ0>.

Yahya preached about how Mamoon, *Media and the Liberation War of Bangladesh*, 25, 27.

If he could make F. S. Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head: The Secret Channel Between the US and China Through Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 61.

Mao thanked Yahya Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1270, 1278.

Nixon even told Yahya Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 58.

Yahya liked Tikka Faruq Aziz Khan, *Spring 1971* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2014), 95.

Only a few weeks Author interview with Shuja Nawaz.

Yahya ran through the Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals and the Liberation War of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Somoy, 2000), 59.

He was a real B. Samir Bhattacharya, *Nothing But!* (New Delhi: Partridge, 2014).

Everyone called him A. A. K. Niazi, *The Betrayal of East Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1988); see also “Lieutenant-General A. A. K. Niazi” (obituary), *Times* (London), March 11, 2004.

He had a reputation Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals*, 59.

Niazi, sharply dressed B. A. R. Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame*, 126–27. Other details in Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America’s War on Terror* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 67–75.

“Hey, don’t worry” Khadim Hussain Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country: East Pakistan 1969–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 97–99, and other details from Siddiqi, *East Pakistan* and Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism*.

I am here to change Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals*, 86–87; Rao Farman Ali Khan, *How Pakistan Got Divided* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017); and Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*, 98.

“You have made the” Ian Cardozo, ed., *In Quest of Freedom: The War of 1971* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2016), 53–55.

Niazi stood in one Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh*, 309, 328.

“What have I been” The quote and details in this paragraph from Hamoodur Rahman Commission, “Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report,” Government of Pakistan, unpublished report, 1972, 13–14.

The Tiger glared back Raja, *A Stranger in My Own Country*, 98.

He said it was Ian Cardozo, ed., *In Quest of Freedom: The War of 1971* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2016), 56.

“What was your score” Siddiqi, *East Pakistan: The Endgame*, 167.

He wrote orders to Hamoodur Rahman Commission, 27.

Nor could anyone else Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 92.

The army rarely found Ibid., 94–95.

“You do not go” Malcolm Browne, “Bengalis Depict How a Priest Died,” *New York Times*, May 9, 1971.

Some girls were as Bangladesh Liberation War Museum. See also Musa Sadik, ed., *Bangladesh Wins Freedom* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2000), 168–69; Muntassir Mamoon, *Birangona 1971: Saga of the Violated Women* (Dhaka: Journeyman, 2019).

He claimed it was Shamsul Bari, “Death and Terror Reign in Bangladesh,” *Daily Star*, March 27, 2001, 90–91.

Bhutto told the Italian Fallaci, *Interview with History*, 5.

Niazi said that the Mamoon, *Birangona 1971*, 70.

Later studies estimated that See Ahmed Ziauddin, “The Case of Bangladesh: Bringing to Trial the Perpetrators of the 1971 Genocide,” in *Contemporary Genocides: Causes, Cases, Consequences*, ed. Albert J. Longman (Leiden: PLOOM, 1996), 99, 100. The researcher Sarmila Bose, in “Losing the Victims: Problems of Using Women as Weapons in Recounting the Bangladesh War,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 42, no. 38 (2007): 3864–871, disputes higher-end figures given the number of Pakistani troops in the country and the possible desire of the Bangladesh government to inflate figures.

Tikka opened an extermination Payne, *Massacre*, 55.

They all shared the Anthony Mascarenhas, “Genocide,” *Sunday Times*, Special Edition, June 13, 1971; International Commission of Jurists, “The Events in East Pakistan, 1971 (1972): A Legal Study by the Secretariat of the International Commission of Jurists” (Geneva: ICJ, 1972).

Yahya gave a few Payne, *Massacre*, 57.

For example, the trains Ibid., 56.

38: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD AND MOHAMMAD HAI

Call it mutiny Hafiz's accounts in this chapter from Hafiz Uddin Ahmad, *Bloodshed '71* (Dhaka: Shahitto Prokash Books, 1997) and from author interviews with Hafiz.

The Bengalis didn't last Muhammad Nurul Huda, "Bangladesh Police in Liberation War," *Daily Star*, December 16, 2019.

Word eventually leaked out It wouldn't be until after the Liberation War that Hafiz would learn that the Pakistanis spared some officers' lives at Jessore. Jalil was arrested during the war, but survived.

About two hundred miles Accounts in this chapter come from author interviews with Hai, Malik, and Abdul Latif.

"What is this?" Neither Hai nor Latif remember much about the exact details of this exchange, though they remember the gist of what they talked about.

39: CANDY ROHDE

"Why are they so" Material about the Rohdes in this chapter is from Jon Rohde, "Women in the Bangladesh Liberation Struggle," in A. M. A. Muhith, ed., *American Response to Bangladesh Liberation War* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 1996), 453–55; Kaiser Zaman, "The Bangladesh Information Center in Washington: Reminiscence of a Refugee," also in Muhith, 428–30; David Nalin, "Twenty-Five Years After the Emergence of Bangladesh: An American Reminiscence," also in Muhith, 446–49; Cornelia Rohde, "View of US Citizen Action in Support of the Bangladesh Liberation War," also in Muhith, 449–53, and Samuel Jaffe, "An Internal Matter," in *The United States, Grassroots Activism, and the Creation of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2021); and author interview with Jon Rohde, unless otherwise cited.

With Nixon preventing Author interview with Samuel Jaffe, August 2020.

Candy overlooked the slight Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 329–31.

The horrified team wrote Editors, "Chronology: June–August 1971," *Pakistan Horizon* 24, no. 3 (1971): 70–110.

