

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ঢাকায় বিদ্রোহ দমনে কামান ব্যবহার	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES-MARCH 28, 1971
IN DACCA, TROOPS USE ARTILLERY TO HALT REVOLT

Civilians Fired on sections of Dacca are set ablaze

By Sydney H. Schanberg

Mr. Schanberg was one of 35 foreign newsmen expelled Saturday morning from East Pakistan. He cabled this dispatch from Bombay, India.

The Pakistan Army is using artillery and heavy machine guns against unarmed East Pakistani civilians to crush the movement for autonomy in this province of 75-million people.

The attack began late Thursday night without warning. West Pakistani soldiers, who predominate in the army, moved into the streets of Dacca, the provincial capital, to besiege the strongholds of the independence movement, such as the university.

There was no way of knowing how many civilians had been killed or wounded. Neither was any information available on what was happening in the rest of the province, although there had been reports before the Dacca attack of clashes between civilians and West Pakistani soldiers in the interior.

From the hotel which is in North Dacca, huge fires could be seen in various pans of the city, including the university area and the barracks of the East Pakistan Rifles, a paramilitary force made up of Bengalis, the predominant people of East Pakistan.

Some fires were still burning and sporadic shooting was continuing early this morning when the 35 foreign newsmen were expelled from Dacca.

"My God, my God," said a Pakistani student watching from a hotel window, trying to keep back tears, "they're killing them. They're slaughtering them."

Homes set afire

On the ride to the airport in a guarded convoy of military trucks, the newsmen saw troops setting fire to the thatched-roof houses of poor Bengalis who live along the road and who are some of the staunchest supporters of the self-rule movement.

When the military action began on Thursday night, soldiers, shouting victory slogans, set ablaze large areas in many parts of Dacca after first shooting into the buildings with automatic rifles, machine guns and recoilless rifles.

When the foreign newsmen, all of whom were staying at the Inter continental Hotel tried to go outside to find out what was happening they were forced back in by a heavily reinforced army guard and told they would be shot if they tried to step out of the building.

The fire began to increase in the vicinity of the hotel and at 1 A. M. it seemed to become very heavy all over the city.

At 1:25 A. M. the phones at the hotel went dead, shut down by order of the military guard outside. The lights on the telegraph office tower went out at about the same time. Heavy automatic-weapons fire could be heard in the university area and other district.

Attack at Shopping Bazaar

At about 2:15 A. M. a jeep with a mounted machine gun drove by the front of the hotel, turned left on Mymensingh Road and stopped in front of a shopping bazaar with its gun trained on the second floor windows. A dozen soldiers on foot joined those on the jeep, one group carrying some kind of rocket piece.

From the second floor suddenly came cries of "Bengalis, united!" and soldiers opened fire with the machine gun, spraying the building indiscriminately. The soldier then started moving down an alley adjacent to the bazaar, firing into and then overturning cars that were blocking the alley. The scene was lit by the soldier's flashlights, and to the newsmen watching from the 10th floor of the Intercontinental, it was an incredible drama.

As the soldiers were firing down the alley, a group of about 15 or 20 young Bengalis started along the road toward them, from about 200 yards off. They were shouting in defiance at the soldiers, but seemed unarmed and their hands appeared empty.

The machine gun on the jeep swung around toward them and opened fire. Soldiers with automatic rifles joined in. The Bengalis youths scattered into the shadows on both sides of the road. It was impossible to tell whether any had been wounded or killed.

The soldiers then turned their attention back to the alley. They set a spare parts garage on fire and then moved on to what was apparently their main objective the office and press of the People, an English-language daily paper that had strongly supported Sheik Mujib and ridiculed the army.

Shouting in Urdu, the language of West Pakistan, the soldiers warned any persons inside that unless they surrendered they would be shot. There was no answer and no one emerged. The troops then fired a rocket into the building and followed this with small arms fire and machine-guns bursts. Then they set fire to the building and began smashing the press and other equipment.

Moving farther along, they set ablaze all the shops and shacks behind the bazaar and soon the flames were climbing high above the two-storey building.

Shortly after 4 A. M. the shouting eased somewhat, but artillery rounds machine-gun bursts could be heard occasionally. Tracer bullets from a long way off flew by the hotel.

At 4:45 A. M., another big fire blazed, in the direction of the East Pakistan Rifles headquarters.

At 5:45, in the hazy light of dawn six Chinese-made T-51 light tanks soldiers riding on them rumbled into the city and began patrolling main thoroughfares.

The intermittent firing and occasional artillery bursts continued through yesterday and early today, right up to the time the newsmen were expelled.

Helicopters wheeled overhead yesterday morning, apparently on reconnaissance. Four helicopters given to Pakistan by Saudi Arabia for relief work after last November's cyclone and tidal wave in East Pakistan were reported being used for the military operation in the province.

Yahya in West Pakistan

At 7 A.M. the Dacca radio, which had been taken over by the army, announced that President Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan had arrived back in West Pakistan and would address the nation at 8 P.M.

Shortly after 8 A.M., a black 1959 Chevrolet with an armed escort of troops in jeeps and trucks pulled up in front of the hotel. This convoy was to take Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his party to the airport to fly back to West Pakistan.

Mr. Bhutto, the dominant political leader of West Pakistan, opposed Sheikh Mujib's demands for East Pakistan autonomy.

It is generally accepted that his opposition, supported or engineered by the army and business establishment in West Pakistan, was what forced the crisis. Mr. Bhutto, who is aware that the Bengalis largely blame him for their present troubles, came into the lobby flanked by civilian and army bodyguards with automatic weapons. He looked frightened and brushed off all newsmen's questions with, "I have no comment to make."

At 10 A. M. the radio announced the new martial orders.

Every time newsmen in the hotel asked officers for information, they were rebuffed. All attempts to reach diplomatic missions failed. In one confrontation, a captain grew enraged at a group of newsmen who had walked out the front door to talk to him. He ordered them back into the building and to their retreating backs, he shouted, "I can handle you. If I can kill my own people, I can kill you."

Crisis Reported Controlled

Shortly afterward, the military government sent word to the hotel that foreign newsmen must be ready to leave by 6:15 P.M. The newsmen packed and paid their bills, but it was 8:20, just after President Yahya's speech, before their convoy of five trucks with soldiers in front and back, left for the airport.

Just before leaving, the lieutenant colonel in charge was asked by a newsman why the foreign press had to leave. "We want you to leave because it would be too dangerous for you," he said "It will be too bloody." All the hotel employees and other foreigners in the hotel believed that once the newsmen left, carnage would begin.

"This isn't going to be hotel," said a hotel official, "it is going to be bloody hospital."

At the airport, with firing going on in the distance, the newsmen's luggage was rigidly checked and some television film, particularly that of the British Broadcasting Corporation, was confiscated.

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অবস্থা সৈন্যদের নিয়ন্ত্রণে	বাল্টিমোর সান	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE BALTIMORE SUN-MARCH 28, 1971
TROOPS TAKE OVER
By John E. Woodruff

In two days of shooting and burning, the West Pakistan Army has abruptly arrested East Pakistan's slide toward independence by turning Dacca into a city of gunfire and flame.

By the time President A. M. Yahya Khan announced last night the end of his cautious, two-year-old experiment in democracy, the Army already had shot its way into control of the East Pakistan capital, leaving huge fires visible in all directions, and reportedly clapped Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, elected leader of East Pakistan's 75 million people, in jail.

In all the rounds of automatic weapons fire only a few shots were heard that seemed clearly to suggest that anyone was returning the army's fire.

In the few incidents witnessed by newsmen, soldiers fired heavy machine guns at empty-handed civilians without warning. Deaths or other casualties could not be confirmed.

The first sign that something more than a breakdown of the talks was taking place came with a report that President Yahya had left the heavily fortified Presidential House in Dacca about 5:45 p.m. An inquiry at the gate about two hours later produced, from the civilian guard in charge of the reduced troop detachments still there, the reply: "This is a very bad time to ask that question (about the President's whereabouts)"

At 11 p.m. soldiers began to round up newsmen on the ground of the Intercontinental Hotel and order them inside with threats to shoot. Automatic weapons fire began in various parts of the city. A telephone call to Sheikh Mujib's house at 12:20 a.m. yesterday was answered by a calm voice that said the Sheikh was in bed.

This morning Karachi radio spoke specifically of the Sheikh's whereabouts for the first time, claiming that he and five of his lieutenants were arrested about an hour and e10 minutes after that phone call. The telephones at the hotel went dead about 10 minutes after the call.

Meanwhile, troops at the hotel tore down the green, red and gold flags of Bangladesh that had been flying nearby and burned piles of them on the lawn.

The first artillery rounds were heard and seen about 1 a. m. Friday, in the direction of the new camps of Dacca University where Bengal student leaders long have been active.

Between 25 and 30 truckloads of troops drove past the hotel towards the campus, about a mile and a half away. Prolonged reports of automatic weapons fire resounded from the campus direction soon after.

A few more artillery rounds landed in that direction around 2 a. m. and by 2:30, two large buildings were in flames, the first huge blaze of the night. Bengali journalists at the hotel identified them from a 10th floor window as Iqbal and Mohsin Halls, regarded as hotbeds of Awami League student activity.

About 2:15 troops from the hotel guard moved across the street to an alley leading to the office of an impecunious but popular English language newspaper. The People, which had been outspoken and often totally irresponsible in its vilification of the government.

Two wrecked cars from a wrecking garage in the alley previously had been dragged into an impromptu barricade, and the troops fired hundreds of rounds into the cars before they moved into remove them. At one point, voices from the second floor of the garage shouted "Bengalis unite," and the troops responded with hundreds of rounds of rifle and machinegun fire.

At this point a group of about 15 empty handed students came down the boulevard beside the hotel shouting defiantly.

The soldiers turned the jeep mounted machinegun toward the youths and opened fire. The students scattered and ran away, pursued by several jeep loads of soldiers.

Then the troops returned to the garage from which the unity slogan had come. They tore off the doors and sent a few men inside. When they emerged a few seconds later a small fire was burning near the door. It quickly spread and consumed the garage and all its contents.

The soldiers moved down the alley toward the newspaper office firing all the way.

When they reached the entrance, they shouted warnings but they were spoken in Urdu, the language of west Pakistan, which is not widely understood in East Bengal. No one emerged, and the soldiers fired a rocket into building, poured hundreds of rounds into it with automatic weapons and the machine guns.

Tearing off the door they entered for a few seconds then left the office and one next to it in flames. On their way back to the hotel grounds, they shouted "narai takbir" a Muslim shout meaning "Victory for God" that is associated with the Pakistan movement.

They also shouted "We have won the war" in Urdu. Two of them then came inside the hotel about 4 a.m. and got a jug of tea to take out.

By this time, half a dozen large fires blazed in every direction and at about 4:15 a.m. the largest fire of the night broke out in the direction of the cantonment of the East Pakistan Rifles.

This fire burned for hours, and for the first half hour it was punctuated by dozens of large bright flashes and explosions similar to those made by an exploding ammunition dump. At its height, it appeared to cover two acres or more. It sent flame-licking high into the sky for hours, and a column of smoke rose hundreds of feet into the air.

About 5:20 a. m. six Chinese made T-54 tanks rumbled up to the hotel, where they stayed for about 20 minutes. One had its cannon aimed directly at a corner of the hotel the whole time. Soon afterward, a large truck passed, its bed piled several feet deep with American-made carbines and Communist-bloc AK-model automatic rifles.

The heavy weighting of old fashioned American made weapons, from the decade of heavy American military backing for Pakistan that began in 1955, strongly suggested that some less trusted unit such as the ones with heavy Bengali enrollment had been either disarmed or relieved of its spare weapons.

Sporadic firing continued throughout the day, and at dawn, trucks with loudspeakers went through the neighborhoods shouting toward the houses. The occupants hastily scrambled onto their rooftops and hauled down the Bangladesh flags and the black mourning flags they had been displaying for the dead of earlier clashes.

The first broadcast warning of the holocaust was issued by Dacca radio in midmorning yesterday, in a terse announcement that a curfew would be in effect until further notice. An officer said later in the day that loudspeakers had been used throughout the city to warn people to stay in their houses. The night before, no such warning was witnessed during the firing near the hotel.

Mr. Bhutto and his party left the hotel about 8:30 a.m. under their accustomed heavy guard of soldiers and Punjabi civilians carrying Communist-bloc automatic rifles. Mr. Bhutto wore a gray suit and a stern countenance and said twice "I have no comment to make."

A lieutenant colonel came to the hotel in the morning, afternoon and evening and identified himself as commander of a 2 square mile area including the hotel grounds. In the after noon, he told the hotel's managements it would be permitted to have foreigners he repeated that word three times before completing the sentence swim in the pool.

About 6 p.m. correspondents in the hotel started receiving telephone calls advising that Lt. Gen. Tikka Khan, the martial law administrator, suggested that leave. Major Siddiq Salik, the military government's public relations man, told a reporter who inquired about the advisory' nature of the calls: "Some advice is obligatory."

The lieutenant colonel was asked repeatedly why the newsmen had to leave and said, after dodging the question several times: "We want you to leave because it would be too dangerous for you. It will be too bloody."

By 8 p.m. the last newsman of the more than 30 staying at the hotel was loaded into one of the four waiting Dodge army trucks but the procession waited so that the newsmen could listen to President Yahya's speech in which he announced that the Awami League had been banned and accused Sheikh Mujib of treason.

General Yahya praised.....West Pakistani soldiers in East Pakistan and said:
"I am proud of them."

Then the trucks, led and followed by truckloads of rifle-bearing soldiers, moved toward the airport, past overturned barricades of trees clay pipes, and junk, past several burning alleys of squatter shacks, where Sheikh Mujib's picture had been on virtually every wall, and past three truckloads of armed soldiers who sat watching the fires at one village.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
সেনাবাহিনী কর্তৃক বিদেশী সাংবাদিক বহিকার	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1971
ARMY EXPELS 35 FOREIGN NEWSMEN FROM PAKISTAN
By Grace Lichtenstein

Military authorities expelled 35 foreign newsmen from East Pakistan yesterday after confining them to a hotel in Dacca for more than 48 hours.

Soldiers of the Pakistani Army threatened to shoot the newsmen if they left the Intercontinental Hotel in North Dacca, from which they could see troops firing on unarmed civilians who supported the East Pakistani rebels.

Before they were put on a plane to Karachi, the newsmen, including The New York Times correspondent, Sydney H. Schonberg, were searched and their notes, films and files were confiscated.

They represented newspapers and other media in the United States, Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Japan and Russia.

While in Dacca, the newsmen were prevented from filing any dispatches or contacting diplomatic missions.

Mr. Schanberg reported that when the lieutenant colonel in charge of the area around the hotel was asked why the foreign press had to leave, he replied "We don't have to explain. This is our country."

Then as he turned away, smiling contemptuously, he added: "We want you to leave because it would be too dangerous for you. It will be too bloody."

A. M. Rosenthal, managing editor of The Times, protested in a telegram to the Pakistani Government.

The telegram said:

"Stunned by unwarranted and unprecedented expulsion of New York Times correspondent Sydney Schanberg and more than 30 other foreign correspondents from Dacca. Contrary to all principles of international press freedom, Mr. Schanberg and others were confined to the Intercontinental Hotel in Dacca under threat that they would be shot if they left the building in performance of their journalistic duties.

"They were subsequently expelled from the country after confiscation of their papers and film. Can only believe that this must have been error on part of military authorities? Trust that your Government will rectify this situation immediately."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ট্যাঙ্কের বিরুদ্ধে লাঠি	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	২৮ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1971
 SLICKS AND SPEARS AGAINST TANKS IN EAST PAKISTAN
 SLICKS AGAINST TANKS
 By Sydney H. Schanberg
Special to The New York Times

New Delhi, March 28- The people of East Pakistan, armed with sticks, spears and homemade rifles, are mounting a resistance movement against a military force from West Pakistan that is armed with planes, bombs, tanks and heavy artillery.

The resistance, which began after a surprise attack on the civilian population by the Government force three nights ago, sprang from a nonviolent drive for provincial autonomy.

The East Pakistanis tried to claim the majority political power they had won in the elections last December, and the army moved to prevent this. Earlier this month, Maj. Siddiq Salik, public relations officer for the martial-law administration in East Pakistan, was telling foreign newsmen about the role of the Pakistani Army in dealing with disobedient civilians.

"Then you call in the army," said the tall West Pakistani officer, "it's a last resort. The army would shoot to kill."

The remark was prophetic. Two weeks later, starting last Thursday night, the Pakistani Army apparently began killing anybody who moved in the streets of Dacca or who shouted defiance from a window. The troops used artillery, machine guns, recoil less rifles and rockets against East Pakistani civilians to crush the Bengali movement for self-rule.

It seems certain that thousands of Bengalis will be killed, but their dedication to the self-rule movement and to their leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, is deep-so deep that it is questionable whether what is virtually a foreign army from a region 1,000 miles away can control East Pakistan indefinitely.

The army comes from the West, big business is concentrated there, the per capita income is higher, prices are lower. Everything is better for the 55 million West Pakistanis than for the 75 million East Pakistanis.

Many Bengalis, as the people of East Pakistan are known, had fled the city in the last few weeks for home villages in the interior.

Foreign newsmen, including this correspondent, were expelled from East Pakistan on Saturday. Their film and notebooks were confiscated in thorough body and luggage searches.

Most of the East's foreign exchange earning and taxes went for development projects in the West and for the support of the army which consumes more than 60 per cent of the national budget. Fewer than 10 per cent of the troops are Bengalis.

The army has acquired most of its weapons from the United States, the Soviet bloc and Communist China. So far, none of the major powers have criticized the army's action in East Pakistan.

Heavy secrecy surrounded the political talks in Dacca whose breakdown was followed by the army's surprise attack. But the bits and pieces that have come to light make it clear that the power establishment in the West never intended to let Sheik Mujib win a significant measure of autonomy for East Pakistan President. Agha Mohammed, Yahya Khan- whose image as a potentially decent general, sympathetic to the Bengali's grievances, has changed drastically- said that the talks had broken down because Sheikh Mujib refused to let an agreement be negotiated at a session of the newly elected National Assembly. But Sheikh Mujib knew that he had to get an agreement in writing before the Assembly met.

The talks dragged on for 10 days and the Bengali "bush telegraph" said that they were taking too long, that something was wrong.

During this time, Sheikh Mujib and his Awami League defied the martial-law administration by leading a nonviolent movement of non-cooperation with the virtually unanimous support of the population.

Sheikh Mujib's followers took over certain Government agencies, closed others and ignored directives, such as the one that ordered civilian defense employees to report to work or face 10 years "rigorous imprisonment."

The green, red and gold flag of Bangladesh-Bengali for Bengal Nation was unveiled and militant students and workers began demanding complete independence, not simply semi-autonomy

But those buoyant days for the Bengalis ended quickly. After initial reports of progress the talks slowed and fears of an army crackdown revived.

Troops were flown in daily from West Pakistan and many Bengalis began to believe that the negotiations were being deliberately prolonged to give the Government in West Pakistan time to get heavy reinforcements to the East.

Clashes between civilians erupted in several towns and a number of deaths were reported. Sheikh Mujib denounced what he called "a reign of terror" in a statement distributed last Thursday just before 7 P. M. Four hours later, the troops moved into the streets and began firing.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
ইয়াহিয়ার পূর্ব পাকিস্তান আক্রমণ পূর্ব-পরিকল্পিত	বাল্টিমোর সান	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE BALTIMORE SUN, TUESDAY, MARCH 30. 1971

YAHYA PLANNED ATTACK
ON EAST PAKISTAN

A Technicality Does Not Disguise

His Efforts to Snare Mujib

By John E. Woodruff

(Sun Staff Correspondent)

New Delhi, March 29-President A. M. Yahya Khan's West Pakistan military regime is offering the world a legal technicality as the reason for its Army's carefully co-ordinated surprise attack on East Pakistan.

Both President Yahya and key West Pakistani politicians have offered the same reason for their abrupt cancellation of the two weeks of political talks that preceded the Army's crackdown on East Bengal's nonviolent movement.

The reason, as expressed by President Yahya in his radio speech to the nation Friday night, was that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bengali leader of East Pakistan, demanded that power be turned over to elected civilians by proclamation before the proposed National Assembly met.

Same Explanation

Omar Kasoury, a member of the West Pakistan-based Pakistan Peoples party's delegation to the negotiations, offered an identical explanation to reporters who spoke with him Friday morning as he left Dacca Intercontinental Hotel under heavy guard with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, head of the Peoples party.

Such a proclamation. General Yahya told the nation Friday night, "would not have been worth the paper it was written on, and he (Sheikh Mujib) could have done anything with impunity."

He did not explain how much a proclamation would have differed from the "legal-framework order"-a presidential proclamation with a longer title and the sole authority for last December's election and for the National Assembly that the Army never permitted to meet.

Instead, he said he had tentatively accepted the plan despite reservations-but on condition that all West Pakistani politicians give their "unequivocal agreement" to a plan that effectively would have put Sheikh Mujib's Bengali majority in charge of the country.

"Yahya has shown some surprising political naiveté before," one of Pakistan's best-informed foreign newsmen remarked after listening to Friday's radio broadcast in an Army truck that was preparing to take all foreign correspondents in Dacca to the airport for expulsion.

"But that condition is not naive, it's disingenuous. It will make the whole purpose of the talks look like a delaying action while they flew in more troops from West Pakistan."

Plan To Deceive Recalled

The comment was not the first serious suggestion that the talks were a delaying action. One well-connected traveler arriving in Dacca from Karachi shocked newsmen a week before the conflagration by reporting that two generals he regarded as highly reliable had told him that the Army's plan was to lull the Bengali leadership into believing the talks could succeed, then to crack down without warning.

No one wrote anything about it at the time, because there was no other equally reliable source to back the suggestion, and no one really wanted to entertain the idea that President Yahya would accept such a course after staking his reputation for two years on a plan to turn the government over to elected civilians.

There still is no way of having ironclad certainty as to the military regime's motives, but no one who witnessed the sequence of last Thursday's events can say with confidence today that it was not all planned in advance.

By the time Sheikh Mujib's statement calling for a general strike on Saturday to protest clashes between troops and civilians in outlying areas was read to the press Thursday night, President Yahya had already left his heavily fortified house. There hardly had been time for him to pack his bags between the end of the last meetings of his and Mr. Bhutto's advisers and the time a Bengali newsman said he saw the president leave.

By 7 P. M., soldiers were going up and down the elevator at the Intercontinental Hotel-to the 11th floor, which Mr. Bhutto had turned into a fortress complete with half a dozen automatic rifles in the lobby-at the rate of two a minute.

This activity continued for almost an hour until a large group of soldiers came down carrying a battered black cardboard suitcase, which was entrusted to a platoon of 20 or so troops who marched from the hotel to the president's house where a few guards were still on duty. What was in the black suitcase remains unknown?

An Inauspicious Time

Asked the whereabouts of the president's press aid, who had always been at the gate to greet correspondents, the guard said: "He is gone somewhere I don't know when he is coming back.' Please go ahead now. You come back 10 o'clock tomorrow."

Back at the hotel, only two blocks from the president's house, the guard appealed to be double its number on any previous night. None of the face that had become familiar since the guard was thrown up Sunday to protect Mr. Bhutto were on duty that night.

