

May 11, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

14365

It appears to me from Dr. Rohde's account and the accounts of other eyewitnesses that systematic and brutal killings on a scale unprecedented in recent times have been committed in East Bengal. And it is a matter of profound sorrow to me, as I believe it should be to Senators, that this brutality in large part has come with the arms provided to Pakistan by our country.

Dr. Rohde urges in his letter of April 17:

The U.S. must not continue to condone the military action with official silence.

He recognizes, he says, the inability of our Government to "oppose actively or intervene in this desperate oppression of the Bengalis" but he urges that I and my distinguished and honored colleagues in this House "seek and support condemnation by Congress and the President of the U.S. of the inhuman treatment being accorded these 75 million people of East Pakistan."

I am a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 21, urging the suspension of our military assistance to Pakistan until the conflict is resolved. But as I have read and re-read, Dr. Rohde's account of the happenings in East Bengal, I have felt, increasingly, the force of his appeal that we here do something to help bring to an end the inhuman treatment to which the people of East Bengal have been subjected. We have a responsibility, an obligation to do something: we cannot condone this military action through our silence.

Foreign policy and foreign relations are difficult and complex matters; and those who bear the responsibility for their formulation and conduct in any country or government are capable of error. There is hardly an example of a flawless or all-successful foreign policy. Our foreign policymakers in the post-World War II era deserve credit for many things. But they also made mistakes and some of the worst were made in Asia. Our policy toward Pakistan has been a serious mistake. Here is why:

First, the decision in 1954 to arm Pakistan created an internal imbalance of forces in that country, which resulted in the military coup d'etat of 1958. Democracy has worked well enough in neighboring India and but for this tipping of the scales in favor of the military in Pakistan, it might well have worked in that country too.

Then, this dominance of the military led to the virtual subjugation and exploitation of East Pakistan, comprising 75 million people, by West Pakistan with a population of about 50 million. That is what lies at the root of the conflict between the people of the East and the rulers and the military of West Pakistan. This conflict may be another Vietnam, only much larger in size and spelling, perhaps, far greater dangers to Asia and the world.

Third, that policy alienated and antagonized, at least temporarily, a country which has all along been inclined to be among our well-meaning friends. India stands for humanist values, for liberty and freedom, and for democracy—goals and values which we ourselves cherish most. This policy led us into an align-

ment with Pakistan against India, a country which despite its present economic problems and other weaknesses is a force to reckon with in Asian affairs, and a potential great power on the world stage.

But let me confine myself to Pakistan. What did all our arms and economic aid accomplish in Pakistan? Almost 100 percent of the arms aid and something like 70 percent of our economic assistance was invested in West Pakistan, where only a minority of the Pakistanis live. Traditionally, more than half of Pakistan's export earnings came from East Bengal's jute and other agricultural products. And yet the lion's share of foreign imports financed by these earnings as well as foreign aid went to West Pakistan with East Bengal getting no more than 20 or 30 percent.

As a result, while West Pakistan made some progress, East Bengal only grew poorer since its independence as part of Pakistan in 1947. This was rendered possible by the fact that the people of East Pakistan had no share in the country's management which has been carried on arbitrarily by an unrepresentative military regime drawn from the West and supported with our military and economic assistance.

Small wonder, then, that after the first-ever elections to be held on the basis of universal franchise last year, the elected leaders of East Bengal led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman demanded a large measure of autonomy, not separation or independence but autonomy, more especially autonomy in the management of East Pakistan's economic, commercial, and financial affairs.

I should remind my colleagues that during the negotiations preceding the military blitz of March 25, the demand of the East Bengalis was not independence but autonomy or self-rule in domestic matters, such as police and paramilitary forces, trade and commerce, taxation and economic investment, and the like. Behind the smokescreen of these negotiations, the strength of the largely Punjabi army from West Pakistan was increased, and its full force was unleashed on unarmed Bengalis in a manner and on a scale which Dr. Rohde and many other eyewitnesses have described as a veritable bloodbath, mass slaughter, and genocide.