Hilaly managed the details U.S. State Department "Foreign Relations of the United States 1969–1976 (E-7), Washington, June 17, 1970, 7:30 p.m. Also see F. S. Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head: The Secret Channel Between the US and China Through Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press,

2000), and Arif Yousuf, “BLOCKADE: A Guide to Nonviolent Intervention (based on a book by Richard Taylor), Dhaka, DW Productions, 2016.

The story ran the Tad Szule, “U.S. Military Goods Sent to Pakistan Despite Ban,” *New York Times*, June 22, 1971, A1.

Kennedy yelled at everyone Tad Szule, “Kennedy Reports on Pakistan Arms,” *New York Times*, June 23, 1971, A8.

Minutes passed before Kissinger Richard M. Nixon, *In the Arena: A Memoir of Victory, Defeat, and Renewal* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 16; Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 159. Additional details extrapolated from Nixon’s and Kissinger’s recounting of the event.

They tried not to Details about the room are from ABC News, “A Look Inside the Nixon Oval Office,” available at <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/video/inside-nixon-oval-office-42789931>.

A Pakistani foreign service Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 78, note 38.

Nixon made one demand Ibid., 69, and Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1290–291.

“This is the most important” Richard Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 1990), 551–52, and *ibid.*, 727.

Jon never felt more Author interview with Jon Rohde, July 2020.

They trudged past babies Dan Coggin, “The Bengali Refugees: A Surfeit of Woe,” *Time*, June 21, 1971.

40: YAHYA KHAN AND HENRY KISSINGER

Squatting on a luxurious Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1312–313.

“That Bitch.” Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 252, 255. Gandhi’s state dinner was the most likely, although not guaranteed, source of the bug.

“The heat of Islamabad” Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1315. See ‘Note on Sources’ with regards to the veracity of Kissinger’s memory and memoirs.

“I don’t know” Ibid., 1526–527.

He excused himself Additional details from this scene provided in *ibid.*

A red VW Beetle F. S. Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head: The Secret Channel Between the US and China Through Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 111. The driver, Sultan Khan, says it was a red VW Beetle, confirmed by a crew member of the 707; see Abdul Hayee, “A Secret

VVIP Flight: 48 Hours That Changed the World,” original publication unknown, but available at <https://historyofpia.com/forums/viewtopic.php?t=19137>. Kissinger, in *White House Years*, 1315, said it was a blue Datsun, but in another book he said that it was a military convoy.

He contorted himself Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 96.

All radio traffic Ibid., 111. Additional airport details from Kissinger, *White House Years*, 1314–317.

The car rolled Hayee, “A Secret VVIP Flight.”

Once inside the plane Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 85.

They whipped out their Ibid., 108; see also see John H. Holdridge, *Crossing the Divide: An Insider's Account of Normalization of U.S.-China Relations*. The ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy series. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997, 53.

He had never touched Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 90.

The cranes and swans Dan Coggin, “Pakistan: The Ravaging of Golden Bengal,” *Time*, August 2, 1971.

Without an opposition party Salik, Siddiq, *Witness to Surrender*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1977, 107.

Half the guests were Details of this event are abridged and consolidated from accounts of typical Yahya parties from this period, as detailed most extensively in Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 60–68; Salik, *ibid.*, 107; Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift Into Extremism: Allah, then Army, and America's War Terror*, 66–69 (Abbas uses the nickname “Black Pearl” instead, calling her as Shamim), Government of Pakistan, “The Report of the Commission of Inquiry-1971 War as Declassified by the Government of Pakistan” (Karachi: Dawn, 2003), and Muntassir Mamoon, *The Vanquished Generals and the Liberation War of Bangladesh* (Dhaka: Somoy, 2000), 119. Details on Mrs. Hussain are sparse and occasionally conflicting, but all sources describe a similar narrative. It is a matter of dispute how much Yahya was indeed in love with Mrs. Hussain, a fact that Yahya's supporters and detractors had clear reason to promote or downplay. Some reports say they first met in 1969, others in 1970, others in 1971. Regardless, Yahya's own actions and documented physical time with her indicate that he was at the very least deeply infatuated with her during this time period.

The only hiccup that Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 112.

He was grinning from Kissinger, *White House Years*, 1341–343.

Kissinger called it one Ibid., 1323.

And Yahya got his US Department of State, Foreign Relations of the United States, Volume XVII (China) document #143, undated.

"I shall always remember" Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 119.

Kissinger later said it Kissinger, *White House Years*, 1313.

41: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Hafiz flexed his bare This chapter combines scenes in Hafiz Uddin Ahmad's memoir, *Bloodshed '71* (Dhaka: Shahitto Prokash Books, 1997), with his recollections in author interview in 2019.

Hafiz and a handful Force strength and the battle chronology also appears in the Wikipedia article "Defense of Kamlapur" and in an exhibit at the Liberation War Museum in Dhaka.

MUSICAL INTERLUDE: RAVI SHANKAR, GEORGE HARRISON, RICHARD NIXON, AND HENRY KISSINGER

Surrounded by marigolds Color in this section from the video release of *The Concert for Bangladesh*, Apple Records, 1971; Don Heckman, "The Event Wound Up as a Love Feast," *Village Voice*, August 5, 1971; Editors, "The George Harrison Bangla Desh Benefit," *Rolling Stone*, September 2, 1971. There were actually two shows on August 1. Most of the material in this chapter refers to the first show, in the afternoon.

He smirked like he Randy Lewis, "Ravi Shankar Got by with a Little Help from His Friends," *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 2012.

"If you appreciate the" *Concert for Bangladesh*.