The familiar faces were a contingent of East Pakistan Rifles, the Bengali home guard that technically was under Army command but believed sympathetic to the Awami League. The new troops wore uniforms with neither unit, nor other identifying badges-only rank, insignia and battle ribbons. They were tall, like Punjabis, not short, like Bengalis.

Unfamiliar Faces

In front of the hotel a captain said: "My orders for tonight are that if anyone tries to leave the hotel after 11 P.M. we are to shoot them. Please-go inside, I don't want to do anything to you."

Inside the lobby, a sign had been posted saying "Please don't go outside. After a few attempts to talk the captain out of, it, no one went outside.

Then The Firing Began

Within minutes, sporadic automatic weapons fire could be heard all over town. By 1 A. M. heavy machine guns and artillery had opened up, and the first fires were visible. The first night of shooting and burning had begun.

The events could be described only as a cheerfully co-coordinated, premeditated attack on a defenseless population in an attempt to crush a movement whose main tactic had been non-violent non-co-operation.

The attack was launched with no broadcast or published warning, although officers claimed the next day they had used loud-speakers to warn civilian crowds to clear the streets.

The first radio broadcast announcing a curfew was made in mid-morning, eight hours after foreign newsmen watched soldiers turn a jeep-mounted machine gun without warning on 15 empty-handed youths who walked toward them slowly, shouting defiantly.

Ten Hours Later

It was 10 hours after that curfew announcement that President Yahya read his radio speech giving the legal technicality over which the talks broke down and denouncing the man with whom he had been negotiating the previous day for the "treason" of trying to separate East Pakistan from the West.

President Yahya's outline of Sheikh Mujib's bargaining position makes a plausible argument that the Awami League leader had pushed at the end for a degree of autonomy that would virtually have amounted to independence.

Given the pressures put on Sheikh Mujib by student nationalists and other more radical elements, it is possible that he had demanded as much as President Yahya said, though the president carefully avoided listing this as the obstacle that finally stopped the talks.

Not Always So Extreme

Whatever his demands were at the end, they had not always been so extravagant as the president now claims they had become

For five years, the Awami League had put forth only one program: a constitution giving East Pakistan control of its own foreign aid, foreign trade and taxes. That program and the romantic tales of Sheikh Mujib's six imprisonments for his resistance to the country's succession of military dictatorships gave the Awami League enormous popularity throughout East Bengal.

For the appeal fell on political ground fertilized by two decades in which 55 million West Pakistanis had consistently used their control of the Army to dominate the 75 million Bengalis.

Most of the taxes, most of the foreign-exchange earnings, and most of the people came from East Pakistan.

Most of the taxes, most of the foreign-exchange earnings, and most of the foreign aid went into West Pakistan.

60 Percent of Budget

The Army is now trying to bring Bengalis to heel consumes more than 60 per cent of a national budget that is supported mainly with Bengali tax money. It is a point that Bengalis never cease to stress.

Less than 10 per cent of the soldiers-and even fewer officers-are Bengalis, another point the Bengalis make repeatedly.

But the differences between Pakistan's two wings are not altogether economic. The West is dominated by tall Punjabis; who share their wing of the country with many other racial and language groups. The East is almost entirely Bengali in both language and racial stock.

The two ethnic groups have not only different languages but also different foods, different clothing, and strikingly different ways of practicing Islam, the national religion which reason Pakistan was carved out of the British Indian Empire at independence.

Known For His Swagger

A typical Punjabi soldier noticeable on the streets of Dacca by the swaggering way his arms swing as he walks among the shorter, dirtier and less erect Bengalis.

Despite these differences, and despite the racial unity of the Bengalis compared to the racial diversity in the West, the Army seems to have started its cautious moves toward elected civilian rule on the assumption that a united Western electorate could prevail over the multitude of parties with which the East has often been plagued.

"We believed that the old-line politicians in the West would easily carry the day and, whatever their local differences, prevail in the Assembly over a divided East," one key Western politician said two weeks ago.

"Instead, Bhutto, came out of nowhere with a Socialist appeal and beat us all, and Mujib rode that damned cyclone in for a complete sweep in the East."

With the election imminent, not one major figure from the Islamabad government ever showed serious concern the survivors of the cyclone and tidal wave late last fall that killed hundreds of thousands of Bengalis just before the election.

When other nations came flooding in with aid while West Pakistan kept its helicopters at home-in case of war with India, the government said a major political turning point grew out of what might have been just another, though bigger, disaster in an area where disasters are a predictable part of the yearly cycle.

"Mujib had been a power, but the disaster made him unstoppable," an American analyst says. "That was what changed the course."

It Became Clear

When Sheikh Mujib won an absolute majority of the Assembly's seats, while Mr. Bhutto won a majority of the West's seats, the extent of the miscalculation became clear.

It was an understandable miscalculation: Pakistan had never before had a really free election on which to base predictions.

But it left the West in an impossible predicament, for West Pakistan's economy was based largely on its ability to drain profits from the East by various means, and the Awami League program would have put a dead stop to that.

Blamed the Sheikh

Mr. Bhutto threatened to boycott the Assembly and to call a general strike if Sheikh Mujib did not forswear in advance the Awami League's insistence on local control of foreign aid and foreign trade, but the Bengali leader vowed to use his majority to enact the program that helped- elect him.

Faced with a sure fiasco, President Yahya revoked the March 3 date he had set for the Assembly's opening and went on radio March 6 to blame Sheikh Mujib for violence that broke out when the postponement was announced.

There was no evidence in East Bengal to back that charge, though the president, who came to East Pakistan only after nine more days, may have had no way of knowing the truth.

What actually took place in most areas was that police left the streets to the mobs, but Awami League volunteers, armed only with bamboo canes, brought the mobs under control in less than two days with the help of a widely publicized appeal by the Sheikh for nonviolence.

At A Standstill

By March 9, the Sheikh's non-co-operation call-issued in a speech during a massive rally two days earlier-had brought government and other public institutions to a standstill and thus deprived-West Pakistan for the first time in years of its power to govern the East.

Gradually, the Sheikh began to open those offices and institutions that the Awami League high command felt it could control, adequately.

The Awami League's control of many institutions was impressive, but there were those which it never felt sufficiently confident of to open. Schools and courts were among them.

Other basically civilian services-such as immigration and customs-never were seriously threatened, the Awami League never questioned the Army's gunpoint control of the checkpoints.

But Awami League access to closely relate services road and rail transport and stevedores at Chittagong, for example-made the government's control of these customs and immigration checkpoints almost irrelevant:

After a week, the Awami League even started collecting many taxes, although it never got the income tax back into operation.

By the time President Yahya arrived in Dacca for negotiations with Sheikh Mujib- after first spending long hours with Mr. Bhutto in West Pakistan-the government's control was so, thoroughly dissolved that even the new military governor had not been able to find anyone to swear him into office.

The new governor, It. Gen. Tikka Khan, was regarded by Bengalis as a tough-minded hawk. They called him "the butcher of Baluchistan," a reference to his alleged role in suppressing a rebellion by Baluchi citizens of West Pakistan in the 1960's.

The Bengali clandestine radio is now gloating daily over reports, a mob somehow go to General Tikka's house and killed him, but there is no way to know if the report is true unless a replacement is named without further explanation.

Left without a Word

General Tikka's predecessor, a man known among Bengalis for his understanding of their movement, left Dacca and returned to West Pakistan with no public explanation. Bengalis who knew him say he resigned when he was ordered to make preparations for a military crackdown soon after the initial Assembly postponement was announced March 1. None of his assistants was replaced, as would have been done routinely in a normal transfer.

The president himself fared badly when he arrived in Dacca March 15. The normal delegation of top civil servants failed to go to the airport to greet him.

Faster Even Than Mujib

But the movement had also created a force that what was running faster than Sheikh Mujib himself-a true Bengali nationalism such as no movement had ever produced before in East Pakistan.

Bengalis started telling each other to kill the "foreign" soldiers from West Pakistan and even burned the Pakistani flag and the picture of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the "father of Pakistan," in the streets of Dacca.

On Pakistan Day, they raised the new flag of "Bangladesh" -the Nation of Bengal-everywhere and tore down the Pakistan flag from the pole at the Chinese consulate general.

Even Then, Peace Possible

Yet most Bengalis agreed that Sheikh Mujib would still have been able to lead the movement back to the broad autonomy he had always demanded-and thus prevent a final split of Pakistan into two countries-if he could get the West to buy his formula.

Whether he could-whether a settlement could be reached on the basic political issues-became an academic question when the Army and Mr. Bhutto decided that the technicality of how power was to be transferred was more important than the substantive political questions.

Now the Army has provided a final answer to the question of how many Pakistan's.

After the carnage of the last few days, there can be no hope left of ever achieving a truly united Pakistan again.

For the current fighting has only two possible outcomes: One is an independent nation of 75 million East Bengalis. The other is a totally subjected and sullen colony that would be East Pakistan only on maps.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
বিক্ষুব্ধ পাকিস্তান	বাল্টিমোর সান	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE BALTIMORE, TUESDAY. MARCH 30, 1971

PAKISTAN STORM

Radio Pakistan is nothing if not official, and its claim that the situation in East Pakistan is returning to normal may be noted with that in mind. In fact with the expulsion of foreign reporters from Dacca there is no trustworthy source of present information. The official channels say what they are told to say. A rebel radio speaks of continued fighting in Dacca, Chittagong and else where, but the authority of that source is not established. Intelligence by way of India is in large part rumor.

One thing does seem clear, however. The observations of the foreign reporters before they were expelled give a picture of the late last week quite at variance with the government's picture. The army, which is to say the West Pakistani army, did not act to suppress an uprising. It struck calculatedly, dealing death beyond all immediate provocation.

John E. Woodruff of The Sun, one of the reporters expelled, writes today from New Delhi of earlier rumors, received with some skepticism at the time, that President Yahya Khan's regime was deliberately prolonging the recent Dacca talks, to lull East Bengal into believing a compromise imminent, and then would attack without warning.

True or not, that reading is given credence by the regime's curious explanation that the crisis was brought to a head, and the brutal crackdown justified, on a legal technicality-that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Bengali leader, had demanded a turn over of power to elected civilians before any meeting of the projected National Assembly. That the Pakistan People's party led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto offers the same story indeed suggests a scheme and a connivance not of recent date.

If the government's notion of normality is ruthless military oppression, it may be that East Pakistan can be made to appear normal, after a while and for a while. Even that-is doubtful; and it may be taken as certainty that the divisions between the two Pakistan's have now been widened beyond repair, and that the East Bengalis will not permanently endure physical rule by troops who in looks and habits and language are. after all, Foreign troops.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৭। পাকিস্তানের মর্মান্তিক ঘটনা	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

THE WASHINGTON POST, MARCH 30, 1971

TRAGEDY IN PAKISTAN

The eastern wing of Pakistan, much the more populous, won national elections last December and began moving peaceably to take over national power. The western wing, which has dominated and exploited the East since Moslem Pakistan was carved out of British India in 1947, correctly perceived the threat and—rather than surrender power—stalled. Talks were begun to see if a constitutional formula could be devised to allow the East autonomy within an all-Pakistan federation. It is not clear whether the power brokers of the West feared that the talks were failing, or succeeding; at any rate, without notice or armed provocation, last Friday they opened fire with machine guns, recoilless rifles and tanks against the largely unarmed—or heavily outgunned—citizenry of East Pakistan. Evidently thousands were killed; the number can only be estimated because the government at once imposed censorship and expelled all foreign correspondents, confiscating their notes and film.

The government of West Pakistan claims control of Dacca in the East; there is no reason to doubt that it does control in a military sense the territory within the firing range of its high-powered guns. However, for it to claim any meaningful measure of political loyalty among the 75 million people of East Pakistan has become absurd. Previously, moderate opinion in Dacca seemed inclined to regional autonomy within a Pakistan federation. Now it appears that moderates have been stilled and political sentiment has swung behind demands for full independence for "Bangladesh"—the words mean Bengal nation. Already separated from the Bengals by a thousand miles of Indian territory and a distinct culture and language, the Punjabis of the West have widened the gulf with blood. At this point the form of Bengali resistance cannot be predicted with any certainty; the fact can.

For outsiders, the spectacle in Pakistan affords further evidence of the essential irrelevance of the anti-Communist impulses which led the United States to arm and aid Pakistan for so many years. Clearly the real threat to such a country lies within: in the ancient antagonisms of its people and in the toils of modernization. American arms are again being used by a recipient government against what it claims to be its own citizens. That is deplorable. But the real tragedy is Pakistan's own.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৮। ট্যাঙ্ক দ্বারা শহর ধ্বংস	নিউ ইয়র্ক পোস্ট	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, MARCH 30, 1971

HOW ARMY TANKS BLASTED A CITY

By Michel Laurent

Associated Press photographer Michel Laurent was in Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan, when the Pakistani army cracked down on the Bengali independence movement. Newsmen were confined to their hotel. But Laurent evaded the ban and toured devastated areas of the city before being finally deported with other newsmen over the weekend.

Dacca, East Pakistan (AP) -The Pakistani army attacked the Bengali independence movement in Dacca without warning Thursday night and took the people by surprise.

The army's American M24 tanks, artillery and infantry destroyed large parts of East Pakistan's largest city and provincial capital.

The chief targets were the university, the populous Old City where Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League were strongest, and the industrial areas on the outskirts of the city of 1.5 million people.

Perhaps 7000 persons were killed in the provincial capital alone.

Touring the still burning battle areas Saturday, and yesterday, one found the burned bodies of some students still in their dormitory beds.

The tanks had made direct hits on the dormitories.

A mass grave had been hastily filled in at the Jagannath College: 200 students were reported killed in Iqbal Hall. About 20 bodies were still on the ground and in the dormitories.

Troops reportedly fired bazookas into the medical College hospital but the casualty toll there was not known.

Thousands fled the city with only what they could carry. Some pushed carts loaded with food and clothes. Only a few persons returned to government jobs despite the orders of the military regime.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৯। পূর্ব পাকিস্তানের আভ্যন্তরীণ সংঘাত	ক্রিস্টিয়ান সায়েন্স মনিটর	৩০ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, MARCH 30, 1971

CIVIL STRIFE IN EAST PAKISTAN

It is regrettable; indeed, that Pakistan's President Yahya Khan has had to resort to military action against East Pakistan, especially after the majority vote the latter had won in the December elections.

Even though Pakistan is, titularly, a democracy, the military influence in government has always been strong.

Sadly, heavy casualties are reported amongst the unarmed East Pakistani civilian population. The crushing blow which President Yahya has apparently administered may well return a thousand fold in guerrilla-type warfare. The East Pakistanis, fighting in support of their leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, against the West's Soviet tanks and United States planes, are poignantly reminiscent of the Minutemen of the American Revolution.

Though the West has the weaponry advantage, the East Pakistanis possess the knowledge of their terrain, interlaced with rivulets, creeks, swamps, rivers, and bays in which heavy Western equipment would find difficulty in maneuvering.

The logistic and geographic difficulties of operating from West Pakistan bases 1,000 miles away distinguish the Pakistan civil war from that of Nigeria. Humane relief operations may encounter the same harassments they did in Nigeria where humanitarian supplies were often interpreted as aid to the enemy.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১০। পাকিস্তানের নামে (সম্পাদকীয়)	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৩১ মার্চ, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 31, 1971

**Editorial
IN THE NAME OF PAKISTAN**

Acting "in the name of God and a united Pakistan" forces of the West Pakistan-dominated military government of President Yahya Khan have dishonored both by their ruthless crackdown on the Bengali majority seeking a large measure of autonomy for their homeland in the country's eastern region.

Any appearance of "unity" achieved by vicious military attacks on unarmed civilians of the kind described by correspondents and diplomats who were in the East Pakistani capital of Dacca when the crackdown began cannot possibly have real meaning or enduring effect. The brutality of the Western troops toward their "Moslem brothers" in the East tends only to confirm the argument of the outright secessionists in Bengal who argue that differences between East and West Pakistan are irreconcilable.

Although this is a domestic dispute, the struggle in Pakistan could have dangerous international consequences, especially if a prolonged period of guerrilla warfare ensues. The least the world community can do at this stage is to call on President Yahya, in the name of humanity and common sense, to stop the bloodshed and restore Sheikh Mujibur Rahman to his rightful role as elected leader of his people.

The United States, having played a major role in training and equipping Pakistan's armed forces, has a special obligation now to withhold any military aid to the Yahya Government. Economic assistance should be continued only on condition that a major portion be used to help bind up East Pakistan's grievous wounds.

Radio Pakistan is nothing if not official, and its claim that the situation in East Pakistan is returning to normal may be noted with that in mind. In fact with the expulsion of foreign reporters from Dacca there is no trustworthy source of present information. The official channels say what they are told to say. A rebel radio speaks of continued fighting in Dacca, Chittagong and elsewhere, but the authority of that source is not established. Intelligence by way of India is in large part rumor.

One thing does clear, however. The observations of the foreign reporters before they were expelled give a picture of the events of late last week quite at variance with the government's picture. The army, which is to say the West Pakistani army, did not act to suppress an uprising. It struck calculatedly, dealing death beyond all immediate provocation.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১১। দ্বন্দ্বের মূলে	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE WASHINGTON POST, APRIL 4, 1971

ROOTS OF CONFLICT

By Selig S. Harrison

The full story behind the political deadlock in Dacca last week and the frenzy of Gen. Yahya Khan's military retaliation against the Bengalis is a story of wheels within wheels going far beyond the struggle for autonomy by the 73 million people of Bangladesh.

Gen. Yahya and the dominant leaders of West Pakistan were worried about the possible political impact of surrender to Bengali autonomy demands on the internal balance of power in the western wing that is the base of the presently military regime.

West Pakistan is torn by deep internal divisions between the dominant Punjab Sind provinces, on the one hand, home base of the ruling industrial, military and land aristocracy, and the assertive minority provinces of the North-West Frontier and Baluchistan.

Gen. Yahya was determined to avoid concessions to the Bengalis that would necessitate a comparable measure of autonomy for the 60 million strong western provinces.

The North-West Frontier country, made famous by Kipling in his tales of the Khyber Pass, is Pushtu speaking and has long sought autonomy either as a part of Pakistan or through an independent "Pushtunistan".

Racially kindred to tribal groups in neighboring Afghanistan, the Pushtuns or Pathans have enjoyed intermittent Afghan support in their feuds with successive Pakistan regimes.

Sparsely populated Baluchistan has grown increasingly self conscious in recent years following the discovery of natural gas deposits in what has long been regarded as desert.

Baluchi tribal leaders want some of the gas now channeled to industries in the neighboring Punjab to be utilized for the industrialization of Baluchistan.

In the complex, three-way conflict between Gen. Yahya, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and the western minority provinces, the pivotal figure last week was former Foreign Minister Zulfikar All Bhutto, leader of the West Pakistan Peoples Party, which emerged with the single largest bloc of votes in the National Assembly among west wing parties.

Mr. Bhutto wanted Gen. Yahya to transfer power to a single, unified West Pakistan entirely, since a transfer to four separate provinces would have left him with the status of a local leader of the Punjab and Sind.

The minority provinces in the west have long looked to the Bengalis as allies in their struggle against the Punjab and Sind. They wanted Mujibur to insist on the transfer of power to each or four separate provincial Assemblies in the West along with the transfer to the Sheikh's Awami League in the East.

Then they wanted him to use his dominant majority of 167 seats in the 313-member National Assembly to claim the Prime Minister ship in a moderately strong Central Government. This has also been the attitude of trade union and reformist elements in the west fighting for civil liberties, press freedom and labor rights.

For different reasons of his own. Gen. Yahya, too, wanted Mujibur to serve under him as Prime Minister of a strong Central Government still effectively dominated by the Army.

But Mujibur, pulled by a strong separatist under town in Bangladesh, would have committed virtual political suicide by taking office in Rawalpindi.

Seeking to placate the ultras in his ranks. Mujibur insisted that the National Assembly meet initially in two bodies, one for the East and one for the West, with the separate eastern grouping serving as a symbol of Bengali identity in nationalist eyes.

The western minority provinces were as bitterly opposed to this as Gen. Yahya, fearing that Mr. Bhutto would outnumber them and use his majority to deny them separate provincial status.

Linked to the issue of separate initial Assembly sessions in the two wings was the parallel issue of whether Gen. Yahya should accede to Maribor's bid for the transfer of power to provincial regimes forthwith, prior to the inauguration of sessions of the Assembly or Assemblies.

In his broadcast on Friday, Gen. Yahya contended that the proclamation ending martial Law sought by Mujibur "would not have been worth the paper it was written on" if the Assembly had not been simultaneously called into session to serve as a new base of authority.

Gen. Yahya stated that Mujibur indicated final refusal to alter his stand on the Assembly issue in talks Tuesday night. This is what made him see the Bengali leaders "obduracy and his absolute refusal to talk sense," Gen. Yahya declared, "leading me to conclude that the man and his party are enemies of Pakistan who want East Pakistan to break away completely from the country."

But Mujibur's intimates said as late as Thursday night that the ground rules, established during the talks, provided for a final "summit" meeting between Gen. Yahya and the Sheikh on unresolved issues, including the mechanism for the transfer of power.

West Pakistan sources confirmed the view that Gen. Yahya had entertained little hope of a settlement after his initial talks with Mujibur in Dacca but kept up the pretense of talks to allow time for military preparations.

These sources said that Gen. Yahya was increasingly enraged by Mujibur's posture of serene confidence and his implicit attitude that it would be Gen. Yahya in the end. Who would have to come to terms?

Mujibur was reportedly ready to concede on the key issue of a transfer of power to the Assembly if Gen. Yahya committed himself publicly in advance to an Assembly resolution setting up immediate governments in the East and West.

He was fearful that the Assembly would become a battleground of officially stimulated factionalism and would never get around to ratifying a formula for the transfer of power.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১২। পাকিস্তানের ভয়ঙ্কর খেলা	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 4, 1971

**PAKISTAN: 'ALL PART OF A GAME'—
A GRIM AND DEADLY ONE**

New Delhi—"All of it's necessary, absolutely necessary," a West Pakistani stewardess lectured some expelled foreign newsmen about the Pakistani Army's offensive to crush the independence movement in East Pakistan. "If this happened in your country, you'd do the same thing. It's all part of the game."

A game? To foreign newsmen in Dacca, it looked like a surprise attack with tanks, artillery and heavy machine guns against a virtually unarmed population—a population using tactics of nonviolence, mostly strikes and other forms of non-cooperation, to claim the political majority it had won in last December's selections. And by this weekend enough credible reports of indiscriminate killings had filtered out to leave little doubt, even ill the minds of many dispassionate Indian officials and Western diplomats, that the Army of West Pakistan was under few restraints in putting down East Pakistani thoughts of autonomy.

The attack began on the night of March 25, after 10 days of political negotiations in which the army and the rest of the West Pakistani power establishment had lulled the East Pakistani nationalists into thinking their demands for greater self-rule would be granted.

It is clear now that the West Pakistanis never meant the talks to succeed, that they dragged them out only to buy time to get enough troop reinforcements over from West Pakistan to launch the attack. But while the talks went on, nearly every observer, from newsmen to diplomats, resisted the ugly thought that this might be true. The signs were all there—troops coming in by air and sea, the dismissal of a martial-law administrator who was too lenient and the uncharacteristic silence of the army while the East Pakistanis boycotted the military regime and followed instead the directives of their leader. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

The newsmen reported these signs but when talk of "some progress" came out of the negotiations, they grasped upon that, because it was what should happen. They were wrong. Instead, the military mind prevailed.