I should like to have printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD some dispatches on the subject. These articles tell at least a part of the story of what has gone on in East Bengal.

I know that the Pakistan Government's present line of defense is that what is happening in East Bengal is Pakistan's internal matter. What distresses me the more is that our own Government should choose to deploy the same line of argument in its response to questions from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. As the New York Times said in its editorial of April 21—and if there is no objection, I should like to have the editorial reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—

It is a dangerously short-sighted policy to insist that the military slaughter of democratic leaders and repression of the ma-

TERROR AND BRUTALITY IN EAST PAKISTAN

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, on April 29 I had had printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a letter, dated April 17, from Dr. John E. Rohde of Hudson, Ohio. Dr. Rohde was stationed in East Pakistan as a physician under the U.S. AID program. He is one of the several hundred Americans evacuated from East Pakistan soon after civil war started there in late March.

In that letter, Dr. Rohde gives an eyewitness account of the terror and killing by the West Pakistan Army upon the unarmed, civil population of the city of Dacca in East Bengal. Dr. Rohde and his wife walked through the University of Dacca area only 4 days after military action started. They reported seeing the student dormitories of Dacca University shelled by army tanks and artillery. They saw evidence of the slaughter of young inmates of those dormitories. They saw the breaches in walls of those dormitories where tanks had broken through. They saw mass graves in which dead students were heaped together outside the halls where they had studied. Dr. Rohde sums up what he saw in the following words:

It is clear that the law of the jungle prevails in East Pakistan where the mass killing of unarmed civilians, the systematic elimination of the intelligentsia and the annihilation of the Hindu population is in progress.

MMR

majority in East Pakistan is strictly an internal matter.

Arms and ammunition supplied by us on a grant basis or concessional purchases are being used by one side in this conflict. Our economic assistance enables the Government of Pakistan to divert its own resources to the purchase of more arms to carry on this war. I believe emissaries from West Pakistan are here right now to ask for more arms and more economic aid. And yet they tell us that what is happening in East Bengal is an internal matter upon which we should not express our views.

In the circumstances, it appears to me that it is not enough for the Senate to demand suspension of military aid to Pakistan until this conflict is resolved. Under the existing arrangements, the majority of the people of Pakistan will continue to be deprived of the benefits of our economic assistance. Therefore, until such time as this conflict is resolved to the satisfaction of the elected leaders of East Bengal, our economic aid to Pakistan must be suspended. I strongly urge this, because while this conflict lasts, any economic aid we give to Pakistan will be used by West Pakistan authorities only to suppress the majority in East Bengal.

I am not advocating interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. I am advocating our disengagement from this conflict. Through the use of our arms and our economic assistance in this conflict, the Government of Pakistan has involved us in it as a partisan against the more populous part of Pakistan. We need to disengage ourselves from this conflict completely by stopping all military and economic assistance to Pakistan. We can consider resumption of assistance when circumstances reassure us that our assistance will reach where it is most needed.

The Government of Pakistan after expelling foreign correspondents on the eve of military action in East Pakistan, has invited half a dozen of them for a conducted tour of East Pakistan under a pall of heavy censorship. One of the privilege correspondents, Mr. Malcolm W. Brown, reported, in *The New York Times* of May 7:

From a helicopter flying over the eastern region of East Pakistan, vast destruction could be seen in towns and villages . . . A visit here is a visit to a city of desolation. . . . Apart from a handful of people at the market place who carefully saluted passing army jeeps, the city was virtually deserted.

He goes on:

At intervals along streets lined with ramshackle houses bodies have been buried in shallow graves and covered with piles of red bricks. Bodies covered with bricks are found even on the porches of houses which themselves are unoccupied and closed.

This is not the story of a minor internal matter of law and order. What these press dispatches indicate is a terrible massacre. It is a proper matter of international interest and world condemnation. Let the Senate condemn it; and let the Senate ask the administration to raise the matter in appropriate international forums such as the Economic and Social Council with a view to seek-

ing redress of the grave violations of human rights involved.