Two months earlier Steve Van Zandt, "With a Little Help from His Friends: George Harrison and the Concert for Bangla-Desh," *TeachRock*, May 2011.

But Harrison was different Details in this paragraph from Gary Tillery, *Working Class Mystic: A Spiritual Biography of George Harrison* (Wheaton, IL: Quest, 2011).

The moment Harrison heard Belmo (Scott Belmer), *George Harrison: His Words, Wit & Wisdom* (New York: Belmo Publishing, 2002), 24.

When Shankar listened to Al Weisel, "Ravi Shankar on His Pal George Harrison and 'Chants of India,'" *Rolling Stone*, May 15, 1997.

"George, this is the situation" Jann Wenner, "George Harrison's Bangladesh Concert," *Rolling Stone*, September 2, 1971, and Ravi Shankar, *Raga Mala* (New York: Genesis, 1997).

Shankar mailed Harrison Shankar, *Raga Mala*, 220.

Harrison sat back Details of this exchange in Tillery, *Working Class Mystic*, chapter 9.

Bob Dylan was Harrison's Harvey Kubernik, "Celebrating the 100th Birthday of Indian Music Legend Ravi Shankar," *Music Connection*, March 2, 2020.

And Eric Clapton was Tillery, *Working Class Mystic*, chapter 8, and Eric Clapton, *Clapton: The Autobiography* (New York: Broadway, 2008), 135.

Harrison hired an Indian Pattie Boyd, *Wonderful Tonight: George Harrison, Eric Clapton, and Me* (New York: Crown, 2008), 174.

Behind them, 19,500 Heckman, "The Event Wound Up as a Love Feast."

Thousands of screaming fans Editors, "The George Harrison Bangla Desh Benefit"; *ibid.*

The cord got wrapped Kubernik, "Celebrating the 100th Birthday of Indian Music Legend Ravi Shankar."

Clapton wedged his lit *Concert for Bangladesh*.

Clapton later said he Clapton, *Clapton: The Autobiography*, 137.

He'd just biked into Van Zandt, "With a Little Help from His Friends."

West Pakistan imprisoned The initiative was called Operation Omega; see more at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Omega.

A Dutch man stole "Vermeer Thefts: 1971—The Love Letter," *Daily Star*, 2015.

Children in thirty thousand Shamsul Bari, "Fast a Day to Save a People," *Bangladesh Newsletter* (1972): 121.

Activists built a refugee Shamsul Bari, "Bangladesh Refugee Camp at the United Nations," *Bangladesh Newsletter* (1972): 134–35.

Nevertheless, the French Red Cross Sajjad "Salute to John Kay," In Sajjad (ed.), *Liberation*, 32–35.

"This will always be" *The Concert for Bangladesh Revisited with George Harrison and Friends*, directed by Claire Ferguson (Apple Corps, 2005).

Shankar agreed *Ibid.*

At the after party Graeme Thomson, "How George Harrison Staged One of the Most Influential Concerts in History," *GQ*, February 25, 2021.

Transcripts of their conversations This conversation is abridged and condensed from three different conversations that Nixon and Kissinger had on the topic over two days in August 1971, beginning at 9:20 a.m. on August 2 at the Oval Office. The men famously wandered from topic to topic in their long talks (as anyone who has spent hours listening to the Nixon tapes can attest), so they are combined here for clarity. For additional details on the transcripts, see Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 290, and Douglas Brinkley and Luke Nichter, *The Nixon Tapes: 1971–1972* (New York: Mariner, 2015), 381–87.

42: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Hafiz blinked through Details of Hafiz's recovery and trip to Calcutta are recounted in his memoir, Hafiz Uddin Ahmad, *Bloodshed '71* (Dhaka: Shahitto Prokash Books, 1997), as well as in author interviews.

Now Zaker used his Zaker is mentioned in Ahmad, *Bloodshed '71*. See also Ershad Kamol, "I read the last news announcing the victory on the eve of December 16, 1971—Aly Zaker," *Daily Star*, December 14, 2008.

In the previous months Rao Farman Ali Khan, *How Pakistan Got Divided* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2017), 100; and M. Rafiqul Islam, *A Tale of Millions: Bangladesh Liberation War, 1971* (Dhaka: Bangladesh Books International, 1981).

India was building up Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 98–101.

One man died A. T. M. Abdul Wahab, *Mukti Bahini Wins Victory: Pak Military Oligarchy Divides Pakistan in 1971* (Dhaka: Columbia Prokashani, 2004), 352.

Indira Gandhi warned Nixon Oriana Fallaci, "Interview with Indira Gandhi," in *Interviews with History and Conversations with Power* (New York: Rizzoli, 2011), 262–86.

43: MOHAMMAD HAI

"On the ground" All material in this chapter is from author interviews with Hai, unless otherwise noted, and is cross-referenced with interviews with other eyewitnesses.

He was one of ten teens Author interview with Malik.

Now Malik imparted Ibid.

On the way to town Ibid.

The next morning he Author interview with Latif.

It might have started Author interview with Malik.

44: CANDY ROHDE AND JON ROHDE

One errant jerk of Several former refugees and doctors working in the camps described lines of refugees holding their deceased babies and the ration-card exchange in author interviews, including Nayeem Wada and the then-head of OxFam Julian Francis, among others.

Salt Lake, an impromptu Julian Francis, "Remembering the 1971 Refugees," *Dhaka Tribune*, June 20, 2016.

For months now Dan Coggin, “Pakistan: The Ravaging of Golden Bengal,” *Time*, August 2, 1971.

Most all were barefoot Ibid.