But in turning to force, the West Pakistani leaders apparently misjudged both its limitations and the depth of feeling of 75 million East Pakistanis.

"They thought that a few bullets would scare the people off," said Ranjit Gupta, the police commissioner in Calcutta, just across the border in India. "It is silly—it shows you how little the West Pakistanis know about East Pakistanis."

Instead of the first shooting spree terrorizing the population into submission, it now seems apparent that while the army may be able initially to establish a hold on the cities and major towns, it will face widespread guerrilla activity in the primitive reverie countryside. This could so undermine the supply lines and mobility of the West Pakistani troops that the independence movement would succeed.

In India, many sympathizers with the East Pakistani cause were quick to compare "rest Pakistani's military actions in East Pakistan with those of Hitler. "Pak Army's Inhuman Torture." was the headline in one Calcutta newspaper. "Butchery," said another, adding: "The vandalism unleashed by the occupying Pakistani army in Bangladesh (Bengal Nation) is darker than even the darkest chapter of Nazi terror." The Indian Parliament has called it "a massacre of defenseless people which amounts to genocide."

Governments Silent

Most of the other governments of the world have remained silent. "Why doesn't your country condemn this outrage?" one official in Calcutta asked an American. "This is no tidal wave, this is no act of nature-it is people slaughtering people."

The Bengalis, as the people of East Pakistan are called, have stepped across a crucial line—a line that separated grumbling about their exploitation to fighting against the exploiters. The line may have been crossed on March 25, the night of the attack. Or perhaps it was crossed earlier, on March 1, when President Yahya Khan, Army Commander in Chief postponed a session of the National Assembly that was to have convened two days later to begin drafting a Constitution returning the nation to civilian rule. That Assembly, elected in December, was dominated by Sheikh Mujib's Awami League party, which wanted a large measure of provincial autonomy—leaving the Central Government with power only over defense and foreign trade and foreign aid.

These terms were anathema to the West Pakistani power establishment—the army, the big-business interests and the politicians. In the political negotiations over the crisis, they started off by making conciliatory sounds and then brought in the monkey wrench, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the dominant political leader of West Pakistan. When he objected that the Awami League wanted too much autonomy—"bordering on sovereignty"—the talks began to stall. Then, suddenly, came the army attack.

The morning after the attack, Mr. Bhutto and his aides, under heavy military protection, were flown back to friendly territory in West Pakistan, where the political leader promptly announced. "Pakistan has been saved by the grace of the Almighty."

But it will take more than religious oratory to save Pakistan as a united Moslem country. Religion was the social glue that was supposed to have held the two wings together, but it was never enough.

It may take a long time, but none of the witnesses to the recent-surge of Bengali nationalism and to the barbarism of the army attack doubts that it will happen. In the meantime, as Sheikh Mujib was fond of chanting with the adoring crowds that thronged to his now razed house: "Sangram, Sangram. Cholbey, Cholbey." "The fight will go on. The fight will go on."

-Sydney H. Schanberg

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৩। পাকিস্তানীরা বাঙালীদের নিশ্চিহ্ন করছে	বাল্টিমোর সান	৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE SUN, BALTIMORE. SUN DA Y, APRIL 4. 1971
PAKISTAN IS EXTERMINATING THE BENGALIS
 By John E. Woodruff

Less than four months ago, the West Pakistan Army said it could not send soldiers and helicopters to East Bengal to save survivors of the cyclone that took hundreds of thousands of lives in the mouth of the Ganges. If troops and helicopters were moved from West Pakistan, India might attack, the Army said. By the time the Army Statement was issued, India was increasing its offers of relief aid for the cyclone victims.

Today, that same West Pakistan Army shows every sign of being prepared to send its last soldier to more populous East Bengal, if necessary, in an all-out effort to shoot to death the results of last December's elections.

No room remains for doubt as to the Punjabi-dominated Army's determination to go the whole distance.

For the only justification that could ever emerge for the grisly scenes of a week ago Thursday and Friday would be a total victory of bullets over the nonviolent attempts of the Bengalis to put in power the men they had elected in polling sanctioned by the Army.

Newsmen toured Carnage

Correspondents interned last week at the plush Dacca Intercontinental Hotel could see only fragments of what was talking place outside-a few soldiers shooting into civilian buildings, a machine-gun opening up on a dozen empty handed youths, the Army setting fire to civilian business places.

But two European newsmen evaded the Army and stayed behind a few extra days and they managed to tour some of the carnage before they were found out and expelled.

Their reports have confirmed the worst fears of those who were only able to surmise the meaning of cannon reports and prolonged bursts of machinegun and automatic-rifle fire coming from the new campus of Dacca University, where two burning buildings lighted the sky for hours with their flames.

Slum Residents Killed

Hundreds of students were burned up in their beds and hundreds more were buried in a mass grave, according to reports filed by the two newsmen who said they toured the scene.

They also confirmed previous reliable diplomatic reports that large stretches of bamboo slums were surrounded and set afire, their residents shot when they tried to flee.

The only bond between West Pakistan and East Bengal-other than the West Pakistan Army itself-is the Muslim faith, for which the divided country was created as a haven against Hindu-Muslim religious murders when India was partitioned.

Even today, the Army exercises its authority in the name of "the Islamic state of Pakistan." Yet burning a human being, alive or dead, is unequivocally forbidden by the Mohammedan faith. It is also a favorite crime charged to Hindus by West Pakistani Muslims.

Such attacks upon fellow Muslims in the name of an Islamic slate can be vindicated. even in the eyes of other Mohammedan countries from which West Pakistan is apparently already seeking aid, only by a total military victory. And any military victory will require growing, not diminishing, bloodshed as the Bengalis-unified to a man for the first time in decades-struggle to resist.

Clues as to how coolly the West Pakistanis had calculated their plan to shoot and burn the Bengalis into submission are provided by the personal actions of some West Pakistani politicians at the Hotel Intercontinental on the night the holocaust started.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৪। পাকিস্তানে গৃহযুদ্ধ	নিউইয়র্ক উইক	৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, APRIL 5, 1971

PAKISTAN PLUNGES INTO CIVIL WA R

The man and his parry are enemies of Pakistan. This crime will not go unpunished. We will not allow some power-hungry and unpatriotic people to destroy this country and play with the destiny of 120 million people.

-President Mohammed Yahya Khan

Coyne out of your houses with whatever weapons you have. Resist the enemy forces at any cost until the last enemy soldier is vanquished, and save the country from the ruthless dictatorship of West Pakistanis.

-Sheikh Mujibur Rahman

Until the very last moment, it looked as if the two proud men entrusted with Pakistan's destiny might still be able to avert a head-on clash. From the East Pakistani capital of Dacca came optimistic reports that President Mohammed Yahya Khan and Mujib as the leader of secessionist-minded East Pakistan is known were about to reach a compromise. But then, with stunning suddenness, the pieces of Pakistan's complicated political puzzle flew apart. In the East Pakistan cities of Rangpur and Chittagong, federal troops poured machine-gun fire into mobs of demonstrating Bengali nationalists. Swiftly, Yahya issued orders to his army to "crush the movement and restore the full authority of the government". In his turn, Mujib proclaimed East Pakistan the "sovereign, independent People's Republic of Bangladesh (Bengali Nation)." And with that, Pakistan was plunged into civil war.

Thus, in the 24th year of Pakistan's existence the bond that had held the eastern and western sectors of the country in tenuous union snapped. Because Pakistan's central government immediately imposed strict censorship on communications in and out of East Pakistan, early reports were sketchy. Still, even the fragmentary dispatches from neighboring India provided a dismal picture of bloody fighting that pitted a modem, professional army against rebels who were often armed with little more than passion and pitchforks. Hopelessly outgunned, the East Pakistani guerrillas reportedly suffered thousands of casualties. But although by the end of the week it appeared that the federal army-largely composed of fierce Punjabis-had dealt its Bengali adversary a devastating blow, few people thought that the widely separated wings of Pakistan could ever be effectively reunited again.

What made the Pakistani upheaval so unexpected was that it occurred even as Yahya and Mujib were in the midst of private negotiations. On hearing the reports of "massacres" in Rangpur and Chittagong, an enraged Mujib accused the army of unleashing a reign of terror. Yahya's response was to quiet the talks in a huff and leave Dacca unannounced to return to West Pakistan. Back in his home region, the President took to national radio to ban Mujib's Awami League, East Pakistan's dominant political organization. Sheikh Mujib's action of starling his non-cooperation movement is "an act of treason" the President declared.

Shortly after Yahya left Dacca the army's tough martial law administrator Lt.-Gen. Tikka Khan slapped tight censorship over East Pakistan. All foreign correspondents were restricted to their hotels and then, after federal troops seized their notes and films, the reporters were expelled from the country. Among the correspondents forced to leave was NEWSWEEK'S Loren Jenkins, who filed this report:

From our windows in Dacca's modern Intercontinental Hotel, we watched a jeep full of soldiers roll up to a shopping centre and taking aim with a heavy machine-gun open fire on a crowd. While the firing was still going on some fifteen young Bengalis appeared in the street about 200 yards away and shouted defiantly at the soldiers. The youths seemed to, be empty-handed, but the soldiers turned the machine-gun on them anyway. Then, the federal soldiers moved down an adjacent alley leading to the office of a pro- Mujib daily newspaper that had strongly denounced the army. The troops shouted in Urdu, a language which few Bengalis understand-warning anyone inside to surrender or be shot. No one emerged. So they blasted the building and set it afire. And when they emerged, they waved their hands in triumph and shouted 'Pakistan Zindabad' (Long Live Pakistan").

By late in the week, firing throughout the city was heavy and flashes of 105-mm. howitzers in the night preceded the heavy crump of incoming shells which seemed to be landing Oil the new campus of Dacca University. I woke up one morning to the sound of six Chinese-made T-54 light tanks clanging down Airport Road. A grey pall of smoke hung low over the muggy sky. Soon new artillery blasts were heard and new fires were seen in the region of old Dacca, a warren of narrow, open-sewered streets where most of the capital's population lives in cramped one room homes.

The West Pakistani troops in Dacca showed all the signs of having the jitters. Many shot off random bursts of automatic weapons fire at the slightest noise. And when some of the reporters in the Intercontinental Hotel ventured outside and asked to tour the city, an army captain stationed in front of the hotel threatened to shoot us. Ordering us back inside, he shouted angrily: "If I can kill my own people, I can kill you"

At the outset of the crackdown, the army ordered striking government workers either to return to work or face military trial, and imposed a 24-hour curfew. Meanwhile, a truckload of soldiers moved through the city, stopping in front of any house flying the new green, red and yellow banner of Bangladesh. At every such building, the troops ordered to pull down the flags. In the area around the hotel, their first stop was a three- storey brick house-where a woman in a sari slowly mounted to the roof and, under the menacing gaze of the soldiers, reluctantly lowered the flag.

With Jenkins and other foreign reporters expelled from East Pakistan, the world was left to the mercy of conflicting radio reports for its information. The official government radio in Karachi announced that the army had arrested Mujib. But a clandestine radio in Dacca, identifying itself as the Voice of Independent Bangladesh, proclaimed that Mujib was still safe in his underground headquarters. Under his leadership, said a rebel radio announcer: "The people of Bangladesh will shed more blood...."

If Pakistan was disintegrating in division and violence, it had, in a sense, only moved full circle in its quarter-century history. For Pakistan emerged as a nation in 1947 out of divisions and strife. Propelled by Mohammad Ali Jinnah's driving vision of a Moslem homeland in South Asia, Pakistan was assembled from the predominantly Moslem areas of British India. But the partitioning of India touched off a six-month bloodbath between Hindus and Moslems in which an estimated half million people perished. And it created a Pakistan with two distant wings separated by 1,100 miles of Indian Territory.

This geographical handicap was serious enough. But to further complicate matters, their shared devotion to Islam is virtually all that the two sectors of Pakistan have in common. West Pakistan is a land of desert and mountains and a generally and climate: the far more densely populated eastern wing is a humid land of jungles and alluvial plains. And the differences in racial personality between the Punjabis of West Pakistan and the Bengalis of the East are extreme. Proud, martial person, the Punjab is look down upon the Bengalis and over the years have consistently exploited their countrymen in the east.

Clean Sweep

Ironically, President Yahya was the first West Pakistani leader to openly admit that East Pakistan had never received its fair share of political power and economic resources in the Pakistani union. To rectify matters, Yahya provided Pakistan with its first national elections conducted strictly on a one-man, one-vote basis. But the results of last December's voting turned out to be something of a shocker. In the east, Mujib's Awami League all but swept the boards clean. And because the more populous east had a larger allotment of seats in the National Assembly, Mujib's forces came up with a clear parliamentary majority as well.

During the campaign, Mujib proclaimed a six-point programme aimed at diminishing the powers of Pakistan's central government while granting virtual autonomy to each province. Not surprisingly, it was a plan that the top vote-getting politician in West Pakistan, the mercurial, left leaning ex-Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, found totally unacceptable. When Bhutto's supporters refused to take part in the new National Assembly, Yahya was forced to postpone its opening. This, in turn, prompted Mujib to launch a civil- disobedience campaign which virtually destroyed federal authority in East Pakistan and made him the region's effective ruler. And in the end that left Yahya no choice but to grant the Bengali demands or to resort to force.

In branding Mujib an outlaw, Yahya slammed shut the door to further negotiations and opted instead for a military solution to his dilemma. But although the federal force in East Pakistan (whose size is variously estimated at anywhere from 20,000 to 70,000 men) was far superior in training and equipment to its enemy, it faced some severe problems. Lacking direct land links between West and East Pakistan, and banned from flying over India, federal army commanders had to move their men the long way around the southern tip of India by way of Ceylon. "For the short term," said a U.S. Analyst "Pakistan's army should be able to tear hell out of the Bengali landscape. But for the long term, they have terrible logistic problems."

Guerrilla Haven

Against the federal forces, the Bengalis could muster barely 15,000 troops, most of them militiamen armed with obsolete World War II weapons. But while the Bengalis were no match for the federal army in the cities, military observers noted that the surrounding countryside, where 90 per cent of East Pakistan's population lives, is a virtual haven for guerrilla warfare. A maze of sunken rice fields, tea plantations, jute fields and banana groves, it is an ideal ambush country reminiscent of South Vietnam's Mekong Delta. As a result, most foreign military analysts believe that prolonged military occupation of the east would put an intolerable strain on the Pakistani Army.

Nonetheless if Yahya chose to indulge in wholesale slaughter, it was probable that he could stamp out the rebellion in East Pakistan, at least for the time being. And if the reports of Mujib's capture proved true, that would surely be a severe blow to the cause of Bangladesh. But no matter how harsh the federal crackdown, Bengali resistance whether in the form of civil disobedience or a Viet Cong-style guerrilla struggle appeared likely to continue. Yahya, in fact, was seemingly faced with the ugly prospect of being a colonial ruler in his own country. For when the federal army opened up with tanks and automatic weapons in Dacca last week, it mortally wounded any remaining chance that the two disparate wings of Pakistan could ever live in harmony again.

A People Apart: The Complex Bengalis

To anyone acquainted with the character of the Bengalis, it seemed almost inevitable that some day they would try to form their own independent nation. Despite their incorporation into India and Pakistan when the British Raj left the subcontinent in 1947, some 120 million Bengalis (70 millions of whom live in East Pakistan and most of the rest in India's West Bengal) still consider themselves a race apart from and above their neighbors. Emotional and talkative the dark-skinned Bengalis have more in common with each other than with their co-religionists, Hindu or Moslem, or with their compatriots, Indian or Pakistani. Says one Western expert: "They consider themselves to be Bengalis first, Moslems or Hindus second, and Pakistanis or Indians a poor third."

Culturally, ethnically, linguistically and spiritually, the Bengalis are different from their countrymen in Pakistan and India. For one thing, as Bengali scholars will inform all who pause to listen, the name Bengal is derived from the ancient kingdom of Bangla, which goes back at least to the third century B.C. One of the oldest literary streams in Asia also flows in Bengal, whose Indo-Aryan language and recorded history date back at least a thousand years. Boastful of this long literary heritage, intellectual Bengalis were most eloquent on the subject of Rabindranath Tagore, their greatest modern literary figure. In his combination of mysticism and lyricism, Tagore may have been the quintessential Bengali poet, novelist and dramatist; he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913.

Talk

If the written language is one of the Bengali's glories, the spoken one is one of its burdens. In the cafes of Calcutta and Dacca, Bengalis palaver endlessly, spinning out airy intellectual concepts and political schemes. An Indian joke goes like this: "Every

committee must have four members: a Mukherjee, Bannerjee, a Chatterjee (all Bengali names) and a Singh." Singh is a Sikh name. The Sikhs, unlike the Bengalis, are noted for their action, and the implication is that alone Sikh is the fellow who will execute the programme.

A people who have suffered hundreds of invasions and conquests, including that of the British in the eighteenth century, the Bengalis long ago learnt to cultivate the arts of accommodation. Unlike the proud Punjabis his opponent in the current strife, the Bengali knew how to bow and scrape. Dressed in his dhoti, spouting flowery language, armed only with an umbrella, the Bengali was regarded by all as a reliable, efficient clerk. Fighting was best left to more martial people.

The other main cliché about the Bengalis portrays them as crafty fellows ready to outsmart you if given half a chance. "Watch it", a merchant might say. "He's a Bengali." The message is that the person in question is not only clever but possibly also capable of a little sharp practice.

And yet, despite their reputation as a guileful, docile people, the Bengalis have more than once demonstrated a dark, explosive side. The most ruthless, dedicated terrorists during the fighting against the British came from Bengal. And since partition the Bengali regions of both India and Pakistan have been the scene of constant political turmoil and near revolution. "They may seem docile." says one American scholar". But they are capable of violence when sparked the wrong way." And then in words that may prove to be all too perceptive, he adds: "There is a side to the Bengali mentality that thrives on chaos."

Poet or Politics

When Sheikh Mujibur Rahman proclaimed the independence of Bangladesh last week some of his critics declared that he was merely yielding to the pressure of his extremist supporters, seeking to ride the crest of a wave in order to avoid being engulfed by it. But in a sense Mujib's emergence as the embattled leader of a new Bengali "nation" is the logical outcome of a lifetime spent fighting for Bengali nationalism. Although Mujib may be riding the crest of a wave, his presence there is no accident. Born just 51 years ago to well-to-do landowner in a village near Dacca, Mujib went through his early schooling without distinguishing himself by intellectual accomplishment. He was outgoing and popular as a boy, fond of talk and people and sports-and by the time he went to Calcutta's Islamic College for a liberal Arts degree he had come to the attention of his elders as a Muslim League activist. His mentor then was H. S. Suhrawardy, Prime Minister of Bengal under British Raj, who, later, served one year as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Mujib studied law, but unlike Suhrawardy, a moderate, he soon developed a penchant for direct action. In the late '40s both men realized that their native state of Bengal was getting less than its due in the new nation of Pakistan. Suhrawardy, in 1949, founded a new party, the Awami League, dedicated to a united 'Bengal for the Bengalis." Mujib look to the streets and was twice arrested and jailed for leading illegal strike s and demonstrations.

Out of prison, Mujib became Suhrawardy's right-hand man within the Awami League, but then destroyed his leader's efforts to compromise and form a coalition with other parties. Mujib's success enabled the Awami League to form a new East Pakistan Provincial Government in 1956, and he served in it for seven months as a Minister of Commerce and Industry. After Suhrawardy died in 1963, Mujib apparently felt less hampered by the older man's principles of moderation. He revived the Awami League, pursued his "instinctive" style of politics, and demanded internal self-rule. When Mohammed Ayub Khan had him arrested again in 1966, on charges of plotting to make East Pakistan independent. East Pakistan came close to open rebellion, and the turmoil forced Ayub to release Mujib and resign. Mujib emerged as a hero to his people.

Tall for a Bengali (he stands 5 feet 11 inches), with a shock of graying hair, a bushy mustache and alert black eyes, Mujib can attract a crowd of a million people to his rallies and hold them spell-bound with great rolling waves of emotional rhetoric. "Even when you are talking alone with him," says a diplomat, "he talks like he's addressing 60,000 people." Eloquent in Urdu, Bengali and English, three languages of Pakistan. Mujib does not pretend to be an original thinker. He is a poet of politics, not an engineer, but the Bengalis tend to be more artistic than technical, anyhow, and so his style may be just what was needed to unite all the classes and ideologies of the region.'

A month ago, at a time when he was still publicly refraining from proclaiming independence Mujib privately told NEWS Week's Loren Jenkins that "there is no hope of salvaging the situation. The country, as we know it, is finished." But he waited for President Mohammad Yahya Khan to make the break. "We are the majority, so we cannot secede. They, the Westerners, are the minority, and it is up to them to secede."

Two weeks later as the crisis deepened, hundreds of Bengalis crowded the yard and hallways of Mujib's home in suburban Dacca, and puffing on a pipe ("the only foreign thing I use"), he cheerfully spoke to them all. After addressing one enthusiastic gathering Sheikh Mujibur Rahman turned to Western newsmen and said: "I have this sort of thing from 5 a.m. on. Do you think anyone can suppress this spirit with machine guns?" A few- days later someone was trying.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৫। পাকিস্তান : পতনের পদধ্বনি	টাইম	৫ই এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

TIME MAGAZINE APRIL 5, 1971.

PAKISTAN: TOPPLING OVER THE BRINK

With the awesome fury of a cyclone off the Bay of Bengal, civil war swept across East Pakistan last week. In city after crowded dusty city the army turned its guns on mobs of rioting civilians. Casualties mounted into the thousands. Though the full toll remained uncertain because of censorship and disorganization in the world's most densely populated corner (1,400 people per sq. ml) at week's end some estimates had 2,000 dead. Even if President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan is prepared to accept casualties of a geometrically greater magnitude, the outcome is likely to be the final breakup of East Pakistan and the painful birth of a new nation named Bangladesh (Bengal State).

The indistinct battle lines reflected the ethnic and cultural divisions that have beset Pakistan since its creation as a Moslem homeland when British India was partitioned in 1947. Two predominantly Moslem areas that used to be part of India became new country-the two part separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Thus though 80,000 West Pakistan soldiers were on hand to keep order in East Pakistan last week, their supply bases were 1,000 miles away and most food and ammunition had to be carried 3,000 miles around the coast of India. The troops, mostly tall, fierce Punjabis and Pathans were surrounded in East Pakistan by a hostile population of 78 million Bengalis. The civil war and it could be called no less promised to be long and bloody. The Bengalis, armed with a few looted guns, spears and often just bamboo staves, were ill-trained for a guerrilla war. But a resistance movement, once organized, might eventually force the West Pakistanis to depart. In a way the struggle evoked haunting memories of the Nigerian civil war of 1967-70, when the federal regime sought justification in the name of national unity and the Biafrans in the name of self-determination

First Shot

Until last week, Pakistan political leaders seemed on the verge of settling their differences. Then in rapid order, three events carried the nation over the brink of violence. In Chittagong, a mob surrounded West Pakistani troops unloading supply ships. Where the first shots came from is unclear, but when the troops opened fire 35 Bengalis were killed. Their political leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, called a general strike to protest. Then Yahya Khan outlawed Mujib and his Awami League Party as "enemies of Pakistan" and ordered the armed forces to "do their duty".