If we condone the happenings in East Pakistan in silence, this tragedy will only be compounded. Refugees are streaming out of East Pakistan, and the Indian Government has announced that it is already host to some 2 million East Bengalis who have fled. In East Bengal itself, with the disruption of normal life and communications there, is the threat of famine; there also is the threat of the spread of cholera and typhoid and other epidemics.

Such calamities are no respectors of national boundaries and international frontiers. I do not see how the present Government of Pakistan is going to be able to deal with those threats with its resources depleted to bankruptcy by a war it cannot afford, and the majority of its population already alienated.

It is necessary that the pressure of international opinion be brought to bear upon that Government to create conditions in East Bengal in which the necessary relief can be provided to millions of people who have only known denial, exploitation and repression, and now, for no fault of theirs, face the threat of decimation by famine and epidemic.

I ask unanimous consent that the items to which I have referred be printed in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the *New York Post*, Mar. 30, 1971]

HOW ARMY TANKS BLASTED A CITY

(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.)

(By Michel Laurent)

DACCA, EAST PAKISTAN.—The Pakistani army attacked the Bengali independence movement in Dacca without warning Thursday night and took the people by surprise.

The army's American M-24 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 7,000 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.

[From the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Mar. 30, 1971]
EXCLUSIVE ON-THE-SPOT OF SLAUGHTER IN EAST PAKISTAN

(By Simon Dring)

DACCA, EAST PAKISTAN.—In the name of "God and a united Pakistan" Dacca is a crushed and frightened city.

After 24 hours of shelling by units of the Pakistan army as many as 7,000 people are dead, large areas of the city have been leveled, and East Pakistan's fight for independence has been put to an end.

Despite claims by President Agha Muhammad Yahya Kahn, head of Pakistan's military government, that the situation is calm, as late as Sunday thousands of people were fleeing to the countryside. The city streets were almost deserted and the slaughter was continuing in other parts of the province.

There was no doubt that the Army was in control of all the towns and major population centers and that resistance was minimal and apparently ineffective.

As of Sunday, people were still being shot at what appeared to be the slightest provocation, buildings were still being destroyed, and the military appeared to be more determined than ever to assert its control over the 73 million Bengalese in East Pakistan.

Although an accurate estimate of civilian casualties is impossible, reports filtering in from outlying areas, including Chittagong, Comilla and Jessore, put the figure, including Dacca, at about 15,000 dead.

DEATH, DESTRUCTION OBVIOUS

The extent of death and destruction in Dacca was obvious: Students dead in their beds, butchers in the markets killed behind their stalls, women and children burned to death in their houses, Pakistanis of Hindu religion shot en masse, bazaars and shopping areas razed by fire. By Sunday, the Pakistani flag flew over nearly every building in the city.

Military casualties are not known but at least two soldiers have been wounded and one officer killed.

The Bengali uprising seemed to be over for the moment. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was seen being taken away by the army and nearly all the top members of his Awami League faction have also been arrested.

Leading political activists were arrested, others were killed and the offices of two newspapers that supported Mujib's independence movement were destroyed.

The first target of army tanks that rolled into Dacca Thursday night was the students.

An estimated three battalions of troops were used in the attack on Dacca—one armored, one artillery and one infantry. They started leaving the barracks shortly before 10 p.m.

By 11 p.m., firing had broken out, and the people who had started to hastily erect makeshift barricades—overturned cars, tree stumps, furniture, concrete piping—became early casualties as the troops rolled into town.

Mujib was warned that something was happening, but he refused to leave his house. "If I go into hiding they will burn the whole of Dacca to find me," he told an aide who escaped arrest.

The students were also warned, but those who were still around later said most thought they would only be arrested.

Led by American-supplied M-24 World War II tanks, one column of troops sped to Dacca University shortly after midnight. Troops took over the British Council library and used it as a fire base to shell nearby dormitory areas.