Vultures and wild dogs Dan Coggin, “The Bengali Refugees: A Surfeit of Woe,” *Time*, June 21, 1971.

Once she made it Details from this paragraph provided by author interview with Julian Francis.

Women who didn’t have Coggin, “The Bengali Refugees” and “Pakistan: The Ravaging of Golden Bengal.”

It rolled past Julian Francis, “Dhaka Memories of 20 Years Ago and My Heart and Soul Touched by a Saint—Mother Teresa,” *bdnews24.com*, September 5, 2017.

He worked with American Along with Jon’s work and that of his colleagues, one comprehensive history of South Asian contributions to ORT is S. K. Bhattacharya, “History of Development of Oral Rehydration Therapy,” *Indian Journal of Public Health* 38, no. 2 (1994): 39–43.

Jon’s task was to Details in this and the following two paragraphs from author interview with Jon Rohde, July 2020.

He made sure that Cornelia Rohde, “View,” in A. M. A. Muhith, *American Response to Bangladesh Liberation War* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 1996), 454.

He offered them Details here and in the following two paragraphs from author interview with Jon Rohde, July 2020.

She gave them curriculum Cornelia Rohde, “View,” 454; and *ibid*.

With stories of the Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 301–2.

To fix that inconvenient Malcolm W. Browne, “Horrors of East Pakistan Turning Hope into Despair,” *New York Times*, October 14, 1971, A1.

They burned anything Malcolm W. Browne, “East Pakistan Town After Raid by Army: Fire and Destruction,” *New York Times*, November 17, 1971, A1.

Letters from whistleblowers Coggin, “Pakistan: The Ravaging of Golden Bengal.”

Fresh off his legislative Sydney Schanberg, “Kennedy, In India, Terms Pakistani Drive Genocide,” *New York Times*, August 17, 1971.

45: A. A. K. NIAZI AND TIKKA KHAN

“Ay Behanchod chod!” This scene adapted from David Loshak, “A Savage Occupation Army,” *Daily Telegraph*, October 27, 1971. See also *Der Spiegel’s* account of the girl from October 11, 1971, as translated in Shamsul Bari,

“Fast a Day to Save a People,” *Bangladesh Newsletter* (1972): 121, and David Loshak, *Pakistan Crisis* (London: Heinemann, 1971).

More than forty thousand A. M. A. Muhith, *Bangladesh: Emergence of a Nation* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 3rd edition, 2014), 315.

As one diplomat put Peter Kann, “Determined Course: Pakistan Seems Likely to Push Its Repression of Bengalis in the East,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 20, 1971.

He ordered troops Sidney Schaumberg, “Hindus Are Targets of Army Terror,” *New York Times*, July 4, 1971; and Schaumberg, “West Pakistan Pursues Subjugation of Bengalis,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1971.

After his men finished Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 58.

“I am in their” Muntassir Mamoon, ed., *Media and the Liberation War of Bangladesh*, vol. 1 (Dhaka: Centre for Bangladesh Studies, 2002), 163.

Niazi wished he was Details in this paragraph from Hamoodur Rahman Commission, “Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report,” Government of Pakistan, unpublished report, 1972, 15–17.

Most every rooftop Dan Coggin, “Dacca: City of the Dead,” *Time*, May 3, 1971.

When the Mukti Bahini Sydney Shaumberg, “Power in Dacca Reported Cut Off,” *New York Times*, July 6, 1971.

When World Bank and Malcolm Browne, “Bomb Blasts Welcome World Bank Team to ‘Normal Dacca,’” *New York Times*, June 10, 1971; and Shamsul Bari, “What Pakistan Wants,” *New Republic*, October 16, 1971, 106–7.

But the InterContinental held Details of the information campaign at the InterContinental are taken from Marie Gillespie, “Bangladesh, 1971 and the BBC World Service: Witness Seminar” (London: Open University and BBC, 2009); Peter Kann, “Dacca Diary,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 17 and 20, 1971; and author interview with Rahman, who was a concierge at the Intercontinental in 1971 (2020).

Broke vagabonds carried bags Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 103.

46: MOHAMMAD HAI AND MALIK MAHMUD

They, along with about Author interview with Malik, November 2019.

Then they’d gun down Arnaud de Borchgrave, “The Subcontinent: A Losing Battle,” *Newsweek*, November 15, 1971.

“Hai, I’ve got to tell” Malik remembers telling this story and Hai remembers hearing it, but neither could quite pinpoint the exact words of the conversation or exact place where it happened. Still, both remember clearly how they felt

about it. Additional details on this scene and Tonir's activities during the dinner slaughters come from additional author interviews with Malik's and Hai's collaborators at the time, primarily Mintu (2019).

“He kills all our” The official encyclopedia of Bangladesh offers further corroboration of the surprise attack at Tonir Hat, indicating eighty freedom fighters were killed on October 27, 1971. See additional information at the Bangladesh Official State Encyclopedia at http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Bhola_District.

“He terrorizes the whole” While the accounts of Tonir come mostly from interviews with Malik and Hai, oblique references to the locations and people mentioned in their accounts are also included in *ibid*.

47: YAHYA KHAN AND RICHARD NIXON

Yahya stood on a wobbly This scene is based on documentation of Yahya's nightmares during the time as mentioned in Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 12; Amir Tahiri, “Yahya Khan,” *Kayhan International*, February 27, 1972; and from eyewitnesses like Yahya's former press secretary, who defined these weeks as a time where “pimps and prostitutes ruled” the country in B. A. R. Saddiqi, *General Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan: The Rise and Fall of a Soldier, 1947–1971* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2020), 189.