In Dacca, army tanks and truckloads of troops with fixed bayonets came clattering out of their suburban base, shouting "Victory to Allah," and "Victory to Pakistan." TIME correspondent Dan Coggin, who, along with other newsmen, was subsequently expelled from Pakistan reported: "Before long, howitzer tank, artillery and rocket blasts rocked half a dozen scattered sections of Dacca. Tracers arched over the darkened city. The chatter of automatic weapons was punctuated with grenade explosions, and tall columns of black smoke towered over the city. In the night came the occasional cry of "Joi Bangla (Victory to Bengal)" followed by a burst of machine-gun fire."

The army ordered a strict 24-hour curfew in Dacca, with violators shot on sight. But soon the Free Bengal Revolutionary Radio Centre, probably somewhere in Chittagong, crackled into life. Over the clandestine station, Mujib proclaimed the creation of the "sovereign independent Bengali nation," and called on its people to "resist the enemy forces at all corner of Bangladesh". The defiant words, however, lacked military substance. At 1.30 a.m. the following day, soldiers seized the Sheikh in his home. Meanwhile, scattered rioting broke out in West Pakistan to protest the prospect of prolonged military rule.

The rupture in Pakistan stemmed from the country's first experiment with true democracy. After it was founded in 1947, Pakistan was ruled on the basis of a hand-picked electorate; Martial Law was imposed after an outbreak of rioting in 1969. During those years, Pakistan was divided by more than geography. Physically and psychologically the 58 million tall, light-skinned people of the West identified with the Islamic peoples who inhabit the area of land stretching as far as Turkey. The smaller, darker East Pakistan seemed to belong to the world of South and South East Asia. More divisive yet was the fact that the westerners monopolised the government and the army had dominated the nation's commercial life. The East Pakistanis have over the years, earned the bulk of the country's foreign exchange with their jute exports, yet the majority of schools, roads, new factories and modern government buildings went up in the west.

Eager to relinquish power and return the country to civilian rule, Yahya called elections last December for a National Assembly to write a new constitution. East Pakistanis gave Sheikh Mujib's Awami League 167 of the region's 169 seats and an overall majority in the combined nation's 313 seat assembly chamber. Mujib's platform called for a virtual dismantling of the central government, leaving it in charge of defense and diplomacy and giving the provinces total control of taxes, trade and foreign aid.

Determined to hold the country together, Yahya resisted Mujib's demands for autonomy. Postponing the Constituent Assembly, he flew to Dacca, and in eleven days of meeting with Mujib came almost within sight of a compromise agreement. Yahya, however, demanded that the leader of West Pakistan's majority party, ex-Foreign Minister 'Zulfiqar AU Bhutto, also be a party to the agreement. Bhutto insisted on heading the foreign ministry while Mujib maintained that with an overall majority, he had the right to form a government without Bhutto.

Mendicant Among Nations

If East Pakistan eventually takes its place in the world community as Bangladesh, it will have the world's eighth largest population and lowest per capita income (\$ 50 a year). It will, inevitably, become a mendicant among nations, and the U.S. will face the need to increase the \$ 150 million a year in foreign aid that it now gives to the combined wings of the country. East Pakistan has little industry to speak of, and the world-demand for jute is gradually dropping. West Pakistan will also be left smaller and poorer, though it now has the beginning of an industrial base, consisting primarily of textile mills.

If anyone gains from the sorry split, it will be India, which would face a greatly weakened adversary. Mujib has indicated that he would like to establish friendly relations with New Delhi and, particularly, with the Hindu Bengalis just across the border. He does not share West Pakistan's hostility toward India over the disputed territory of Kashmir. West Pakistan left with a smaller economic base and without the East's foreign exchange earnings, could not easily maintain as strong an army as the one thoughtful Indians could not regard their neighbor's troubles with too much satisfaction. India itself is, by no means, immune to the centrifugal forces of tribalism and many of its people remember all too well Nehru's recurring nightmare; a subcontinent alternating between periods of political unity and bloody interludes of division and strife.

"Raise Your Hands And Join Me"

When West Pakistani soldiers arrested Sheikh Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman last week, they gave him a chance to add to an unenviable record. Mujib has already spent more time in prison than any other major Pakistani politician; nine years and eight months.

What makes the Sheikh so unpopular with West Pakistanis is the fact that for more than 23 years he has been the leading advocate of Purbadesh (regional autonomy) for East Pakistan. In last December's elections, Purbadesh was Mujib's chief issue. After visiting the cyclone, devastated Ganges Delta region just before the general elections, he declared: "If the polls bring us frustration, we will owe it to the million who have died in the cyclone to make a supreme sacrifice of another million lives, if need be, so that can live as free people."

Grey-haired, stocky and tall for a Bengali (6ft.) the bespectacled Mujib always wears a loose white shirt with a black, sleeveless, vest like jacket. A moody man, he tends to scold Bengalis like so many children. He was born in the East Bengal village of Tongipara 51 years ago to a middle class landowner {his landlord status accounts for the title of Sheikh). Mujib studied liberal Arts at Calcutta's Islamia College and Law at Dacca University. He lives with his wife Fazilatunnesa, three sons and two daughters in a modest two-storey house in Dacca's well-to-do Dhanmondi section. Except for a brief stint as an insurance salesman, he has devoted most of his time to politics. First he opposed British rule in India. After the subcontinent's partition in 1947, he denounced West Pakistan's dominance of East Pakistan with every bit as much vehemence. "Brothers", he would say to his Bengali followers, "do you know that the streets of Karachi are paved with gold? Do you want to take back that gold? Then raise your hands and join me." He was first jailed in 1948, when he demonstrated against Pakistan Founder Mohammad Ali Jinnah for proclaiming Urdu the new nation's lingua franca.

Yet he has remained, in many respects, a political moderate. He is a social democrat who favors nationalizing major industries, banks and insurance companies. In foreign exchange policy too, he follows a middle course. Where West Pakistan's Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto favors closer ties with China and the Soviet Union and is stridently anti-Indian, Mujib would like to trade with India and is regarded as moderately pro-Western.

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৬। বাংলায় রক্তবন্যা	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES. APRIL 7, 1971

BLOODBATH IN BENGAL

Washington's persistent silence on recent events in Pakistan becomes increasingly incomprehensible in the light of mounting eyewitness evidence that the Pakistani Army has engaged in indiscriminate slaughter of civilians and the selective elimination of leadership groups in the separatist state of East Bengal.

A State Department spokesman conceded yesterday that "we would be concerned if American weapons were used in circumstances such as these." But he insisted the United States has no first-hand knowledge that such is the case. This is sophistry. Only last month the Secretary of State, in his annual foreign policy report, noted that this country had agreed to sell additional equipment to the Pakistanis "for their largely U.S. equipped army."

On any basis, the United States would have a humanitarian duty to speak out against the bloodbath in Bengal, as the Soviet Union already has done. Washington, as Pakistan's chief arms supplier, has a double obligation to declare its disapproval of the tactics employed and to make clear that no additional American arms-including spare parts-will be sent to Pakistan until this savage repression in the East is stopped.

America's own interests call for it to do everything possible to help bring a speedy end to a civil conflict that could touch off a chain reaction of communal strife throughout the Indian subcontinent, with grave international implications.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৭।৭দেশত্যাগীদের মতে ভয়ঙ্কর যুদ্ধ চলছে	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 7, 1971
**FOREIGN EVACUEES FROM
 EAST PAKISTAN TELL OF GRIM FIGHT**
By Sydney H. Schanberg

More than 100 foreign evacuees arrived here today after a 34-hour voyage from Chittagong, East Pakistan's major port bringing the latest eyewitness reports about the Pakistani army's attempt to suppress the independence movement.

"It's a massacre," said John Martinussen, a Danish student.

"We saw the army shooting civilians," said Neil O'Toole, an American from New Rochelle, N.Y. "I don't want to say too much because I'm afraid of reprisals against our organization." He asked that the name of his organization not be mentioned.

The 119 foreigners, who arrived at the Calcutta docks this afternoon aboard a British cargo vessel that had been sitting in Chittagong harbor unable to unload because of the fighting, were of 17 nationalities. The two largest groups were 37 Americans and 33 Britons.

As they came down the gangplank of the vessel, the Clan Mac-Nair, they were met by diplomatic officials and a crowd of Indian and foreign newsmen.

Though some of the evacuees were reluctant to talk, others painted a grim picture of Chittagong, East Pakistan's second-largest city. Until now little has been known of how that city of 400,000 inhabitants has fared in the fighting.

The foreigners said that after several days of fighting, the army-all West Pakistani troops-had pushed the East Pakistani resistance forces out of the city.

But they added, the army's control ends five miles outside the city at the banks of the Karnalphuli River.

Everything from the river south, they said, is in the hands of the "liberation army which consists of civilians and members of the East Pakistani police, the East Pakistani Rifles and the East Bengal Regiment who have come over to the independence movement.

The foreigners said that they could hear shooting on the outskirts of the city even as they were leaving for Calcutta yesterday morning. Most of the residents have fled the city and gone into the countryside, they said.

Army Burns Slums

In the city, where fighting broke out early Friday morning, on March 26, the foreigners said the army had burned to the ground many of the flimsy slums of the poor, the staunchest supporters of independence.

The ashes of the bamboo huts in these neighborhoods were still smoldering, the foreigners said, as they were taken to the docks under military escort yesterday morning to be evacuated.

The Pakistan Radio, speaking for the Pakistan Government, contends that all of East Pakistan is calm and that life is returning to normal.

"Nothing is calm, and nothing has come back to normal," said Mr. Martinussen. Who came to Chittagong seven months ago with his wife Karen to study Pakistani politics as part of his master's degree program at Aarhus University in Denmark?

"They systematically burned down the districts of the poor people, apparently because they felt they couldn't search them thoroughly," he went on. "They seemed to be enjoying killing and destroying everything."

"Many Bengalis have been killed," the 23-year-old student went on. "In the river just four days ago. you could count 400 bodies floating in one area."

Mr. Martinussen, who related several accounts of civilians being gunned down in shops and on the street, forecast eventual victor)' for the 75 million East Pakistanis, who have long protested their exploitation by West Pakistan, which is situated more than 1,000 miles away across Indian territory.

Independence Movement

"So many Bengalis want their Bangladesh," said the slim student, "that I'm sure they will get it."

Bangladesh is Bengali for Bengal nation. It is the independence movement's name for East Pakistan.

His views were echoed by Mr. O'Toole, who is 26 years old. Chittagong is controlled by the army," he said. "It is controlled by brute force and terror. The army kept coming in. They were shooting civilians. We saw dead bodies. We smelled the stench of death.

"There was a lot of harassment and beating," he added, "and there was indiscriminate looting and burning by outsiders.

Vengeance Reported

Mr. O'Toole did not explain what he meant by "outsiders" -but he apparently was talking about West Pakistanis living in East Pakistan.

Other refugees reported that some Bengalis had taken vengeance by killing non-Bengali businessmen.

The foreigners said that a 7 p. m. to 5 a.m. curfew prevails in Chittagong, that electric power, cut for three days, has been restored only in some areas of the city, and that the port was virtually shut down since there were no Bengalis to work there.

Some of the evacuees left their homes during the heavy fighting and took refuge in the Hotel Agrabad, away from the center of action.

They said that soldiers had visited some of their homes while they were away.

"The army was very polite," Edward J. McManus, an American engineer from Montrose, N.Y., said with sarcasm. "They drank all my whisky, but they gave me .all my glasses back. Very honest."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৮। আমরা সবাই বাঙালী	দি নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUN DA Y, APRIL 11. 1971

WE ARE ALL BENGALIS

The following dispatch was written by an Agence France- Presse correspondent who got into East Pakistan last week.

Calcutta-Crossing the border into "Bangladesh"- "Bengal Nation," as most East Pakistanis now call their region-you feel you're seeing something filmed a long time ago by some newsreel pioneer. The ancient Enfield and Garand rifles in the hands of the overnight revolutionaries, the refugee-laden carts, the bodies lying unnoticed by the roadside -all this could be out of the Spanish Civil War or the Chinese revolution.

A "Liberation Army" lorry with a dozen "freedom fighters" and two or three rifles among them takes you along the road to the Bengalis proudest possession in this part of the region-the city of Jessore, 30 miles from the Indian border, wrested from the Pakistani army in bloody fighting. Before entering Jessore you pass several razed villages. Bodies lie in the charred ruins. The ruins in the heart of Jessore suggest that the West Pakistani air force has not been too careful.

Only a few months ago, people in East Pakistan would complain to visiting journalists of the "dirty and arrogant Hindus." Now they say, "Hindu, Moslem, that does not count any more. We arc all Bengalis." The enemy now is "Punjabi", the most commonly used name for the West Pakistanis.

The villages are plastered with slogans, the quotations from Rabindranath Tagore, the great poet of pre-partition India, sorting oddly with the exhortations of Mao Tse-tung: "Long live the people s war!" "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." The Maoists are one of the three organized groups in East Pakistan. They are still only a tiny minority compared to the two dominant groups-the Awami League party of Sheikh Mujib and the Bengali units of the army, totaling about 25,000 men-but their strength is growing. Sheikh Mujib, who is enormously popular (and known for his opposition to violence) is either dead or in jail.

How it Began

No one we talked to seemed to have expected the situation to come to this anachronistic killing of poor people by other poor people united for 20 years by religion and a common national ideal. In Chuadanga, a town 20 miles from the border serving as the "provisional capital of Bangladesh," Maj. M. A. Osman. military commander of the Southwestern Sector, told us how it had begun for him.

On the night of March 24, when the "Punjabi" army cracked down. Major Osman had a discussion with his Punjabi commanding officer, Major Attaque Shah. "He was extremely polite, and let me keep my jeep, my gun and my driver." Next day Sheikh Mujib appealed to the Bengalis to rise up against the "occupiers," and Attaque Shah had to be arrested and, later on, liquidated."

What will this tragic new enmity-the product of short-sighted refusal of autonomy that can only profit the extremists in both halves of Pakistan-lead to? For a certain Dr. Haque, Major Osman's political deputy, a bearded man in a green sombrero who fondles his two 45 caliber guns as he talks and is almost the perfect caricature of a revolutionary leader, the answer is "very simple."

"There are 72 million inhabitants or more in Bangladesh," he says, "In this human ocean there are still Pakistani pockets. In order to win, since there are less than 100,000 Pakistan soldiers in Bangladesh, each Punjabi would have to kill about 1,000 Bengalis. This is obviously impossible, and therefore our victory is certain."

-Jean Vincent

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
১৯। প্রথম রাউন্ডে পশ্চিম পাকিস্তানের বিজয়	টাইম	১২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

TIME MAGAZINE, APRIL 12, 1971
PAKISTAN: ROUND 1 TO THE WEST.

"There is no doubt" said a foreign diplomat in East Pakistan last Week, "that the word massacre applies to the situation". Said another Western official: "It's a veritable bloodbath. The troops have been utterly merciless".

As Round I of Pakistan's bitter civil war ended last week the winner-predictably was the tough West Pakistan army, which has a powerful force of 80,000 Punjabi and Pakistan soldiers on duty in rebellious East Pakistan. Reports coming out of the East via diplomats, frightened refugees and clandestine broadcasts varied wildly. Estimates of the total dead ran as high as 300,000. A figure of 10,000 to 15,000 is accepted by several Western governments, but no one can be sure of anything except that untold thousands perished.

Mass Graves

Opposed only by bands of Bengali peasants armed with stones and bamboo sticks, tanks rolled through, Dacca, the East's capital, blowing houses to bits. At the University soldiers slaughtered students inside the British Council building. "It was like Chengis Khan," said a shocked Western official who witnessed the scene. Near Dacca's marketplace, Urdu-speaking government soldiers ordered Bengali-speaking townspeople to surrender, then gunned them down when they failed to comply. Bodies lay in mass graves at the University, in the old city, and near the municipal dump.

During rebel attacks on Chittagong, Pakistani naval vessels shelled the port, setting fire to harbor installations. At Jessore, in the south-west, angry Bengalis were said to have hacked alleged government spies to death with staves and spears. Journalists at the Petrapole checkpoint on the Indian border found five bodies and a human head near the frontier post-the remains, apparently, of a group of West Pakistanis who had tried to escape. At week's end there were reports that East Bengali rebels were maintaining a precarious hold on Jessore and perhaps Chittagong. But in Dacca and most other cities, the rebels had been routed.

The army's quick victory, however, did not mean that the 58 million West Pakistani could go on nominating the 78 million Bengalis of East Pakistan indefinitely. The second round may well be a different story. It could be fought out' in paddies and jungles and along river banks for months or even years.

Completing the Rupture

The civil war erupted as a result of a victory that was too sweeping, a mandate that was too strong. Four months ago, Pakistan's President Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan, held elections for a Constituent Assembly to end twelve years of Martial Law. Though he

is a Pathan from the West, Yahya was determined to be fair to the Bengalis. He assigned a majority of the assembly seats to Pakistan's more populous eastern wing, which has been separated from the West by 1,000 miles of India since the partitioning of the subcontinent in 1947.

To everyone's astonishment. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League won 167 of the 169 seats assigned to the Bengalis, a clear majority in the 313 seats assembly. 'I do not want to break Pakistan,' Mujib told Time shortly before the final rupture two weeks ago. "But we Bengalis must have autonomy so that we are not treated like a colony of the western wing." Yahya resisted Mujib's demands for regional autonomy and a withdrawal of troops. Mujib responded by insisting on an immediate end to Martial Law. Soon the break was complete. Reportedly seized in his Dacca residence at the outset of fighting and flown to West Pakistan, Mujib will probably be tried for treason.

All Normal

West Pakistan have been told little about the fighting. *All Normal*. In East was a typical newspaper heading in Karachi last week. Still, they seemed solidly behind Yahya's tough stand. "We can't have our flag defiled, our soldiers spat at, our nationality brought into disrepute," said Pakistan Government Information Chief, Khalid Ali. "Mujib, in the end, had no love of Pakistan."

Aware that many foreigners were sympathetic to the Bengalis, Yahya permitted the official news agency to indulge in, an orgy of paranoia. "Western press reports prove that a deep conspiracy has been hatched by the Indo-Israeli axis against the integrity of Pakistan and the Islamic basis of her ideology," said the agency.

The Indian government did in fact, contribute to Pakistan's anxiety. Although New Delhi denied that India was supplying arms to the, Bengali rebels, the Indian Parliament passed a unanimous resolution denouncing the "carnage" in East Pakistan. India's enthusiasm is hardly surprising in view of its long standing feud with the West Pakistanis and the brief but bloody war of 1965 over Kashmir. But Western governments urged New Delhi to restrain itself so as not to provoke West Pakistan into making an impulsive response.

Hit And Run

For the time, being, West Pakistan's army can probably maintain its hold on Dacca and the other cities of the East! But it can hardly hope to control 55,000 sq. ml. of countryside and a hostile population indefinitely. The kind of Bengali terrorism that forced the British Raj to move the capital from Calcutta to Delhi in 1911, any well manifest itself again in a growing war of hit-and-run, sabotage and arson. In modern times, the East Bengalis have been best known to foreigners as mild-mannered peasants, clerks and shopkeepers, perhaps the least martial people on the subcontinent,' But in their support of an independent Bangladesh (Bengal State), they have displayed a fighting spirit that could spell lasting turmoil for those who want Pakistan to remain united. As Mujib often asked his followers rhetorically: "Can bullets suppress 78 million people?"

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২০। পাকিস্তান : একটি আদর্শের মৃত্যু	নিউইয়র্ক উইক	১২ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, APRIL 12, 1971
PAKISTAN: DEATH OF AN IDEAL

They were long on defiance and short on firepower, a scraggly band of impoverish Bengali peasants armed mainly with picks, clubs and bamboo sticks. But they claimed that they had trapped a force of more than 1,000 government troops in a cantonment 2 miles north-west of the East Pakistani city of Jessore. And now, the Bengalis swore that they would continue to besiege the encircled federal garrison until the Punjabi soldiers from West Pakistan died from starvation. "We have the soldiers surrounded, and they cannot get .out to get food," one rebel told, Newsweek's Tony Clifton excitedly. "Those bloody buggers are starving and, will surely die. They must die".

That glimpse of the continuing fury and hatred that is racking East Pakistan came last week when Clifton slipped across the Indian border into. East Pakistan for a day's tour of some nearby villages. Otherwise, with East Pakistan clamped under tight censorship and with all foreign correspondents banned, the news blackout on Pakistan's civil war was almost totally effective. And a flood of conflicting and unconfirmed rumors poured into neighboring India to add to the communications confusion.

From all indications, foreign governments were experiencing similar problems in obtaining solid information on the East Pakistan situation. In Washington Sen. Edward Kennedy said that reports received by his refugee subcommittee told of "indiscriminate killing, the execution of dissident' political leaders and students and thousands of civilians suffering and dying every hour of the day". While Kennedy did not identify his source. State Department spokesman Robert J. McCloskey promptly denied that the Nixon Administration was suppressing reports from Dacca and declared that it was "impossible to estimate a reliable set of facts regarding recent events and to assess their consequences". Nonetheless, at the end of the week, the U.S. arranged with Pakistan International Airlines to evacuate, dependents of American diplomatic officials in East Pakistan.

Protest

While the U.S. remained cautiously noncommittal on the events in Pakistan no such restraints were observed in India. There, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi condemned the Pakistani army assault on East Bengal as "the systematic decimation of people which amounts to genocide". Day after day Indian newspapers splashed lurid headlines, across their front pages describing fierce battles and bloody atrocities in East Bengal in tern, tire Islamabad government in West Pakistan accused the Indian Government and press of spreading false and baseless news reports, And with officials of the two governments exchanging protest all last week, the long-standing enmity between India and Pakistan was in danger of moderating.

If India reports that 7,00,000 people may have perished in the East Pakistani fighting seemed wildly exaggerated, the Pakistani Government claim that order and calm prevailed throughout East Pakistan seemed equally improbable. From fragmentary reports it appeared that the federal army was, in fact, in command of most major cities, but control of the countryside remained in doubt. "The troops can make sallies from cantonments and they occasionally do because they have concentrated firepower", correspondent Clifton reported. "However they dare not spend much time away from base for fear of ambush and must return before dark. Their policy seems to be to go on short terror raids to cow the population into surrender. The question is whether the rebels can hold out until the monsoon comes in a month or so when the weather will make the roads impassable".

Brooding

The civil strife in East Pakistan meanwhile, seems hardly to have touched the consciousness of Pakistanis in the western sector more than 1,000 miles away across Indian territory. On the surface at least *Newsweek's* Milan J. Kubic found that life in West Pakistan moved along at a business as usual pace. But Kubic also discovered a deep sense of brooding among intellectuals and politicians who saw the end of the ideals upon which Pakistan was founded 23 years ago. "When we were building this country, the only argument, we had for dismembering the Indian subcontinent was our desire to "build a home where all of its Moslems would feel free and equal," an elder statesman in Lahore remarked sadly. " That ideal is now dead, and the Pakistan which we conceived has gone out of existence."