Caught by surprise, some 200 students were killed in Iqbal Hall, headquarters of the militantly antigovernment Students Union as shells slammed into the building and their rooms were sprayed with machinegun fire.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

MMR

May 11, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

14367

Two days later bodies were still smouldering in their burned-out rooms, others were scattered outside, more floated in a nearby lake, an art student lay sprawled across his easel, seven teachers died in their quarters and a family of 12 were gunned down as they hid in an outhouse.

The military removed many of the bodies, but the 30 bodies still there could never have accounted for all the blood in the corridors of Iqbal Hall.

At another hall the dead were buried by the soldiers in a hastily dug mass grave, then bulldozed over by tanks.

People living near the university were caught in the fire, too, and 200 yards of shantily houses running alongside a railway line were destroyed during the attack.

Army patrols also razed a nearby market area. The soldiers ran down between the stalls killing their owners as they slept. Two days later, when it was possible to get out and see all this, some of the men were still lying as though asleep, their blankets pulled up over their shoulders.

In the same district the Dacca Medical College received direct bazooka fire and a mosque was badly damaged.

As the university came under attack, columns of troops moved in on the Bajabag headquarters of the East Pakistan police on the other side of the city.

Tanks opened fire first, and then the troops moved in and leveled the men's sleeping quarters, firing incendiary rounds into the buildings.

It was not known, even by people living opposite, how many died but out of 1,100 police based there not many are believed to have escaped.

ARMORED CAR ARRIVES

As this was going on, other units had surrounded Mujib's house. When contacted shortly before 1 a.m. Friday, he said he was expecting an attack any minute and that he had sent everyone except his servants and a bodyguard away to safety.

A neighbor said that at 1:10 a.m. a tank, an armored car and trucks loaded with troops drove down the street firing over the house.

"Shiek you should come down," an officer called to Mujib in English as they stopped outside. He replied by stepping out on to his balcony and saying, "Yes, I am ready but there is no need to fire. All you need to have done is call me on the telephone and I would have come."

The officer then walked into the garden of the house and told Mujib: "You are arrested."

He was taken away along with three servants, an aide and his bodyguard, who was badly beaten when he started to insult the officer. One man was killed—a night watchman hiding behind the fence of the house next door.

By 2 a.m. fires were burning all over the city, troops had occupied the university and surrounding areas, were shooting at students still in hiding and were replacing Bengali independence flags with Pakistani national flags.

There was still heavy shelling in some areas, but the fighting was beginning to slacken.

Opposite the Intercontinental Hotel where foreign journalists were detained, a platoon of troops stormed the empty offices of The People newspaper, burning it down along with most houses in the area and killing a night watchman.

Shortly before dawn most firing had stopped and as the sun came up an eerie silence settled over the city, deserted and completely dead except for noise of the crows and the occasional convoy of troops or tanks rumbling by on mopping-up operations.

FIRED INTO ALL THE HOUSES

But the worst was yet to come. At midday Friday, again without warning, columns of troops poured into the old section of the city where more than a million people live in a sprawling maze of narrow winding streets.

For the next 11 hours they proceeded to systematically devastate large areas of the "Old Town" as it is called where Mujib had some of his strongest support of the people in Dacca.

"They suddenly appeared at the end of the street," said one old man, "then they drove down it firing into all the houses."

The lead unit was followed by soldiers carrying cans of gasoline. Those who tried to escape were shot. Those who stayed were burned alive. About 700 men, women and children died there that day between noon and 2 p.m.

The same was repeated in at least three other areas, all of them covering anything up to a half mile or more.

As they left, the soldiers took those dead they could away with them in trucks and moved on to their target. Police stations in the Old Town were also attacked.

"I am looking for my constables," a police inspector said on Saturday morning as he wandered through the ruins of one of the bazars. "I have 240 in my district and so far I have only found 30 of them—all dead."

One of the biggest massacres of the entire operation in Dacca took place in the Hindi area of the Old Town. There the soldiers made the people come out of their houses and then shot them in groups.

This area, too, was eventually razed.

NEWSPAPER OFFICE A TARGET

Meanwhile, troops of the East Bengal regiment were being used in the suburbs to start moving out toward the industrial areas of the city—Tongi and Naranganj—both about 10 miles from the city center and both areas of leftist support for Mujib.