After one call Nixon “Nixon Asks Congress to Authorize \$250 Million for East Pakistan,” *Washington Post*, October 2, 1971.

Nixon was rambling on Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1543–544, 1552–554.

“We aren't going to” Abridged from Douglas Brinkley and Luke Nichter, *The Nixon Tapes: 1971–1972* (New York: Mariner, 2015), 584–86.

Kissinger egged him on *Ibid*.

What if they turned Srinath Raghavan, *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 201), 233.

A little while later Details from Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 68–70; “Yahya Khan and Black Beauty,” *Narwa-e-Waqt*, March 1972. We have not been able to obtain additional details corroborating this exact sequence of events, although to our knowledge neither Yahya, Mrs. Hussain, nor Yahya's son, Ali, ever publicly disputed the events as presented by Berindranath and *Narwa-e-Waqt*.

Yahya picked up Archer Blood, *The Cruel Birth of Bangladesh: Memoirs of an American Diplomat* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2002), 334–35.

48: A. A. K. NIAZI AND YAYHA KHAN

The Pakistani strike force Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 268–69.

After her safe landing Ibid., 269.

“We meet as a” Indira Gandhi, “Speech to Lok Sabha,” India Ministry of Home Affairs, HI/121/25/71, December 4, 1971. Also in *ibid.*

The dentist-turned-governor Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 194.

“for PRESIDENT OF PAKISTAN” Hamoodur Rahman Commission, “Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report,” Government of Pakistan, unpublished report, 1972, 100. We have lightly abridged the source here for clarity.

“full scale and bitter” Ibid.

49: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Hafiz sensed victory Hafiz’s accounts at Chagram and Atgram appear in his memoir, Hafiz Uddin Ahmad, *Bloodshed ’71* (Dhaka: Shahitto Prokash Books, 1997). Additional details from author interviews with Hafiz.

Just a few hours Additional information on the battle at Atgram from Brigadier Rattan Kaul, “Battle of Atgram—20th/21st November 1971 (Sylhet District—East Pakistan) Khukri Assault by 4/5 Gorkha Rifles,” *Bharat Rakshak* (New Delhi: Bharat Rakshak, 2015).

50: YAHYA KHAN AND RICHARD NIXON

Some villagers used Anthony Mascarenhas, “Genocide,” *Sunday Times*, Special Edition, June 13, 1971, and International Commission of Jurists, “The Events in East Pakistan, 1971 (1972): A Legal Study by the Secretariat of the International Commission of Jurists” (Geneva: ICJ, 1972).

In his first act Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 194–96.

The governor asked Yahya Hamoodur Rahman Commission, “Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report,” Government of Pakistan, unpublished report, 1972, 102–6.

As Bhutto’s plane taxied Shamsul Bari, “Reality of Bangladesh—at a Glance,” *Bangladesh Newsletter*, 1971, 158–59. See also original reporting that bought Yahya’s initial claim, for example, “Bombs Raze an Orphanage There,” *New York Times*, December 10, 1971, A1.

“Mr. President, this is” Srinath Raghavan, *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 243.

Nixon had a bad habit Anthony Summers and Robbyn Swan, “Drunk in Charge (Part Two),” *Guardian*, September 2, 2000.

“Get tougher, goddamnit!” Details from next six paragraphs from Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1585–1601. Also Raghavan, *1971*, 240.

“It’s a typical Nixon” Raghavan, *1971*, 255–56; and Nixon–Kissinger conversation, December 12, 1971, Foreign Relations of the United States Office of the Historian, E7, 769.

“for GOVERNOR from PRESIDENT” Hamoodur Rahman Commission, 110–112. Abridged for clarity.

Bhutto wired Yahya Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 125–27.

So he threw a Ibid., 129, and Abbas, *Pakistan’s Drift into Extremism*, 66–68.

51: CAPTAIN ERNEST TISSOT AND REAR ADMIRAL VLADIMIR KRUGLYAKOV

Since then, it had Willard J. Webb and Walter Poole, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the War in Vietnam* (Washington, DC: Office of Joint History, 2007), 114.

At the helm was “Ernest Eugene Tissot,” Naval History and Heritage Command, entry of 2015.

Flight crews could load “USS Enterprise,” US Navy, 2019, archived at https://web.archive.org/web/*/https://www.navy.mil/navydata/ships/carriers/powerhouse/powerhouse.asp.

The Enterprise carried enough Hans Kristensen, “Declassified: US Nuclear Weapons at Sea,” Federation of American Scientists Report #1, 2016.

Flanked by two quick-strike Naval History and Heritage Command, “Enterprise VIII (CVAN-65) 1971–1975,” US Navy Publication, 2015.

An American nuclear-attack Raghavendra Mishra, “Revisiting the 1971 ‘USS Enterprise Incident’: Rhetoric, Reality and Pointers for the Contemporary Era,” *Journal of Defence Studies* 9, no. 2 (2015): 49–80.

Military radios crackled Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 124.

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The Enterprise would Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1505–506.

Five hundred miles south Alexander Rozin, “Mission of the Soviet Navy During the War between India and Pakistan in 1971,” self-published manuscript, July 7, 2011, and personal communication with author. Soviet accounts of this incident remain limited to those of a select few eyewitnesses including most prominently those of Admiral Kruglyakov in several TV interviews in Russian media. Official Soviet naval records of the period remain classified. Rozin’s writings in the Soviet sections are the best cited and most extensive historical accounts of the Soviet side of the encounter.

The Soviet fleet included Ibid.

Candy held him tight Author interview with Julian Francis, January 2020.