The Awakening of A People

Early last month, when riots erupted in East Pakistan, *Newsweek* correspondent Loren Jenkins flew to Dacca to 'cover the Bengali struggle for national autonomy. Where civil war flared up and the Pakistani Army put the region under total censorship, Jenkins, along with all other foreign newsmen, was expelled from the country. On his return to Beirut last week, Jenking filed this personal report on East Pakistan's tragic ordeal:

He stood under a hot noon sun, beads of sweat clinging to his forehead around the edge of his slicked-back grey hair. His eyes were red from fatigue, but his face glowed with pride and hope. Only minutes before, a mob of students from the Dacca Medical School' had swirled through the green iron gates into the garden of his modest home in the Dacca suburb of Dhanmondi. The impassioned young people shouted "Joi Bangla". ("Victory to Bengal") to demonstrate their support for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, 51 year old leader of East Pakistan's 75 million people. His spirits soaring, Mujib (as he is called by everyone in East Pakistan) turned to our group of foreign correspondents in his garden and spoke, with excitement: "My people are united, they cannot be stopped. Do you think machine guns can really extinguish the spirit and the soul of my people?"

Only 36 hours after Mujib uttered those words, Pakistan's army dominated by the Punjabis of West Pakistan, suddenly weighed in with its own ruthless answer, with bloody and sometimes indiscriminate use of its massive firepower the army won the first

round. And with Mujib's fate, in doubt (he was, variously reported to be under army arrest or safe in hiding), East Pakistan's brief, fighting for independence was smashed for the moment at least. But the memory of that experience, the amazing unity of purpose that it forged among Bengalis will linger on, growing apace with the bitter resentment that must inevitably flow from the federal army's outright occupation of East Pakistan. For last month in Bangladesh the "Bengal Nation" as Mujib's supporters renamed East Pakistan, there occurred a strange and powerful awakening of a people who have been exploited, reviled, humiliated and cheated by the Punjabi minority since Pakistan was founded more than 23 years ago.

In a sense, credit for this awakening must go to President Mohammad Yahya Khan, who' forced the showdown by canceling last month's scheduled opening of the newly elected National Assembly, in which Mujib's Awami League had won a majority. Seeing Yahya's sudden action as yet another Punjabi maneuver to deny East Pakistan's aspirations for greater' autonomy, Bengali nationalists clashed with federal troops in, the trappings of an independent state. Overnight, the green and white flag of Pakistan seemed to disappear in Dacca, in its place rose a new Bengali flag, designed' by Dacca University students, a bottle-green banner bearing a red circle and, within the circle a yellow map of East Pakistan.

Compromise

The nerve centre of East- Pakistan's adhoc government was Mujib's home where the pipe-smoking leader met with all comers in his sparsely furnished saloon. Ironically, as independence fever mounted throughout Bangladesh, it was Mujib who sought to moderate the passions. Aware that any unilateral declaration of independence would bring down the, wrath of the army, Mujib desperately sought a compromise that would give Bengal' the autonomy his people demanded while preserving, at least a semblance of 'Pakistani national unity as the army demanded. Though few people said so openly, Mujib was the last hope that Pakistan's two distant and disparate wings might achieve some kind of accommodation.

What finally undid Mujib's efforts was the supercilious attitudes of the West Pakistanis, especially the Punjabis and Pathans who dominate the army and who have been nurtured on impassioned patriotism and cliches about the inferiority of Bengalis. To the West Pakistanis Mujib and the Awami League were in open rebellion, even though Mujib was, in fact, the leader of the nation's majority political party. What mattered above all to the westerners was the preservation of Pakistan's unity and integrity. There are, of course, valid arguments for keeping a nation united; it usually makes economic, diplomatic and military sense. But the enmity between Pakistan's two wings, separated by more than 1,000 miles of Indian territory, had become so virulent as to reduce such notions of unity to mere fiction.

Terror

When the army decided to strike, it attacked without warning. Truckloads of troops spread out through Dacca under the cover of darkness with orders to use maximum force to stamp out all resistance. Houses were machine-gunned at random; tanks firing on the

apparent whim of their commanders, clanged through the streets. It was a blatant exercise in terror and vengeance. There can never be any excuse for the sort of firepower we saw and heard being directed against unarmed civilians. There can be no excuse for the merciless burning of the shanty homes of some of the world's most impoverished people.

And we had already seen too much to suit the Pakistani Army. "You must pack and be ready to go in a half hour" Major Siddiq, the army's uninformative Public Relations Officer, told all the foreign correspondents in Dacca. "Are we being expelled?" I asked, "I would not use those words," he replied. "But you are all leaving."

Two hours later, we were herded into four army trucks and taken under guard to Dacca's airport, where we were searched and most of our notes and films confiscated. A Pakistan civilian jetliner flew us to Karachi in West Pakistan, where we were searched again. My type-writer and radio were dismantled and two rolls of film I had hidden in the radio's battery compartment were seized. I was then taken into another room and stripped and a packet of film that I was carrying in my underwear was taken. "You will have only your memory left", a police official chortled cheerfully.

Unity

That I do have I can still recall the sight of men, women and children hacking down trees and tearing up construction sites to build barricades to hamper the army's movements. Bullets fired into darkened homes were answered with cries of "Bengalis Unite!" And earlier, before the army crackdown, I had visited a village where volunteers, directed by ex-noncoms from the old British Indian Army, were training for guerrilla resistance "We will cut roads, stop ferries, destroy bridges." One resistance leader told me, "and we will get guns from our enemy." Perhaps his prophecy will not come true. But if a guerrilla war does engulf the East Pakistan countryside, the struggle for Bangladesh promises to be long and bloody. Whatever happens to Mujib himself, such a conflict will be the final test of his contention that machineguns cannot kill the spirit of his people.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২১। হত্যায়জ্ঞের মধ্যে বাঙালীদের মন্ত্রিসভা গঠন	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 14, 1971

BENGALIS FORM A CABINET AS THE BLOODSHED GOES ON

The following dispatch is by the New Delhi correspondent of The New York Times, who has just completed a four-day trip through, the border region of India and East Pakistan, as well as inside East Pakistan.

By Sydney H. Schanberg

Special To The New York Times

Agartala, India, April 13-Although large number of East Pakistani secessionist leaders have been reported killed and with wholesale bloodshed continuing, several members of the movement's high command are alive and have formed a cabinet.

They include Tajuddin Ahmed second in command to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, whose Awami League took the steps for independence, that brought West Pakistan's military crackdown.

In an East Pakistani border area visited by this correspondent, at least six secessionist leaders met to name Mr. Ahmed Prime Minister and Defense Minister of the state they call Bangladesh, or Bengal Nation. They proclaimed Sheikh Mujib their President, although privately the secessionist leaders acknowledged that he was in prison in West Pakistan.

While the central Government, which is dominated by West Pakistan continues to announce that the situation is calm in the East and conditions are returning to normal, a far different picture emerges on the scene.

Daily Battles Reported

Daily battles are reliably reported in many sectors. Hordes of East Pakistanis have fled the cities to seek refuge or join the secessionist army, and thousands of refugees, carrying their meager belongings in cardboard suitcases and sacks, are crossing into India for temporary haven.

This correspondent saw Pakistani soldiers burning villages to deny the resistance forces cover or hiding places. As the smoke from the thatch and bamboo huts billowed up on the outskirts of the city of Comilla, circling vultures descended on the bodies of peasants, already being picked apart by dogs and crows.

There is no way of knowing exactly how many of East Pakistan's '75 million Bengalis the army has killed, but authoritative reports from many sources agree that the figure is at least in the tens of thousands; some, reports put it much higher.

The central Government officially bars all foreign newsmen from East Pakistan. But from the evidence available in secessionist-held rural areas-some of which are occasionally contested by the army-the Pakistani armed forces have killed leaders and potential leaders of East Pakistan and shattered the economic base of the region, in their effort to crush the independence movement.

On orders, the army-now consisting entirely of West Pakistani troops-has killed students, intellectuals, professors, engineers, doctors and others of leadership caliber-whether, they were directly involved with the nationalist movement or not.

Both in military attacks and in executions, the central Government's forces killed East Pakistani Army officers and soldiers who were unable to break out and join the guerrilla forces when the army offensive began on March 25. Most of the officers' families have been killed, only a few escaped into hiding.

With the aid of air and naval bombardment, the army has destroyed food supplies, tea factories, jute mills and natural-gas fields the economic basis of East Pakistan.

"This has already set the country back 25 years," said a Scottish tea-estate manager who fled to India from his plantation in the northeast. "The liberation army, trying to stop the army, is blowing the railroad lines and roads. Even if they eventually win independence, they'll have to start completely from scratch again."

This man and two other estate managers who escaped with him asked that their names not be used because of their fear of reprisals against British families still in East Pakistan.

Attack on 'Empty' Trucks

The three evacuees reported that a convoy of nine trucks that the Pakistani radio contended had been carrying arms and ammunition from India and had been destroyed by Pakistani planes was in fact a collection of empty trucks in the yard of a tea estate.

Authoritative reports indicate that perhaps 20 to 25 per cent of the people are left in such towns as Dacca, the capital, are Chittagong and Comilla. Smaller centers are also largely deserted. Dacca had a population of about 1.5 million, Chittagong about 400,000 to 500,000 and Comilla about 100,000.

In the eastern part of East Pakistan the thump of artillery fire can be heard every day in virtually every sector. After every guerrilla attack or harassment by the outnumbered and outgunned resistance troops, the Pakistani Army appears to be inflicting reprisals on the civilian population.

"The bloody cowards" said a young Bengali lieutenant who escaped the army attempt to annihilate his battalion of the East Bengal Regiment at Comilla. "We give them fronts to shoot at. We are in uniform. But they attack civilians instead."

The secessionist army is desperately short of trained officers, arms, ammunition, vehicles and basic supplies. Some of the men are barefoot.

The heaviest weapon the secessionists have in any number is the 3-inch mortar, although they have captured a few heavy guns. **The Pakistani military are using jet fighter-bombers, heavy artillery and gun boats-mostly supplied, by the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China.**

Pakistani charges that the Indian Government has been sending troops and weapons to East Pakistan are not borne out by this reporter's observations. No Indian troops were seen in the East Pakistani units.

Before the political crises began to mount, the Pakistani Army had about 25,000 troops in East Pakistan. Large numbers of reinforcement have been flown over from West Pakistan, which is separated from the Eastern province by over a thousand miles of Indian Territory.

Some estimates put the number of West Pakistani troops in East Pakistan at 60,000 to 80,000, most of them Punjabis and Pathans. The Punjabis in particular have traditionally held the Bengalis in disdain though both are predominantly Moslem.

The Bengalis are bitter about the failure of the United States to take a strong stand against the Pakistani Government; most of the leaders of the independence movement are pro-Western and were hoping for support from Washington. They are even more bitter about the American weapons being used against them.

'We Were Expecting Help'

"Do you know, they are using your planes, your rockets, your tanks, to kill us?" a Bengali soldier, his voice tense and his eyes narrowed, asked the American correspondent. "We were expecting help, not this." Similar remarks were made repeatedly by others.

The Bengalis are not so surprised by the Chinese weapons the army is using because they apparently expected Peking to support the Government. Some Bengali officers, contending that the army offensive was worked out in advance with the Chinese, insist that the army would never have embarked on such a venture without assurances of full support from Peking.

Even before the offensive, the Bengalis wondered why the Western powers and others did not support their cause. Now their disillusionment is complete.

"This is genocide, and people are just standing by and looking," a Bengali student remarked. "Nobody has spoken out. Has the world no conscience?"

The bitterness does not include India, which has condemned the Pakistani military action and is trying to persuade other governments to put pressure on Pakistan to stop the killing.

Indian civilians and officials in border areas are providing assistance to refugees and others, but this correspondent saw no arms being transported across the border-as the Pakistani Government has charged and New Delhi has repeatedly denied.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২২। পাকিস্তানে বিদ্রোহীরা স্বীকৃতি চায়	ডেট্রয়েট ফ্রি প্রেস	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

DETROIT FREE PRESS, APRIL 14, 1971
PAKISTANI REBELS ASK RECOGNITION

New Delhi-(UPI)- The secessionist government of Bangladesh proclaimed its sovereignty in East Pakistan on Tuesday and appealed to "all democratic countries" for recognition and assistance in the civil war with West Pakistan.

The proclamation, broadcast by the rebel Free Bengal Radio and monitored here said the capital of the Bangladesh (Bengali Nation) government would be Chuadanga, a small town 10 miles from the border with India.

West Pakistani troops reportedly were concentrating on the capture of major urban centers as they continued to crush the rebellion.

A note from communist Chinese Premier Chou En-lai pledging Peking's support to the Pakistan Government of President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan brought response from Karachi and New Delhi on Tuesday.

In Karachi, seat of Yahya's military government, a source said Chou's message was a direct warning to India to stay out of the civil war in East Pakistan; which is situated along India's eastern border 1,000 miles from West Pakistan.

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said, however, that Chou's note would have no effect on India's officially announced position of solidarity with the rebels.

Asked if India would recognize the secessionist government of Bangladesh, Mrs. Gandhi said "the matter will receive due consideration".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৩। বাঙালী যোদ্ধাদের সঙ্গে	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৪ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 14, 1971
WITH THE BANGLA FORCES

While the central government, which is dominated by West Pakistan, continues to announce that the situation is calm in the East and conditions are returning to normal, a far different picture emerges on the scene.

Daily battles are reliably reported in many sectors. Hordes of East Pakistanis have fled the cities to seek refuge or join the secessionist army, and thousands of refugees, carrying their meager belongings in cardboard suitcases and sacks, are crossing into India for temporary haven.

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"The bloody cowards!" said a young Bengali lieutenant who escaped the army attempt to annihilate his battalion of the East Bengal Regiment at Comilla. "We give them fronts to shoot at. We are in uniform. But they attack civilians instead."

The secessionist army is desperately short of trained officers, arms, ammunition, vehicles and basic supplies. Some of the men are barefoot.

The heaviest weapon the secessionists have in any numbers is the 3-inch mortar, although they have captured a few heavy guns. The Pakistani military are using jet fighter-bombers, heavy artillery and gunboats-mostly supplied by the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Pakistani charges that the Indian Government has been sending troops and weapons to East Pakistan are not borne out by, this reporter's observations. No Indian troops were seen in the East Pakistani units.

The basic weapons are old Enfield and Garand rifles and some Chinese-made automatic rifles and machine guns-which the Bengalis have either captured or had brought with them when they escaped from their units.

Fewer than 10 percent of the 300,000 men in the Pakistani armed forces were Bengalis. Nearly all of those who were not killed by the West Pakistani troops in the first days have joined the secessionist army and constitute its only trained elements.

The best available figures indicate that the trained core consists of some 3,000 members of the East Bengal Regiment, which was a regular unit, and some 9,000 members of the East Pakistan Rifles, a paramilitary unit one of whose duties was to man the observation posts on the border with India.

The rest of the secessionist force is made up of armed policemen home guards, other poorly trained local militia and raw recruits.

Before the political crisis began to mount, the Pakistani Army had about 25,000 troops in East Pakistan. Large numbers of reinforcements have been flown over from West Pakistan, which is separated from the Eastern province by over a thousand miles of Indian territory.

Some estimates put the number of West Pakistani troops in East Pakistan at 60,000 to - 80,000, most of them Punjabis and Pathans. The Punjabis in particular have traditionally held the Bengalis in disdain though both are predominantly Moslem.

Though the average amount of ammunition kept by the guerrilla riflemen is 30 to 40 rounds, their determination seems high, fueled many cases by the fact that the Pakistani Army has killed members of their families-and sometimes all of them.

"They have made me an orphan," said one soldier who, like many of his comrades, had glassy eyes and seemed unable to believe what had happened. "My life is unimportant now."

Two days ago West Pakistani troops, as they had been for several says" were burning villages on the outskirts of Comilla less than a mile from the Indian border. Their apparent purpose was to remove all cover within a five-mile radius of the airstrip. Reports indicate they are doing the same all over East Pakistan.

Maj. Khaled Musharrof, the 32-year-old guerrilla commander in the area, sent out a 10-man patrol to harass the Pakistani troops. This correspondent accompanied the patrol, three of whose members had no shoes.

Using rice paddies to advantage, the patrol stalked to within 200 yards of the soldiers, who were throwing phosphorous grenades into thatch huts. The Bengalis, who had some Chinese made automatic weapons, opened fire, which the soldiers immediately returned. The shooting was nearly constant for about 20 minutes, after which the Bengalis came scrambling back to safety over an embankment.

The co-ordination of guerrilla units is poor and in some instances non-existent. The Bengalis are now devoting themselves to guerrilla tactics while the army has gained control of most of the major cities and towns, including the cantonments and airfields.

With their added strength, the troops are launching forays into the countryside and sending out motorized columns to try to link up the cities they control. A few of the columns have been successful, but not many, because the guerrillas have been able to cut road, water and rail links with some regularity.

-Sydney H. Schanberg

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৪। গুলী না রুটি	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 15, 1971

BULLETS OR BREAD?

Washington's pretense of non-intervention in Pakistan's tragic internal conflict has been shattered this week by State Department acknowledgment that the United States has been selling ammunition and other "nonlethal" military equipment to the repressive Pakistani Government and by the Administration's persisting refusal to impose a ban such sales. As long as these sales continue, the United States places itself alongside China on the side of the military regime in Islamabad and, in effect, makes itself a party to the continuing slaughter of Pakistan's Bengali majority and to the suppression of the recently elected majority party in Pakistan's still uncovered National Assembly.

Three weeks after President Yahya turned loose his army on the mostly unarmed Bengalis, the State Department says it does not know when the last United States arms deliveries were made to Pakistan; what is now en route or what is being prepared for shipment. Even if this incredible admission of bureaucratic incompetence were true, it would be no excuse for the Administration's failure to order an immediate embargo on all arms shipments to Pakistan in the face of overwhelming evidence of misuse of earlier aid.

In the cruelest blow of all to the miserable Bengalis, Washington has suspended wheat shipments to Pakistan, having determined with remarkable speed that there are already more shipments on hand than can be landed through devastated East Pakistani ports. This may be temporarily true, but surely the need for food relief in East Pakistan in the coming months will be greatly increased. The focus should be on breaking down the logjam caused by the military actions, the incompetence and the indifference of the western-dominated Pakistani Government. **Under on circumstances can neutrality stand as an excuse for failure to make the most vigorous effort to promote humanitarian relief for the victims of conflict regardless of political persuasion?**

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৫। অর্থনৈতিক দুর্যোগ	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৫ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 15, 1971

ECONOMIC HAVOC

Peasants in many areas of East Pakistan are not planting their rice because the daily shooting between the Pakistani Army and the Bengali independence forces has made them afraid to come out in the open.

In West Pakistan, 1,000 miles away across Indian territory' textile mills are turning out cheap cotton goods that have no market other than East Pakistan, but cannot be sold there unless the Pakistani Army crushes the independence movement and ends the war.

These are but marks of the havoc the three-week war has created in the economies of both wings of the country, beyond the loss of life in the East.

Although this correspondent saw no outright starvation in East Pakistan, food stocks in the countryside are low and famine seems a possibility in some areas.

Even in normal times, East Pakistan might be called a hunger area, for it has an annual food-grain deficit of 25 million tons.

With foreign newsmen barred by the Pakistani government from entering East Pakistan, no reports are available from some of the heavily populated islands in East Pakistan's delta on the Bay of Bengal. Several hundred thousand were killed in the delta in November by a cyclone that also destroyed most of last year's rice crop there.

Approximately two million survivors have been living ever since on relief supplies. The political crisis that erupted early in March and the Army attack on the civilian population after that have halted shipments of food to the cyclone affected area.

Foreign diplomats and others fear that the food problem there could become grave a few weeks, with the coming of the monsoon rains, which each year cut off some of the islands from the rest of the country for nearly five months.

Beyond that, it is estimated that 100,000 cyclone survivors are still without houses or shelter. In the monsoon, they will face desperate conditions.

War disruptions are compounding the economic crises. The Pakistani armed forces, composed entirely of West Pakistani troops, are destroying food stocks, tea plantations and jute mills. The resistance troops, adopting guerrilla tactics, are tearing up rail lines, blowing up bridges and demolishing roads to restrict the army's movements and cut its supply routes.

Tea estate and jute-mill managers, mostly foreigner, are abandoning their plantations, leaving them in the hands of Bengali assistants.

There is no money to pay the thousands of tea workers left behind and work has stopped on almost all plantations, most of them in Sylhet district in the northeast. The tea workers are all Hindus and according to the managers who fled, they have already begun migrating across the border to predominantly Hindu India.

The Pakistani Army has reportedly looted banks and shops.

"Their targets are mostly civilian," said Col. M. A. G. Osmany, the commander of the resistance forces, at this base in an eastern border area. "They are trying to terrorise and starve the population."

There are shortages of salt, lentils, mustard oil for cooking, kerosene for lamps and fuel for machines such as those that run village flour mills.

Rice and fish are the staple foods of the Bengalis-the 75 million people of East Pakistan-but with rice stocks dwindling they are turning to jackfruit as a new staple. Jackfruit, which can be cooked as a vegetable before it is ripe or eaten as a fruit when it matures, grows plentifully on trees everywhere in East Pakistan, but it has always been a minor part of the Bengals diet.

With nothing moving through East Pakistan's major port, Chittagong, except for the army's military supplies, the Bengalis for now will have to survive on what they can scratch from their own countryside, after centuries of floods, storms disease and the deepest poverty, they have become experts at survival.

Though the war has not touched West Pakistan physically, nearly every economic dislocation it has caused in the East will have an impact in the West.

Jute from the East was the country's largest single export product and foreign-exchange earner. Most of the foreign earnings were spent in West Pakistan to pay for the army and to finance big industries and public works.

This kind of exploitation East Pakistan, which has been going on since the two parts of the country were carved out of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, was the fuel that fired first the East's drive for equal treatment and regional autonomy and finally the movement for independence.

With the East's jute mills shut, West Pakistan's economy is in difficulty.

East Pakistan has always been the major market for West Pakistani manufactured goods, particularly cotton materials for clothing and now this trade has stopped.

The cotton is of such cheap quality that it has no market anywhere in the world; it was sold in the East at a Government fixed inflated price to support the West's textile industry.

With imposition of censorship on all news reports from West Pakistan, it is difficult to tell what stresses the economy there is showing.

How long the Pakistani Government can wage its war against the independence forces in East Pakistan is unsure.

-Sydney H. Schanberg

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৬। পূর্ব-পাকিস্তানের হত্যালীলা (সম্পাদকীয়)	ইভনিং স্টার	১৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE EVENING STAR, APRIL 17, 1971

Editorial

DEATH IN EAST PAKISTAN

It is, by every reasonably reliable account, all over in East Pakistan. All over that is, except the agony, the scorched earth policy, the wanton killing, the selective slaughter of potential Bengali leaders and the indestructible dream of independence.

The bid for autonomy has been, for the present, effectively suppressed. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the secessionist leader and president of Free Bengal, is reported to be in prison in West Pakistan, awaiting trial for treason. The remnant of the rebel army, short of arms, ammunition, food transportation and shoes, stages progressively weaker guerrilla raids on the well-equipped West Pakistani army of 80,000. In reprisal, the government forces have killed tens of thousands of Bengali civilians-and some reports put the figure in the hundreds of thousands. A New York Times correspondent, who crossed from India into East Pakistan, reported that government troops, acting on orders from Karachi, have killed engineers, doctors,- professors and students in an attempt to eradicate the future Bengali leadership. The army has tried to lay waste the future economy of East Pakistan by destroying the meager physical wealth of the area-food supplies, natural gas fields, jute mills.

Even making generous allowance for the exaggeration that usually accompanies a military defeat, the story from East Pakistan is one of atrocity and heartbreak. No one, however far removed from the devastation, can remain untouched by it.