Firing continued in these areas until early Sunday morning, but the bulk of the operation in the city was completed by Friday night.

One of the last targets was the daily Bengali language paper, Ittefaq. More than 400 people had taken shelter in its offices when the fighting started.

At 4 p.m. Friday four tanks appeared in the road outside. A half hour later the building was an inferno. By Saturday morning only the charred remains of a lot of corpses huddled in back rooms were left.

As quickly as they appeared the troops disappeared off the streets. On Saturday morning the radio announced the curfew would be lifted from 7 a.m. until 4 p.m.

It then repeated the martial law regulations banning all political activity, announcing press censorship and ordering all government employees to report back for work and for all privately owned weapons to be handed in to authorities.

PANIC SETS IN

Magically the city returned to life Saturday and panic set in. By 10 a.m., with palls of black smoke still hanging over large areas of the Old Town and out in the distance toward the industrial areas, the streets were packed with people leaving town.

By car, in rickshaws but mostly on foot carrying their possessions with them, the people of Dacca were fleeing.

By midday they were on the move in the tens of thousands.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Apr. 4, 1971.]

PAKISTAN IS EXTERMINATING THE BENGALIS

(By John R. Woodruff)

(Less than four months ago, the West Pakistan Army said it could not send sol-

diers 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.)

"DOMINION" NEWZEALAND DAILY

"Newzealand should quickly appeal to Pakistan to stop bloodshed. In all conscience scale of killing demands we do something."

"Reports filtering out of East Pakistan suggest slaughter to unprecedented degree as President Yahya Kahn army seeks to mend with savage indiscriminate force fracture that has sundered nations. . . urgent need is to stop killing and get relief supplies in and Newzealand should say so."

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 taking 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 machine-gun 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 state 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—united to a man for the first time in decades—struggle to resist.

Clines as to how coolly the West Pakistanis had calculated their plan to shoot and burn

MMR

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.

[From the London Times, Apr. 2, 1971]

**POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL LEADERS BEING
WIPED OUT IN WAR OF GENOCIDE**

(By Louis Heren)

The Pakistan Army is alleged to have waged a war of genocide in East Pakistan. The objective is said to be the elimination of the political and intellectual leadership, and it might well have been achieved.

Old religious enmities are also said to have been revived. Thousands of Hindus are alleged to have been slaughtered by Muslim troops.

This and other charges were made in London yesterday by a young man who left Dacca earlier this week after spending the past two years there. For many reasons his name cannot be revealed, but I know him to be a level-headed and responsible man.

He confirmed that Shaikh Mujibur Rahman, the East Bengal leader, escaped the carnage, but 11 members of his bodyguard were killed.

The Shaikh was arrested by troops last Thursday, held in the Adamju school for two days, and then flown to West Pakistan. He is believed to be held in Multan.

According to this informant, a systematic pattern of physical and psychological destruction became apparent even during the first night of fighting on March 25. Soon after, it became clear that certain groups had been selected to be the victims of completely unrestrained brutality.

These included Awami League leaders, students (who are the most radical members of the League), professors and their families, and any Hindu who could be found.

The Army commanders had apparently concluded that the students were the nucleus of a future Bengali independence movement. The professors represented the East Pakistan intelligentsia, vital for the administration of a future independent Bengal.

The reason for killing the Awami League leaders was self-evident. As for the Hindus, my informant is convinced that the troops were led to believe that they were the malign force behind the secessionist movement.

No single observer could possibly have observed all that went on during the five days of fighting, but what follows was actually seen.

At the University of Dacca, the residential dormitory Jangarnath Hall, was reserved for Hindu students. Tank tracks led to the wall of the compound, which had been blasted down.

Outside the building there was a fresh mass grave. Inside blood streamed from every room which had also been looted. There were bodies of six savagely-killed men in the servants' quarters near by.

In the apartments of the faculty staff, children were seen shot dead in their beds. The dead bodies of what appeared to be the entire family of a senior professor, were found in another apartment.