The Soviet naval commander Interview with Admiral Kruglyakov, Russia TV, 2012, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8S8KPjmIGA>.

“We’re going to war” Rozin, “Mission of the Soviet Navy.”

She was dumbstruck Mishra, “Revisiting the 1971 ‘USS Enterprise Incident’”; Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 299–301.

She worried that Raghavan, 1971, 254.

“They must have gone” Payne, *Massacre*, 123.

52: ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO, YAHYA KHAN, AND HENRY KISSINGER

Half a world away The breakfast scene and details are from Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1607–616.

Big E would chug Gary J. Bass, *Blood Telegram*, 314–18.

Bhutto decided to walk See, for example, Kemal A. Faruki, “The Indo-Pakistan War, 1971 and the United Nations,” *Pakistan Horizon* 25, no. 1 (1972): 10–20.

Out of nowhere General (Ret’d) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court at Lahore, re: Writ Petition No. 1649 (Lahore: Lahore High Court, 1974), Point 49.

Worse, the Indians realized Faruq Aziz Khan, *Spring 1971* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2014), 150.

Bhutto didn’t tell Yahya Srinath Raghavan, 1971: *A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 267.

“Soon. Soon.” Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 199–200.

53: RICHARD NIXON

Just a few months Jozef Goldblat, *Arms Control: The New Guide to Negotiations and Agreements* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), 301–2.

“We have waited” Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2nd edition, 2011), 1609.

“It became urgent to” Ibid., 1613.

Nixon would employ Faruq Aziz Khan, *Spring 1971* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2014), 149; see also Kissinger, *White House Years*, 1609, 1505–506.

“After this is over” This conversation is abridged and edited from “Conversation Among President Nixon, the President’s Assistant (Haldeman), and the President’s Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger),” *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume E-7, December 15, 1971, 8:45–11:30 a.m.*, US Department of State, Nixon Presidential Materials, White House Tapes, Office of the Historian, National Archives, Recording of conversation between Nixon, Haldeman, and Kissinger, Oval Office, Conversation No. 638–4; and an earlier conversation with Kissinger, Nixon, and Alexander Haig, as noted in *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers*, US Department of State, Volume XIV, 74. See also Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 267–79, for an extensive discussion of this period and additional supporting quotations.

54: A. A. K. NIAZI AND YAHYA KHAN

“They will have to” Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 202.

“You must hold out” Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 122.

They barricaded themselves Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 206–7.

A rumor circulated Dan Coggin, “We Know How the Parisians Felt,” *Time*, December 27, 1971.

The Dentist and his Peter R. Kaan, “Dacca Diary,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 14, 1971.

They held an all-night poker Ibid.; Coggin, “We Know How the Parisians Felt.”

Photographers sat in folding Kaan, “Dacca Diary.”

Every few hours Coggin, “We Know How the Parisians Felt.”

The InterContinental was L. G. S. Singh, “An Army Surrenders,” in Dhruv C. Katoch and Q. S. A. Zahir, eds., *Liberation Bangladesh—1971* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury, 2015), 239–40.

The guards outside Coggin, “We Know How the Parisians Felt.”

Their new objective K. M. Safiullah, *Bangladesh at War* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2005), 235–45.

Yahya hadn't slept Salik, *Witness to Surrender*, 208; Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 131.

The Indian Navy lobbied Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 280.

"What? I can't hear you." The details of this conversation are from an interview with Yahya Khan in 1979, in Richard Sisson and Leo E. Rose, *War and Secession: Pakistan, India, and the Creation of Bangladesh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 306–7, note 28.

"for GOVERNOR and GENERAL" Hamoodur Rahman Commission, "Hamoodur Rahman Commission Report," Government of Pakistan, unpublished report, 1972, 116–20.

Niazi had to accomplish Payne, *Massacre*, 125.

"They cut out" "Dacca Dispatch," *Evening Star*, December 19, 1971.

His men threw Rakesh Krishnan Simha, "Sweeping Mines, Salvaging Looted Gold After the 1971 War," *Russia Beyond*, August 31, 2013.

55: REAR ADMIRAL KRUGLYAKOV AND RICHARD NIXON

A few hundred feet beneath the surface The exact location of the so-called red line in the sea is a matter of debate with authors cited in this chapter positing various locations inside the Bay of Bengal. Most authors agree that it occurred in the vicinity of India's Andaman and Nicobar islands, though no official report has ever confirmed the Seventh Fleet's coordinates at that time.

Kruglyakov's fleet stalked Sebastien Roblin, "In 1971, the U.S. Navy Almost Fought the Soviets Over Bangladesh," *War Is Boring*, July 19, 2016.

"A city is coming" Arsney Korolev, "The Americans Stood and Left," (Simbirsky) *Courier*, no. 28 (March 18, 2006).

"We are constantly being" Alexander Rozin, "Mission of the Soviet Navy During the War Between India and Pakistan in 1971," self-published manuscript, July 7, 2011.

When the US ambassador Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 16.

"I consider this" This conversation condensed and abridged from Gary J. Bass, *The Blood Telegram: Nixon, Kissinger, and a Forgotten Genocide* (New York: Vintage, 2014), 298–303. See also *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers*, US Department of State, Volume XIV, E-7. "Conversation Among President Nixon, the President's Assistant (Haldeman), and the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)," Foreign

Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume E-7, December 15, 1971, 8:45–11:30 a.m., US Department of State, Nixon Presidential Materials, White House Tapes, Office of the Historian, National Archives, Recording of conversation between Nixon, Haldeman, and Kissinger, Oval Office, Conversation No. 638–4.