For East Pakistan, the defeat brings another dimension of horror to a people who have, in recent months, borne the scourge of flood, disease and famine. For West Pakistan, the victory brings with it the" assurance of eventual defeat, for the bloody repression of the secessionists assures the Punjabis and the Pathans of the lasting enmity of the Bengalis.

The government of the United States cans, for the moment play no overt role other than that of anguished spectator. It can and should, however, use the channels of quiet diplomacy to persuade the West Pakistanis to stop the killing, which is approaching the proportions of genocide and it should prepare now for the moment when the fighting ends, the time when supplies of food, clothing and medicine, will be needed in quantity by the destitute survivors of the slaughter.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৭। বাঙালী সৈনিকের ভয়ঙ্কর অভিজ্ঞতা	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৭ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES. SATURDAY, APRIL 17, 1971
HOURS OF TERROR FOR A TRAPPED BENGALI OFFICER
 By Sydney H. Schanberg
Special to The New York Times

Agartala, India, April 13-On the night of March 25, Dabir recalls, he and the two other East Pakistani officers in the 53d Field Artillery Regiment were standing outside when they heard their commander tell the West Pakistani officers he had summoned to his office:

"All of you go now to the city, and by morning I want to see the whole of Comilla filled with corpses. If any officer hesitates to do so, I'll have no mercy on him."

Late, in the afternoon of March 30, Dabir says, after five days of house arrest for himself and the two other Bengali officers, the West Pakistanis sent an officer to their room to execute them- but Dabir, wounded, escaped by feigning death.

He has now joined the forces fighting for the independence of Bangladesh, or Bengal Nation, as the Bengali population has named East Pakistan.

Killing Their Comrades

Dabir's experience was apparently no exception. All over East Pakistan-according to Western evacuees, and Bengali soldiers and refugees-West Pakistanis, who dominate the armed forces, were killing their East Pakistani comrades in uniform to deny the independence movement a cadre of military leaders. The sources report that the families of many Bengali officers were also rounded up and killed:

The breakdown of the code of the soldier-officers and troops killing men with whom they had fought-perhaps depicts as well as any other facet of this conflict the depth of the racial hatred felt by the West Pakistanis, who are Punjabis and Pathans, for the 75 million Bengalis of East Pakistan.

The killing of Bengali soldiers began on the night that the army launched its effort to try to crush the independence movement.

Dabir, a slightly built second lieutenant who is 20 years old and unmarried, told his story of that night and the days that followed to this correspondent at a post in the eastern sector of East Pakistan.

Dabir is not his real name; he asked that a pseudonym be used on the chance that some members of his family-his parents, a brother and three sisters- might still be alive.

Given Office Duties

Talking in a soft, almost unemotional voice, he gave this account:

After the West Pakistani officers left the commander's office and headed for the armory to get their weapons, the three unarmed Bengali officers were called in and placed under what amounted to house arrest, although the commander said they were being given office duties.

That night, which they were made to spend in the room next to the commander's Dabir could not sleep. At 1 a.m. seven or eight shots were fired somewhere in the compound.

During the next three days, as Dabir and the two others, both captains, answered telephones and shuffled papers under the watch of sentries, they heard the sounds of machine-gun, small-arms and artillery fire in the distance.

Through a window they saw the 60 Bengali soldiers of the regiment being taken off behind a building, their hands in the air, by West Pakistani troops. Then the three heard a sustained burst of firing and assumed that the Bengalis had been killed.

All pretense was dropped on March 29 and the three officers were locked in a room together. They passed the night in fear.

On the afternoon of the 30th a West Pakistani officer walked up to the door and broke the glass with the barrel of a sub-machine gun.

One Bengali captain fell to his knees and begged for mercy. The answer was a burst of fire. The West Pakistani then fired a second burst into the other captain.

Dabir pressed himself against the wall next to the door. The West Pakistani tried the locked door, cursed and went away for key.

Dabir threw himself under his cot and covered his head with his hands. The man returned. "I shrieked," Dabir said. "He fired. I felt a bullet hit me. I made a noise as if I was dying. He stopped firing thinking I was dead, and went away."

Poked and Prodded

One bullet had struck Dabir's right wrist, another had grazed his cheek and a third had ripped his shirt up the back. He rubbed blood from his wrist over his face and held his breath when other officers returned to make sure all three were dead.

The West Pakistanis poked and prodded until they were satisfied. For the next two and a half hours soldiers kept coming into the room to view the spectacle. A Punjabi sergeant kicked the bodies of the two captains. Each time Dabir desperately held his breath.

"Time passed," Dabir continued. "The blood dried and flies gathered on my wound. The smell was bad."

After seven hours Dabir left by the window and dropped four feet to the ground. A sentry heard him and began firing, but it was dark and the shots went wild. Other soldiers in the compound also opened fire, but Dabir made it past the last sentry post, crawled through a rice paddy, swam across a small river and escaped. The next day a country doctor removed the bullet from his wrist and bandaged him.

Dabir looks like a boy-he weighs only 120 pounds-but his manner leaves no doubt that he is fully grown now, only three months after graduating fourth in his class from the military academy at Kabul, in West Pakistan.

His hatred for the West Pakistanis is intense but controlled. "Without any reason they have killed us," he said. "They have compelled us to stand against them."

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৮। পাকিস্তানের অস্ত্র মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রে তৈরি	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১৮ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEW YORK TIMES, APRIL 18, 1971
PAKISTAN'S MADE-IN-U.S.A. ARMS
 By Chester Bowles

Essex, Conn.-The appalling struggle now going on in East 'Pakistan is a further testimony to the folly of doling out arms to "friendly government's with little regard for whom they are to be used against or for what reasons.

The billion-dollar military equipment program for the Government of Pakistan (meaning West Pakistan) between 1954 and 1965 enabled and encouraged the Pakistanis to attack India in 1965. Now (along with some Soviet and Chinese equipment) it is being used by the West Pakistan Government to beat down their fellow countrymen in East Pakistan who recently voted overwhelmingly for greater independence.

It is particularly shoddy spectacle because there is no indication that our Government feels the slightest responsibility for how our weapons are being used. Indeed it has done its best to sweep the whole situation under the rug.

Even when the International Red Cross was refused entry into East Pakistan, when all foreign correspondents had been hurriedly ushered out of the country, and when daily on- the-spot reports from our Consulate General in Dacca had described in detail the massive military action by the West Pakistan Army against East Pakistan civilians, our Government persisted in saying it did not know what was going on and therefore was in no position to comment.

It was only when some 500 American refugees from East Pakistan began to give accounts to the press that our Government offered even a mild protest to the West Pakistan Government.

Two actions, it seems to me, should be taken at once. First, we should lodge a strong protest with the West Pakistan Government over the misuse of U.S. military equipment and all aid except medical supplies and food should promptly be stopped. Second, we should call for a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations to consider appropriate steps to deal with the threat to the peace of Asia which this conflict clearly has become. U.S. Government spokesmen have already ignored the first suggestion and rejected the second on the ground that the fighting in East Pakistan is an "internal question" in which we have no right to interfere. But what about U.S. action in the Congo? What about South Africa? Southern Rhodesia, Cyprus?

When peace is threatened on such a massive scale the United Nations has an overriding obligation to do everything possible to settle the conflict before it gets out of control. This obligation is particularly clear when the "internal problem" is created by the efforts of a well-armed minority to subdue the overwhelming majority constituting more than one-half of a divided country, separated by more than 1,000 miles of alien territory, speaking different languages and with deep built-in cultural conflicts and differing economic interests.

If we assume leadership in mustering world opinion to stop the fighting, the Soviet Union, which has limited its reaction to a mild plea for restraint, will almost certainly support our position. This is particularly so since China has seized upon the situation to stir up trouble between India and Pakistan even though this puts them in bed with the rightist military dictatorship of West Pakistan.

The upheaval in East Pakistan came at a moment when there was new hope for political stability and economic progress in South Asia. In December, the overwhelming victory of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League in the first free election ever held in Pakistan had opened the door not only for the first genuinely democratic government but for greatly expanded trade with India and the easing of the conflict between the two nations.

Two months later, Mrs. Gandhi's landslide election in India provided her with a mandate not only for an all out effort to ease the poverty of the Indian masses but also to improve India's relations with its neighbors.

Tragically, the action of the West Pakistan Government has destroyed for some time to come the hope for a politically stable, united Pakistan living at peace with its neighbors. In all likelihood, the West Pakistani forces in East Pakistan ultimately will be driven out. Although their military superiority is substantial, the movement of food and military supplies in the coming monsoon through the aroused countryside will be extremely difficult. An independent East Pakistan appears to be in the cards.

But if the United States and the U. N. combine to look the other way and the present struggle is allowed to continue to its inevitable bloody climax, East Pakistan will become a political vacuum with 70-million embittered people convinced that the only hope for support is from the most extreme elements in India. This is particularly likely if, as many observers believe, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who has been deeply committed to the democratic process, is already dead.

As this danger grows, Mrs. Gandhi's Government will be increasingly diverted from its programs of economic development to raise the living standards of the Indian people, instead turning to the political and military problems of securing its northern and eastern borders.

Chester Bowles, Ambassador to India from 1963-1969, just returned from a ten-week visit to the subcontinent. He is author of a new book, "Promises to Keep."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
২৯। এই যুদ্ধে নারকীয় অবস্থা কেবল এক পক্ষেরই	নিউ ইয়র্ক টাইমসএপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

**NEW YORK TIMES
IN THIS CASE WAR IS HELL' FOR ONE SIDE ONLY**

Agartala, East Pakistan-War is hell, everyone says, but it is usually hell for both sides.

Yet, in the three-week-old war between the Pakistani Army and the outgunned resistance fighters of East Pakistan, there has been only one hell so far-that of the tens of thousands of East Pakistani civilians who have been massacred by the army in its drive to terrorize, intimidate and crush the Bengali independence movement.

Having gained control of most of the major cities and towns, the army troops-all are West Pakistanis, many of whom harbor deep racial hatred for the Bengali population of East Pakistan-are now making forays into the countryside. They hope to extend their control before the monsoon rains become heavy in a few weeks and make movement for a regular army difficult.

"They flounder and die in knee-deep water," said a Bengali officer. "We will use country boats. We will make misery for them."

The prospect is for a long, sullen war. Most diplomats and foreign observers believe that the Bengalis, by hanging on, will eventually make life untenable for the West Pakistanis, who are more than 1,000 miles from their home and their supply bases.

But these observers also agree that, unless foreign powers put an economic squeeze on the Pakistani Government, it could be years before the 75 million Bengalis finally win their freedom and end West Pakistan's exploitation of their province the exploitation that gave birth to the independence movement.

There are usually two sides to every story, every argument, every conflict. But it is difficult, after witnessing what is taking place in East Pakistan, to imagine some justification for the army's action. This is because the army, from all the available evidence, has set out to kill the leaders and potential leaders of East Pakistan and to destroy the economic base of the region.

"They want to drag us so far down that we will be reduced to eating grass," said one Bengali soldier. "They want to make sure that no head will ever be raised against them again."

The West Pakistani troops are killing Bengali students, intellectuals, professors, army officers, engineers, doctors and others of any leadership potential.

Using tanks, jet fighter-bombers, heavy artillery and gun-boats, all mostly by the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China, the Pakistani Army is also destroying food-storage houses, tea factories, jute mills and natural gas fields-the economic infrastructure of East Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government, often through its official radio, is accusing its old enemy India of virtually everything in this war: of sending arms soldiers to the independence army, of harassing Pakistani ships, of setting up a clandestine radio station, of inspiring the Indian press to print exaggerated accounts of massacres and atrocities. These charges, all of which India has repeatedly denied, have received wide play in the world press, mainly because there is no Bangladesh radio to counter-balance them.

India is probably providing assistance to the independence movement, but there has been no evidence yet of any arms, ammunition or men.

Radio Pakistan and the controlled West Pakistan press, in addition to using India for a whipping boy, also continues to issue daily reports describing conditions in East Pakistan as "returning to normal." It characterizes the popularly supported independence movement as "a handful of miscreants" and says that the East Pakistan economy is on the mend, with jute being exported again. All are bald fabrications.

Sydney H. Schanberg

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩০। কুষ্টিয়ার যুদ্ধ	টাইম	১৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

TIME MAGAZINE, APRIL 19, 1971

THE BATTLE OF KUSHTIA

Fierce fighting raged last week in East Pakistan as Bengali townspeople and peasants resisted the "occupation army" of 80,000 West Pakistani soldiers. Reports have indicated that as many as 200,000 civilians have been killed by the heavily armed West Pakistani troopers. But soldiers have also suffered severe casualties at the hands of irate peasants. This army controlled the capital of Dacca, the vital ports of Chittagong and Khulna, and several other towns. But a ragtag resistance movement called the Bangladesh Mukti Fouj (Bengal State Liberation Forces) was reportedly already in control of at least one-third of East Pakistan, including many cities and towns. West Pakistan authorities have almost completely succeeded in obscuring the actual detail of the fighting from the outside world by expelling all foreign newsmen from East Pakistan. But last week Time Correspondent Dan Coggins managed to cross the border from India into East Pakistan, where he visited the embattled town of Kushtia (pop. 35,000). After extensive interviews with townspeople and captured West Pakistani troopers, Coggins was able to reconstruct an account of brutality and bravery that took place in Kushtia during the first fortnight of the civil war.

His Report

Kushtia, a quiet town in the rice-growing district near the broad Ganges, fell into a restless glee p on the night of March 25. Without warning, 13 jeeps and trucks came to a halt outside Kushtia's police station. It was 10:30 on the night the war broke out. Delta Company of the 27th Baluch Regiment had arrived from its base at Jessore cantonment 60 miles to the south. The 147 men of the company quickly disarmed some 500 Bengali policemen without meeting any resistance and then occupied four additional key points: the district police head quarters, the government office building, the VHF radio transmitter and the Zilla school for boys. Most of the sleeping townspeople did not realize what had happened until 5:30 a.m., when jeeploads of soldiers with bullhorns drove through the empty streets announcing that a total curfew was to begin 30 minutes later.

Kushtia remained calm for 48 hours while the curfew was in effect, although seven persons—mostly peasants who arrived in town unaware of what had happened—were shot to death for being found in the streets. The curfew was lifted on the morning of March 28. and the townspeople began to organize a resistance immediately.

That night 53 East Pakistani policemen easily overpowered a handful of soldiers at the police station. Then, fanning out to nearby villages with all the 303 Enfield rifles and ammunition they could carry, the policemen joined forces with 100 college students who were already 'working for Bangladesh. The students were teaching the rudiments of guerrilla warfare to local peasants, who were armed only with hatchets, farm tools and bamboo staves. Within two days, the police and students had organized several thousand volunteers and militiamen of the East Pakistan Rifles and laid plans for simultaneous attacks on the five army positions in Kushtia.

At 4.30 a.m. on March 31, a force of some 5,000 peasants and policemen launched a campaign to liberate Kushtia. Thousands of townspeople thronged the streets shouting "Joi Bangla" (Victory to Bengal)! The soldiers apparently panicked at the thought of being engulfed by so many thousands of furious Bengalis. "We were very surprised," lamented Naik Subedar (Senior Sergeant) Mohammad Ayub later, following his capture. "We thought the Bengali forces were about the size of one company like ourselves. We didn't know everybody was against us."

Instant Death

The Bengali fighters made no suicidal, human-wave assaults at Kushtia as they have done in some places. But the steady drumfire of hundreds of rifles had a relentless effect on the soldiers of Delta Company. By noon, the government building and district headquarters all fell. Shortly before dawn the next day, about 75 soldiers made a dash for their jeeps and trucks and roared away in a blaze of gunfire. Two jeeps were halted almost immediately by surging mobs. The East Pakistanis pulled out the dozen soldiers and butchered them on the spot.

The other vehicles were blocked outside town by fallen tree barricades and 4-ft, ditches dug across the black ton road. The soldiers managed to shoot down about 50 Bengalis before they were overpowered and hacked to death by peasants. A few soldiers escaped but were later captured and killed.

Before dawn the next day, the last 13 soldiers in Kushtia stole out of the radio building and covered 14 miles on foot before two Bengali militiamen took them prisoner and brought them back to the Kushtia district jail. The 13 were the only known survivors of Delta Company's 147 men. Among the West Pakistani dead was Nassim Waquer, a 29 years old Punjabi who last January had been appointed Assistant Deputy Commissioner at Kushtia. When an angry mob found his body, they dragged it through the streets of the town for half a mile.

Little Headway

Next day the Pakistan army dispatched another infantry company from Jessore to stage a counter attack on Kushtia. At Bishakali village, halfway to Kushtia, the new company fell into it booby trap set by Bangladesh forces. Two jeeps in the nine-vehicle army convoy plunged into a deep pit covered with bamboo and vines. Seventy-three soldiers were killed on the spot, and dozens of others were chased down and slain.

All last week, the green, red and golden flags of Bangladesh fluttered from rooftops, trucks and even rickshaws in Kushtia. Bengali administrators were running the region under the local party leader, Dr. Ashabul Haq, 50, a Spanish physician who packs a Webly & Scott revolver and a Spanish Guernica automatic. At week's end, two army battalions established an outpost a few miles from Kushtia. They were reported, however, to be making little headway against furious resistance. Even if the soldiers managed to reach Kushtia, the townspeople were more than ready to fight again.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩১। একটি মুর্মূর্ষ আদর্শ	ওয়াল স্ট্রিট জার্নাল	২১ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

WALL STREET JOURNAL, APRIL 21, 1971

A FLICKERING CAUSE

**East Pakistanis Pledge To Fight To The Death
But Mostly They Don't
They Lack Arms, Leadership To Prolong Their Revolt;
No Aid By Other Nations
Too Many Patrick Henrys?**

By Peter R. Kann

(Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal)

Near Meherpur, East Pakistan-By ox-cart and by rickshaw, on bicycles and an occasional truck, but mostly by foot, people and soldiers of Bangladesh-the Bengal Nation are retreating towards the Indian border.

From Meherpur, half a mile further back, come the thump of the West Pakistan army's mortars and the crackle of its small-arms fire.

"Punjabis (West Pakistanis) Bombs, cannon at Meherpur," shouts a group of Bengalis clinging to an India-bound truck that stops only long enough to let the last armed man at this village crossroad climb aboard.

The four-mile trip back to the Indian border is a tour of largely deserted villages. The richer residents of Meherpur had evacuated their town a day before. This day it is mostly villagers who are fleeing; a barefoot, ragged woman leading six children, all with bundles of belongings balanced atop their heads; two men carrying a dismantled bed; an old blind men being led along by what seems to be a seeing-eye-cow.

Waging A Weak War

Back at the Indian border, in and around an Indian military compound, sit 100 or more sullen members of the Bangladesh army, their insignia ripped off. Also on the Indian side are more than a dozen Bangladesh jeeps and two recoilless rifles perhaps the only ones in the Bangladesh army. A few miles further to the rear in the nearest Indian border town, are clusters of babbling politicians, civil servants and professional men who talk about fighting and dying to the very last man.

Many Bengalis, of course, have been dying since the Pakistan civil war began in March. But, for a variety of reasons not nearly enough have been fighting. As a result, Bangladesh appears, at this stage, to have waged one of the weakest-and perhaps shortest-revolutionary wars on record.

In less than one month, with fewer than 50,000 men and limited firepower and air support, the army has been able largely to subdue, for the time being, 75 million hostile Bengali people.

The Long Road To Liberation

This isn't to say the cause of Bangladesh is finished. But if East Pakistan is ever to be independent, it won't happen through the kind of spontaneous-combustion revolution of the past four weeks. Liberation will be won over years, not weeks; by more action and less rhetoric; with guerrilla tactics, not conventional combat; and perhaps by militant leftists rather than idealistic moderates.

Much will also depend on India-whether it will provide arms and border sanctuaries for a protracted liberation war.

In any case, West Pakistan faces serious problems. How to deploy its army of occupation across a large, predominantly rural area, particularly with monsoons coming. How to administer what amounts to a bitter re-conquered colony. How to piece together East Pakistan's shattered economy and how to keep East Pakistan from becoming a crippling drain on limited West Pakistani resources. How to deal with India should it decide to become more heavily involved in supporting Bengali resistance.

Pakistan's problems will be compounded if unrest develops among ethnic minorities within West Pakistan or if rival generals and politicians in the West cannot stand together in this crisis.

A Clear-Cut Struggle

In an age of confusing liberation struggles and fuzzy moral causes, the issues at stake in this war seem relatively clear-cut. When England granted its Indian empire independence in 1947, the subcontinent was divided along religious lines rather than by any ethnic or geographic logic. The new Moslem nation of Pakistan was split into two halves, separated by 1,200 miles of Hindu India. The Pakistani nation came to be dominated-politically, economically and militarily-by the Punjabis of West Pakistan, and the more populous Bengalis have felt exploited.

In elections last December for a National Assembly the East Pakistanis bloc-voted overwhelmingly for the Bengali nationalist Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. The League won an absolute majority in the Assembly, meaning power would have swung to Bengali East Pakistan under a democratic regime. Sheikh Mujibur, a somewhat pro-Western moderate socialist, demanded autonomy for the East except in defense and foreign affairs. The politicians and generals of West Pakistan balked, for economic and other reasons.

Under cover of negotiations, West Pakistani troops and military supplies were slipped into East Pakistan. The night of March 25, these troops struck swiftly and savagely in Dacca, the East Pakistan capital, brutally suppressing Bengali demonstrators. The army took over in Dacca and the port of Chittagong, and the war was on.

In other towns the Bengalis rose in defiance and proclaimed independence. It was a story-book sort of revolution, with thousands of Patrick Henrys issuing courageous calls to arms and thousands of Betsy Rosses sewing little red, green and yellow Bangladesh flags. The civil service, and East Pakistan EPR (a Bengali military attached to the

Pakistan army) joined the liberation, as indeed did Bengalis of every social class and political persuasion. The Bangladesh flag flew from primitive mud huts as well from city offices, from ox-carts as well as from jeep. The revolutionary slogan, "Joi Bangla" ("Victory to Bangla"), was shouted by peasant children as well as partly politicians.

An Army Without Arms

But there were things Bengalis didn't have and didn't do. Except for the militiamen of the East Pakistan Rifles, the liberation army was almost entirely lacking in arms and training. Even the Rifles had only light, old fashioned weapons. In many areas the Bengalis did little to supplement these arms with homemade weapons like Molotov cocktails or primitive mines.

The Bengalis were surprisingly unprepared for a war that many of them had deemed possible, even likely, for years. They had no effective communication and liaison system-not even by runners-and thus Bangladesh fortunes differed, and suffered district by district village by village. The leadership has been composed largely of Awami League functionaries and civil servants. They have tended to sit in the towns, first emotionally celebration of their people and later emotionally bewailing their lack of airplanes, artillery and foreign support. Sheikh Mujibur, now believed to be a captive of the Pakistani army, is typically Bengali. Says one critic, who is also Bengali: "An impossible man. Whenever you ask him a question, he answers with a quotation from Tagore." Tagore was Bengali's greatest writer.

The West Pakistan army, perhaps cowed by the thought of 75 million hostile Bengalis spread across 55,000 square miles (East Pakistan is roughly the size of Arkansas), spent most of the first two weeks of the war holed up in urban military cantonment. But when the army finally began to move, behind air artillery cover, Bangladesh offered little opposition.