Outside were seen the bodies of students still clutching lathis, or bamboo staves, in their hands. There were bloody footprints on the central staircase, and splashes of blood trickled down the outside wall of the building.

In two of the old city's largest bazaars, one entirely Hindu and the other predominantly so, the stench of dead and burning bodies was so overpowering that the survivors walked about with cloths over their noses. At least seven or eight bodies were seen in the rubble of ruined buildings and on refuse dumps.

In one house, my informant saw the still-warm corpse of a man who had been shot to death minutes before. It was surrounded by his wailing wives.

This is what was actually seen. What follows is an account of what happened during the five days of the fighting. Parts of it are reports received from friends before he left Dacca.

The Army moved in, in force, to occupy key points of the town shortly before midnight on March 25. President Yahya Khan had departed for Karachi only a few hours before, and the assumption was that the troops acted on his personal instructions.

According to official spokesmen, the Army had been warned of a plot to barricade all the approaches to the cantonment shortly after the President's departure. Barricades had certainly gone up throughout the city, and from midnight until noon the next day, Dacca echoed with the sounds of firing from heavy artillery, heavy machine-guns and other automatic weapons.

Throughout the night, there was the glare of large fires and tracer bullets.

By dawn, a large pall of smoke covered much of the city and drifted slowly northwards towards the wealthy suburb of Gulshan. Fires were also seen in the Bihari area, the scene of communal friction earlier in the month.

A "shoot to kill" curfew was imposed upon the city on March 26. Soldiers were seen firing with automatic weapons at the house of Colonel Osman, a retired Bengal Army officer.

Shooting and fires continued through the night, but less violently, and the curfew was relaxed for five hours on Saturday March 27.

During a walk through the newer part of the city, destroyed barricades and squatters' huts were seen everywhere.

In the older part of the city, near the police lines, there was complete destruction everywhere. It was understood that the only strong resistance to the Army took place here, with the help of policemen and troops of the East Pakistan Rifles. They were said to have been massacred for their temerity.

Refugees were already beginning to leave the city. Most of them carried only a small bundle of clothes.

The curfew was again lifted on Sunday to allow families to buy food, but the New Market was almost completely destroyed.

At the Ramna racecourse, the two small villages and shrines of Hindu herdsmen were burnt and utterly destroyed. Many bodies were seen in the rubble, and the few remaining villagers were dazed and terrified.

The conclusion drawn was that East Pakistan would be without political and intellectual leadership for at least a decade, and perhaps a generation.

WORSE THAN IN HITLER'S GERMANY

London, March 31: A Pakistani law student said yesterday that he saw Pakistani troops shooting women and children in Dacca "like boys playing with toy guns."

"It is genocide and a massacre. People are being butchered. It is worse than what happened in Hitler's Germany. Hitler didn't kill his own people."

The student, Mr. Shamsul Alam, flew from the smouldering East Pakistani capital to London via Amsterdam.

Mr. Alam, 31, former President of the Pakistan Youth Federation in Britain, claimed that he was carrying a message from the Awami League leader, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman appealing to the British public.

Describing the chaos in Dacca, Mr. Alam said: "The military set the houses on fire and when the people ran out they shot them. In the streets there were tanks and armoured cars and I could hear sten guns, machine guns, rifles and cannon fire. They were firing aimlessly, no matter whether at women or children."

"On the way to the airport, I saw about

100 decomposing bodies collected together and the birds were eating them."

Mr. Alam said one-third of the staff at Dacca University were dead and students were killed in their beds. He estimated 1,000 East Pakistan police officers were "butchered with sten guns."

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he said, had asked him to tell Britain "and the whole world of the terrible situation the Bengalis are facing."

[From The New York Times, Apr. 21, 1971]

AN INTERNAL MATTER?

Washington is following a dangerously short-sighted policy in continuing to insist that the Pakistani military government's slaughter of democratically elected leaders and repression of the majority of its population in East Pakistan is strictly "an internal matter." Although the army appears to have the Bengal uprising under control for the moment, the bloodbath in "Bangla Desh" has immediate and long-run implications that the world community cannot afford to ignore.