“If the Soviets move” Ibid., 637–43.

The men stood on Rozin, “Mission of the Soviet Navy.”

Except in this case Interview with Admiral Kruglyakov, Russia TV, 2012, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8S8KPjmIGA>.

Both men prayed Korolev, “The Americans Stood and Left.”

“I have targeted” Interview with Kruglyakov, Russia TV.

**56: A. A. K. NIAZI, RICHARD NIXON, ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO,
AND HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD**

He set up a fancy J. F. R. Jacob, *An Odyssey in War and Peace: An Autobiography* (New Delhi: Roli, 2015), excerpted in Jacob, “How Lt. General JFR Jacob Secured Pakistan’s Surrender in 1971,” *Scroll.in* (2016).

The Indians even promised Ibid., and Siddiq Salik, *Witness to Surrender* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1997), 210–12.

Then Aurora sent Niazi Jacob, *An Odyssey in War and Peace*, 136–37.

He’d been wearing Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 12.

Not knowing what else Nawaz was the television announcer; author interview with Shuja Nawaz.

News of the surrender Author interview with Hafiz.

“Mr. President?” This conversation is an abridgement and combination of two conversations of the time period: Transcript of Telephone Conversation Between President Nixon and Kissinger, Library of Congress, Kissinger Papers, Box 370, 315. The president traveled to Key Biscayne, Florida, on the afternoon of December 15 and remained there through December 16; Kissinger was in Washington, December 15, 1971, 324. Transcript of Telephone Conversation Between President Nixon and Kissinger, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Kissinger Papers, Box 370, Telephone Conversations, Washington, December 17, 1971.

He hoped that India This conversation abridged and edited for clarity from President Richard M. Nixon, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Nawabzada Am Raza, Alexander M. Haig Jr., Manolo Sanchez, White House from 1:36 p.m. to 2:06 p.m., Conversation 639–011, December 18, 1971.

“The people of Pakistan” Bhutto interview with British TV (channel unknown), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xu4MTv5wgys>.

57: MOHAMMAD HAI AND MALIK MAHMUD

Hai inspected the All details from this chapter come from author interviews with Hai and Malik.

58: CANDY ROHDE AND JON ROHDE

Jon pinched the large All details in this chapter from author interviews with Jon Rohde; Jon Rohde, “Women in the Bangladesh Liberation Struggle,” in A. M. A. Muhith, ed., *American Response to Bangladesh Liberation War* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 1996); and Cornelia Rohde, *Catalyst: In the Wake of the Great Bhola Cyclone* (Scotts Valley, CA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2014).

59: YAHYA KHAN AND ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Three days after Dacca The birthday party scene is from Dewan Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan* (New Delhi: Sterling, 1974), 13–14.

To prove his love Author interview with Nawaz. The exact day of his making up with Ali is uncertain but was most likely before his house arrest later that week. Other sources say that Ali was let back into President House as early as December 15, where he drank with Ambassador Farland while they watched Pakistan’s fall from Yahya’s parlor.

“Death to Yahya Khan!” Feroz Hassan Khan, *Eating Grass: The Making of the Pakistani Bomb* (Stanford, CA: Stanford Security Studies, 2012), 78–79.

Wives of fallen soliders Dan Coggin, “Ali Bhutto Begins to Pick Up the Pieces,” *Time*, January 3, 1972.

Too drunk to speak *The Bangladesh Papers: The Recorded Statements of Politicians of United Pakistan, 1969–1971* (Dhaka: Vanguard, 1978), 288–94, and Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 13–14.

Keeping Yahya there General (Ret’d) Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, affidavit to the Lahore High Court at Lahore, re: Writ Petition No. 1649 (Lahore: Lahore High Court, 1974), Point 35.

That night, Bhutto drank Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 14.

“My dear countrymen” “President Addresses Nation,” *Pakistan Affairs* 38, nos. 23–25 (December 28, 1971): 1.

“Your Excellency” US Department of State, Nixon Presidential Materials, Office of the Historian, National Archives, NSC Files, Box 760, Presidential

Correspondence File, Telegram 233015, December 30, 1971, and NSC Files, Box 573, Indo-Pak War, South Asia, 12/17/71–12/31/71.

They decided that their Anthony Lewis, “At Home Abroad,” *New York Times*, December 20, 1971.

“Congratulations Mr. President” FRUS 1969–73, Document 191, December 15. See also Srinath Raghavan, *1971: A Global History of the Creation of Bangladesh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 262.

First, he ordered Berindranath, *Private Life of Yahya Khan*, 35.

Bhutto arrested General Rani Ibid., 81, 75.

Bhutto told Tikka Khushwant Singh, “Foreign Affairs: Pakistan, India and the Bomb,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1979.

Bhutto named Tikka Attar Chand, *Nuclear Policy and National Security* (New Delhi: Mittal, 1993), 59.

Having nukes Steve Weissman and Herbert Crossney, *The Islamic Bomb* (New Delhi: Vision, 1983).

60: SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN AND ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

Mujib sat on the Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 88.

Since the Pakistan Army “Mujib’s Statement and Excerpts from News Session,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1972.

They were digging Anthony Mascarenhas, *Bangladesh: A Legacy of Blood* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), 15–17.

I am ready Payne, *Massacre*, 90; edited for grammar.

“No, Mujib, I am” Kamal Hossain, *Bangladesh: Quest for Freedom and Justice* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2013), 114; see also Kuldip Nayar, “In Their Words: Bhutto and Mujib, December 1971,” *Daily Star*, November 15, 2006.

“I am a good” Nayar, “In Their Words.”