An Unopposed Army

By late last week Bangladesh forces were evacuating the towns, and the Pakistani army was rolling down the roads generally unopposed. In some areas there were reports of Bangladesh leaders and soldiers moving out into the villages to prepare for guerrilla war. But in other places-like Meherpur and additional towns near the border with Indian West Bengal-Bangladesh forces were simply fleeing into India.

At the Indian border town of Gede, a Bengali school principal who a week before had been welcoming journalists to the Bangladesh provisional capital, is taking up residence in an Indian guesthouse. "We will fight to the last of our 75 million people, to the last man," he says.

Another refugee at Gede is perhaps over defeatist but sincere: "The Punjabis are trigger-happy men bent to rule us at whatever the cost. They are killing thousands of our people, but what can we do? We have no arms. The Indians gave us a few guns-duck guns. But the Punjabis aren't sitting ducks. Yesterday we were tilling our land, and today we must be a guerrilla army. How can it be? Some say the monsoon will help us. But how? We have penknives and staves, and we will go through the water-splash, splash, splash. They have planes and cannons and carbines. What can we do?"

Three miles across the border, at the East Pakistan town of Darsana, several score Bangladesh supporters are sitting in a former police post, worrying each other with conflicting reports about the imminent fall of the provisional capital, Chuadanga, which lies another 10 miles down the road. "Two Pakistani planes have bombed Chuadanga...More than one Bengali has been killed...Punjabi troops are only three miles from the city. . . There are no Bangladesh troops near the town, they have all left already."

"We Will Die"

One politician gives a solemn and sincere speech about the failure of the outside world to come to the aid of Bangladesh. A small knot of men is watching a medic operate on a pudgy compatriot—a dab of iodine is being applied to a small cut on his left palm. Another local leader is asked what the Bangladesh forces plan as the opposing army advances. "We will die," he says, and the others grimly nod. But the next day the Pakistan army walked into Chuadanga unopposed.

A constant sad refrain these days from Bangladesh people is the failure of the outside world to aid them. The expectations of Bangladesh may have been naive, but even far more practical-minded men would have been disappointed at the world response. No great power has helped the Bengalis, who represent a majority of the Pakistani population and are fighting for independence after having been attacked.

Russia has given Bangladesh a bit of verbal support—in the form of a call to West Pakistan to stop the killing. On the other hand, Red China, a proponent of civil wars, has given strong verbal backing to West Pakistan.

Only India, Pakistan's neighbor and enemy, has given Bangladesh firm verbal support. India has permitted limited unofficial aid to flow across its borders into East Pakistan and has let Bangladesh forces and followers take refuge, at least temporarily. But even India has stopped well short of diplomatic recognition or organized military assistance.

The Threat of Chaos

So far, both India and Pakistan, despite bitter charges and countercharges, seem anxious to avoid a real confrontation. But if either drops its current caution, the chaos of East Pakistan could engulf the whole subcontinent.

Only yards from the Indian border, Bangladesh held a ceremony in a mango grove at a village called Mujibnagar last Saturday. The provisional government of Bangladesh was officially presented to the press, a proclamation of Independence, was read, and speakers made patriotic addresses.

But glory fades quickly for Bangladesh. The day after the ceremony, the village is deserted except for a few dozen residents. The reviewing stand still sits under a spreading mango tree, but only several ducks and a goose strut around it.

The memory of glory lives on, however, Back on the Indian side of the border, a Bangladesh official is still dreaming about the previous day. "It was a wonderful day," he declares. "Seven ministers and 27 eminences. Very good speeches. A fine ceremony."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩২। সীমান্তের দিকে চাপ	টাইম	২৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

TIME MAGAZINE, APRIL 26, 1971
THE PUSH TOWARDS THE BORDERS

Radio Pakistan announced last week that Pakistan International Air lines has resumed its internal flights between the East Pakistan capital of Dacca, and the town of Jessore, formerly a stronghold of rebel resistance. The broadcast failed to note that the PIA Prop Jets were carrying only soldiers and that they were escorted into Jessore Airport by air force Sabre Jets.

It was true, however that the army had taken the offensive in Pakistan's savage civil war. In the early days of fighting, the troops had prudently preferred to remain in their garrison areas, for the most until additional men and supplies arrived. Last week they began to push toward the Indian border, hoping to secure the hard top roads by the time the monsoon rains in late May. If they succeed, they will be able to block any sizable imports of arms and other equipments for the Bangladesh (Bengal State) resistance fighters.

Naxalite Sympathizers

Despite the heavy cost of the operation (estimated at £ 1.3 million per day) and widespread international criticism, the Government of president Agha Mohammad Yahya Khan seems determined to press for a decisive victory. The U.S. and most other Western countries have thus far maintained careful neutrality. Washington announced that it has furnished no arms to Pakistan since the fighting began March, 25. Communist China, on the other hand, has strongly supported the Pakistan Government, while India, Pakistan's traditional adversary, has quietly sympathized with the rebels.

The Indians most deeply involved are the West Bengalis who are kinsmen to the East Bengali insurgents. But West Bengali sympathy is tempered by a fear that a prolonged civil war in East Bengal will prove costly to themselves as well. For generation, West Bengal has received a steady flow of refugees from across the border. Now the flow has greatly increased, with an added burden to the state's economy. Among West Bengalis, the most enthusiastic supporters of the East Pakistani cause are Calcutta's urban terrorists, the Maoist Naxalite. Some are said to have slipped across the border with home-made guns and bombs to help the rebels.

Strong Words

Officially, India has tried to maintain calm. Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi declared earlier that India could hardly remain a "silent observer" to the carnage in East Pakistan. But last week, when asked if she would describe the fighting as an "imperial war," she replied sternly, "the use of strong words will not help."

From East Pakistan came reports that the destruction was continuing. Estimates of the numbers of dead ranged to 200,000 or more. In the port city of Chittagong, hundreds of bodies were dumped into the river to be carried away by the tide. Some observers reported a virtual pogrom against East Pakistan's educated leadership, raising the specter of a region reduced to peasant serfdom. Even the modern jute mills, owned by West Pakistani businessmen, were reported destroyed.

Provisional Government

There was also savagery on the Bengali side. Rebels were reported to be paying off old scores against non-Bengali Moslems, who settled in East Pakistan after the 1947 partition of British India into India and Pakistan. At the town of Dinajpur, most male members of this group were killed and the women taken to make-shift internment camps. Despite the continued absence of their political leader, Sheikh Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman, who is thought to be in prison in West Pakistan, the rebels announced the formation of a Bangladesh provisional Government last week. They named Mujib President. One of his colleagues, Tajuddin Ahmed, who is at large in East Pakistan, became prime Minister. As their provisional capital, the rebels prudently chose the town of Meherpur, which lies a mere four miles from the Indian border.

The Bangladesh forces are critically short of gasoline and diesel fuel and lack the field communication equipment necessary for organized military activity. They avoided any full-scale engagements in which they would undoubtedly sustain heavy losses. Some observers believe, in fact, that the long guerrilla phase of the civil war has already begun, with the army holding most of the towns and the rebels controlling much of the countryside. Despite the apparent determination of the Government to maintain its hold on East Bengal, the sheer human arithmetic of the situation seemed to indicate that the Bengalis would ultimately win freedom, or at least, some form of regional autonomy. At the present time, the East Bengalis outnumber the West Pakistani soldiers in their midst by about 1,000 to 1.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৩। শকুন আর বুনো কুকুর	নিউ ইয়র্ক উইক	২৬ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

NEWS WEEK, APRIL 26, 1971

VULTURES AND WILD DOGS

For more than two weeks, the Pakistani Army of President Mohammad Vahya Khan had played a curious waiting game. Sitting tight in their well-fortified cantonments in the rebellious eastern wing of their divided country, the federal troops virtually ignored the taunts of the secessionist "liberation forces." But then early last week, the lull came to a sudden end. Springing from their strong-holds the Punjabi regulars simultaneously staged more than a dozen devastating attacks from one end of beleaguered East Pakistan to the other. And when the blitzkrieg was over, it was clear that the less-than-one-month-old Republic of Bangladesh (Bengal Nation) had been delivered a stunning blow.

In a civil war already marked by brutality, the lightning attacks were notable for their savagery. In the port city of Chittagong, Pakistani troops reportedly forced Bengali prisoners to ride on the front of a truck, shouting "Victory for Bengal" -an independence slogan. When other Bengalis emerged from their hiding places, the Pakistanis opened fire with machine guns. And in the cities of Sylhet and Comilla along the eastern borders. West Pakistani firepower routed the followers of nationalist leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and left the bodies of scores of dead peasants to be picked apart by vultures and wild dogs.

All in all, the bitter campaign seemed to suggest that the West Pakistanis had more than purely military objectives in mind. In city after city, in fact, the soldiers were apparently determined to shatter the economic base of East Pakistan in order to crush the independence movement. On orders from the Islamabad high command, troops systematically gunned down students, engineers, doctors and any other persons with a potential for leadership, whether they were nationalists or not. "They want to push us back to the eighteenth century," said one Bengali soldier, "so that there will be famine and we will be reduced to eating grass. They want to make sure that no head will ever be raised against them again."

Despite the devastating offensive, the Bengalis showed little inclination to throw in the towel. A group of Mujib's Awami League colleagues announced the formation of a Bangladesh war Cabinet, promising "freedom as long as there is sun over Bengal." Beyond the rhetoric, the rebels were hoping that the approaching monsoon season would sever the West Pakistanis already strained logistical lifeline. "The supply lines are Yahya Khan's Achilles' heel," said one pro-Bengali analyst. "By our calculations, the Pakistani Army is facing the monsoons without a supply margin. The commanders cannot be happy."

Locked Up

Happy or not, the West Pakistani leaders had, most observers said good reason for confidence. The Westerners claimed to have Mujib locked up and awaiting trial on charges of treason, And with the dynamic, 51 year old symbol of the rebel movement seemingly, out of the way the new government appeared to be more shadow than substances. In the field, the Bengalis have suffered staggering casualties, losing as many as 25,000 men.

More important, the fighting disposition of the Bengalis was increasingly open to question. "I met a steady stream of refugees carrying in 'big bundles on their heads and driving small flocks of scrawny goats or cattle," cabled Newsweek's Milan J. Kubic after a trip into East Pakistan last week. "But I saw only one Toyota jeep of the 'Mukti Fouj,' Bengal's liberation army. Its un-armed driver a young Bengali from Jhikargacha had an idea that the enemy was just up the road, but neither he nor the two other soldiers with him seemed anxious to seek battle. What would we fight with?" He asked with a grin. "We haven't got anything".

Neighbors

That let someone-else-do-it attitude, combined with the absence of effective central leadership did not augur well for Bangladesh. But one big question mark remained: the reaction of the neighboring big powers-China and India. Almost from the beginning of the conflict, the West Pakistanis have charged that arch-rival India was an active participant on the side of East Pakistan. And last week Islamabad officials claimed to have wiped out two companies of Indian border security forces allegedly operating within the eastern province.

For its part, New Delhi stoutly denied any direct involvement. And most observers on the scene supported that contention. Moreover, it seemed certain that President Yahya Khan was trumpeting the charges at least in part to unite his own people-many of whom had gotten queasy about the reports of full scale slaughters in the east But it was equally apparent that New Delhi had indeed gone out of its way to make friendly noises toward the rebel Bengalis-and to take a slap at Islamabad. Throughout the week, Indian newspapers gleefully carried accounts of purported Pakistani atrocities. And the Indian Cabinet met in a well-publicized but closed session to discuss recognition of Bangladesh.

Chou's Cable

In response, Peking seemed more than willing to weigh in with a tough statement in support of the West Pakistanis. In the most specific declaration since the fighting broke out late last month. Premier Chou En-lai sent a cable to Yahya blasting "Indian expansionists" and adding that the Chinese would firmly back the Pakistanis "in their just struggle to safeguard their state sovereignty and national independence." On top of that, there were rumors throughout Asia last week that the West Pakistani only instituted the military crack down after extensive consultations with Peking.

Yet for all the ominous signs of a brewing confrontation on the, subcontinent, most analysts doubted that the rhetoric would escalate to action, at least not in the near future. For one thing, China's support for Islamabad-Peking's ally in its long-haul competition with India seemed to have been something of a pro-forma necessity. For another, the Indians are currently more than preoccupied with their own domestic problems. Still, the volatile brinkmanship of Yahya Khan and the highly emotional Indian response carded with them the threat of a major explosion. "If the fighting and the bloodshed simmer on," said one observer, "then there's always the possibility that any tiny spark may send the entire region up in flames-eventually engulfing all of Pakistan, India and may be even China as well".

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৪। পাকিস্তান : একটি ভগ্নপ্রায় স্বপ্ন	সেন্ট লুই পোস্ট ডেসপাচ	২৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, APRIL 29, 1971
CRUMBLING DREAM IN PAKISTAN

While the future of Pakistan remains far from clear, it is evident that the old order has passed. The dream of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, one of the three great Indian leaders who emerged in the years preceding the withdrawal of the British in the mid-1940s, is dissolving in civil war between the eastern and western segments of the country. The wonder is that it did not happen sooner.

Given Hindu-Moslem antagonisms, it can hardly be argued that Gandhi and Nehru were right, and yet the fact is that for a generation India has been a stable democracy; it has just demonstrated its maturity in a remarkable vote of confidence for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Pakistan has long since turned to military authoritarianism; the regime had the means to send warplanes and tanks to attack civilian dissidents in East Pakistan.

India, fortunately, has shown no disposition to involve itself in its neighbor's struggle though it was natural for Mrs. Gandhi to speak in support of East Pakistan. It has been the militaristic West that has been at odds with India for more than 20 years.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৫। পূর্ব-পাকিস্তান দুর্ভোগোত্তর যন্ত্রণা	ইভনিং স্টার	২৯ এপ্রিল, ১৯৭১

THE EVENING STAR, THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1971

E. PAKISTAN IN AGONY AFTER THE STORM

By Henry S. Brad shier

Star Staff Writer

Hong Kong-"The cyclone might not have taken its full toll yet."

This revealing remark was made by Zulfikar AU Bhutto during a March 4 interview. It showed that West Pakistan's military-bureaucrat-landlord elite was willing to shed blood to keep control of East Pakistan.

Three weeks later-last. Thursday-the bloodshed began.

The civil war between the two disparate parts of Pakistan is likely to be long and bloody, even though the government claims the fighting now is virtually ended. .

The cyclone is believed to have killed between 400,000 and 500,000 persons. No one will ever know exactly.

Neither might anyone ever know how many are killed in the civil war. The Pakistani government is trying to hide the facts.

From the time election results were in, Bhutto began trying to deny to the East the right to get the kind of constitution it wanted.

Bhutto, a feudal landlord and former foreign minister with a brilliant but opportunistic career, had won in the West on socialistic promises to the poor. His obstructive maneuvers against Rahman served the interests of the Western elite however, rather than the poor.

Because of his threat of a boycott, the National Assembly was postponed. Frustrated, Rahman called a general strike which grew into a takeover of most civil government powers in the East by his Awami League.

From the time of the general strike in the East, there were continuous reports of soldiers being flown from West to East Pakistan. The government controlled the national airline and Dacca Airport,

These reports were well substantiated. Less solid were reports of ships being used to carry soldiers East also.

The government lacked control of the ports, where Awami League supporters refused to allow army supplies to be unloaded. Rahman had the army, isolated and held to tight rations.

The best available estimates were that when the crisis began about 26,000 soldiers were in East Pakistan, a region of more than 75 million people. The number of troops had possibly risen to 30,000 or more when fighting broke out.

There were signs by last Wednesday that the army was getting ready to move.

A munitions ship had been sitting in Chittagong harbor for several weeks with dockers refusing to unload it. On Wednesday the Army began trying to unload it in defiance of the Awami League.

Unconfirmed reports, from Chittagong told of clashes of civilian blockades being thrown up to block army movements and of 14 tanks being brought into the city.

Several other clashes between the army and civilians were reported from other parts of East Pakistan. Rumored death tolls went up to 50.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৬। মৃতের শহর ঢাকা	টাইম	৩ মে, ১৯৭১

TIME. MAY 3, 1971

DACCA, CITY OF THE DEAD

Within hours after launching a tank-lad offensive in Dacca and other East Pakistani cities on the night of March 25, the Pakistan army imposed a Virtual blackout on the brutal civil war in Bangladesh (Bengal State) by expelling foreign newsmen. TIME Correspondent Dan Coggin, who was among them, recently trekked back from India by Honda, truck, bus and bicycle to become the first American journalist to visit Dacca since the fighting started. His reports:

Dacca was always a fairly dreary city, offering slim pleasures beyond the Hotel Intercontinental and a dozen Chinese restaurants that few of its 1,500,000 people could afford. Now, in many ways, it has become a city of the dead. A month after the army struck, unleashing tank guns and automatic weapons against largely unarmed civilians in 34 hours of wanton slaughter. Dacca is still shocked and shuttered, its remaining inhabitants living in terror under the grip of army control. The exact loll will never be known, but probably more than 10,000 were killed in Dacca alone.

Perhaps half the city's population has fled to outlying villages. With the lifting of army blockades at road and river ferry exists, the exodus is resuming. Those who remain venture outdoors only for urgent food shopping. Rice prices have risen 50% since the army reportedly started burning grain silos in some areas. In any case, 14 of the cities. 18 food bazaar were destroyed. The usually jammed streets are practically empty, and no civil government is functioning.

"Kill the Bastards!" On every rooftop, Pakistan's green-and-white flags hang limply in the steamy stillness. "We all know that Pakistan is finished," said one Bengali, "but we hope the flags will keep the soldiers away." As another form of insurance, portraits of Pakistan's late founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah, and even the current President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan, were displayed prominently. But there was no mistaking the fact that the East Pakistanis viewed the army's occupation of Dacca as a setback and not surrender. "We will neither forgive nor forget," said one Bengali. On learning that I was a sangbadik (journalist), various townspeople led me to mass graves, to a stairwell where two professors were shot to death, and to scenes of other atrocities.

The most savage killing occurred in the Old City, where several sections were burned to the ground. Soldiers poured gasoline around entire blocks, igniting them with flamethrowers, then mowed down people trying to escape the cordons of fire. "They're coming out!" a Westerner heard soldiers cry, "Kill the bastards!"

One Bengali businessman told of losing his son, daughter-in-law and four grandchildren in the fire. Few apparently survived in the destroyed sections-25 square

blocks-of the Old City. If they escaped the flames, they ran into gunfire. To frighten survivors, soldiers refused to allow the removal of decomposing bodies for three days, despite the Moslem belief in prompt burial, preferably within 24 hours, to free the soul.

Next Prime Minister. The tales of brutality are seemingly endless. A young man whose house was being searched begged the soldiers to do anything, but to leave his 17 years-old sister alone; they spared him so he could watch them murder her with a bayonet. Colonel Abdul Hai, a Bengali physician attached to the East Bengal Regiment, was allowed-to make a last phone call to his family; an hour later his body was delivered to his home. An old man who decided that Friday prayers were more important than the curfew was shot to death as he walked into a mosque.

About 1:30 on the morning of the attack, two armored personnel carriers arrived at the Dhanmandi home of Sheikh Mujibur ("Mujib") Rahman, 51, the political leader behind the campaign for Bengali independence. Mujib first took refuge beneath a bed when the Special "Security Group commandos began to spray his house with small-arms fire. Then, during a lull, he went to the downstairs veranda, raised his hands in surrender and shouted. "There is no need for shooting. Here I am, Take me."

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৭। পাশ্বেক হত্যা (সম্পাদকীয়)	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	৬ মে, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MA Y 6, 1971

Editorial
SAVAGE SLAUGHTER

It has been several years since Washington furnished Pakistan a quantity of heavy arms-tanks and jet fighters, chiefly-in order to protect its national security. Unfortunately, the agreement did not specify that Karachi respect the security of its own nationals.

Consequently, as the Department of State has finally admitted defensively, the planes and the armor were used freely in the campaign of savage slaughter in East Pakistan that began late in March. Washington also concedes having supplied Pakistan with ammunition and military equipment parts in recent years. Against that background, the private pleas for restraint it claims to have made to Karachi can scarcely have been very effective.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৮। মৃত্যু হত্যাকাণ্ড	নিউইয়র্ক টাইমস	১০ মে, ১৯৭১

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MAY 10, 1971

SICKENING SLAUGHTER

By Malcolm W. Browne

Rajshahi, Pakistan, May 10

One of the six foreign newsmen allowed into East Pakistan by the Pakistani government for a tour with official escorts

The crushing force of West Pakistan's military operation against the Bengali separatists has apparently destroyed all serious armed opposition in East Pakistan.

This city, which used to have a population of 100,000, stands on the east bank of the muddy, sluggish Ganges River, with India on the opposite shore 3,000 yards away. Border towns like this were political strongholds of the now-banned separatist Awami League, which won a sweeping victory in the national legislative election Dec. 7.

The national army, made up mostly of Punjabis from West Pakistan; struck against the separatists throughout East Pakistan on March 25, and by mid-April, apparently, the army's campaign was virtually completed:

Last-ditch opposition in border regions was swiftly squelched, and although army patrols still draw occasional sniper fire, the eastern wing of this divided nation seems firmly under control.

The cost to all concerned has been agony. Newsmen have seen tens of thousands of leveled or gutted buildings. In the towns, concrete walls are pocked by hundreds of bullets where firing squads did their work. Bodies were dumped in community wells, and general desolation testifies to the ferocity of events.

Precisely how it all happened is not apparent, since testimony is totally conflicting depending on the point of view of the witness.

The army and the civilian "Peace Committees" it has established throughout the east region say that the bulk of the destruction and the slaughter was perpetrated by the rebels, or Indian troops infiltrated across the border.

But newsmen often are approached in the streets by Bengalis who slip up and whisper a few words before darting out of sight of the ever present Peace Committee members.

Most of the Peace Committee members, to whom the army has delegated a certain measure of civil administration, are Moslem Biharis, who moved to Pakistan from India when the two nations were carved out of British India in 1947.

Business and trade in East Pakistan is largely in the hands of Biharis, who are a small minority among the local Bengalis. The latter are mostly Moslems, but there is a substantial Hindu minority.

Resentment, on the part of many impoverished Bengalis toward the somewhat more prosperous Biharis was a factor in the Bengali separatist movement in the recent conflict. The impression, based on hundreds of interviews, is that when it seemed that the Awami League was about to come to power, Bengalis in some communities slaughtered the Biharis and looted and burned their homes. The Bengalis in the national army revolted to join the separatists. When the predominantly Punjabi army of West Pakistan smashed its way into the eastern wing, it had ready allies among the Biharis, most of who were spoiling for revenge:

The magnitude of the slaughter that followed has sickened most observers. As a result of the violence, most of the Bengalis and nearly all of the large Hindu minority in towns such as this one, have fled. Here the block of buildings making up the main market, area of the city lies smashed, apparently by mortar fire from army units that took the town April 14.

Some five-story buildings with ornately decorated wooden balconies still stand in the area, but some of them have their upper floors in ruins from the shelling.