The immediate international concern must be for the human suffering in East Pakistan. The ruthless slaughter of resisters and innocent civilians, especially members of potential leadership groups, appears to be continuing. Moreover, the disruption of economic and social life caused by the fighting is bound to create widespread hardship over a prolonged period. There is ample evidence to justify a strong plea by the world community for an immediate end to the bloodshed and for the admission of international relief agencies into East Pakistan.

The Pakistan Government itself has made this conflict an international issue by attempting to place the blame for Bengali resistance on neighboring India. If deep-rooted—and now profoundly aggravated—Bengali grievances are allowed to fester, mounting tensions between India and Pakistan could explode into a war that might quickly involve one or more of the major powers. The United Nations Security Council and its member states have not only the right but the responsibility to do all that is in their power to try to forestall such a development.

A particularly heavy burden of responsibility falls on the United States Government since Washington's arms provide the principal muscle of West Pakistan's military power and American economic aid will become increasingly crucial for the Pakistani Government's survival. Washington has the leverage to support democratic and peaceful development in Pakistan. Continued blind backing for the military regime in Islamabad can only lead to disaster for this country's substantial interests on the Indian subcontinent.

[From the New York Times, May 8, 1971]

**COFTER VIEW OF EAST PAKISTAN: VAST
DESTRUCTION BUT NO FIGHTING**

(By Malcolm W. Brown)

MYMENSINGH, PAKISTAN—From a helicopter flying over the eastern region of East Pakistan, vast destruction could be seen in towns and villages but no evidence of continuing fighting.

There is virtually no battle damage, however, in the city of Mymensingh, which was captured by Government soldiers from separatist Bengali troops in a one-day battle April 15. But a visit here is a visit to a city of desolation.

Apart from a handful of people at the market place, who carefully saluted passing army jeeps, the city was virtually deserted.

GRAVES IN THE STREETS

At intervals along streets lined with ramshackle houses bodies have been buried in shallow graves and covered with piles of red bricks. Bodies covered with bricks are found

MMR

May 11, 1971

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

14369

even on the porches of houses, which themselves are unoccupied and closed.

Authorities said that of a heavily armed Bengali insurgent group of about 1,000, nearly all had been killed in the fighting. The insurgents were said to have been well entrenched and armed with anti-aircraft machine guns, mortars and rocket launchers, largely of Indian origin.

Officials also said that, before the Government soldiers took the city, the Bengalis had killed at least 1,000 Bihari or non-Bengali residents. Army officials introduced correspondents to people who said there had been a slaughter of Bihari residents by the dominant Bengali group led by members of the Awami League, the political party that was outlawed by the central Government soon after the military action began in East Pakistan on March 25.

["There were 8,000 non-Bengalis where I lived and now there are 25 survivors," The Associated Press quoted the assistant postmaster as having said.]

Officers from West Pakistan commanding the forces occupying this region decline to disclose overall casualty figures in Mymensingh District, which is described as the most populous single district in all south Asia. Such figures, in any case, may not be known.

"There were so many bodies here," one officer said, "it was impossible to identify them or bury them."

He said they had to be thrown into the Brahmaputra River, a tributary of the Ganges. For the last two months, it is said, swarms of vultures have been gathering in the area.

The main loss of life here apparently occurred in the fields and fruit groves outside Mymensingh, and in clust of huts that had been burned to the ground.

In Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, correspondents were shown three prisoners said to have been captured from the ranks of infiltrating Indian forces inside Pakistan.

ARMY CONTROLS TOWNS

The three men said that they had been sent to Indian border posts and had removed their unit badges before crossing the frontier. Pakistani authorities said that they had captured five Indian border guards in all, one of them wounded.

There seems little question at this point that the army is in full control of all major towns of East Pakistan, most of which have been evacuated by at least half the residents.

Army officials said that pockets of resistance continue. They said that attempts had been made to blow up bridges and other lines of communication but that search-and-destroy operations with helicopter support were rapidly neutralizing these.

MMR

CBGR1971.org