“No Mujib, I’m here” Kuldip Nayar, *Scoop! Inside Stories from the Partition to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 398–99.

Mujib staggered toward it Payne, *Massacre*, 131.

Bhutto told him Details of this scene from *ibid.*, 132–37; and Nayar, *Scoop!*, 397–400.

He threw Mujib Hossain, *Bangladesh*, 115–16.

“The Pakistani people” Payne, *Massacre*, 137.

Mujib blinked in bewilderment Dan Coggin, “Bangladesh: A Hero Returns Home,” *Time*, January 24, 1972.

He didn’t even know Mascarenhas, *Bangladesh*, 6.

At the press conference A clip of the press conference is available courtesy

of the Bangladesh Awami League at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Gi5VkMxLsA>.

Advisers tried to brief him Hossain, *Bangladesh*, 118.

“Switzerland of Asia” Coggin, “Bangladesh: A Hero Returns Home.”

His famous thick black hair Clip of press conference; Faruq Aziz Khan, *Spring 1971* (Dhaka: Agamee Prakashani, 2014), 188–89; and Mascarenhas, *Bangladesh*, 7.

He wished Bhutto “Mujib’s Statement and Excerpts from News Session”; Payne, *Massacre*, 138.

Mujib’s mind had been Khan, *Spring 1971*, 191.

61: HAFIZ UDDIN AHMAD

Mujib’s right-hand man Kamal Hossain, *Bangladesh: Quest for Freedom and Justice* (Dhaka: University Press Limited, 2013), 121.

The blue-and-silver British Dan Coggin, “Bangladesh: A Hero Returns Home,” *Time*, January 24, 1972.

With tears in his eyes Robert Payne, *Massacre* (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 140–41.

Mujib climbed atop Archival news footage of the crowd and events of the day is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=poPZ_hqACxk (Bangladesh News) and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PsTOIjR7so> (NBC News).

The military tradition Author interview with Hafiz.

Smiling, he breezed through Peter Jennings, “Report from Dacca,” *ABC News*, January 13, 1972, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0QWIXSXjGE>.

62: MOHAMMAD HAI AND MALIK MAHMUD

Hai sat cross-legged All details from this section are from author interviews with Hai and Malik, unless otherwise noted.

Students were beginning “Dacca University Slowly Returns to Life,” *Bangladesh Bulletin* (January 14, 1972): 2.

“I could not give” Nuran Nabi and Mush Nabi, *Bullets of ’71: A Freedom Fighter’s Story* (Dhaka: Shahitya Prakash, 2012), 402–3.

63: NEIL FRANK

He adapted storm-surge Robert Sheets, “The National Hurricane Center: Past, Present and Future,” *Weather and Forecasting* 5, no. 2 (1990): 185–231.

He helped the country Author interview with Neil Frank.

After he filed World Bank, “Bangladesh: Cyclone Protection and Coastal Area Rehabilitation Project” (Washington DC: World Bank, 1972).

64: RICHARD NIXON AND ZHOU ENLAI

Nixon then teased Kissinger This conversation is abridged from a long discussion on February 23, 1972, in US Department of State, Nixon Presidential Materials, White House Tapes, Office of the Historian, National Archives, White House Special Files, President’s Office Files, Box 87, Memoranda for the President, Top Secret, Sensitive, Exclusively Eyes Only; and Nixon Archives, Memorandum of Conversation No. 3, February 23, 1972, National Security Archive, Washington DC. See also F. S. Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head: The Secret Channel Between the US and China Through Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 142–45.

“President Yahya was probably” Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, xxii, and Nixon, Memorandum of Conversation No. 3, February 23, 1972, National Security Archive, Washington DC.

They left the residence Richard Nixon Presidential Library, China Highlights, Part 2, February 23–25, 1972, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W6EkWX5NT_U.

Later that week Aijazuddin, *From a Head, Through a Head, to a Head*, 144.

AFTERWORD: THE GATHERING STORM

Analysis from peace research These connections are a matter of intense scholarly debate regarding their intensity, causality, and peripheral relationships to other climate and conflict phenomena. Good overviews and assessments in this rapidly growing field include, for example, T. Knutson et al., “Tropical Cyclones and Climate Change Assessment: Part II: Projected Response to Anthropogenic Warming,” *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society* 101, no. 3 (2021): E303–E322; Solomon Hsiang, Marshall Burke, and Edward Miguel, “Quantifying the Influence of Climate on Human Conflict,” *Science* 341, no. 6151 (2013): 1235367; Guy Abel et al., “Climate, Conflict and Forced Migration,” *Global Environmental Change* 54 (2019): 239–49; Katherine Mach et al., “Climate as a Risk Factor for Armed

Conflict,” *Nature* 571 (2019): 193–97; Vally Koubi, “Climate Change and Conflict,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019): 343–60; and Carl-Frederich Schleussner, Jonathan Donges, Reik Donner, and Hans Joachim Schnell, “Armed-Conflict Risks Enhanced by Climate-Related Disasters in Ethnically Fractionalized Countries,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113, no. 33 (2016): 9216–221. We expect that additional research over the coming decade will continue to refine the conditions and associations between climate disasters and conflict.

Money that was supposed See, for example, Graeme Thomson, “How George Harrison Staged One of the Most Influential Concerts in History,” *GQ*, February 25, 2021, Peter Doggett, *You Never Give Me Your Money: The Beatles After the Breakup* (New York: It Books, 2011), 211–13, and David Johnston, “Bangladesh: The Benefit that Almost Wasn’t.” *Los Angeles Times*, June 2, 1985.

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