Much of the city, however, is untouched by shellfire, and bicycle rickshaws and street vendors have begun once more to ply the streets. The town again has its water, electricity and communications, and even a complaint bureau.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৩৯। একজন মেজরের বিদ্রোহ	নিউজ উইক	১০ মে, ১৯৭১

NEWSWEEK, MAY 10, 1971
MAJOR HUQ'S REBELLION
By Milan J. Kubic

I first met Major Huq in the backyard of a small farmhouse about 2 miles inside the East Pakistan border. Dressed in sneakers and a farmer's lungi (a long white shirt over a skirt), he seemed remarkably, untroubled by the inevitable military disaster that lay ahead. "In less than a week," he said, nodding toward the muddy track over which I had slogged my way into Bangladesh, "the Pakistan Army will reach this last escape hatch and my whole enclave will be overrun. Let them come "The first part of the war will end, and then phase two will begin."

For the most part, the area we rode through in Huq's battered Willis Jeep already looked like a conquered land. Most of the women and children had fled to refugee camps in India. And the month-long isolation from the rest of the country had caused shortages of oil, gasoline and manufactured goods. "I'm completely out of drugs against typhoid and endemic fever," one pharmacist told me. "And before long I'll be out of aspirins."

Yet for all these troubles, the villagers still seemed to support the cause of Bengali independence. In Sahapar, for example, a crowd of several hundred peasants responded enthusiastically to Huq's plea to bring in next month's rice harvest. "If you all flee to India," he implored, "Bangladesh will suffer a terrible famine. Harvest is right now the most important thing you can do, including fighting." Waving their homemade Bengali flags, the peasants answered with frenzied shouts for "*Joi Bangla! Joi Bangla!*" - "Victory to Bengal! Victory to Bengal!"

More important, Huq and his chief recruiter, 24-year-old Shah Abdul Khaleque, seemed to have no trouble in lining up Bengali volunteers for guerrilla war against the federal army. In the village of Gaibanda, one high-school student said: "I don't want to be a refugee. My country is in trouble. My duty is to fight, not flee." In Madhil, another mango shaded hamlet, a father whose two sons—ages 17 and 23—had signed up to fight declared: "I am proud they're going. It's better to die with a rifle in your hand than to be slaughtered like sheep."

Despite the popular enthusiasm and Huq's boundless confidence, the Bengalis still face overwhelming odds. Their entire armoury consists of some 3,000 ancient Enfield rifles and about 100 small mortars. On top of that, the Bengalis have serious leadership problems. Except for inaugural ceremonies held just one timid mile from the Indian border, the six-man government of Bangladesh, has yet to venture out in the open. And even the military leadership necessary to sustain guerrilla activity appears woefully weak. As Huq himself told me. "I need to take a quick trip to India, but I can't. The nearest Bengali officer is 20 miles away and these people derive all their hope from the presence of some one like myself. "

Nonetheless, the Bengalis do have certain advantages. New Delhi has already provided a haven for "liberation forces" as well as several guerrilla training camps and some trucks and equipment. Many diplomats, moreover, expect the Indian to begin the covert shipment of arms to the insurgents in the near future. But the Bengalis biggest advantage is the sheer inability of the 70,000-man federal occupation force to permanently police a nation of more than, 75 million. "If you come back four months from now," Huq told me as I was leaving. "Then we'll show you some action." And on balance, he will do just that.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪০। যুদ্ধ না অপমান	টাইম	১০ মে, ১৯৭১

TIME MAGAZINE MAY 10, 1971
HUMILIATION OR WAR

While East Pakistan continues to suffer from the bloody civil war and the growing threat of food shortages, the other half of the divided country is bearing burdens of another sort. The army backed federal Government of President Agha Mohammed Yahya Khan remains totally committed to keeping the Eastern wing from breaking away to establish Bangladesh, as independent Bangla State. But the strain of the undertaking is overtaxing West Pakistan's resources and nerves. "This regime has stuck East Pakistan in its throats"; says one American diplomat in federal capital of Islamabad, "The army must either swallow it or cough it up."

By last week open fighting had almost completely ceased in East Pakistan. Nonetheless, West Pakistan must continue for the foreseeable future to layout huge sums to support an army of occupation in East Pakistan. Moreover, the army is raising two additional divisions to bolster its defenses against India.

Ancient Hatred

Meanwhile, West Pakistani industry is operating at only one-third of capacity because of the loss of sales to the markets in the more populous Eastern half of the country-and because of a general economic slump. West Pakistan is hurt in other ways, too, by East Pakistan's economic collapse. In normal times East Pakistan's jute industry earns nearly half the whole country's foreign exchange, now it lies idle, and the rest of the East's meagre industry and transportation facilities sustained almost complete disruption. West Pakistan will need to find funds to help the Eastern half get started again. That will be difficult. "We are on the brink of economic destruction," declared an editorial in West Pakistan's *New Times* last week. The country has just about exhausted its foreign currency reserves and is unable to meet the debt repayments due to U. S. and European creditors in May and June. Foreign aid including a £ 80 million loan from the U.S., has stopped, and the eleven-nation consortium that supports most of Pakistan's economic development is reluctant to bail out Yahya's regime until the present crisis is ended.

Under the stress of trying to hang on to East Bengal, the West Pakistan's old oppressive hatred of the Indian has flared up again.' The federal Government has completely sealed off West Pakistan from outside reports about the repressive army crackdown in East Pakistan. The West Pakistanis tend to view the conflict as a sinister Indian plot to dismember their country. India has remained nominally neutral, but it has, in fact, given Bengali rebels a haven.

Border Shooting

One result is a series of diplomatic snubs and threats between Pakistan and India. After Pakistan's chief diplomat in Calcutta defected to the Bangladesh side, Islamabad

sent a successor who was unable to make his way to the mission through Indian demonstrators. Pakistan, thereupon, closed the office and demanded that India shut down its mission in Dacca.

Potentially more dangerous than the diplomatic scuffling; however, was the situation developing along the borders between East' Pakistan and India. West Pakistan troops have been pushing to close the boundaries between the insurgents and possible sources of supply in India. Last week both sides traded charges that their troops had fired upon the other's territory. The tense atmosphere evoked fears among foreign diplomats that another Indo-Pakistan war might break out. Neither country wants to fight, nor indeed can afford to; but this was no less true in the period preceding the 17 day war of 1965, "The army's choice might be humiliation in East Pakistan or war with India," says one diplomat. It's possible that a chain of events in East Pakistan could lead to open hostilities.

বাংলাদেশের স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধ দলিলপত্রঃ চতুর্দশ খণ্ড

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪১। নির্বাহিত বাঙালী (সম্পাদকীয়)	ওয়াশিংটন পোস্ট (বাংলাদেশ ডকুমেন্টস)	১২ মে, ১৯৭১

WASHINGTON POST, MAY 12, 1971

**Editorial
SUFFERING BENGALIS**

Pakistan continues to act badly towards the citizens of its pastern wing, whose movement for political autonomy-carried on through legal and democratic channels-was cruelly crushed by the Pakistani army during the sprint. The Yahya Khan military government still does not let international relief flow to the suffering Bengalis of East Pakistan, they are being forced to flee into India.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪২। পাকিস্তানের কথা	বাল্টিমোর	১৪ মে, ১৯৭১

THE BALTIMORE SUN. MAY 14, 1971

Editorial
THE PAKISTAN STORY

The extent of the Pakistan tragedy in March, when the two parts of the country were brutally torn apart, is bit by bit becoming known, with the most substantial information to date provided by a group of six foreign correspondents admitted to East Pakistan for an officially conducted look. As a whole these observers have written guardedly through censorship, but one of them, Most Rosenblum of the Associated Press, has instead left the country and filed his dispatches from Bangkok. The story he tells is one of hatred and horror, in a civil war of staggering butchery, of a national economy on the brink of ruin and of political chaos.

The deaths, by Mr. Rosenblum's rough estimate, may number half a million. The devastation, he says, defies belief. Millions of people face starvation, from famine and from the halted distribution of relief for earlier, and natural disasters. The picture could not be more grim.

From Mr. Rosenblum and other sources it is clear that an unknown number of the killings were done by East Bengalis, in hatred and vengeance against West Pakistanis, and against other non-Bengalis in the population. But it is clear also that the savage tearing apart of the nation is to be laid first of all on the army of Pakistan and those who gave it its orders.

One tale is that the deaths from army action in Dacca, the East Bengal capital, came to about 150 which is obviously a gigantic lie, and that in any case the army struck to avert an armed rebellion scheduled for the early morning of the day after the army went into action of this no evidence has been brought forward.

The fact still seems to be, as it seemed to be at the first, that the Government of Pakistan was determined not to let the East Bengali Awami league assume the power it had won in a National Assembly election, and that from this determination stemmed the carefully planned onslaught of March.

While its full consequences are yet to be known, it is plain already that Pakistan as conceived by its creators has ceased to exist, that an already-shaky economic structure has been brought near to the point of no-repair, that a generation of hatred has been assured and that new opportunities have been opened to political elements whose purposes have little to do with the national good of Pakistan.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪৩। বিকল্প চিন্তা	নিউজ উইক	১৯ মে, ১৯৭১

SECONDTHOUGHTS
NEWSWEEK, MAY 19, 1971

When war broke out in East Pakistan seven weeks ago, most people in the western wing of the divided nation supported their government's firm stand against secession. But as the bloody confrontation wears on, an increasing number of West Pakistanis have begun to have second thoughts. From Karachi last week, Newsweek's Milan J. Kubic cabled this report:

At the start of the war, the rigidly censored Karachi press managed to shroud the rebellion and its effect on the nation in a veil of glowing official pronouncements. So effective was this smoke screen that it sometimes bewildered even the very people who disseminated it. Now, the government has lifted an edge of the veil, and what they see beneath it has plunged West Pakistanis into a mood of doubt and gloom.

Prompting their dismay was last week's announcement that the military regime of President Mohammed Yahya Khan was seeking a six-month moratorium on the repayment of Pakistan's \$4 billion foreign debt, and that fuel prices would be raised by 8 to 10 percent. Coming on the heels of a decree banning the importation of 46 products and doubling and tripling import duties on other items, the news appeared to foreshadow a general inflationary spiral. And this prospect, in turn, seemed to confirm the fears of many Pakistani economists that despite the government's battlefield victories, the bitter struggle in the east was inflicting heavy damage on the nation's economy.

Support for that conclusion was not hard to find. For one thing, West Pakistan's manufacturers were hard hit by the shutdown of their markets in the eastern half of the country, where they traditionally sell one-third of their output. For another, the mass flight of Bengalis from East Pakistan to India has threatened the approaching tea harvest, thereby raising the prospect that substitutes may have to be imported. Most damaging, however, has been the interruption in the export of East Pakistan's jute, the nation's major source of foreign currency; exports were resuming only last week. In all, the cost of the conflict has been estimated at \$2 million a day a stiff burden for a nation whose foreign-currency reserves were a meager \$82 million on the eve of the crisis.

What is more, there is little prospect of a significant improvement in the immediate future. For although some officials contend that life is "gradually returning to normal" in East Pakistan, others admit that it is still seething with rebellion. There are reports of widespread tax evasion (about 40 per cent of the nation's total tax revenue). And the government's political pacification program seems to be equally unsuccessful. Thus, despite promises of amnesty to guerrillas and of payment of back wages to civil servants who return to their jobs, few East Pakistanis have risen to the bait. In fact, only two out of 167 deputies-elect belonging to the Awami League-the dominant political party in the east-have repudiated their region's declaration of independence.

Inevitably, the growing economic crisis and the continued resistance in the east have produced political shock waves in West Pakistan. Dozens of citizens in the northwest frontier province of Sind were arrested recently for demonstrating in support of provincial separatism. And Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the ambitious western political leader who promised his followers an early end to martial law in West Pakistan, has been discredited by continued military rule. But above all the looming danger of inflation and the prospect of a prolonged; clandestine insurrection in the east pose a threat to Yahya Khan himself. For as one leading Karachi politician told me last week: "Other governments in the past have been toppled by far less. I'd say that Yahya has about six months to settle this mess. After that, the army may conclude that the President has bitten off more than he can chew, and it may start looking for a new leader." If accurate, that assessment still gives Yahya some leeway. But clearly, time is running out.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪৪। পূর্ব-পাকিস্তানে গণহত্যা	সেটারডে রিভিউ	২২ মে, ১৯৭১

THE SATURDAY REVIEW, MAY 22, 1971
GENOCIDE IN EAST PAKISTAN

The most fundamental of all rights, the right of a man to come to the aid of a fellow human being is now being denied with a degree of official arrogance seldom displayed in recent history.

The people of East Pakistan who are still suffering from homelessness and hunger caused by the tidal waves of less than a year ago, are now caught up in a man-made disaster. Their land has become a locked-in arena of authorized slaughter. Communications with the outside world have been reduced almost to the vanishing point. Those who have offered emergency medical aid or other help have been told to stay out.

The present situation has its remote origins in the division of the Indian subcontinent into two nations in 1947. The movement for independence from Great Britain had been complicated and imperiled by the existence of Hindu and Moslem blocs. Great Britain had fostered the concept of a partitioned subcontinent in which India would be predominantly Hindu and Pakistan would be predominantly Moslem. For a long time Gandhi and Nehru had opposed partition believing it imperative for both religious orders to be accommodated within a single large national design. Gandhi and Nehru withdrew their opposition to partition, however, when it appeared certain that national independence might otherwise be indefinitely delayed.

The design for partition called for two nations. Actually, three nations emerged. For Pakistan was partitioned within itself, into East and West. The Western part was larger geographically and became the capital. The Eastern part was more populous and richer in resources. The units lay more than 1,000 miles apart.

In order to comprehend the geographical anomaly of this, one has only to imagine what would have happened if Maine and Georgia had decided to form a separate nation. Georgia, with practically the whole of the United States lying in between. Let us further suppose that the capital of the new nation would have been Augusta, Northern Georgia. While most of the people and resources would have been in Southern Georgia. The result would have been an administrative, political and economic shambles. What has happened in Pakistan roughly fits that description. Further compounding the situation are the severe culture and historic differences between Punjabi (West) and Bengali (East) Societies.

For a time the people of East and West Pakistan were held together by the spiritual and political exhilaration of a new nationalism. But the underlying difficulties grew more pronounced as East Pakistan chafed under what they felt was West Pakistan's latter day version of British colonialism. They claimed they were not being represented in proportion to their numbers in either the high posts of policies of Government. They charged they were being exploited economically furnishing labor and resources without sharing fairly in the profits from production. They pointed to the sharp disparity in wages and living conditions between East and West.

It was inevitable that the disaffection should reach an eruptive stage. There is no point here in detailing the facts attending the emergence of a political movement seeking self-rule for East Pakistan's. All that need be said is that the Central Government at Islamabad finally disagree to submit self-rule propositions to the East Pakistan electorate. The result of the General Elections was all overwhelming vote in favor of self-rule. The Central Government at Islamabad not only failed to respect this popular decision, but ordered in armed troops to forestall implementation. The official slaughter began on March 26th.

(1). Tanks and soldiers with sub-machine guns and grenades seized Dacca University early in the morning on March 26. All students residing in Iqbal Hall. The dormitory centre, were put to death. The building was gutted by shells from tanks.

(2) One hundred and three Hindu students residing in Jagannath Hall of Dacca University were shot to death. Six Hindu students were forced at gunpoint to dig graves for the others and then were shot themselves.

(3) Professor G.C. Dev. widely respected Head of the Department of Philosophy was marched out of his home to an adjacent field and shot.

(4) The last names of other faculty members who were killed or seriously wounded: Muniruzzaman, Guhathakurta, Munim, Naqwee, Huda, Innas Ali.

(5) Central Government troops forces their way into flat D of building 34 at the University, seized professor Muniruzzaman, his son, his brother (employed by the East Pakistan High Court) and his nephew and marched the group to the first-floor foyer, where they were machine gunned.

(6) A machine gun was installed on the roof of the terminal building at Sadarghat the dock area of old Dacca. On March 28, all civilians within range were fired upon. After the massacre, the bodies were dragged into buses. Some were burned. Some were dumped into the Buriganga river, adjacent to the terminal.

(7) On the morning of March 28, machine guns were placed at opposite ends of Shankhari Bazaar, a Hindu artisan centre in old Dacca. Central Government forces suddenly opened fire on civilians trapped in the bazaar. The corpses were strewn on the street

(8) On the evening of March 28, soldiers invaded Rainna Kalibari, an ancient small Hindu settlement, killing all the occupants (estimated at 200). On March 29, about one hundred corpses were put on display in the village.

(9) The flight of civilians from Dacca was blocked at gunpoint.

(10) On the morning of April 2, forty soldiers entered a village named Badda rounded up the male population (approximately 600) and marched them at gunpoint to Gulshan Park, where they were interrogated. Ten members of the group were then taken off, their fate is unknown.

The foregoing represents a small fraction of the authenticated of accounts that in the aggregate toll of wide spread killing especially of youth and educated people. It is futile to attempt to estimate the member of dead or wounded. Each city and village has its own tales of horror. It is significant that the Government at Islamabad until only last week, enforced vigor us measures to keep out reporters.

The U.S. State Department is in possession of authenticated descriptions not just of the incidents mentioned above but of countless others. Such reports have been sent to Washington by the American Consul General in Dacca and by American physicians attached to APP. For some reason, the State department has issued no report covering the information at its disposal.

American guns ammution and other weapons sent to Pakistan was used in the attack on Bengali people. So were weapons from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

The United Nations has been helpless in the present situation. The Central Government in Pakistan claims it is dealing with an internal situation, beyond the jurisdiction of the U.N.

This may help to explain why the UN has so far been unable under its Charter to take action against what appears to be a provable case of genocide but it doesn't explain why men of conscience have not stood up in the United Nations to split the sky with the indignation.

The Central Government at Islamabad has forestalled efforts to send food, medicine, and medical personnel into the devastated zones. It seems inconceivable that this decision can be allowed to stand. The Bengalis may not possess political sovereignty under the United Nations Declaration of human rights.

The State department has not hesitated to speak sharply and effectively whenever its national interests were involved. Americans have every right to expect the United States to speak sharply when the human interest is involved. If the United States can find it, within its means and its morality to send guns to Pakistan it can also find it within its means and its morality to send food and first aid.

The President has said that events in Vietnam represent a test of American manhood. The proposition is dubious. What is certain however is that events in Pakistan are a test of American compassion and conscience.

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪৫। পাকিস্তান : বিনষ্ট ভাবমূর্তি পুনরুদ্ধার প্রয়াস	টাইম	২৪ মে, ১৯৭১

TIME, MAY 24, 1971

**PAKISTAN
POLISHING A TARNISHED IMAGE**

"We have been maligned," declared the Pakistani armed forces intelligence chief. Major General Mohammad Akbar Khan. The general's complaint, delivered to half a dozen foreign journalists in Karachi, concerned the widespread reports of army brutality in the effort to crush the seven-week-old Bengali rebellion in East Pakistan. Incensed by what it describes as "concocted items put out by foreign press and radio," the government staged a series of briefings and a fast four-day helicopter tour of the East to get the "correct" story across.

Peace Committee. The West Pakistani government has good reason to fret about its image. Since the crackdown on the breakaway state of Bangladesh began late in March, at least 200,000 have died-almost all of them Bengalis. In addition, more than 1,500,000 Bengalis have fled to India and those who have stayed behind are threatened with an approaching famine that the government does not seem anxious to combat. Most outside observers have laid the responsibility for the East Pakistan tragedy to the hobnail-tough martial law imposed by Lieut. General Tikka (meaning "red hot") Khan. The West Pakistani-dominated government insists that the army has 'saved the country.' Not destroyed it. The new official line: Bengali rebels, acting "in high conspiracy with India", were tearing through East Pakistan with "tactics reminiscent of Nazi storm troopers," and the army was forced to step in to prevent a bloodbath.

The journalist's tour was carefully staged to make the government's improbable tale at least look convincing. Army escorts for the six newsmen spared no effort to clean up screen off or simply avoid shell-pocked buildings, burned out Bengali settlements left by Tikka Khan's jets and tanks. On the other hand, the Pakistanis lost opportunity to show off evidence of brutality by the Bengalis. At Natore, a town northwest of Dacca, the reporters were greeted by a "peace committee," as the army organized pacification teams are known. The committee led the way to a nearby village where, they said, 700 of the 1,300 residents had been slaughtered by rampaging Bengalis. The feature attraction was a well that was choked with human skeletons and reeked of decomposing flesh. Said one peace committeeman: "You have never seen such atrocities!"

The army was not at all eager, however, to let the journalists look around on their own. While walking through Natore, *Time* Correspondent Louis Kraar reported last week, "a bearded peace committeeman kept interrupting every time anyone spoke to me. Finally, I escaped him-and found myself in the Hindu section of town. It was totally destroyed, a pile of rubble and ashes. As I walked, a young Bengali pressed close and explained that he was a student. "We are living in terror of the army," he told me. "Until today, when you came, they have been killing people."

Perfect Order. Just about everywhere, Kraar found, the killing had followed a typical pattern: government troops would try to "liberate" a rebel-held town in a deliberately provoking manner. The Bengali townspeople would wreak revenge on the non-Bengalis (in the process killing perhaps 20,000, or about 10% of the total dead), and then the army would pounce with everything it had. At Mymensingh, a town north of Dacca, that meant an air strike by Pakistani jets and a five hour shelling by two American-made M-34 tanks. Many of Mymensingh's Bengali sectors are in ruins, and about 90% of its pre-civil war population has fled or been killed. That is evidently the kind of record that pleases Tikka Khan, who likes to say: "We want perfect law and order."

শিরোনাম	সূত্র	তারিখ
৪৬। পাকিস্তানে সাহায্য বন্ধের জন্য সিনেটরদের বিবৃতি	বাল্টিমোর সান	৯ জুন, ১৯৭১

THE SUN, BALTIMORE. JUNE 9, 1971
2 SENATORS ASK CUT -OFF IN AID TO PAKISTAN
By Adam Clymer
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington, June 8-A11 American aid to Pakistan should be halted until its government changes its policies enough so that refugees return to that country. Senators William B. Saxbe (R., Ohio) and Frank Church (D., Idaho) urged today.

They announced they would offer an amendment to the foreign aid bill next week to bar any military or economic aid to Pakistan until a majority of the estimated 5,000,000 refugees now in India are repatriated and international relief efforts are begun.

Senator Church contended the amendment was necessary to eliminate American support of one side-the government-in a "civil war." He said it was "neutral" and not an effort to interfere in Pakistan's internal affairs. Bui under questioning he conceded the amendment sought to force a change in Pakistan government policies toward East Pakistan citizens-a change broad enough so that the refugees would feel safe in returning home.

U.S. To Provide \$15 Million

Meanwhile, Charles Bray, a State Department spokesman, announced that the United States was providing another \$15 million in aid to India to cope with the Pakistani refugees. This is in addition to \$25 million announced earlier.

Of the allotment, \$10 million will go for food, and the remainder for medical supplies and other needs, Francis L, Kellogg, special assistant to the secretary of state for refugees affairs, announced.

Mr. Kellogg said that refugees are continuing to cross the border at a rate of 50,000 to 100,000 a day, and the U.S. is committed to feeding 1,250,000 of them, he said the Indian government's current estimate of the number of refugees was 4.7 million.

He said the latest report of U.S. would send 1,000,000 anticholera shots in later this week.

Military Mission Arrives

In New Delhi, a 27-man U.S. military mission arrived in an Air Force C-130 transport. They will check out airfields in Tripura, to the east of East Pakistan, to see whether an airlift mission can be mounted to move refugees (now totaling 500,000 compared to the state's basic population of 1.5 million) into less crowded Indian areas. Three other C-130's will be sent if it proves feasible, they said.